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Challenges faced by female councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

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A research report submitted to the Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management in the field of Public and Development Management.

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the challenges facing female councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. It is based on the assumption that female councillors are still faced with numerous challenges despite all efforts to address that problem. The factors that discourage participation of women in politics are classified as ideological factors, political factors, socio-cultural factors, economic factors and media. It becomes very important for Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality to understand that these challenges exist so that proper and relevant interventions may be developed, to assist in addressing those challenges.

Gender mainstreaming is discussed, which explains a variety of tools and instruments used at international, regional and local levels. These tools are meant to address gender equality: Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPA), Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Municipal Structural Act and Municipal Systems Act.

A qualitative study was used to respond to the research questions that focused on challenges faced by female councillors, support structures available for female councillors and the effectiveness of these support structures. The focus is on feminist social research. The assumption is that men and women have different perceptions of life because of their social status.

The findings of the research are that society is still divided along gender roles. Women are considered as the main care givers for the family. Women are not part of political inner circles, where major political decisions are taken, including deployment to key and strategic positions. Socially, women are still facing challenges of low education levels that result in a lack of communication skills, which in turn hampers their ability to lead effectively. In terms of economy, most women are in low income paying jobs. This makes it difficult for women to campaign for strategic decision-making positions, as campaigning involves the use of money. Women leaders are also not using media effectively to market themselves.

There is laxity in terms of implementation of gender equity policies. Support structures and system exist solely on paper. There is no proper assessment to check if systems implemented to support women are effective and relevant.

DECLARATION

I Deborah Marumo, declare that this research report is my own unaided work, except as indicated in the reference and acknowledgements. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management in Public Management and Development at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Deborah Marumo

Signed at _____

on the _____ day of _____2014

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my late parents, my mother Pauline Lemu Marumo and my father Jacob Mpure Marumo. They have been a great strength to the family. Their selfless dedication to the upbringing of their children and grandchildren is reflected in the hard working and achievements of their children.

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- My supervisor, Professor Anne McLennan for professional support, motivation and guidance throughout the period of the research.
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- All councillors who participated in the interview for their precious time, co-operation and willingness to participate.

ACRONYMS

Acronym	Definition
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National congress Women's League
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against WOMEN
CDW	Community Development Worker
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
EMM	Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality
GAD	Gender and Development
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
LED	Local Economic Development
MFMA	Municipal Finance Management Act
MSA	Local Government: Municipal Systems Act
NSW	New South Wales
OSD	Office on Gender Equality
PR	Proportionally Representative
PTG	Protocol on Gender and Development
PWMS	Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCO	South African Civic Organisation
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development
WNC	Women's National Coalition

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the study

Women constitute the majority of the population in most the countries globally; however, their status is still considered as minor because they remain socially, economically and politically excluded from public space. This is the international trend, and South Africa is not an exception to this practice. There is a general masculinisation of the public space, and women are confined to the private domain of being primary care givers. The exclusion of women because they are child bearers is a trend. Society believes that the role of women is to take care of the home, while the public space is a territory for men. Women in local government experience the same challenge, with the public struggling to accept women as their leaders and representatives.

Internationally, the first woman councillor can be traced back to 1919. It was in Australia where Grace Benny was elected to the Brighton Council in South Australia (Edgar, 2012). This happened after the Government of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia passed the Commonwealth Franchise Act of 1902 allowing women to both stand and vote in the federal election of 1903 (Edgar, 2012). In Newcastle City Council, United Kingdom, the first female councillor was Mary Laverick. She served in the council from 1919 to 1924 in Westgate ward. It was after the Newcastle City Council passed Municipal Corporation Acts in 1835 (Newcastle City, 2012).

In South Africa, the first female councillor was Mrs E.E.M Russel, then Miss Columbine, who arrived in South Africa from England to take up a teaching post (Merret, 2010). It was after legal rights were granted, which allowed female ratepayers to vote, single women in 1869 and married women in 1884. In 1907, a special Act of Parliament enabled women to become city councillors. She served the council from 1931 until 1948, as representative of Ward 5 in Maritzburg (Merret, 2010). At this stage, participation was limited to dedicated racial groups because of South Africa’s apartheid laws.

During the apartheid period, blacks stayed in homelands, which had fixed borders that existed long before apartheid was officially a government policy. They were categorised into groups based on their language and culture, which were Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) (Khunou, 2009). Undemocratic traditional leaders ruled these homelands. The chieftaincy was mainly hereditary, predominantly men, and defined along patriarchal lines, with the man being the head of the family, and the wives being subordinates to his authority.

Women's roles were limited in the households of traditional leaders, to advisory roles, such as the sister of the leader being one of the advisors of the leader (Khunou, 2009). This was, however, with the exception of the people of Balobedu in the Limpopo province, where males are not entitled to inherit the throne. The Modjadji Queen is hereditary, where the eldest daughter is the heir. This practice moved from generation to generation since 1800 (Boshego & Lloyd, 2009).

The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) indicates that all people are equal in the eyes of the law. It states that no one can be discriminated against based on his or her sex. It was not until the introduction of the Bill of Rights that all women in this country received formal recognition as equal citizens. South African women under the social and legal control of their fathers or husbands were de facto second-class citizens for many years.

The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998b) acknowledged the existence of gender inequality in the local government. In an attempt to address that, there was an introduction of the quota system in the proportional representation components by political parties. Political parties were encouraged to ensure that 50 percent of candidates on the party list were women. The zebra-line style has to be used to design the lists, which means that there is fair mix of the sexes. There must be an alternation between sexes; every name of a male must be followed on the list by the name of a female.

This lack of adequate representation has led the Commission on Gender Equality to suggest that political parties should be forced, through changes in legislation,

to bring more women into government (Morna & Mbadlanyana, 2011). After the country's 2011 local government election, only 17.25 percent of women were elected as councillors out of the total number of candidates standing in the election. Of the candidates running for election, only 37 percent were women (Morna & Mbadlanyana, 2011). The Commission on Gender Equality says the number of female councillors that made it onto South African municipalities is very disappointing (Morna & Mbadlanyana, 2011). This is in clear conflict with the guideline for municipal elections.

The Independent Electoral Commission shares the same sentiments, through the statement released by Advocate Pansy Tlakula (RSA, 2011). She expressed her concern about the skewed gender representation of candidates in South Africa, despite the fact that there is recommendation in The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998b) that parties should seek to ensure that 50 percent of their candidates are women. The Independent Electoral Commission was also disturbed by the fact that women comprise the majority of registered voters, but this does not translate into equal representation as party candidates.

Women are still economically disadvantaged (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004). The stereotypes of women in South Africa often reflect oppressed and downtrodden women. However, the environments in which women live in South Africa are more complicated. Women in South Africa have some of the most progressive protections in the world. The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996), in an attempt to address gender inequality, established the Commission for Gender Equality. In reality, many South African women struggle against continuing triple exploitation, which is race, class and gender (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004).

Given this context, this research explored the challenges faced by women councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. These challenges include the under-representation of women in the council, which is a reflection of gender politics. There is also a perception that the place of a woman is in the domestic sphere and not the public sphere (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004), which could have a negative impact on communities struggling to accept women councillors as their leaders

1.2 Problem statement

Local government is the lowest tier of administration within the state. It acts within the delegated directives of higher levels of government. Local government runs local affairs subject to national and provincial legislation. Local government is the sphere of government closest to the people.

Municipalities have councils where decisions are made and municipal officials and staff who implement the work of the municipality. The mayor, who is assisted by an executive or mayoral committee, coordinates the work of the council.

The mayor, together with the executive, oversees the work of the municipal manager and the departments. In turn, the municipal manager heads the team of officials responsible for municipal administration. The manager is responsible for employing staff and coordinating them to implement all programmes approved by council.

Ward councillors play a central role in the community process between the communities they represent and the Council. Councillors are required to report back regularly through ward meetings and assist the community in identifying needs and priority areas of development, which feeds into the municipality planning process (Paradza, Mokwena & Richards 2010). The proportional representation system allows parties that are relatively popular, but not strong enough to win ward seats, to take part in local government. This inclusive approach contributes to stability in communities, as all parties with a decent support base are drawn into running local council.

Despite the requirements of the Constitution, women are still under-represented in local government as councillors; however, some political parties and local government legislation make an effort. Women are perceived in terms of traditional stereotypes rather than as public or community leaders. Given this gap between formal recognition and practice, this study explored the challenges faced by female councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality.

The study looked at the challenges facing women councillors and the support that they receive from the council to ensure that their challenges receive attention. While some research has been done on gender inequality in local municipalities, little is said on why female councillors, despite the programmes available to support them, are still facing gender-based challenges and communities are not ready to accept their leadership (Morna & Mbadlanyana, 2011; Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004).

Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality has 202 councillors, which includes both ward councillors and proportional representatives, but only 48 percent are females. There are 13 full time councillors, who are led by the Executive Mayor. The mayoral committee comprises five females and the speaker of the council is female. The perceived causes of the challenges facing female councillors will be investigated through interviews with the participants.

The research is needed in order to understand all the challenges that are faced by female councillors, in both council and communities, and the impact of the support they receive from the council. This will assist in ensuring that strategies to address these are recommended.

The purpose of the research was to investigate challenges facing female councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality, and examine the support that they receive from the council.

1.3 Research question

The study intends to investigate and answer the following key question:

What are the challenges that are facing women councillors in local government and what support should be in place to enhance capacity to deliver?

The research added to the understanding of the challenges faced by female councillors in Ekurhuleni. The perceptions of participants in response to the questionnaire attempted to respond to the research questions. This enabled the exploration of a strategy needed to empower women councillors.

1.4 Background

Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is a metropolitan municipality that forms the local government of the East Rand region of Gauteng, South Africa. Ekurhuleni is one of the six districts of the Gauteng province of South Africa and one of the six metropolitan municipalities of South Africa. It was formed by amalgamation of nine cities and towns, and 11 administrations on 5 December 2000. Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is the fourth largest municipality in South Africa (EMM, 2010).

The biggest airport in the country, OR Tambo International Airport, is in the Kempton Park area of Ekurhuleni. The OR Tambo International Airport ensures that Ekurhuleni serves as a gateway to Africa and opportunities for the local development and promotion of tourism can be explored.

It has a population of 2,724,227 with the following racial makeup, black 74.85 percent; white 19.94 percent; coloured 3.27 percent; Indian or Asian 1.94 percent. Gender population is 50.74 percent males and 49.26 percent females and 48.4 percent of the population is economically active. One in every five people employed in the formal economy in Gauteng works in Ekurhuleni (EMM, 2011). Economically, the area contributes approximately 7.7 percent to national production and has a share of approximately 7.76 percent of national employment (EMM, 2011).

