Homosocial Capital and the Substantive Representation of Women in the South African Parliament

by
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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

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March 2021

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March 2021

Abstract

Since the 1970s, the number of women employed within political institutions has risen dramatically. The fast-track approach of developing nations has meant that, in one election cycle, political institutions in some countries have reached a critical mass of women. Advocates of critical mass claim that once women make up 30 per cent of an organisation, they have the necessary numbers in order to play a role in influencing the outcomes of the institution. These advocates argue that, in such a case, the descriptive representation of women can lead to substantive gains. However, this argument does not hold true for the Parliament of South Africa. Despite the fact that the parliament consists of 46 per cent women, nearing gender parity in the 2019 election, the substantive representation of women and their interests remain limited.

The current study has investigated the role that homosocial capital (the social capital existing between members of the same gender) plays in the ability of parliamentarians to represent the interests of women in the Parliament of South Africa. Although the majority of networks consist of both men and women, homosocial capital networks do exist. Men's networks appear across the institution at a leadership level, where power is concentrated. However, although women's homosocial capital networks are broad enough to circumvent men's networks, they lack the same power and are compromised by partisan identities.

Men's homosocial capital networks influence the substantive representation of women by establishing a masculine culture within the institution. This culture values portfolios that are traditionally dominated by men. On the other hand, portfolios that are seen to be soft politics are considered to be the political backwater of the institution. Although parliamentarians have the support and resources to represent women and their interests, overall, members of parliament (MPs) lack the interest and motivation to do so. Furthermore, women parliamentarians, in this study, have found the institution of parliament to be a difficult arena, where their gender has not been to their benefit.

Without the political will and focus from leaders and representatives, the substantive representation of women's interests remains lacking, despite the significant number of women employed within the institution. In order for women's interests to be addressed adequately, it is necessary for emphasis and value to be placed on what is considered to be 'soft politics'. A shift in the culture of the institution is needed, and power needs to be redistributed in order to counteract and transform the current circumstances in parliament. Without this shift and

increased value being placed on women's interests, it remains unlikely that the parliament will be able to bring about the change that is needed in order to overcome gender inequality in South African society.

Opsomming

Sedert die 1970's het die aantal vrouens in politieke instellings noemenswaardig vermeerder. Die benadering van ontwikkelende lande om vroue op 'n snel trajek te plaas in hul ontwikkeling het daartoe gelei dat 'n kritiese massa van vroue binne een verkiesingsiklus in die politiek van sekere lande bereik is. Voorstaanders van die kritiese massa teorie beweer dat 30 persent vroue verteenwoordiging gesien kan word as die punt waar hulle genoegsame invloed kan uitoefen op die uitkomste van die organisasie. Die verhoogde verteenwoordigingssyfer (beskrywende verteenwoordiging) behoort tot substantiewe verteenwoordiging te lei. Hierdie argument hou nie water in die Suid Afrikaanse parlement nie. Nieteenstaande die feit dat 46 persent van die parlement uit vroue bestaan, en dat daar bykans geslagspariteit bereik is in die 2019 verkiesing, bly substantiewe verteenwoordiging van belange steeds beperk.

Hierdie studie ondersoek die rol wat homososiale kapitaal (die sosiale kapitaal wat bestaan tussen lede van dieselfde geslag) speel in die vermoëns van parlementslede om vroue se belange effektief te verteenwoordig in die Suid Afrikaanse parlement. Alhoewel die meerderheid netwerke uit beide geslagte bestaan, is daar wel homososiale netwerke. Mans se netweke kom regdeur die organisasie op leiersvlak waar mag gesetel is voor. Alhoewel vroue se homososiale netwerke wyd genoeg is om die manlike netwerke te omseil dra hulle netwerke nie dieselfde gewig nie en word dit deur partypolitiek verswak.

Mans se homososiale netwerke bevorder manlike kultuur in die organisasie. Hierdie kultuur heg waarde aan portefeuljes wat tradisioneel gedomineer word deur mans. Daar word veel minder aandag aan portefeuljes wat as minder belangrik of as vroue belange ervaar word geskenk. Alhoewel parlementslede oor die hulpbronne en ondersteuning beskik om vroue en hul belange te verteenwoordig, is daar 'n gebrek aan belanstelling en motivering om dit te doen. Vroue parlementslede ondervind dat hulle geslag nie tot hulle voordeel in die instelling is nie.

Sonder politieke wil en fokus van leiers en verteenwoordigers ontbreek die substantiewe verteenwoordiging van vrouebelange, ten spyte van die aansienlike aantal vroue binne die organisasie. Indien vroue belange voldoende aangespreek gaan word, moet klem en waarde geplaas word op sogenaamde sagte politiek. Om die huidige omstandighede in die parlement te verander moet daar 'n verandering in die kultuur en 'n herverdeling van mag plaasvind. Sonder 'n klemverskuiwing in die kultuur en die verhoging van die waarde wat geplaas word op vrouebelange, bly dit onwaarskynlik dat die parlement die nodige verandering te weeg kan bring om geslagsongelyktheid in die Suid Afrikaanse samlewing te bewerkstellig.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Amanda Gouws, for her guidance and unshakable calm. Her advice, encouragement and help have been the foundation of this work, without which this thesis would not have been possible.

Thank you to the National Research Foundation (SARC98335) through the SARChi Chair in Gender Politics for providing the funds necessary to compete my years of studies at Stellenbosch University.

A heartfelt thank you to my participants that took valuable time from their lives to help a student complete her studies.

A big thank you to all of my family and friends for their support and encouragement throughout this degree. I would especially like to thank my mom (Letitia), dad (Bobby), sister (Chevonne) and brother-in-law (Mario) for their unwavering support in both my undergraduate and postgraduate studies.

Mostly importantly, to Him who walks with me and gives me strength, I give all glory.

Abbreviations

ANC	-	African National Congress
ANCWL	-	African National Congress Women's League
AU	-	African Union
CGE	-	Commission for Gender Equality
DA	-	Democratic Alliance
EFF	-	Economic Freedom Fighters
FF+	-	Freedom Front Plus
GBV	-	Gender-based violence
IFP	-	Inkatha Freedom Party
MP	-	Member of parliament
NGO	-	Non-governmental organisation
NI	-	New institutionalism/institutionalists
PR	-	Proportional representation
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
WPO	-	Women's parliamentary organisation

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The phrase 'It's a man's world' has held true for most of history. Men's dominance and patriarchy have been entrenched in the very fabric of society and its institutions from the very beginning. From commerce to education and the private sphere, men have traditionally dominated both in numbers and in influence. However, during the last century, women have been challenging the status quo and bringing about change. Traditionally, women have been excluded from political institutions, and the representation of women and their interests have been performed by men. In recent years, however, the number of women in political institutions, such as parliament, has increased substantially through quotas. This is the departing point of this study. Now that women are making inroads into political institutions, it is possible to study the obstacles that their interests face, as well as the effect that women have on the organisation.