Of the local population 24 percent lives in poverty and the current unemployment rate is at 35 percent (EMM, 2011). The majority of people living below the poverty line, live on the urban periphery, far away from job opportunities and social amenities. Many people still live in overcrowded informal settlements without adequate access to engineering and social infrastructure. The creation and promotion of sustainable human settlement is therefore an important priority.

There was a housing backlog with 134 000 shacks in 2011 (EMM, 2013). There are also 36 000 backyard informal dwellings. This is constantly worsening as the influx is set to continue and many informal settlements are situated on land not

suitable for housing. Well-located land suitable for housing development is not readily available. Past subsidy schemes have resulted in mono-functional, non-sustainable areas.

Since the establishment of Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in 2000, it has had four Executive Mayors. Only one of those Mayors was a female, who served only two years from 2008 to 2010. The Executive Mayor heads up a team of 13 full-time councillors comprising the Executive Mayor, a Mayoral Committee of 10 members, a Speaker and a Chief Whip of Council (EMM, 2010). Men are still in the majority, with female councillors amounting to 48 percent of both ward and proportional representative councillors.

1.5 Significance of research

The research could assist in ensuring that challenges faced by female councillors were identified and the recommendations to address them were made. Municipalities could use the outcome of the research, which will remain the property of the University of the Witwatersrand, to improve their operations and performance.

1.6 Research methodology

The research methodology used in this study was a qualitative research method. In data collection both primary data and secondary data collection methods were used. In primary data collection, the participants were interviewed. Secondary data collection focused on documents relevant to the topic.

1.7 Outline of chapters

In Chapter 1 of the research study, the topic is an overview and of the background, the socio-economic status and the council. The problem and purpose statements and research question is outlined.

Chapter 2 explains the relevant literature used in the study detailing theoretical thinking and research by other academics. Factors that discourage participation of women in politics were explored. Gender mainstreaming as an intervention strategy was discussed, looking at instruments used from international to local structures. The concept of leadership is also covered.

Chapter 3 focuses on the research methodology used in the study, with the explanation of tools used for data collection.

Chapter 4 contains a presentation and analysis of the results of the research.

Chapter 5 conclude the research study and provides recommendations in an attempt to address challenges facing women councillors.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the topic that is been researched. This included the background of the study, the problem statement as well as the purpose statements, and the research question. The structure of the research was laid out and chapters outlined.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review provides an in-depth understanding of work done by other academics on the researched topic.

The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) has given local government a new developmental mandate in addition to the rendering of basic services. Local government has been declared an independent sphere of government, no longer just an extension of the national and provincial spheres of government.

There are three spheres of government, the national government, provincial government and the local government. Each sphere has its own structures and mandate. These spheres of government are however interrelated and interdependent. The national sphere of government has the national assembly and national council of provinces, which has a mandate from provinces. The provincial governments each have a provincial legislature. The last sphere is local government, which is divided into three categories, metropolitan, district and local. Metropolitan municipalities have exclusive executive and legislative authority; district and local council have no exclusive executive authority, they negotiate distribution of services. Ekurhuleni is a metropolitan municipality.

Some of challenges emanate from the structure of the council, which include poor communication from the municipal administration, non-functional ward committees and the centralisation of decision making powers to the executive committee (EXCO), which result in the lack of a meaningful mechanism for councillors to influence decision making (Paradza et al., 2010).

While there are general challenges for the councillors, there are those specifically faced by women that include negative cultural attitudes and beliefs regarding women's role in patriarchal society. Women's workloads at home as well as low educational levels are cited as some of the challenges facing women councillors (Paradza et al., 2010; Hicks, 2011). United Nations Public Administration and Development Programme (2008) and Kasya (2008) indicated a lack of

negotiation and lobbying skills, as well as general exposure and networking as factors that work against the performance of women.

Beall (2004) acknowledges that commitments of local government to gender equity are difficult to achieve. As a result, women in local government face greater obstacles compared with women at the national level, in terms of political engagements. Empowering of women remains a critical element for gender equality. It is essential to acknowledge that the transformational agenda will not be complete if we do not have the support and the attitude change of men.

Paradza et al. (2010) and Hicks (2011) indicate that councillors serve as a link between the communities and the municipality. In order for them to perform their role effectively, they have to ensure that there is public participation in council initiatives. Their capacity to do their work effectively depends on their experience, personal attributes and their ability to mobilise the community.

Hicks (2011) and Morna and Mbadlanyana (2011) acknowledge the existence of policy framework to address gender equality, which includes women's caucus in the council. This is viewed as an empowering forum for women councillors. In practice, however, these are not followed, and gender equality has remained a side issue.

Maharaj and Maharaj (2004) cited that the communities are still struggling to accept women in political activism and still believe that women's role is to take care of their families. Gardia (2008) takes this debate further by indicating various stereotypes; descriptive and prescriptive. Descriptive stereotypes are believed to lead to discrimination against women through their influence on performance evaluations of women, whereas prescriptive stereotype are believed to lead to discrimination, through their influence on affective reactions to women.

Maharaj and Maharaj (2004) argue that women deemed themselves as incapable of service in positions of chair and EXCO. This is because of low self-esteem and lack of self-confidence. Allen (2011) advises that there is a high dropout rate from councillors. Research done has proved that women are more likely to drop out after a single term, as compared to men. Women who do not stand for re-election

constitute 21 percent, while only 12.2 percent of men do not stand for re-election. About 8 percent more women than men, have cited work related pressures as the main consideration when deciding to stand down as councillors (Allen, 2011). There is also positive drop out, where women intend to run for higher offices. Women are sometimes viewed as their own worst enemies by their male counterparts, because they let fear stand in their way; fear of failure, fear of success, and fear of being on their own. Women can therefore be less prone to taking risks. Lack of confidence is normally the reason for these fears.

Women come across a number of barriers in traditionally male dominated spheres. When someone is challenged, too much is expected of that individual and as a result, women are measured using rigorous standards when compared to others. This often leads to women being expected to put in twice the effort to achieve the same as men. There is reluctance to measure women using the same standards with which we measure men, and hesitancy to treat them as equal partners. According to this result, there is subtle oppression, where males refuse to network with females and learn from them (Van Nostrand, 1993).

Women are socialised to be nice, and to be people pleasers. Because of the rigorous methods used to assess women, they seek the approval of others. It is normally harder for them to say no and they are too giving of their own time, which comes at the expense of their own needs and time. This tendency to try too hard to be a pleaser has resulted in women having too much to juggle. Adding politics into the mix has further magnified this tendency. They also have hard time delegating, often feeling that they are the best person to do the work (Van Nostrand, 1993).

Leaders sometimes condone male privilege, which is explained as a social system of views and behaviours that encourage both men and women to believe that men are entitled to special treatment simply because of their gender (Van Nostrand, 1993). Even men lacking in accomplishments or status, are entitled to those privileges.

2.1 Factors that discourage participation of women in politics

Factors that remain a challenge for women leaders could therefore be classified under the ideological, political, socio-cultural, economic as well as the influence of media.

2.1.1 Ideological factors

Ideology is referred to as a false value or belief by society, in which one social group exercises dominance over another (Coetzee 2001). Relations of dominance are therefore established among interest groups because of dominancy. Women are placed into the gender role ideology, which is normally an ideological tool used by patriarchs, who position women as mothers and wives in the private sphere and place men in a public sphere. Patriarchy is one of the strongest ideologies in cultures across the world (Coetzee, 2001).

Bari (2005) describes patriarchy as a system of men's domination of women, which is visible in their relationship in politics. Males and females are transformed into men and women who construct gender relations where men are dominant and privileged over women. The idea of a father having to play a protective role in the family was extended to other spheres of society including politics. Coetzee (2001), indicates that the original idea of a father heading the household was not based upon the premise that women are inferior, but it was based upon loving relationships where the men protect and guide the family. Even though the degree to which patriarchy can differ between men of different classes, races and ethnic groups, it is a social relation that remains a natural base for men. Interdependence and solidarity among these men enable domination of women.

2.1.2 Political factors

Traditionally there is male domination in political parties and structures, which hinders women's participation. This domination by males results in political parties having male domination on national importance issues (Bari, 2005). As a result, issues affecting women are being undermined and ignored. Most political

parties do not include women in their inner circle. Few political parties elect women to positions of power.

Within the political sphere, women's views and inputs are not always seen as seriously as those offered by men. When women enter politics, it is normally viewed as a side project to family duties, which is a true gender obstacle. Political party meetings overlap with the times at which women have to fulfil their domestic chores (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004).

Contesting elections even at the party level have direct and indirect expenses, which becomes a challenge for women. Most women lack experience in government, because the dropout rate for women is higher than that of their male counterparts. This makes most women in local government new entrants (Allen, 2011).

Political life is organised around a masculine approach, which is a barrier for women to be effective in political life. There is a lack of relevant infrastructure, such as childcare facilities, which make attending meetings that extend beyond their allotted time, difficult for women. Women feel that men are threatened by their presence in political space, and their skills and capabilities are not recognised because they are not given the same credibility and legitimacy as men (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004).

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) protects women against unfair discrimination based on race, gender or culture. This requires equal treatment for men and women. The inclusion of women in political platforms is therefore regulated by ensuring gender equality in all spheres of government including local government.

2.1.3 Socio-cultural factors

Cultural factors remain a serious barrier for women in leadership positions, because the relevance of gender issues and women's rights is still not yet widely understood, and is characterised by subordination of women. There is a hierarchical structure where males are valued above females. The gender status

quo is reflected in the degree of disparities in health, employment, education and politics (Bari, 2005).

These gender imbalances also lie in traditional attitudes and stereotypes on gender roles. Children are socialised according to these gender stereotypes, where girls are taught that they belong in the kitchen and boys have to focus on their studies. To gain gender equality in politics, there must be a more balanced and inclusive society with a better state of welfare and equality.

Women are left with little time to be effective in politics, due to their dual responsibility of being productive and reproductive. They have the primary role of being mothers and wives, which give them a lot of responsibility. There is also cultural challenge, where some of the men are struggling to accept authority from women. Women also exclude themselves from political participation because of the oppressive culture, which makes them think that politicking is for men (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004).

Some women drop out from school due to pregnancy, leaving them with less competence when compared with men (Semakafu, 2010). There is an expectation that women will get married and move to another community, where they will be pre-occupied with child bearing (United Nations Public and Development Program, 2008). Women experience challenges in playing the triple role, combining family management, work and social relations.

The lack of appropriate technological equipment, which should lighten women's work in the kitchen and laundry, increases the women's workload at home. Male family members resist sharing domestic chores with female members.

2.1.4 Economic factors

There is a lot of money needed in politics. Most women have limited financial resources to use for campaigning and lobbying for positions of power. There are also workplace challenges, where most women are concentrated in low paying jobs, where they are unlikely to develop the necessary skill to participate in the competition for leadership positions, even in situations where the law

institutionalises their representation and their participation (United Nations Public and Development Program, 2008).

The practices and process of election from within political parties lead to corrupt practices, where women are subjected to sex corruption to be appointed to positions within political parties. This leaves room for corruption and vulnerability for sexual violation. Sexual exploitation is a major problem from within parties and by other partners (Semakafu, 2010).

2.1.5 Media

The media is the most important channel that assists the councillors to communicate with the members of the community and other relevant stakeholders (Braden, 1996). There is a lot of negative reporting by the media, which remains a challenge for women councillors to be comfortable around the utilisation of media.

Women lack sufficient communication skills or the expertise of how the media operates. Understanding how the media operates is very important for the image of councillors. This means that they must know how to communicate their achievements and positive developments, so that they are able to balance negative coverage when it arises.

Women are also not able to speak about their accomplishments honestly and with pride in order for them to succeed further. They feel uncomfortable, like they are bragging and boasting about their achievements.

2.2 Gender mainstreaming

Women have always struggled to break the barriers of oppression. Their struggle to deal with this triple oppression, race, gender and class can be traced back to 1954 when the first South African Women's Charter was drawn. Its focus was to strive for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminated against women (PALAMA, 2008).

Gender mainstreaming becomes an effective strategy in ensuring development and empowerment of women; this should include gender equality where all gender-based oppression is addressed. Gender equality is the condition where men and women are treated in the same manner; conditions for realising their full potential are set and it is acknowledged that gender mainstreaming is therefore the key approach to eradicating gender inequality.

Gender mainstreaming was officially adopted as an international approach towards achieving equality in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. Gender mainstreaming is the integration of all gender equality perspectives in all processes, this includes economic; political and social (PALAMA, 2008). The goal is to create gender sensitive societal and organisational structures, which ensures that both men and women are actively participating. Practices should therefore not be gender biased or gender blind.

Gender is defined as a basic social system of organising society based on division between men and women (PALAMA, 2008). Gender is how we are socialised as communities. It is the socially determined identities and roles of men and women. Gender is therefore different from biological sex differences. It is a socially constructed system, focusing on qualities of masculinity and femininity, which are defined based on the culture and the background of society. Expectations from society determine the behaviour and psychological attributes associated with gender.

Strategies of gender mainstreaming are Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). WID target women as individuals, instead of social groups as catalysts for social change (Razavi & Miller, 1995). WID sought to increase the participation of women in and the benefits from the development process by focusing all their efforts on women. WID was characterised by challenges as its projects and programmes focused solely on women as a group with problems; this had more negative impact than benefits (PALAMA, 2008).

WAD theories emphasised the different positions of men and women in capitalist power relations and development (Razavi & Miller, 1995). WAD exposed the exploitation of women in terms of payment of wages and engagement of women in unpaid labour practices. WAD also had limitations in that it focused on the working class women, limiting the political field to the work related environment. Efforts to recognise legal protection for women was also overlooked. This led to the utilisation of GAD approach. GAD was a more politically inclusive strategy, which considered the power relations between men and women in developmental processes. Development was therefore seen as influenced by political, socio-economic and domestic forces (Serote et al., 2001).

2.2.1 International approach

Gender mainstreaming needs policies which are gender-responsive, this means responding to men and women issues in a gender sensitive way. International gender policy approaches begin with gender-blind policies, these policies reinforce existing gender relations and do not recognise distinctions between sexes, and they do not challenge existing gender relations. Gender-aware policies, recognise gender identities in shaping people's needs and providing direction to decision making processes, they transform gender relations by redistributing resources and benefits. Gender-neutral policies, focus on both sexes gender needs and the existing division of resources and responsibilities, they do not have a specific gender dimension. Gender-specific policies, focus on utilisation of knowledge of gender differences to respond to the needs of a specific gender, they target women and men. Gender redistribution policies are interventions aimed at creating more balanced gender relations through transformation of existing structures (Motsoahae, 2006).

There is also a rights-based approach, which argues that all human beings are entitled to universal human rights (PALAMA, 2008). These rights are stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which indicates that human rights apply to all people equally without distinction of colour, sex, language etc.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979, comprehensively addresses women's rights within political, cultural, economic, social and family spheres (PALAMA, 2008). The focus of CEDAW is to promote gender equality. State parties are committing to equalising the role and status of women in all areas of social and economic life. State parties also commit to incorporating women in decision-making about economic planning and access to basic services as well as state benefits.

Blanchfield (2006) describes discrimination as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made based on sex. This has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying recognition or enjoyment exercised by women irrespective of their marital status, based on equality of men and women, human rights and fundamental freedoms in political, economic, social, cultural, civil, or any other field.

Discrimination of any form against women therefore violates the principle of equal rights and human dignity. It remains an obstacle to the participation of women on equal terms as men, in terms of political, social and economic. The development of women's potential in servicing their countries is therefore hampered.

Participating countries committed themselves to rejecting all forms of discrimination. Included in their principles was incorporating the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, by adopting laws prohibiting discrimination against women. Effective protection of women was ensured by establishing tribunals and other public institutions.

The Convention advocates for women to have access to equal opportunities in political and public life. Appropriate measures have to be undertaken so that women can enjoy all human rights and freedom and this can be done through legislation and special measures. South Africa has committed to meeting the obligation of CEDAW. The number of women in national, provincial and local government is testimony to this.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPA), is a commitment to the goals of equality, development, and peace for women globally. Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs) are eight specific goals that form an international development agenda (PALAMA, 2008). These goals respond to the world's development challenges and have to be achieved by 2015. Understanding internationally legal requirements, which guarantee women's human rights, is very important for gender equality in the constitution.

2.2.2 National approach

Regionally the Gender Declaration was signed by 14 heads of states in 1997. It was adopted by South African Development Community (SADC) where South Africa is a member State. The aim was to achieve 30 percent women in political and decision making structures by 2005, which South Africa has reached.

The 2003 African Charter on Human and People's rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, as well the 2003 Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights for Women in Africa (PALAMA, 2008), focus on the introduction of legislation, policy and development plans that will combat all forms of discrimination against women. South Africa displayed commitment by incorporating gender focus programmes in all its structures.

Incorporation of the international instruments into national law is essential and needs special precaution. South Africa became actively involved as a member of the international community since 1994, after it became a democracy, with developments that set the pace for building a non-racial and non-sexist society. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996), which is the supreme law of the land, promotes the achievement of equality. It seeks to establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights. It is committed to achieve equality between men and women and provide for the prohibition of racial, gender and other forms of discrimination.

South Africa has a number of legislations, administrative measures and court jurisprudence to confirm the adequacy of the constitutional provision. Translation of these laws to positive commitments for women's advancement and

development is essential in guaranteeing constitutional commitment. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) established the Commission for Gender Equality, which respects the promotion and attainment of gender equality.

2.2.3 Local approach

There are a variety of gender instruments that are focusing on the local government. The White Paper on Local Government (RSA, 1998b) indicates that political leadership is required to represent diversity of interests. Local governments are encouraged to ensure that there is a broader representation of marginalised groups. Women, people with disabilities and the poor are encouraged to stand for elections in local government elections. It therefore ensures that the number of women standing for elections increases.

The Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (RSA, 1998a), advises political parties to ensure that the councillors elected for proportional representation are at least 50 percent women. African National Congress Women's League has adopted this as its policy position. It is therefore the role of the local government to ensure that women are represented adequately in their structures, which is a legislative requirement to promote gender equity.

The Local Government: Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000), focuses on developing local government's capacity to be able to deliver services to the communities. This can be done by developing human resources capacity (Nkwana, 2011). For any municipality to carry out its developmental roles effectively, councillors have to be developed, so that they acquire skills that will allow them to carry out their functions effectively.

In developing the capacity of councillors, it is essential to consider programmes that can achieve women empowerment and gender equality. The Local Government Gender Policy Framework becomes a relevant instrument to integrate equity and gender equality also ensuring the empowerment of women (Nkwana, 2011) in local government to ensure effective service delivery.

Empowerment of women will ensure that as gender equality is advocated, women who lead the local government are knowledgeable and competent and have the proper skills in ensuring that they are able to carry out their leadership roles effectively.

The role of women in local government can therefore not be confined to gendered roles, as they must possess the correct competencies to ensure that the municipalities are able to achieve the objective of a developmental local government. Gender equality cannot focus on balancing the numbers in the council, through empowerment women are seen as leaders who possess relevant skills and are able to contribute positively to the developmental role of municipality. Mainstreaming gender in human resource development is essential.

2.3 Leadership

Kotter (2001) describes leadership as the ability to cope with change. While Smit, Cronje, Brevis and Vrba (2011) define leadership as influencing and directing the behaviour of individuals and groups in such a way that they work willingly to pursue the objectives and goals of the organisation. Leadership is about leading to constructive improvement, which requires developing a vision of a distant future; this will require developing strategies needed for producing the changes and achieving that vision. Leadership is aligned with people and achieving a vision requires motivation and inspiration.

There is a difference in the leadership styles between the genders. Punnett (2012) indicated that masculinity and femininity is taken to the level of the society. The masculine society values competition and achievement. On the other hand, there are feminist societies, which are concerned with nurturance and quality of life. Women are more associated with a feminist approach to leadership. Women leaders have an empowering and co-operative style, they. prefer a more participative style of leadership. They are more interactive and inclusive of other stakeholders. Men have a more masculine approach to leading; they are commanding and controlling.

Masculine leadership has being associated with the telling style, which is an autocratic style, which are qualities associated with men. Women are soft, dependent and less aggressive. This dependency and the lack of self-confidence limit the capacity of women to lead. The patriarchal structure of society has always presented a challenge for women to be accepted as effective leaders. Women succumb to social pressure, because of their feminist nature. This impacts on how women behave in the organisation (Allen, 2011; Fenn, 1997).

2.3.1 Transformational leadership

Transformation of local government is addressed in the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) to ensure effective service delivery, which will ensure equality, equity and a better life for all. Women view themselves as agents of transformation and development. Women have indicated that they need to create a more gender friendly local governments and as a result, they can no longer be viewed as victims of circumstance, but rather as agents of change.

Society is now becoming aware of the influence that the women are having on transformational political processes. The different approaches that women have to governance are described as a transformative leadership, this is a framework where power is used to create change and develop people and communities (Drag, 2001, cited in Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004). This is the leadership, which prioritises the disadvantaged sectors; it is also non-hierarchical and participatory.

Involvement of women in local government, will contribute positively to accelerate the pace of development and change. This will in turn promote a collaborative style of leadership and decision-making (Maharaj & Maharaj, 2004). Women's rights are therefore vital in ensuring the redress of the past injustice in the new democratic South Africa. The degree of women representation in local government structures and decision-making structures has an influence in the gendered implication of local government restructuring and transformation. The collaboration between male and female councillors is therefore essential in determining gender sensitivity.