As stated previously, there has been a substantial rise in the number of women in politics and representation of women in political institutions. This is in large part due to the implementation of gender quotas in recent decades. There have been two distinct approaches to increasing the number of women in parliament. The first approach is known as the incremental model, or the Nordic model. Here, the number of women was organically increased in institutions due to socio-economic development and changes in social attitudes towards women. In the Nordic countries, this meant that there was a large increase in the number of women elected to service in institutions over several decades (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005: 27).

The so-called 'fast-tracking' of women's representation, coined by Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2005), through the use of gender quotas is the second approach to increasing the number of women in institutions. This is also known as descriptive representation. Across the developing world, there has been a major rise in the number of women in government. Quotas that are adopted by parties or that are written into law have the ability to change the structure of political institutions within one election cycle. Nowhere in the world has the use of gender quotas led to such a sharp rise of women in politics than in Africa (Bauer, 2008:349). According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2019a), as of January 2019, Rwanda is ranked as the country with the most women in parliament, with 61.3 per cent of seats won by women in the lower house. Other African countries that are ranked within the top 30 countries include Namibia, South

Africa, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Burundi and Tunisia (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2019).

Bauer (2008) noted that many of these developing states have, in the last century, won their independence or ended protracted conflicts, which led to newly created governments. For example, Namibia and Mozambique brought in gender quotas after gaining independence and conflict respectively in the 1990s (Bauer, 2008:249). These new governments offered women's groups the opportunity to advocate for women's interests and gender policies. Many women's movements across the continent fought hard to ensure that gender policies such as quotas were incorporated into the legislative frameworks of states, and pressurised political parties to adopt quotas within their internal structures. This was the case in South Africa during the run-up to the 1994 elections (Bauer, 2008; Bauer, 2012).

Currently, South Africa ranks 11th in the world for the number of women in parliament, with 45 per cent of the National Assembly consisting of women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019a). This is, in part, due to the voluntarily adopted gender quota of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC's implemented quota, combined with the proportional representation (PR) system, has been the driving force behind South Africa's strides in representing women (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:34). At present, the ANC is the only political party to have accepted a voluntary gender quota of 50 per cent. However, in the past, other major parties such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) have put forward party lists that have neared gender parity, although they do not have codified rules that enforce this (Hicks & Morna, 2016). Despite this, in the last national election in May 2019, the DA did not follow this pattern of gender parity, which may indicate regression within the party regarding gender policies.

In the South African context, the transition to a democratic system and the process of drafting a new constitution offered women's groups the opportunity to influence the system and ensure the inclusion of women in political institutions and processes (Bauer, 2008:349). The ANC was the only party in the 1994 elections that voluntarily adopted a gender quota of 30 per cent, which has since increased to 50 per cent after the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and the then president, Jacob Zuma, reached a compromise.

This internal quota saw the South African parliamentary landscape change drastically. Under the apartheid regime, the government was largely made up of white men; however, in the last 25 years, it has risen to one of the most descriptively representative parliaments in the world

(Geisler, 2000:111). Although South Africa has one of the highest percentages of women in parliament (currently at 46 per cent), scholars have noted the barriers and issues that surround this situation (Rama & Lowe Morna, 2019:5). For example, many of the leaders of the women's movement were drafted into the transition government to the detriment of civil society (Gouws, 2008:26). Others have noted that after the second elections, there was a stark difference between the first and second generations of women MPs, with the second generation being less willing and driven to represent women's interests and concerns in government (Britton, 2005).

However, simply having more women in institutions is not enough. Descriptive representation (i.e. the number of women in parliament) does not automatically translate into policies and tangible change, which is known as substantive representation. Not all women are prepared, or want, to represent women and advocate for their interests once they have entered parliament. It is therefore important to investigate the true impact that women have, as well as what hinders their success, influence and ability in the Parliament of South Africa.

The recruitment of women for political parties continues to be a challenge around the world for a number of reasons. However, the focus of this thesis will be to note and discuss some of the issues in relation to gender, along with the obstacles and facilitating factors that exist in the political realm. Sundström and Wängnerud (2016) have found that men prefer to recruit, groom and mentor other men, while excluding or overlooking women. As a result, highly educated and politically well-connected women are less likely to be recruited than men in similar positions (Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016:1).

Other authors have also pointed to the informal networks that resist women in the political realm. Bjarnegård (2009) introduced the concept of men's 'homosocial capital'. Bjarnegård argues that men relate and identify better to other men and, thus, are more likely to develop informal networks within the institution. Due to the historical exclusion of women from the public space and the uneven distribution of power, these networks grant men (who are members) access to resources, influence and mentors that will help them to succeed. By their very nature, men's homosocial capital networks are exclusionary towards women, who are typically seen as outsiders.

However, it is possible for some women to be invited into these networks, should they be endorsed by a current member. In this way, women can benefit from close relationships with their men co-workers, and may even seek them out. The reverse, however, is not true. Seldom do men seek out women co-workers and benefit from those relationships (Bjarnegård: 2009).

In this way, the power is not distributed to women, but rather, continues to be held by men and centred around men's networks. Therefore, despite the fact that laws have been changed and gender quotas have been implemented, women continue to be disadvantaged in political spaces, due to unconscious bias and entrenched patriarchy. With this in mind, the following section will discuss the research statement and rationale.

1.2 Problem Statement and Rationale

Although it is widely acknowledged that the presence of women is necessary and desirable for the substantive representation of women and their interests, many states continue to show a low percentage of women in parliament, and often, these women are not in a position to influence and create real change. Men's dominance continues, as is the case in South Africa, despite the fact that South Africa has seen an increase in the number of women in parliament for each election cycle.

Parties act as the gatekeepers in government, particularly in the PR system, where parties are elected to government and then nominate members to fulfil certain positions. Often, loyalty to the party is of greater significance than representing women and other group interests. Furthermore, recruitment processes continue to be a stumbling block for the substantive representation of women.

Once women have entered parliament, they face further obstacles to their presence. As mentioned previously, political spaces have been structured and maintained by men since their creation. As New Institutionalists (NIs) would argue, institutions are entities unto themselves, and they are continually reproduced and refined through their members. Parliamentary systems have been embedded with masculine ideals, concepts and practices, thereby making these systems difficult for women members to navigate (Chappell, 2006:226). The institutional culture of the organisation creates difficulties for women parliamentarians, which further compounds the difficulties that they face.