Transformational leadership is consistent with the gender role of females and allows women to excel as leaders. Any development that is targeting women should therefore be gender sensitive. Women leadership behaviour is interactive, even though they are assertive, aggressive and show initiative. Interactive leadership is an inclusive type of leadership, which is more participatory in nature, and based on consensus. Fenn (1997) states that since women are individuals, who are supportive and caring; they are expected to reflect that in their leadership style. However, Allen (2011) holds a different view, citing that women fear being on their own, as the reason for participatory approach to leadership.

Hitt (1990) describes transformational leaders as good communicators who are sensitive to their followers. They possess a strong sense of direction, and they communicate it in inspiring ways. Transformational leaders make an effort to satisfy their followers, and enhance follower performance. Transformational leaders transform something old to create something new, by changing political and cultural systems. This is done by changing the individuals' emotions and value system.

All leaders approach leadership in different ways and as a result have their own leadership styles, which will influence transformation in different ways (Naidu & Van Der Walt, 2005). The country needs transformation and this transformation can only happen with good and strong leadership. Leaders are therefore regarded as initiators, implementers as well as evaluators (Naidu & Van Der Walt, 2005). Leaders need to take the lead in implementing transformation so that the followers can follow suit.

Transformational leadership becomes relevant to the South African situation, where there is a focus of empowering, developing and building capacity of women in the political, social and economic environment.

2.3.2 Transactional leadership style

Transactional leaders are traditional leaders who reward their followers for completion of a task and compliance (Naidu & Van Der Walt, 2005). According to

Smit et al. (2011), traditional leaders do what managers are doing, they are leaders characterised by directing and controlling in a stable environment, and their authority is highly centralised. Their roles are clarified to subordinates, structures are initiated and there is an appropriate reward system. Transactional leaders, create connection with their followers through motivation.

Hitt (1990) uses performance appraisals and compensation in explaining transactional leadership. He indicates that performance objectives should be documented in a written performance appraisal document. The result of these evaluations should therefore determine their annual pay increase. In this case there is a clearly stated transaction between the leader and the follower. However, this transactional relationship will not be an effective type of leadership. It will lead to poor performance because this is a task-oriented type of leadership and does not strike a balance with human needs.

Punnett (2012) acknowledges the different leadership styles based on gender, where masculinity and femininity will be reflected. Women leaders prefer shared leadership, where followers and subordinates have freedom to participate in the decision-making process. As reflected in Figure 1 Tannenbaum and Schmidt's (1973) behavioural continuum, this type of leadership is subordinates centred.

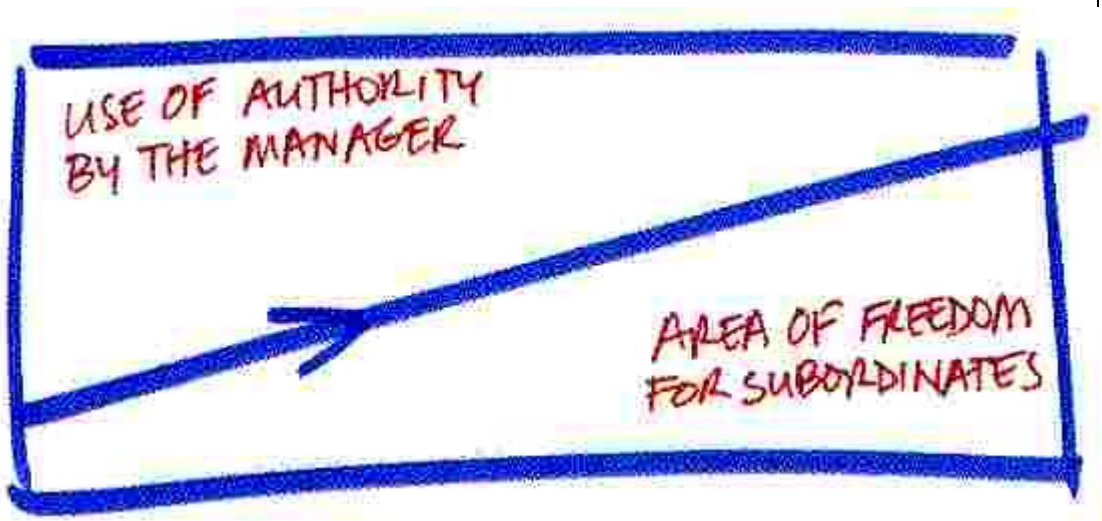
single leader <----------> shared leadership						
						
1 Leader makes decision and announces it.	2 Leader decides and 'sells' benefits of decision.	3 Leader decides but presents thinking, inviting exploration.	4 Leader presents tentative decision, prepared to change.	5 Leader presents problem, gets suggestions, makes decision.	6 Leader defines problem, asks group to make the decision.	7 Leader allows group to define problem and make decision.
Boss-Centred Leadership <----------> Subordinate-Centred Leadership						

Figure 1: Tannenbaum and Schmidt behavioural continuum

(Tannenbaum & Schmidt, 1973)

2.5 Conclusion

The literature review has argued that women are still experiencing a variety of challenges, despite all the efforts made to address these. The literature reviewed focused on the challenges faced by female councillors; these challenges make it difficult for women councillors to be effective in executing their responsibilities.

The literature is relevant to this research study because it focused on factors that discourage participation of women in politics. These factors emanates from ideological, political, socio-cultural as well as economic factors.

Gender mainstreaming, which are policies, legislations and regulations used in an attempt to address inequality, was also discussed. Most of these policies have international posture, however the commitment of the government is explored through interaction with their national and local policies.

In the literature review the concept of leadership, which is essential in exploring how women as councillors' interact with their constituencies was examined. This included the motivation that they are able to instil in their constituencies by exploring the motivational theories. A gender sensitive leadership approach was discussed by distinguishing between transformational and transactional leadership.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study focused on challenges facing women councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. This chapter addresses research methodology, research design and the type of research used in this study. The chapter explains the sources used to collect data, which focused on both primary and secondary sources. The data collection and analysis is discussed and finally the validity and reliability is described.

Two main approaches are used in social research, qualitative and quantitative social research. The qualitative research method, focusing on interpretive social science was used in this study. Interpretive social science is concerned with how people interact and get along with each other (Neuman, 2011). The feminist social research approach, which assumes that men and women differ in their perceptions of life due to their social status, was a further focus. This approach aims at making the community aware of the factors that contribute to the present conditions of women, empower them and give them a voice to speak about social life from their perspective (Neuman, 2011; Sarantakos, 2005).

Feminism is not solely about women, but is for women taking an emancipation stance (Neuman, 2011; Sarantakos, 2005). The research utilised in-depth interviews, which is optimal for data collection on individuals' personal views, perspectives and experiences. Qualitative research encourages those who are being studied to speak for themselves, to provide their own perspective. It is therefore an interactive process between the researcher and those who are being studied, where each party is learning from the other.

3.1 Research design

Qualitative researchers are concerned with the feeling of raw data, because their inductive approach focuses on developing insight and generalisations from collected data (Neuman, 2011). They rely on interpretive or critical social science. A nonlinear research path, where a cyclical and spiral moving indirectly upwards was used. There is always a relationship established between the interviewer and interviewees, and care should be taken to maintain their integrity and emphasise trustworthiness. Information should always be clarified (Neuman, 2011).

Open-ended questions were used to interview participants, by means of in-depth face-to-face interview. The aim was to gain insight into the experiences of participants. Data was collected from six participants.

Factors that discourage participation of women in politics have been extensively discussed in the literature review. These were summarised into ideological, political, socio-cultural, economic factors as well as the contribution made by media. Gender mainstreaming also explored, where certain international, regional and local laws had been explored. These are laws used in an attempt to promote gender equity and equality. Instruments explored included Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPA), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (PALAMA, 2008), Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996), Municipal Structural Act (RSA, 1998a) and Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2001).

3.2 Data collection

The in-depth face-to-face interviews were used in an attempt to get the views and experiences of participants. This represented the primary data obtained for the research. Participants were all female councillors across the political spectrum. Political parties, which participated in the interview process were African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) and Congress of the people (COPE).

Secondary data was utilised, where EMM documents and reports were used. Other sources used include journal articles, books, policies and legislation.

In collecting data, the permission of participants was sought by sending a consent letter requesting permission from participants. The questions designed were used to interview the participants. Blanche and Durrheim (2002) indicate that various methods of collecting data can be used; these include personal interviews, telephone interviews, mail questionnaire and diaries; however, for the purpose of this study the in-depth face-to-face personal interview was chosen.

Interviews allow the behaviour of the participants to be observed, which confirms interviewees' statements of intent. Through observation further questions, based on the actions observed during interviews were developed. Hence, a semi-structured interviewing technique was used. Bamberger, Rugh and Mabry (2012) describes semi-structured interviewing as the process where various questions are asked in order to obtain maximum information from each interviewee.

This data collection method is used extensively and frequently in media research. Viewers are always requested to give their opinions on issues affecting the society, to get the understanding of the feelings of the society. According to Neuman (2011), collecting data, requires attentiveness to what is being said and the manner in which it is said which will indicate what it is implied. Specific attention needs to be paid to phrases, accents and grammar.

The participants were interviewed in their work place. This means they were interviewed in their natural environment. Willig (2008) indicates that naturalistic inquiry is the natural site where context and conditions can be documented and analysed, data collection is unobstructed and there is interaction with ordinary events. Narrations of events convey and articulate a complexity that cannot easily be explained by using numbers, as a result it can be more effective in promoting utilisation of findings.

Willig (2008) further indicates that the aim of collection of data is to create a comprehensive record of participants' words and actions. This ensures that there is only little translation and interpretation.

3.2.1 Primary data

Female councillors were interviewed and asked open-ended questions about their experiences. The participants were selected using non-probability sampling. Sampling is described as a process that is used to select cases for inclusion in a research study (Blanche & Durrheim, 2002). In order for any research to be conducted individuals, groups, organisations or archival documents must be sampled. The outcome of the research will always depend on how sampling was done and who was sampled, therefore it should be done properly and in a systematic way, in order to ensure that the results can be estimated and evaluated. This was the reason the selection of female councillors, who are currently incumbents in office.

The focus was on the purposive sampling method. Neuman (2011) describes purposive sampling as a non-random sample in which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of a highly specific population. Blanche and Durrheim (2002) indicate that participants should be chosen based on the principle of convenience and accessibility. In the non-probability sampling, there is the opportunity of choosing who should be sampled, which could lead to unconscious bias when impartiality is sought. Bamberger et al. (2012) aim to identify persons with knowledge and experience that is relevant and sufficient for evaluation purposes. Therefore, only female councillors, both executive and ordinary councillors were sampled.

The data collected from the councillors focused on their conditions working as councillors and the relation that they have with the executive of the council and communities. It also focuses on the support they receive from the council, if it is relevant and of assistance to them to effectively perform their tasks.

Six participants were selected, including a member of the mayoral committee, chairpersons of portfolios, whip and ordinary councillor. The candidates interviewed were identified by EMM. Identified women consented to participate in the interview and they were all co-operative. Participants were from different levels of leadership, which assisted in the understanding of the challenges at

different levels. The level of leadership however has little impact on the result of the interview, as all councillors are leaders in their own right. They were all elected to represent their constituencies.

Table 1: Political parties

Political Organisation	Number
ANC	4
DA	1
COPE	1
Total	6

Table 2: Types of councillors

Type	Number
Proportional Representatives	2
Ward councillors	4
Independent Councillors	0
Civic Organisations	0
Total	*6*

Semi-structured interviews, where participants were asked a list of interview questions, were contained in the interview guide. Participants were all asked the same questions to ensure consistency in data collection. Follow up questions were used, to find further clarity on certain questions. Participants were encouraged to communicate their views and experiences in a very relaxed environment. The relationship was characterised by respect and trust. The interviews were conducted in the comfort of their own offices.

3.2.2 Secondary data

In addition to primary data other materials were utilised. This included EMM reports, journals, books, government's gazettes, white papers, and the work done

by other academics. This literature assisted in understanding the opinions and finding on the previous work done on the topic. Scrutinised policies and legislations include Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPA), Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (PALAMA, 2008), Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996), Municipal Structural Act (RSA, 1998a) and Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2001).

3.3 Data analysis

The data collected support theories used in the analytical interpretation of data. There was mutual interdependence between ideas and evidence. Data from the interviews was analysed, for order and understanding. This is the stage where the raw data was converted into meaningful information. The information was categorised according to different topics, events and time-frames. Patterns between categories were identified. Findings were outlined, using themes and connections.

Data analysis is developed inductively in qualitative research, and is driven by content as opposed to process. Inductive analysis is a dialogic process to understand details and the big picture to which they contribute (Bamberger, et al., 2012). From data collected, patterns were identified where understanding was developed and interpretation constructed. In data analysis, explanations rich in detail and sensitive to the participants in terms of the context are provided. This should include the provision of extensive supportive evidence in the form of researcher observation (Neuman, 2011).

Theories were used in the analytical interpretation of data, stating that there must be mutual interdependence between ideas and evidence. Data from the interviews was analysed, so that there is order and understanding. This is the stage where the raw data is converted into meaningful information. The information was categorised according to different topics, events and time-

frames. Patterns between categories were identified. Findings were outlined, using themes and connections.

3.4 Validity

The research was valid, because it measured what it intended to measure (Golafshani, 2003). The research investigated challenges faced by female councillors; and these challenges were identified through the interviews conducted. The participants were provided with the notes drafted, to verify the information captured, ensuring that it correctly represents the views of participants.

Wiilig (2008) defines validity as the extent to which the research describes, measures or explains what it aims to describe, measure or explain. According to Willig (2008), validity should start at the level of data collection, where there is little consideration for translation because there is a comprehensive record of participants' words and their actions. This will ensure that collection and analysis addresses the question being researched.

Bamberger et al. (2012), and Willig (2008), concur that the quality of research and evaluation rests on validity. Findings can be well supported, adequate, make the correct inferences and interpretation based on systematic inquiry, but validity cannot be guaranteed. Qualitative researchers use various means to engage with validity, first, participants should be free to challenge and correct researchers assumptions and give feedback. Second, data collection has to happen in the real life setting, normally at participants' workplace. Finally, there is a need for flexibility, and continuous scrutiny of the process.

Skott and Ward (2013) differentiate between three forms of validity. First is *face validity*, which is not a technical measure, and it is not measured by trained professionals. It is the simplest form of validity and ensures that the research measures what it is supposed to measure at the face value. Second is *content validity*, which needs experts to make a comprehensive measurement that relates to the amount of content covered. Lastly, *construct validity* which is a theoretical

construct which assesses how valid a selected measure is at measuring what it intends to measure.

3.5 Reliability

The research is reliable, the findings of the research are consistent with the work done previously by other academics. Reliability is when the results are consistent over time, and an accurate representation of the population under study is reliable if results of a study can be reproduced under the same methodology (Galafshani, 2003; Willig, 2008).

The results of the study will be shared with colleagues in the same field, to check reliability. Willig (2008) indicates that qualitative research should be rigorously and appropriately applied, in order for it to produce qualitative results. This is because qualitative research normally explores a unique experience in great detail.

3.6 Limitations

Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality was only formed in 2000; it has been difficult to get the facts of what transpired from 1994 to 2000 (EMM, 2010). The research has also utilised a small sample due to the limited timeframe.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The purpose of this research was to investigate the challenges faced by female councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality. Interviews with women councillors from different political parties were conducted. Political parties that participated in the research included DA, ANC and COPE.

The interviews focused on respondents experiences as women councillors, challenges that they face, support systems available, the effectiveness of the support systems in addressing their challenges and their experiences in dealing with media. The interaction with the women interviewed provided the opportunity to analyse and interpret data, and assess the existence of challenges women councillors face. This chapter therefore focuses on the presentation and analysis of the research findings.

4.1 EMM Council

The total number of councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality is 202. Of those councillors 120 are male and 82 are female. This makes the total number of female councillors to be 41 percent while males still dominate at 59 percent. The ANC is a leading political party with a representation of 62 percent. It is followed by the DA, which is the official opposition, with a representation of 31 percent. There are minority parties with representation of between one percent and 0.5 percent. Last, we have a representation of non-politically aligned rates payers associations.

Table 3 shows the distribution of political parties in terms of their representation.

Table 3: Party representation

(EMM, 2013)

Party	Percentage/Number
ANC	62% (125)
DA	31% (62)
NFP	1% (3)
IFP	1% (2)
COPE	1% (2)
UDM	0.5% (1)
PAC	1% (2)
APC	0.5% (1)
ACDP	0.5% (1)
IRASA	0.5% (1)
DPRA	0.5% (1)
FF+	0.5% (1)

Party representation in terms of gender is as indicated in Table 4. All parties have less than 50 percent gender representation in the council. Minority parties deploy men, even when they have a representation, which is more than one.

Table 4: Political party representation in terms of gender

(EMM, 2013)

Party	Male	Female	Total
African National Congress (ANC)	68	57	125
Democratic Alliance (DA)	39	23	62
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	2	0	2
Independent Ratepayers Association of South Africa IRASA	1	0	1
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	1	0	1
Pan African Congress (PAC)	2	0	2
African People's Convention (APC)	1	0	1
Donvale Ratepayers Association Inc (DRPA)	1	0	1
Congress of the People (COPE)	1	1	2
National Freedom Party (NFP)	3	0	3
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	1	0	1
Front FF+ (FF+)	1	0	1
TOTAL	*121*	*81*	*202*

The bar chart in Figure 2 depicts male and female representation of councillors in the EMM Council.

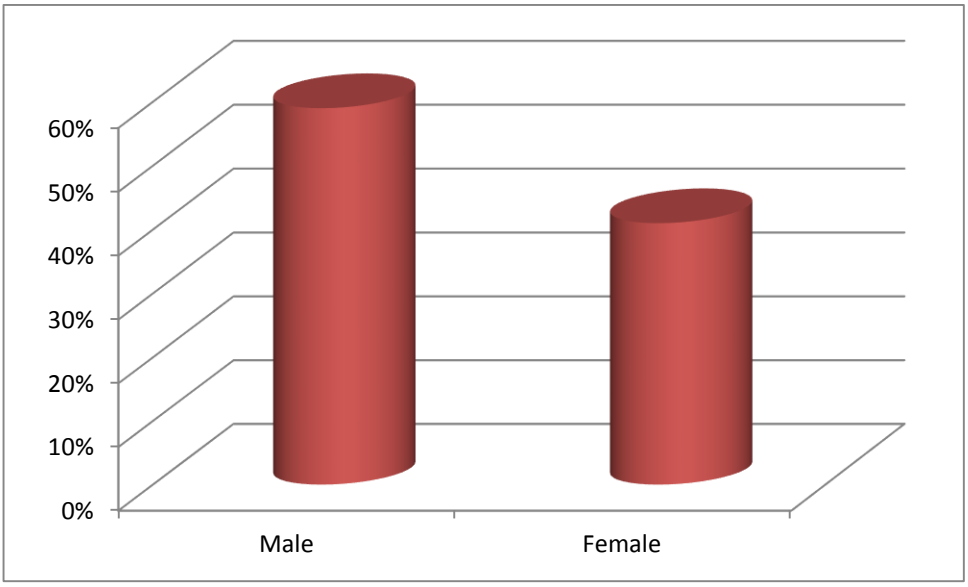


Figure 2: Summary of representation in terms of gender

(EMM, 2013)

In terms of race, there are 154 black councillors which is 76 percent, whites number 41 which is 20 percent, Indians have five councillors which is 2 percent, lastly coloureds have only two which is just 1 percent. The racial composition of council is depicted in the pie chart in Figure 3.

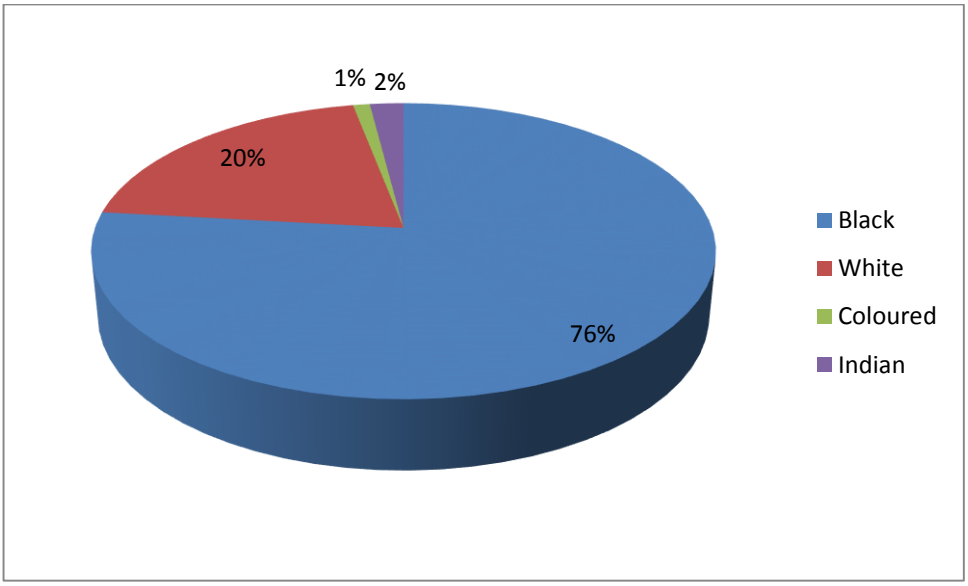


Figure 3: Racial composition

(EMM, 2013)

The retention rate is at 45 percent, where only 91 of the existing councillors were in office in the previous term. New councillors number 111, which represent 55 percent. Full details of all parties retention rate can be seen in Table 5 and Figure 4.