This culture is innately masculine, which may lead men parliamentarians to resent and resist the entrance of women into the institution. This resistance may take various forms, such as refusing to work with women, continually challenging women's authority and position, denying requests for funding and resources, and sexual harassment. Furthermore, institutional norms and practices may hinder the ability of women to connect and form relationships with the men that they work with (Chappell, 2006:226).

Thus, it becomes clear that the obstacles that women face in parliament are numerous and hinder their ability not only to enter the space, but also to be effective in it. However, these issues are too broad to be addressed here. Instead, this research will focus on the ability of MPs to represent women and their interests substantively, by considering the role that homosocial capital plays in the functioning of the institution and culture.

1.3 Theoretical Framework of Homosocial Capital

With South Africa creeping closer to gender parity, the focus of scholars must shift away from the descriptive representation of women and towards the substantive representation of women. The question that needs to be answered here is whether parliamentarians are acting – or rather, have the capacity – to represent women's interests, and what obstacles and facilitating factors make this process more or less likely. One subject which may influence the substantive representation of women in the Parliament of South Africa, and the focus of this research, is that of homosocial capital and its practices.

The term 'homosocial capital' was first introduced by Elin Bjarnegård (2009) in *Men in Politics: Revisiting Patterns of Gendered Parliamentary Representation in Thailand and Beyond*, in which she combines the two theoretical concepts of homosociality and bonding social capital. Homosociality refers to the behaviour where individuals seek out, enjoy and prefer the company of members of their own sex Bjarnegård (2009:21). In other words, men are more likely to form relationships with other men. Bonding social capital refers to social capital that is found among groups whose members are similar – or rather, consider themselves to be similar – to one another Bjarnegård (2009:22). This suggests that men gain social capital with other men in these informal networks that exclude women, which gains them an advantage in the workplace.

By combining these theoretical concepts, Bjarnegård (2009:23) highlights that social capital is often developed between members of the same sex, and she defines the type of social capital that maintains and reproduces men's dominance in politics. Bjarnegård argues that women are disadvantaged in political recruitment and institutions, as they have less opportunity to develop homosocial capital. Their men colleagues, on the other hand, have numerous opportunities to develop close, trusting relationships with individuals of the same sex and who are similar, and in this way, men have the resources necessary to succeed in the political arena (Bjarnegård, 2013). Having these networks enables men to help other men succeed. This reproduces men's dominance, which limits the influence and capabilities of women politicians.

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Bjarnegård further refines the concept by clarifying that homosocial capital comprises both expressive and instrumental resources. Expressive resources are believed to be the dispositional similarities between individuals and groups that allow for predictable relationships and that develop trust between members (Bjarnegård, 2013: 170). Instrumental resources are the outcomes of these relationships and are seen to be the means of influence, such as wealth and position (Bjarnegård, 2013: 171).

The concept of homosocial capital has proven itself useful in highlighting the gendered aspects of corruption, as well as the informal networks and political practices. Scholars have used this concept to investigate corruption, political institutions and the representation of women (Verge & De la Fuente, 2014; Verge, 2015; Benstead, 2016; Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016; Verge & Claveria, 2018). For this thesis, the concept of homosocial capital will be used in order to highlight informal men's networks in the Parliament of South Africa, explore the ways in which it influences women in the institution .

1.4 Research Aims

This thesis aims to assist in understanding the lack of substantive representation of women in parliament in South Africa. In order to achieve this aim, the research will investigate the experiences of men and women parliamentarians in relating to one another. It will also seek to identify barriers and facilitating factors to women's representation including informal networks. This study will use the concept of homosocial capital, which draws attention to the gendered informal norms and practices that underpin both political processes and party politics (Verge & Claveria, 2018:537). Furthermore, this study will attempt to establish the influence that these informal networks have on the substantive representation of women. By highlighting the informal networks and the role that they play in the representation of women, this work helps to contribute a more comprehensive understanding of the substantive representation of women in South Africa.

1.5 Research Question and Objective

Lovenduski (2005) states that, in politics, masculinity dominates every aspect, including personnel, procedures and policies. Ultimately, this means that masculine norms and practices have been naturalised into the culture of the institution. Homosocial capital will bring a new perspective to the representation of women in parliament, and it will ensure that the focus remains on the interplay between the formal and informal processes and norms that play out in parliament.

In South Africa, the descriptive representation of women has been achieved, with the country gradually moving towards gender parity. Therefore, the scholarly focus needs to shift away from descriptive representation and the notion of critical mass, and rather, look at critical acts of lawmakers and political representatives, as well as whether MPs are acting in the interest of women. Therefore, the research question will be as follows:

'What influence does men's homosocial capital have on the substantive representation of women in the Parliament of South Africa?'

The question assumes that homosocial capital is present between MPs, and that informal networks that rely on this capital exist. It will be hypothesised that these networks hinder women from gaining access to resources, positions and influence that they require in order to be successful in substantively representing women. However, that is not to say that it is impossible for women to join these networks. It is possible for women who join men-dominated institutions to be co-opted by men who are already a part of the network. Such women may be given the honorary title of 'one of the boys', and may have to sacrifice traditional feminine attributes and characteristics in order to fit in. Alternatively, they may have to compromise their position regarding women's interest in order to gain access to the network. The division between parties, as well as within parties, is likely to develop separate networks that have different resources and different members. Attention also needs to be paid to the recruitment processes that are in place and the way in which they affect the substantive representation of women.

Using the aims discussed above, the following objectives are important to achieve in order to answer the sub-questions and the broader research question. The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. Clarify what is meant by the concept of homosocial capital
2. Discover the presence of informal networks within parliament that trade on or use men's homosocial capital
3. Investigate the influence that informal networks have on the substantive representation of women
4. Provide valid recommendations that would help the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa to provide a substantive representation of women and their interests

In order to ensure that the above research objectives are met in a clear and structured manner, a series of sub-questions have been developed in order to keep the research focused within the boundaries of the broad research question. The sub-questions are as follows:

1. What is homosocial capital?
2. Do informal networks in parliament use men's homosocial capital?
3. How does homosocial capital help or obstruct the substantive representation of women?
4. How do women engage with these informal networks?

Sub-question 1 will be addressed in Chapter 2, which is a literature review with reference to the topic of the study. An in-depth review of the concept and its development has been conducted, and its utility as a research concept has been demonstrated in the following chapter. Sub-questions 2 to 4 will be answered using the data collected by this study. By establishing the presence of homosocial capital and its role in parliament, it will be possible to explore the response of women to it.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

The following study will be a qualitative, single-case study of the Parliament of South Africa. Qualitative research methods of participant interviews and observational research have been chosen, since the research question does not lend itself to quantitative methods. In order to answer the research question, it is necessary to investigate the lived experiences of participants, which cannot be quantified. Furthermore, the number of participants does not allow for meaningful statistical data. Rather than focusing on the statistical data that may be gained from these qualitative research methods, conducting an in-depth analysis of the data gathered will prove to be more useful.

A snowball sampling method has been used in order to gain access to parliamentarians. Elite interviews are often plagued with problems in gaining access to participants. All interviews conducted for this study were digitally recorded and transcribed by the researcher. All interviews were analysed using the coding method, which has allowed for the interviews to be categorised in themes that link directly to the objectives and sub-questions of this study. Furthermore, secondary data in the form of observational research has been collected through the attendance of parliamentary meetings. The behaviour of MPs have been noted in relation to how the different genders interact with one another. The methodology of the study will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

1.6.1 The Conceptualisation of Key Terms

1.6.1.1 Homosocial Capital

As discussed, homosocial capital forms the theoretical framework, or the lens, through which the following research will be viewed. As such, it is important to clarify this concept, which is used throughout this study. Homosocial capital is viewed here as the informal networks that are created among members of the same gender, based on social capital that gives these members an advantage over those who remain outside of these informal networks (Bjarnegård, 2009). For the purposes of this research, homosocial capital is understood as the social capital that is easily developed between men, and which excludes women in parliament.

It is important to note that these informal networks may consist of men or women, but for the purposes of this research, men's informal networks will be investigated. Although informal networks among women may exist, these networks may fail to provide women with advantages over men co-workers. Rather, such networks may simply work to counteract the influence of their men co-workers and the discrimination that women experience. In parliament, the Women's Caucus is a formalised network of women from different parties that offers women the opportunity to work among themselves. In this way, women have the formalised institution through which to work and develop working relationships. However, this caucus has experienced difficulties in operating as a collective, and party politics and loyalties have hindered the ability of parliamentarians to fulfil these objectives of working together and developing working relationships.

1.6.1.2 Substantive Representation

Political representation consists of three interlinking components: descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967). First, symbolic representation is concerned with the effect that the presence of women in parliament has on public attitudes and women's engagement in politics (Bauer, 2012:371). It is argued that when a minority or under-represented group such as women are brought into political institutions, their mere presence can have a transformative effect on the public and may even affect attitudes towards women's leadership and participation in politics (Bauer, 2012:380). It can also have an impact on the perception that voters have regarding the nature of politics as being innately masculine, as well as on the legitimacy of political institutions (Franceschet et al., 2012:9).

Descriptive representation focuses on the number of women who are members of political institutions. Advocates of gender quotas often argue that as the number of women in political

institutions increase, the level of representation of women and their interests will increase, institutions will become more diverse, and a better reflection of society and its values will ensue (Franceschet et al., 2012:7). It is argued that women will act in the interests of other women when they are elected into office (Celis et al., 2008:99). Theories such as critical mass suggest that when a certain number of women enter an institution (i.e. when 30 per cent of an institution consists of women), fundamental changes take place within that institution. Women are no longer considered to be tokens, but rather, they have the ability, based on their numbers, to influence and affect their men colleagues, as well as policies and the institutional culture (Dahlerup, 1988).

Finally, substantive representation is concerned with the effectiveness and quality of representation that women politicians offer. Substantive representation is focused on the 'extent to which women MPs represent women's interests, paying attention to their policy priorities and legislative accomplishments' (Bauer, 2012:371). This form of representation asks whether women act in the best interest of other women, and whether they are active in raising policy issues and legislation that address women's interests and concerns. It is assumed that substantive representation will flow from the descriptive gains. 'The rationale is that as women become more numerous in legislative chambers, they will be increasingly able to form strategic coalitions and promote legislation related to women's interests' (Thomas, 1994). However, as will be discussed in the following chapter, this has not necessarily been the case. An increased number of women has led to backlash from men in the institution and has minimised the effectiveness of women parliamentarians, as they no longer specialise in legislation that is specific to women and their interests (Franceschet et al., 2012:8).

1.6.1.3 Women and 'Needs', 'Rights' and 'Interests'

'What feminists have been confronted with is not a state that represents men's interests over women's, but government conducted in the context of dominant discourses which assume that men's interests are the only ones that exist' (Pringle & Watson, 1996:66). In attempting to represent women in public policy, terms such as 'needs' and 'interests' have been used in order to argue for more inclusive legislation. However, the term 'need' has several shortcomings that limit its usefulness within this study.

Feminists used the term 'need' in the 1970s, arguing that women were fundamentally different from men and, therefore, had different needs. The state was obligated to meet women's needs such as health and childcare. It is important to note here that 'need' is not an objective term.

What is considered to be a need is often constructed through discourse, and in this case, it is defined in 'relation to a bodily form which is sexually differentiated' (Pringle & Watson, 1996:71). As a result, women became seen as welfare recipients, while men were seen as productive workers and contributors within society. This discourse, in turn, portrayed women as victims and as requiring special treatment. 'Need' also assumes an overarching identity for a group that is greatly diverse and ignores that differences exist between members of the group.

It is therefore necessary to use a term that suggests diversity, and a continued process of redefining what is considered to be of interest is required. Using the term 'interest' rather than 'need' suggests individual subjects (with no single, central identity), as opposed to an overarching group such as women. Women have an assortment of interests and will act in different, and even competing, ways to realise their interests. Thus, no single policy will be considered a gain for all women within a society. It is through discourse and interaction with institutions that interests are articulated and defined and, thereafter, pursued. Therefore, in this study, the term 'interests' will be used.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study is the first of its kind in South Africa. The concept of homosocial capital has not been used in research in South Africa, and it offers a new and gendered perspective of the interactions between men and women within both formal institutions and informal networks. By identifying the existence of these informal networks and the ways in which they operate, MPs and non-governmental organisations can gain a greater understanding of the workings of parliament. It may also lead to networks that are exclusionary towards women to be either opened up to women or shut down, in order to ensure fairer representation and the continued success of women MPs.

1.8 Limitations

As with all research, this study has limitations that need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the sample that was used in the study needs to be noted. Due to restricted access to the participants, the researcher used a snowball method, which does not offer the most diverse and representative sample available. Furthermore, a small number of men and women, 12 in total, were interviewed for this research. This, in part, is due to limited access to the participants, as well as to the nature of a shorter thesis. Therefore, in light of the smaller sample size, generalisations of the experiences of women in parliament cannot be made. It is also important to note that the

ruling party was uncooperative and is, thus, under-represented in this study, further limiting the study's ability to make generalisations regarding the experiences of women.