Table 5: Retention rate

(EMM, 2013)

Political party	New	Old	Total
African National Congress (ANC)	67	58	125
Democratic Alliance (DA)	35	27	62
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	1	1	2
Independent Ratepayers Association of South Africa IRASA	0	1	1
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	1	0	1
Pan African Congress (PAC)	1	1	2
African People's Convention (APC)	0	1	1
Donvale Ratepayers Association Inc (DRPA)	0	1	1
Congress of the People (COPE)	2	0	2
National Freedom Party (NFP)	3	0	3
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	1	0	1
Front FF+ (FF+)	0	1	1
TOTAL	*111*	*91*	*202*

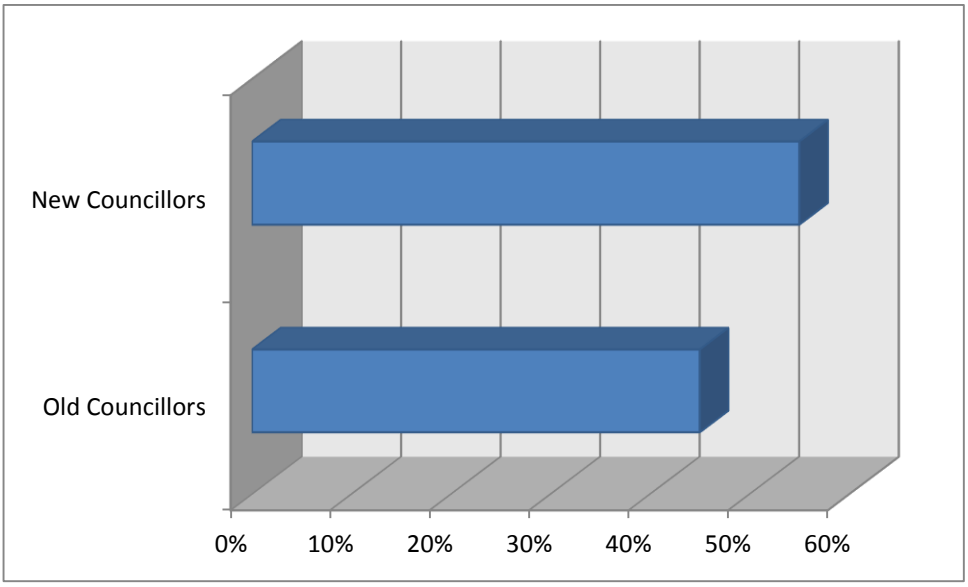


Figure 4: Summary of old and new councillors

(EMM, 2013)

4.1.1 Structure of the council

There are 10 MMCs in Ekurhuleni five of them are female, including the MMC for health and social development, MMC for human settlement, MMC for environmental management, MMC for corporate and shared services and MMC for sports, heritage, recreation, arts and culture. The other five MMC's are male and include the MMC for finance, MMC for city planning and economic development, MMC for water and energy, MMC for community safety and MMC for roads and transport.

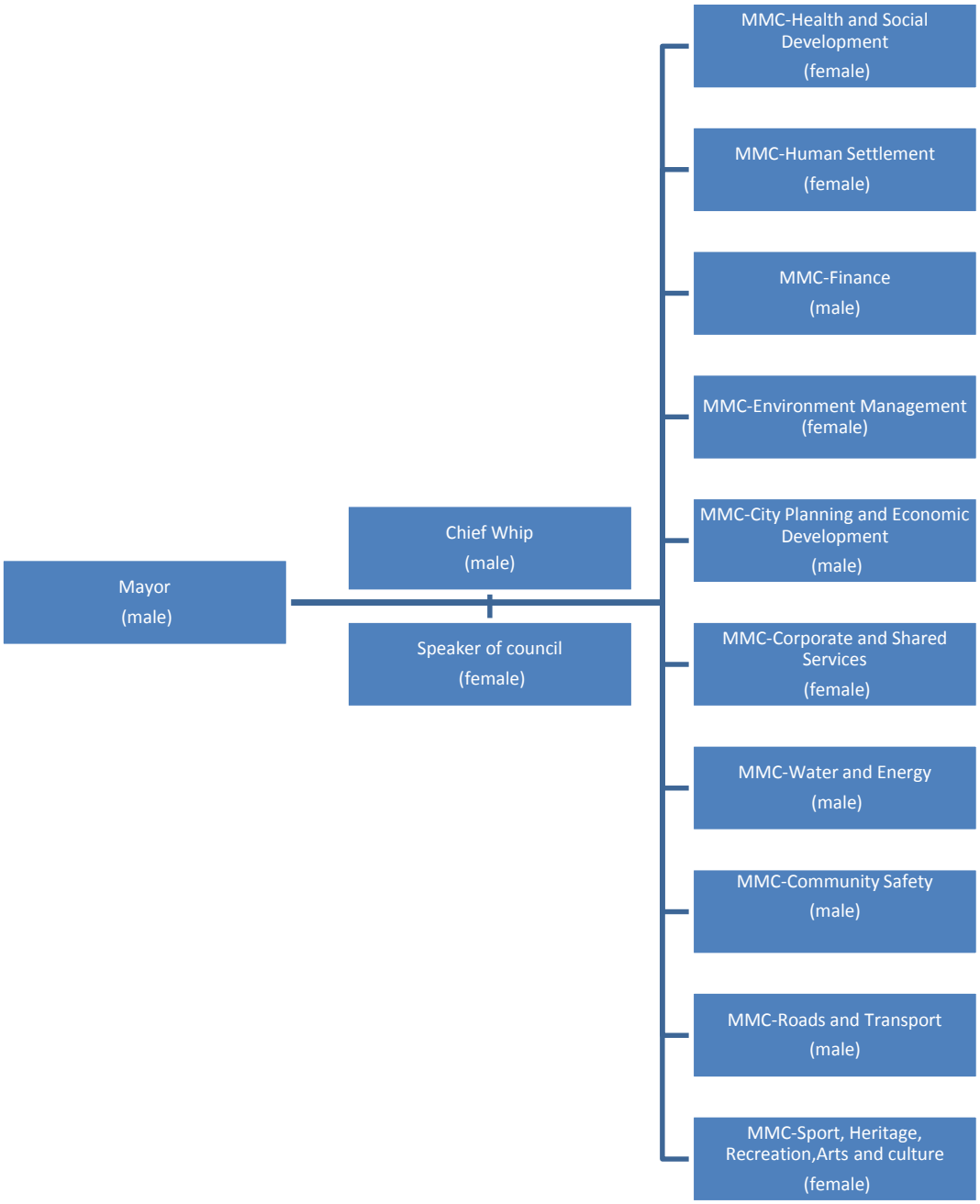


Figure 5: Members of the Mayoral Committee (MMC's) portfolios

(EMM, 2013)

Table 6: Multi whippery committee

(EMM, 2013)

Political Party	Male	Female	Total
ANC	3	3	6
DA	1	1	2
NFP	1	0	1
COPE	0	1	1
PAC	1	0	1
ACDP	1	0	1
APC	1	0	1
DRPA	1	0	1
FF+	1	0	1
IFP	1	0	1
IRASA	1	0	1
UDM	1	0	1
TOTAL	*14*	*5*	*19*

Table 7: Chairperson's committee

(EMM, 2013)

Committee	Male	Female
S79 Oversight Committee	4	6
S79 Standing Committee	1	6
TOTAL	5	12

4.2 Profile of participants

Six female councillors were interviewed, one has only been in office since 2011, which means she is a new councillor, while the other five councillors are retained councillors who have been in council for more than one office term.

4.2.1 Levels of leadership

From the women interviewed, only one is a member of the mayoral committee. Three of the councillors interviewed are portfolio chairpersons, one of the members is whip and the last participant is an ordinary councillor, as seen in Table 8.

Table 8: Leadership level

Leadership level	Number
Member of Mayoral Committee	1
Committee Chairperson	3
Whip	1
Ordinary Councillor	1
TOTAL	*6*

Members interviewed belong to different political parties. Three members belong to African National Congress, one member to the Democratic Alliance and one member to the Congress of the People (see Figure 7).

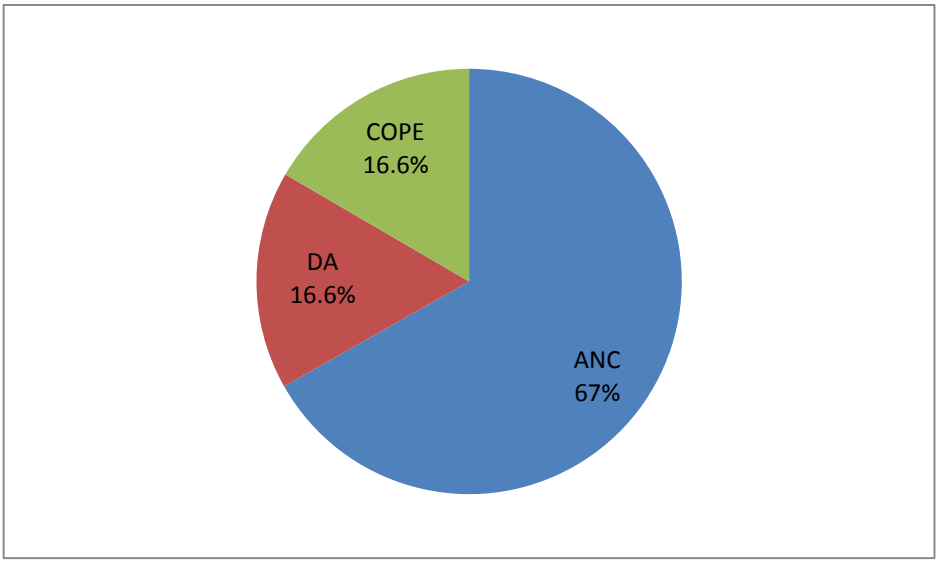


Figure 6: Participants per political party

There was a spread of age groups, which included the young inexperienced councillors, middle aged as well as experienced councillors as per Table 9..

Table 9: Age group of participants

Age	Number	Percentage
20-25	0	0%
26-35	1	16.6%
36-45	1	16.6%
46-55	2	33.3%
56-65	2	33.3%
Total	6	100%

The researcher interviewed both ward councillors and proportional representative councillors. The only categories not interviewed were independent councillors and civic organisations (see Figure 8).