The research is limited to a gendered perspective of homosocial capital, which will investigate the informal and formal networks available, but will not investigate other forms of discrimination and advantage that men may experience in parliament. Additionally, although the research methods of elite interviews and participant observation will be justified and discussed, these methods have negative aspects, including the inescapable bias of the researcher. It is important to note that other members of parliament may be excluded from these networks due to aspects other than gender, such as sexuality or disability, which is not the focus of this research and, therefore, will not be investigated.

1.9 Authorisation and Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance was sought and granted from Stellenbosch University and its ethics committee. Furthermore, all interviewees were approached directly and informed of their rights as participants in this study. Their written consent was given, and permission was granted by the Parliament of South Africa to enter the institution and observe parliamentarians' interactions. Respondents' identities will be protected where possible.

1.10 Outline of the Thesis

As stated previously, this thesis seeks to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the gendered nature of the Parliament of South Africa and the effect that this has on the substantive representation of women. In order to achieve this, the chapters have the following order. The first chapter acts as the introduction to the study and gives the reader the necessary background in order to contextualise the current study. The study's rationale, aims and research questions were discussed in this chapter, and the research design and methodology were briefly touched on.

The second chapter provides a literature review. It explores the academic debate around relevant topics, such as homosocial capital and the representation of women, and it outlines research regarding parliament in South Africa. By tracking the development of research on the appropriate topics, it gives a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of this research and its place in the greater academic work. The third chapter provides the research design and methodology that has been used in gathering the necessary data. This chapter lays out, justifies

and critiques the methods that were used, and more detail is provided regarding the research design.

Chapter four outlines the data and the apparent themes in the interviews and participant observation. This is analysed and expanded upon in chapter five. The study concludes in chapter five with a summary of the findings and suggested recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Since the reign of the first democratic city states in Greece, women have often been excluded from the political process. Moreover, the world has been divided into public and private spaces, and traditionally, men have dominated the public domain and have claimed to have the ability and interest required in order to represent women. Through feminist movements, inroads were made in the last century, with women gaining the right to vote and, importantly, the right to represent themselves. Seemingly, with each election cycle, more and more women are being elected into political positions in democratic states across the globe. However, do higher numbers of women in parliament mean better quality of representation for women? Can centuries worth of institutional culture based on men's perspective and privilege truly offer women representatives the space and opportunity to act for women and their interests?

The focus of this literature review is to outline the academic conversation surrounding the substantive representation of women in South Africa and the role that homosocial capital creates in achieving this goal. The research and contributions of scholars have focused on the representation of women, along with the role and expectations that surround women who have entered political institutions. In order to glean the most from feminist scholarship on this topic, the theory of institutional feminism is used, which highlights the gendered ways in which organisations such as political institutions operate.

The current research on the topic of the representation of women has been broken down into three categories, namely descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation. When the question of women's representation in the political sphere first arose, many scholars believed that by simply increasing the number of women in the institution, it would lead to a better and more comprehensive representation of women.

Much of the pressure surrounding quotas in governments and political parties have been centred on the premise that a critical mass of women, usually believed to be approximately 30 per cent, would ensure the representation of women and their interests. However, later literature displays the inadequate, unequal and inconsistent ways in which representation has played out in different contexts and how this seldom leads to legislation and candidates truly representing women's interests in their political bodies.

This literature review will proceed as follows. The first section will outline institutional feminist theory and demonstrate how this has grounded our understanding of political institutions such as parliament and political parties. From this departure point, the chapter will continue by outlining and tracing the development of homosocial capital and the insights that it offers scholars. Next, the representation of women, which includes the categories of descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation, will be explored.

This will be followed by considering the role that critical mass theory has had on gender quotas, and by examining the way in which quotas have led to a change in politics, as well as the effect that this has had on the substantive representation of women. Importantly, the current context and literature regarding South Africa will be discussed. This review will conclude by drawing attention to the current gaps in research regarding the representation of women that this study endeavours to fulfil.

2.2 Institutional Feminist Theory

Before delving into the conceptual framework of homosocial capital that will be used in this research, it is important to situate this current project and its themes in the broader academic field and in the branch of feminist understanding that informs this thesis. All of feminist theory places women at the centre of the discussion and argues that, by studying women, a different and more comprehensive understanding can be offered regarding a topic. The current research is grounded in the theory of feminist institutionalism.

Feminist institutionalism is a recent development in theory that stems from the New Institutionalism (NI) theory, which was first established in the 1980s through the seminal work of March & Olsen (1984). Their work was a response to the behavioural revolution of the 1960s, which claimed that institutions were a collection of individual actions rather than a cohesive entity (Mackay et al., 2010:574). NI rejects this view. Scholars of NI argue that institutions are infinitely more complex, and that different actors, departments and branches of an institution are layered entities and will interact with one another differently.

With this deeper understanding of institutions, NI theory developed four distinct branches or approaches to the study of institutions, which include historical, rational choice, sociological (also known as organisational) and discursive or constructivist approaches (Mackay et al., 2010:573). Institutionalists claim that institutions have both formal and informal structures and practices that inform behaviour and outcomes. Such a broad understanding of institutions has led to issues regarding the definition and conceptualisation of key terms such as institutions,

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culture and norms. It has been noted that this offers the theory some strength, as it means that it incorporates a wide range of factors and offers a realistic depiction of institutions (Waylen, 2014:214). However, it also means that the term 'institutions' – and, more broadly, the theory – may not offer the guidance and focus that it should. If the theory incorporates too much and cannot bring clarity, then it loses its meaning and functionality.

It is from these particular issues that feminist institutionalism first emerged in literature. Unlike other approaches to the study of institutions, feminist theory brought a focused perspective through which to consider the functioning of organisations. 'Feminist institutionalism examines how the gendered organisation of political life makes a difference' (Lowndes, 2014:685). It places the focus on the interplay between men and women, and how gender can create barriers and open doors, as well as entrap individuals, within institutions. In this way, it offers a deeper understanding of the workings of political institutions. This influences the outcomes of these institutions; for example, in terms of policies and legislation. As Waylen (2014: 212) argues, studying institutions through a gendered lens can improve scholars' understanding of informal institutions and their roles, and it can help to explain the gap that may occur between changes within institutions, such as the inclusion of more women, and the desired outcome, such as more time spent on women's interests.

Research has found that it is important to study not only the formal aspects of institutions, but also the informal aspects, such as practices, norms and rules, which have an impact on the outcomes of institutions (Waylen, 2014:213). These informal aspects are often overlooked, not only by researchers, but also by members within the institution who may not recognise disparities between men and women. Rules and norms that govern the behaviour of members of the institution are overlooked and often considered to be neutral.

However, institutions are informed by, and rely on, the practices and norms of the past (Mackay, 2014:552). Particular forms of masculinity within institutions create gender regimes that are normalised into the culture of the institution and, therefore, are not challenged. Political institutions are not isolated from the rest of society, where masculinity and men's dominance persist and continue to inform society (Lowndes, 2014:687). As Kenny & Verge (2016) argue, gender makes political parties, in that gender may influence the selection criteria and processes of parties. However, parties also make gender, in that they carry norms and cultures that influence the way in which members act within those institutions. Therefore, it is useful to use gender as a tool when study institutions as decision-making bodies and the influence that it may have on the outcome of institutions.

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The purpose of drawing attention to the concept of feminist institutionalism is to situate the current study within the broader scope of academic writing. According to scholars, institutions are not neutral entities in which principles and policies can be easily translated into practice. Rather, they are complex and layered organisations that have members who bring with them their own norms, cultures and practices that influence the running and outcomes of institutions. Both formal and informal structures have a role to play in the gap that is found between the experiences of men and women, as well as the very real impact that this has on the policies and legislation produced by political institutions.

2.3 Homosocial Capital

The term 'homosocial capital' first appeared in *Men in Politics: Revisiting Patterns of Gendered Parliamentary Representation in Thailand and Beyond* by Elin Bjarnegård (2009). The term finds its roots in the theoretical concepts of homosociality and bonding social capital. Bjarnegård understands homosociality as a behavioural practice in which members of the same gender seek out, enjoy and prefer the company of each other, as opposed to the company of the opposite gender Bjarnegård (2009:21). The focus of Bjarnegård's work was to look at men's homosociality (Bjarnegård, 2009:21). Though it is important to note that this concept and homosocial capital can be applied to either genders and their networks.

Bonding social capital is essentially seen as the goodwill between different persons. It is created through relationships and can be productive in that it can be used in order to obtain the cooperation of the persons within the relationship. Within a larger structure, it can facilitate the actions of its members (Bjarnegård, 2009:22). By combining these two concepts, Bjarnegård (2009) creates a new lens through which to study political institutions and highlight the gendered nature and aspects of institutions.

The concept of homosocial capital was meant to fill the conceptual gap within the literature. It was also aimed at helping to explain the continued dominance of men within the political realm, and to bring a gendered perspective that accounts, in part, for the success and failure of both men and women. The concept draws attention to the idea that interpersonal capital needs to be cumulated before a person is granted access to a network, and that gender does influence the ability of men and women to enter such networks and succeed (Bjarnegård, 2009:22). It is within these networks that members gain access to resources and other individuals that make success possible.

It is important to note that Bjarnegård (2009) does not state that it is impossible, or even unlikely, that women would not succeed in politics due to homosocial capital. Rather, she identifies these networks as obstacles and challenges for women. Social capital can be categorised into two forms, namely bonding and bridging capital. As mentioned previously, bonding capital is the trust that is developed between members of a particular group. Bridging capital, on the other hand, is the trust that is developed between members of different groups (Bjarnegård, 2009:22). In this case, bridging capital would be found between men and women who are members of different networks. Since gender is a visible category, it is easy to place restrictions on the membership of the network and to distinguish between members (Bjarnegård, 2009:23).

Men are disproportionately privileged when it comes to homosocial capital and its benefits. Due to the historical, unequal distribution of power, men are already in possession of resources, influence and power. As mentioned, it is easier to develop relationships between members of the same gender than it is to do so between genders. Therefore, women will seek to gain access to men's networks that, by their very nature, exclude women (Bjarnegård, 2009:25). As a result, Bjarnegård (2009) argues that women have to rely on men's networks and co-workers due to the disproportionate distribution of resources, influence and power, and will struggle to develop their own resources and networks that may grant them independence.

Women are seen in these networks to be unpredictable outsiders. They are illegitimate users of predominantly men networks, and they rely on their men colleagues to act as their sponsors in these networks. In contrast, men who do not adhere or embody the hegemonic masculinity will often need sponsors to enter these spaces and, in time, they may become legitimate members. However, this is not the case for women, where their gendered difference is visible and it is clear that they are not legitimate members. As a result, they will continue to rely on men to gain access to networks, despite their increased influence and elevated rank over time (Bjarnegård, 2013:28).

In her book, *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*, Bjarnegård (2013) expands and further refines the concept of homosocial capital. She argues that homosocial capital has always been linked to clientelism and its practices. In fact, homosocial capital is what is traded on within these informal clientelistic networks and is intended to bring predictability and stability to the political system and electoral process. Bjarnegård's continued research into men's dominance in Thailand's parliament further refined the theoretical tool of homosocial capital. She

introduced the concepts of instrumental and expressive resources, and discussed how this influences a person's ability to accumulate homosocial capital (Bjarnegård, 2013:169).

Instrumental resources refer to a person's position within society before they enter the political realm. If an individual who has wealth and the connection needed in order to enter the political campaign, they are more likely to accumulate homosocial capital (Bjarnegård, 2013:170). These resources may be available to the member attempting to join the network, or they may be the resources that the network has access to. In corrupt networks, women are excluded due to tradition and culture, and often lack the finances through which to buy their way into informal networks (Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016:356). Often, these individuals with instrumental resources have a vested interested in the current structure of society and, thus, are considered to be desirable options that do not threaten the established order.

Expressive resources refer to the gender of the individual and the role that this plays in the accumulation of homosocial capital. Although trust is not readily given to members of the same sex, it does help if members are of the same sex, as this aids in communication and understanding (Bjarnegård, 2013:171). Often, anticipated gender differences create barriers between men and women in the workplace. In the same way that having both instrumental and expressive resources does not guarantee success, the lack of these resources does not ensure one's failure. Women are able to join these informal networks, although it is more difficult and comes with conditions that are not prescribed to most men; for example, having a current member of the network sponsor or endorse their membership to the network.

Ultimately, Bjarnegård's concept of homosocial capital is intended to highlight the gendered nature of the informal networks within the political realm. She draws attention to the fact that feminist work and gender studies in the past have focused on women and, more often, on the success stories of women who have broken through the glass ceiling and have circumvented patriarchal norms. However, Bjarnegård argues that men are as gendered creatures as women, and that the study of what constitutes the norm due to the embedded nature of the patriarchal system is needed.

Homosocial capital has been seen as a useful tool in the study of the political arena. Although Bjarnegård concentrated on clientelism and its networks, the concept has been used by other scholars to investigate recruitment, corruption and service delivery. Sundström and Wängnerud (2016) investigated corrupt practices, homosocial networks and recruitment processes in the local council of 18 European countries. They argued that corrupt practices create shadow

regimes and networks. These networks operate covertly and require a certain level of trust and predictability among their members in order to operate. As outlined by Bjarnegård (2009), women are seen as foreign, illegitimate and unpredictable in predominantly men's networks.