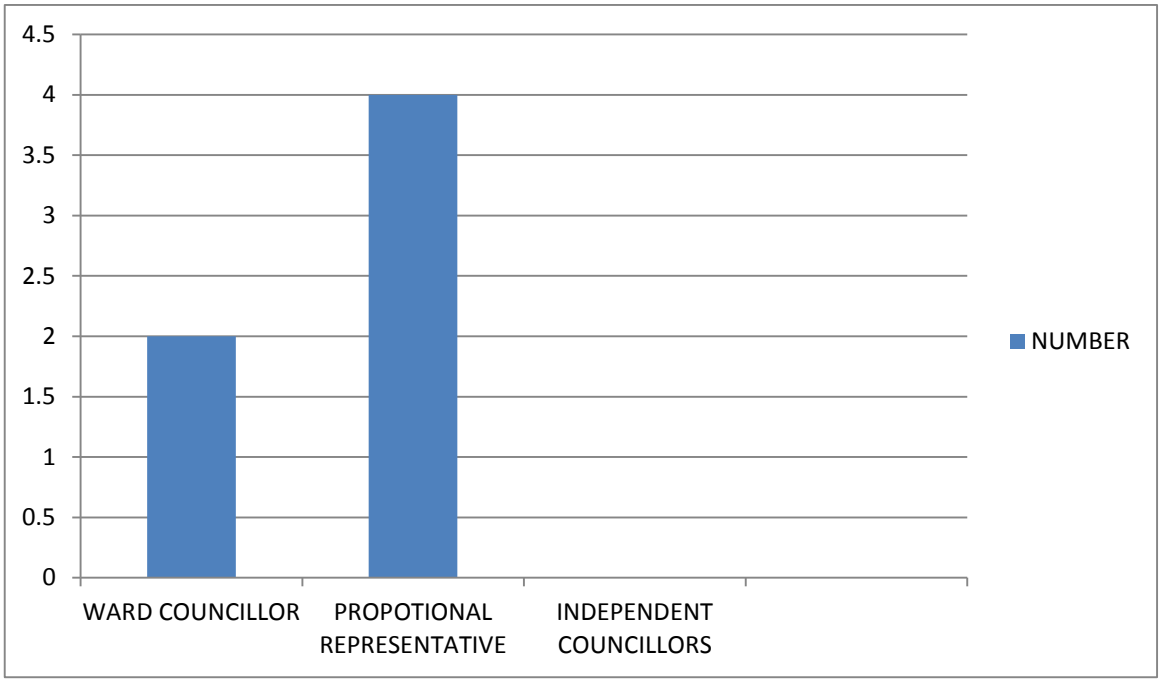


Figure 7: Number of councillors

4.3 Research findings

In presenting and analysing the research findings the focus is on answering the following research questions:

[1] - What are the challenges facing women councillors?
[2] - What support structure is available in addressing these challenges?
[3] - Is the support structure effective in dealing with these challenges?

In an attempt to respond to the first research question, the views and opinions of the participants were grouped into the following headings, ideological, political, socio-cultural economic and media. The next section will be the response to the second research question, which focuses on the availability of the support structure for female councillors. Finally, an attempt to respond to the last question sought to check the relevance of the support given to councillors.

4.3.1 Ideological factors

In an attempt to respond to the first question, participants raised the issues of patriarchy as a major challenge. Participants believe that society is still divided along gender roles, where women are seen as mothers and wives whose number one role is to take care of their families. Political participation is still considered a space for men. Participants B, C, D, E and F had a strong opinion about the domination of men in the council, with the exception of participant A (Interview 11.04.2013) who feels that gender is not an issue to her, as she feels that she is very capacitated and understands how to work in a male-dominated environment. She indicated that she attended many developmental courses, including a course on gender mainstreaming that assisted her to understand and better handle gender issues.

Participant B (Interview 12.04.2013) is of the opinion that men believe that women do not have the capacity to lead. Some of their criticism is not related to women's capability to deliver on their mandate, it is personal, "you are pregnant but you are not married". Participant C (interview 10.04.2013) shared the same view that women councillors are not taken seriously. She believed that there is a view that women cannot take pressure and as a result are being deployed to positions that have lighter responsibilities. Women do not support those being deployed, but will ask questions, "what did you do to be deployed to that position?". Fenn (1997) highlighted that women are competitive; hence, they struggle to support each other. They are therefore unable to form support structures. It is also difficult for them to join men's networks, where informally most of the political decisions are taken. This is consistent with the research conducted by Maharaj and Maharaj (2004) on Durban councillors, who contend that they receive more support from the male councillors than from female councillors. The PHD (pull her down) syndrome is cited as being very visible among female councillors. They mention jealousy, which is not only confined to their colleagues, but also extends to women in the community who do not support other women.

Maharaj and Maharaj (2004) explain the advantage that men have over the women. Men have informal meetings on sports fields and in pubs. This is where

work disputes are being resolved and business deals being clinched. Women councillors lack the opportunity to engage in these types of forums due to other responsibilities, which include taking care of the family. Political party divisions and tensions within the party are cited as reasons for women not being able to network with men and women.

Males still resist in sharing domestic responsibilities with women, which is an added impediment of women having to compete with males. A male councillor, interviewed in Maharaj and Maharaj's (2004) study, indicates that if a woman is a housewife, then she cannot be a councillor, because a councillor cannot be a part-time job. This means that women have to choose between being a councillor or a housewife, she cannot do the two concurrently. This could be interpreted as men being sceptical about women's abilities to balance their multiple roles.

Participant B indicates that communities are not ready to accept women leaders; her personal experience is that when she answers the phone she will be asked to give the phone to her husband who they assume to be the councillor. Participant F (interview 23.04.2013) shares a similar view, when a woman councillor takes over a portfolio that has been led by a man, the community began to protest on a long existing problem. Communities are violent in addressing service delivery issues with women, which lead to damage of their personal property.

However, Participant A emphasised that she has never experienced any challenges with the communities; councillors who do experience problems are the ones who lie to the communities about their capacity to deliver on the community's needs. She also highlighted the fact that political parties' manifestos are over ambitious, and result in conflict between councillors and the communities that they serve.

Participant D (interview 18.04.2013) together with Participant C, while acknowledging the existence of patriarchy, state that it is difficult for some women to learn, because they do not want to accept positive criticism or listen to the advice of others who are more experienced. Therefore, some women are their

own worst enemy, as they do not give themselves an opportunity to grow.. Their attitudes remain a barrier for them to develop and progress.

Participant F notes that some meetings go on very late. The safety of women is not taken into consideration, because after those long meetings women councillors are expected to drive home alone.

4.3.2 Political factors

Participants B, C, D and E, agree that women are excluded from the party's inner circles. Participant C indicated that women should consider themselves their own worst enemies, because they are electing men into positions of power. According to Participant B, women are too hostile towards other women and receive better support from men.

Participant E (interview 24.04.2013), indicated that once women are excluded from the inner circle, it impacts on the allocation of budget. In her experience budget is not done based on IDP processes. Budgets are made based on relationships with political principals. Budget is also a matter of rewarding cronies for supporting them. Wards led by men are assisted in ensuring that delivery is done, while wards led by women do not receive sufficient budget hence, most service delivery protests are in wards led by women. This is because most women are not part of the inner circle within their political parties.

Paradza et al. (2010) agree with the notion that the decision-making process in council is centralised, which is the sentiment of Participant E, budget is provided based on your relationship with the members in EXCO. Participant C however has a different view, citing separation of power as neutralising the powers of EXCO. She indicated that MMC's have to account to committees; they cannot have absolute power over allocation of resources.

4.3.3 Socio-cultural factors

Participant A, B, D and F indicated that there is a lot of work for a women councillor who still has to look after family. Raising a child is not easy without a proper support structure. There are no childcare facilities, which enable the women to take the child with her to the council. You have to juggle between council work, political work, personal work and reporting to constituencies.

Historically, women were not provided with the same opportunities as men. Women were raised to be good wives for their husbands and as a result education was not a priority, which resulted in women having lower levels of education. Participant E stated that when women councillors attend courses where they have to be assessed, they are not committed and as a result they drop out. Educational background has a direct effect on this and lower levels of education contribute to women's fear of failure. They prefer to attend workshops, not accredited courses where they have to write individual assignments and examinations.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA, 1996) affords the right to education, without discrimination on the basis of gender. Improving educational levels becomes essential, as it will reduce the level of illiteracy. Lack of proper education reduces the chances of women to make positive contributions that will result in the development of other women.

All participants acknowledged that some women do not understand the finer details of council. This is because of the communication barrier. They do not understand the language commonly used in council, which is English. When they attempt to participate, both men and women mock them; this could result in self-esteem problems in the affected councillors.

Nkwana (2011) highlights the importance of communication skills for councillors. Councillors remain the main link between council and communities. Communication is a competence, which all councillors require, as they relay the communities' concerns to the council and provide feedback to communities on developments. Communication skills are vital for developing leadership skills.

Councillors have to be taught to communicate at different levels, and how to utilise correct and relevant communication tools.

Smit et al. (2011) takes the debate further by indicating that communication is an integral part of leadership. He describes communication as a process of transmitting information and meaning. Listening becomes an essential component of communication. Therefore, communication takes place between the sender and the receiver. Language difference can be a barrier to the credibility of the information communicated. In order for communication to be effective, messages have to be communicated in a proper manner. The words used in the communication process must have the same meaning to both the sender and the receiver.

Councillors are elected to represent people at electoral ward or political party level, which mean they are acting on behalf of someone. Representation means that if elected to position as representative of the electorate, you have to understand the dynamics. As a leader representing people, accountability and transparency are essential. This means that councillors have to remain a reliable link between council and constituency.

4.3.4 Economic factors

Respondents C, D, E, and F indicated that campaigning for leadership positions in political space is dominated by the use of money, money that women do not have because they are deployed into positions that are not paid well. All participants agree that allocation of positions is not based on merit; men occupy most senior positions. Those women who are deployed to senior positions are not deployed based on capacity. Hence, participant D is worried about them not being willing to be advised by those who are better skilled, so that they are able to grow and learn how the work is done. Participant B stated that many women in senior positions are not able to maintain a professional relationship between themselves and officials. They are normally competing for space.

Participant A has a view that officials have different opinions of their roles to those held by councillors. She indicated that officials are better educated and informed than councillors and it is easy for them to provide councillors with wrong information, especially in instances where councillors lack understanding.

However, Participant C indicates that this is a two-way situation, as some councillors are undermining officials, and are not treating them with dignity and respect. Participant B holds a different view, indicating that officials are not accessible to ordinary councillors and they remain the support structure of EXCO. As councillors, they are made to address community meetings without any briefing from the officials. They have to do their own research, and this becomes a challenge for women councillors, because of their time constraints due to their domestic responsibilities.