The argument that women are less corrupt than men found its roots in the early 2000s, through the work of Dollar et al. (2001) and Swamy et al. (2001). This argument was then popularised by the World Bank when, citing the previously mentioned studies, they claimed that it was a good governance practice to elect more women to government. This is a highly problematic argument that idealises women and has been researched and addressed by a number of scholars (Goetz, 2007; Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016; Tripp, 2001).

Verge & Claveria (2018) contributed to this line of inquiry and used the concept of homosocial capital when they investigated whether holding party offices has an impact on the political careers of men and women. They found that party offices are a political resource that leads to recruitment opportunities for more prestigious positions later in an individual's career. It was clear in the researchers' study that more men than women are offered party offices, even when other factors such as race, class and education are taken into account. This increased number of men within political parties also means that more men are granted access to inner circles and leadership structures.

Furthermore, gendered patterns were found regarding workload. On average, women spent 72.97 hours per week on party work, while men spent around 48.24 hours. It is argued that this is indicative of the unequal distribution of work and double standards. Women's work is assigned more demanding criteria than their men counterparts (Verge & Claveria, 2018:540). Thus, it is clear that holding party offices does provide a competitive advantage, but only for men.

An important contribution to the concept of homosocial capital and the broader literature on the representation of women is written by Benstead (2016), who extends the theory and highlights the need for quotas. Benstead draws on Bjarnegård's (2013) explanation of expressive and instrumental resources. As the author explains, expressive resources are 'dispositional similarities facilitating close, predictable relationships needed to access instrumental resources' (Benstead, 2016:188). She links the two, stating that one flows into the other and makes the inclusion into informal men's networks easier when one already possesses expressive resources.

Benstead extends the framework, firstly, by noting that there are multiple networks that consist of different members within the political sphere at any given time. For the purposes of her research, it was noted that there is a demand and a supply regarding services from government. Services are supplied by elite politicians who form a network of their own. Those demanding services are the masses who form a network between the citizenships and the politicians (Benstead, 2016:188).

Furthermore, Benstead (2016) points out that there are patriarchal structures and norms that limit women within politics. She defines patriarchal structures as formal laws and policies regarding personal status and employment that give men instrumental resources (Benstead, 2016:189). Patriarchal norms are what influence and inform the way in which men and women relate to one another. These norms include prescriptive stereotypes that dictate the way men and women should act, and the traditional view that public spaces are masculine and should be governed by men (Benstead, 2016:189).

Benstead focuses on service delivery and highlights the effect that homosocial capital has on the ability of elected women to meet the needs of Moroccan and Algerian communities. Benstead (2016:197) found that women are more responsive to other women than men parliamentarians, but that the gender quota in the country has a role to play in this, and has reduced the gap in service delivery. Women elected due to quotas to ensure the presence of women were considerably more responsive to the needs of women than men or women who had been elected through traditional means – i.e. those who entered political institutions without such mandated quotas. However, where patriarchal norms and structures are deeply entrenched and robust, men have a substantial advantage in gaining and maintaining homosocial capital.

Bjarnegård's (2009; 2013) work regarding homosocial capital has been used as a conceptual tool, which has helped to explain clientelistic and corrupt practices in Europe and how they impact the position of women within political parties – particularly in the manner in which women are recruited. Benstead's (2016) contribution to the theoretical tool was to extend it, to highlight that these networks are consist not only of men, and that they may include and exclude members of not only political parties, but also the greater society. Furthermore, Benstead draws attention to the influence that context can have on homosocial capital. Importantly, the robust nature and entrenchment of patriarchal norms and structures place greater importance on the influence that homosocial capital has on the ability of women to act in their individual contexts.

However, it should be noted that the concept remains young, and its application is not yet wide-reaching. Homosocial capital grants explanatory power regarding clientelistic and corrupt practises, but it may be argued that it has the potential to be applied to political parties outside of the context of corruption, which was demonstrated through Benstead's (2016) work regarding service delivery in North Africa.

2.4 Political Theories of the Representation of Women

The political representation of minority and disadvantaged groups is vital to ensuring the protection and rights of these groups. Men and women of different races, sexual orientations and backgrounds have lived in the spaces within a society where the majority has not and, therefore, have experienced a different way of life. Thus, they are able to identify and address problems that these communities face and can lobby for policies that would address their needs. In political science, the study of representation has been an important measurement through which political regimes have been evaluated. In feminist literature, the representation of women in political parties and governments has been identified as crucial to promoting gender equality.

Political representation comprises three interlinking components: descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967). The following section will outline the discourse and research regarding these three branches of representation. It is impossible to separate and compartmentalise these components; rather, one flows into another, and in each context, the different forms of representation take on different meanings and bring about different results (Franceschet et al., 2012). However, for the purposes of this paper, each one will be addressed individually, and the way in which they interlink will be highlighted.

2.4.1 Descriptive Representation

Descriptive representation focuses on the number of women who are members of political institutions. Some advocates of this form of representation argue that women will act in the interests of other women when they are elected into office (Celis et al., 2008:99). They believe that once critical mass is achieved, usually considered to be 30 per cent, fundamental changes take place in the institution. Thus, gender quotas are a key aspect of descriptive representation, as they are the driving force behind increasing the number of women in institutions. Women are no longer considered to be tokens, and based on their numbers, they have the ability to influence and affect their men co-workers, as well as policies and the institutional culture (Dahlerup, 1988).

Although the different forms of representation have been discussed since the 1960s, the link between descriptive representation and critical mass was first made in the 1970s. The seminal works by Kanter (1977a; 1977b) suggest that there is a tipping point or critical mass that, once reached, will bring about change for women within an institution. It was only a decade later when this theory was adapted for use in the study of politics by Dahlerup (1988). The idea of critical mass has been a rallying point for both feminist activists and scholars, as well as for politicians. Social research has been used in order to push for and legislate gender quotas in many countries around the world.

However, the misreading of the original works of both Kanter (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988) have meant that gender quotas and institutions that have reached critical mass have not necessarily led to change for women. Kanter (1977a; 1977b) makes three claims or conjectures in her work. The first is that an increase in the number of a minority will allow the group to develop alliances and influence the culture of the institution. Secondly, she states that as numbers increase, members will become distinct from one another and express their individuality. Finally, she acknowledges that members need to highly identify with their own social group and push for changes accordingly.