The mandate of local government overlaps with the traditional area of female concern. Services provided at this level of government are closer to the heart of women. It is unfortunate that when projects are planned, the greed of male tenderers who want powered relations and recognition, often side line women despite their passion to work with community-based service delivery.

Smit et al. (2011) indicates that money is a motivator. Motivation theories have monetary implications. Maslow's theory, lower level needs can only be satisfied using money. Herzberg's hygiene factors have a monetary requirement, and expectation theory also indicates that money is required to satisfy needs.

4.3.5 Media

Participants C, D, E and F consented that they do not use the media to communicate their political work. Participant A, who is exposed to media as it is requirement from her political work, views media as a perfect platform to communicate issues which give her an opportunity to communicate with her constituency. She also acknowledges that sometimes media will portray a negative image; however, it remains the councillor's responsibility to handle their relationship with the media professionally.

Participant B communicates on a personal level via social media, that which is not related to her work as a councillor. She feels that the media is friendly to men, publicising the activities they are doing within the community and is biased towards certain political parties. The other respondents were not familiar with the media, as all issues are expected to be referred to the spokesperson. However, they believe that women lack capacity, for example, during interviews when asked difficult questions they become emotional. It is because of a lack of capacity that very few councillors respond to media. This makes them uncomfortable and fearful when dealing with the media.

4.3.6 Gender mainstreaming

South Africa has committed to promote gender equality, by introducing various pieces of legislation and making policy changes. South Africa became a signatory for international and regional gender instruments, which intended to address the gender issue. It can be acknowledged that there is progress in terms of implementing some of the policies, there is still a concern on the pace of the implementation. All participants indicated a lack of commitment in deploying women to strategic positions. Most of the women in the council are chairing portfolio committees while most of the men dominate the whippery. The respondents have indicated that transformation can be achieved when men and women are treated as equal participants. Unless all forms of discrimination, as identified in the Constitution, are eradicated, democracy cannot be fully realised (Penceliah, 2011).

4.3.7 Support structure for female councillors

Participant A responded that there is not much support for women councillors, although there is gender committee that has proposed an after-care centre for children of councillors. Participant B stated that there is a standing committee on Gender, Youth and People with Disabilities. The committee does not deal directly with issues that affect councillors; however, it is talking about gender issues in communities.

They used to have a multi-party women's caucus, which is no longer functional. It was used to discuss frustrations and challenges and assist women with communication skills, so that they are able to address communities on public platforms. Currently women councillors are enrolled in capacitation programmes; however, the challenge of non-attendance remains.

Participant D shared the same sentiment about childcare facilities, which was approved but not implemented. She indicated the lack of monitoring and evaluation on gender programmes undertaken in communities. Gender campaigns are run in communities, but no follow up is made to assess the impact of the campaign. Participant E agreed with the non-functionality of the women's caucus and further indicated that women's issues are not taken seriously with the gender structure having only one official, limited budget. This is in contrast to the Municipality having a fully-fledged youth desk, which has the necessary infrastructure as well as a full staff complement and is linked to the political office of the Mayor.

Participant A believes a support structure is relevant, however funding has to be increased. Successful implementation of a project needs the buy in of the communities affected. Communities have to be educated so that they change their mind-set. She is concerned about the degree of dependency on government with the majority of recipients of government grants being women. Participants B and E do not see any support, budget or development taking place for women councillors. This is exacerbated by the withdrawal of training by DBSA, which indicates that councillors now have the responsibility to pay for their own development.

Participant C highlighted that training is work related. Participant D and F believe that support is relevant, however not sufficient. Women councillors are enrolled in courses, however when they return there is no environment to implement what they have learnt. For example, if councillors attend a course on supply chain, because they are not officials, the knowledge gained cannot be implemented. Participants B, C, D and E acknowledged the non-operation of the women's

caucus, which is the sentiment shared by Hicks (2011) and Morna and Mbadlanyana (2011), who indicated than gender remains a side issue in council.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the presentation of the results. The opinions, views and perceptions of the participants were integrated with the literature. The perception of participants in terms of challenges that they experience as women leaders, the support that they receive and the effectiveness of that support to assist them in delivering on their mandates was explored. Participants shared their expectations of council, which could assist in addressing their challenges.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The purpose of this study was to investigate challenges faced by women councillors in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan. The qualitative research method was used to attain the goal of this study where the participants were interviewed to ascertain their views and opinions. This chapter focuses on the conclusions and recommendations and is followed by possibilities for further study.

5.1 Conclusion

The following research questions were asked, and answers compiled from the information gathered from interviews of participants as well as the literature used.

[1] What are the challenges facing women councillors?
[2] What support structure is available in addressing these challenges?
[3] Is the support structure effective in dealing with these challenges?

The findings of the research are as outlined below.

5.1.1 Ideological factors

In terms of ideological factors society is still divided along gender roles. Women remain the primary care givers in their families. They lack sufficient time to take care of their families and attend to their political work, because there is still a lack of technological appliances at home that should reduce their work load. Society believes that women are not supposed to lead, therefore they struggle to accept being led by a woman and as a result do not support women leaders.

5.1.2 Political factors

Women are excluded from political inner circles, where major decisions are taken. The support structures that men have contribute positively to their political growth and development. Women are very competitive and do not support one another; they focus on competing among themselves. This lack of support impacts negatively on them.

5.1.3 Socio-Cultural factors

The challenge of low education levels in women hampers their ability to lead. Communication skills remain a barrier to some women, and are linked to low educational levels. Reading and interpreting council documents remain a challenge to those women. As a result, implementation of council decisions is negatively affected.

5.1.4 Economic factors

Campaigning for leadership positions is dominated by the use of money. Most women are trapped in low paying jobs. The lack of money makes it difficult for women to operate in this male-dominated environment.

5.1.5 Media

Women are still not utilising media to market themselves. They have a fear of negative publicity and as a result they stay away from the media. Media can be an effective tool to engage with communities

Internationally, South Africa is respected for having progressive policies, which are meant to address gender imbalances. South Africa has adopted a non-sexist constitution post-apartheid. However, South African women are yet to take their rightful place in political, economic and social platforms. Women are not benefiting effectively from policies designed. Gender related policies, which are meant to improve the status and position of women are available and were

designed and structured to emancipate women. However, there is laxity in terms of implementation.

Support given to women in terms of ensuring that they are developed is minimal and ineffective. They are often trained in areas, which do not have direct impact on capabilities needed to ensure that they can be better leaders. The deadline for Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (PALAMA, 2008) is approaching, 2015. It is essential that the process of improving gender equity is fast tracked. The following section will focus on recommendations in an attempt to address this gender imbalance.

5.2 Recommendations

EMM has taken steps to address the gender imbalance. The number of women represented in the council has improved. The number of women deployed to legislature has also improved, with the majority of portfolio chairpersons being women. However, when looking at the multi-party whippery, the representation of women is very low. There is therefore a need to address the challenge in ensuring that women are deployed to strategic positions. The following recommendations are an attempt to assist in developing the capacity of women, which will ensure that they can be effective in strategic positions.

5.2.1 Ideological recommendations

Assuming that a shared interest exists, it is essential that a reasonable number of women be deployed to the council, so that women can assist each other in sponsoring and implementing resolutions. Active and equal participation of women in leadership and decision making structures will promote benefits to both women. Education and development programmes should ensure capacitation starts at an early age, which means special attention for girls, to ensure large numbers of women are being prepared for leadership. Reduce the burden of unpaid labour by, for example, access to technological household equipment, so

that women can concentrate on paid labour, which contributes to their personal capabilities and development.

5.2.2 Political recommendations

Involving women in decision-making processes will encourage the development of gender responsive and participatory forums. This will ensure maximum focus on the implementation of programmes and projects that are gender sensitive and gender responsive. Clear targets should be set that will encourage the training and deployment of women into strategic positions. This will ensure that gender imbalances are addressed. Deployment should be based on women's' capacity, not just addressing the numbers in leadership. Participation of women should be encouraged in other local structures, which will assist in development of second layers of leadership.

In the gender and politics literature, a consistent finding indicates that women legislatures prioritise women's issues above their male counterparts (Wittmer & Bouche, 2013). Women are therefore more likely to support legislative frameworks that focus on women issues like improvement of the status of women, promoting equality, focusing on education and health, supporting social welfare programmes, and helping children and families. Their shared experiences of women's issues are an explanation for this pattern of behaviour. They feel obligated to represent other women and often have personal experience on the matter.

They also consider themselves specialists on women issues. Both female and male legislators' believe that women are better positioned to develop and enforce the implementation of feminist policies, due to their life experiences (Tamerius, 1995, cited in Wittmer & Bouche, 2013). While the passion that women legislators have for female matters is acknowledged, male legislators' leadership on women's issues is equally essential. The effect of gender balance in making laws cannot be overemphasised. Therefore, the number of women in the legislature is very important in ensuring that women issues are being debated. EMM needs to

establish a fully-fledged women's unit, provided with both human and physical resources. This will ensure the prioritisation of the development of women.

5.2.3 Socio-cultural recommendations

Create partnerships with all gender related agencies. Gender experts should be engaged to ensure that there is promotion of gender mainstreaming when developing and implementing policies and programmes that are gender sensitive. More focus should be placed on the girl child education encouraged.

5.2.4 Economic recommendations

The council needs to display commitment by passing laws that will encourage investment of resources on women issues. Resources should include both human and financial resources. It is through resources that policies can be implemented. The policies and debates related to gender equality and sustainable development should be linked.

The development framework for women empowerment has to be supported, which should ensure that there is women participation in terms of political, social and economic life. The designing and implementation of policies and programmes that deal with sustainable development need transformation to enable them to be gender sensitive and more gender inclusive.

5.2.5 Media recommendations

Women should be empowered on communication skills and the use of technology. Female councillors need to be developed so that they can use media effectively in advancing their cause and communicating their programmes. An on-line communication platform should be created where women councillors could communicate with other women in the community. Mentorship programmes should be developed where women will learn from others who are better skilled in using the media. Political parties should encourage women to make at least one media statement per month about community programmes and

achievements in their areas of operations. This will contribute to their capacitation and improve their confidence.

5.3 Further research

There is an indication of commitment in addressing gender imbalances. A number of international, regional and local policies have being adopted. Programmes are implemented to close the inequality gap. Time frames are being set to monitor the implementation of adopted policies. The deadline for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (PALAMA, 2008) was set for 2015. The challenge is that women remain marginalised, despite all efforts made. Further research is needed to investigating why EMM is struggling to address gender imbalances given the resources and structures available to address the gender inequality problem.

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