Dahlerup (1988) investigates only the first claim that Kanter (1977a; 1977b) makes, and does not incorporate the other two claims. This has meant that other scholars have done the same, thereby ignoring the qualifying factors that are introduced in claims two and three. Both Kanter (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988) have been used in support for the implementation of gender quotas on the claims that more women in an institution can lead to greater substantive changes for women.

However, this was not necessarily true, and a sharp increase of women in political institutions did not always lead to an increase in the substantive representation of women. This, in turn, has cast doubt about critical mass and gender quotas, and has been used to discredit the feminist agenda of political representation. Thus, it is important to delve into the scholarly discussion surrounding the concepts of both critical mass and gender quotas. By tracing the arguments and research that support and critically discuss these concepts, it is possible to draw important conclusions surrounding their validity and their continued value to women.

Unlike symbolic or substantive representation, descriptive representation is all about the number of women present. It assumes that elected women want to, will and can act on behalf of other women. It also assumes, to a degree, that all women support feminist agendas.

Furthermore, it places too much emphasis on gender identity, and does not necessarily take into account the intersectionality of identities that may be present. A woman may identify more with her race or sexuality than her gender and, thus, her work may focus on those aspects.

Despite the criticism that has been lobbied against descriptive representation and critical mass, this approach has played an important role in bringing women into political institutions. It has given women a track record in politics that can be used to challenge sexist and stereotypical arguments regarding their inclusion in political systems. The following section will track the development and scholarly discussion surrounding the concepts of critical mass and gender quotas, as well as highlight the continued usefulness of gender quotas, despite the vague and underdeveloped nature of critical mass theory.

2.4.1.1 Critical Mass Theory

The theory of critical mass finds it roots in physics, where it is used to refer to the amount of radioactivity needed in order to create a nuclear fission explosion. However, the term has been adopted into the study of social sciences to refer to the tipping point or threshold at which social movements have gained enough momentum to effect change (Oliver et al., 1985:522-523). One of the authors who brought the concept of critical mass into the social sciences was Rosabeth Moss Kanter. Her work looked at the culture of large American corporations and the token status that women experienced in the 1970s (Kanter, 1977a; 1977b). She theorised that the different identities among group members, such as race, gender and ethnicity, influence group dynamics.

In order to investigate this, Kanter (1977a: 966) developed four categories by which to classify the demographics of groups. *Uniform groups* were classified as having a ratio of 100:0; *skewed groups*, where one social group was dominant, were theorised to be at a ratio of 85:15; *titled groups* with a ratio of 65:35 allowed for groups that had less extreme distribution; and groups with ratios of 60:40 or 50:50 were considered to be *balanced groups*. Kanter's argument was that when group ratios shift, so do the social structures and interactions between group members.

It is important to note that Kanter's (1977a) demographic classification is a theory that was never proven. Her theory was based on her fieldwork of skewed groups within an American corporate and focused on gender as the differentiating factor. Her theory also does not consider the interaction between more than one differentiating factor. For example, a group member

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may fall into the majority or the minority, depending on the factors used in order to identify groups.

Advocates who continued to develop the theory of critical mass include Oliver, Marwell and Teixeira (1985). They noted that critical mass theory had not yet been taken seriously within the social sciences, and they expanded on the concept within the greater theory of collective action. They emphasised the fact that small groups of people have the potential to create change that impacts the majority; for example, the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People led to the desegregation of schools in the United States (Oliver et al., 1985:523).

They broke with tradition by assuming that there was a level of interdependence in the decision-making of individuals, and they claimed that individuals consider how much others have contributed or brought into collective action (Oliver et al., 1985:524). Critical mass is seen as the starting point to changing institutional culture. It begins with a small group of resourceful people who offer contributions towards specific actions and who inspire others to buy in, until the point at which the momentum becomes too great that it explodes into a social movement (Oliver et al., 1985:547). It is important to note that the authors do not quantify what they consider to be a small group, or at which point this small group tips over into a large enough group to have an impact on the institution's culture.

Oliver & Marwell (2001:300) returned to the concept of critical mass from an economic perspective. They emphasised the importance of context and stated that patterns of critical mass will not hold over time, due to the number of external factors that contribute to individual situations. This shows the weakness of critical mass theory and its inability to identify and account for other factors that have an impact on the influence that a minority group may have in an organisation.

Another seminal work that has propagated the theory of critical mass in the field of political science is *From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics* by Dahlerup (1988)*.* At the time, Nordic countries had the highest rates of women within political systems in the world, and the descriptive representation of women had significantly increased in the previous decade and a half due, in part, to voluntary party quotas that had been adopted in Norway and Sweden. The author investigates the minority position of women from five Nordic countries, using a mixed-methods approach.

Although Dahlerup draws from Kanter's (1977a; 1977b) work, she is critical of Kanter's findings. Kanter (1977a; 1977b) claims that the issues that women face within the institution are due to their position within the institution. Dahlerup (1988:278) presents a counterargument to this by stating that women are placed within society in a minority position, despite their numbers. The issues and discrimination that women experience are a result of their gender and its position within wider society, which informs their position within institutions and organisations. Thus, she emphasises the idea that women's position as a minority group within society and women being the numerical minority should not be conflated (Dahlerup, 1988:277-278).

Dahlerup (1988) investigated the six areas in which women have brought change after entering political institutions. These areas include the reaction to women, the performance and efficiency of women politicians, political culture, political discourse, policy, and women's power. Dahlerup (1988) found that women do have an influence and effect on all of the categories in lesser or greater degrees. However, this change cannot be entirely attributed to sheer numbers, but rather, must also be attributed to the willingness and abilities of individuals who actively sought to transform the institution (Dahlerup, 1988:296). It is argued, then, that critical acts had more influence within institutions and should, thus, be the focus of research moving forward (Dahlerup, 1988:290).

The work of Kanter (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988) became the building blocks of the descriptive representation advocacy within politics in the following decades. A number of scholars studied the influence that women had on political institutions and their influence in legislature (Grey, 2002; Saint-Germain 1989; Thomas, 1994; Wolbrecht, 2000). This research looked at gender differences in agenda setting, each finding that the more homogenous a group, the lesser the difference in policy priority and agenda setting. Thus, it was agreed within critical mass theory in stating that when women constitute less than 15 per cent of legislative bodies, their ability to set agendas and push through legislation is constrained.

Notably, these results were not found in all political institutions, and several academics have challenged the claims of critical mass theory. Scholars have argued that the skewed gender demographic has, in fact, been beneficial to the representation and success of women while others have argued that critical mass can have negative outcomes as well. Bratton (2005) studied the legislatures across three states in the United States over a four-year period. She found that women were as successful as their men counterparts in passing legislation that they sponsored, and as the group demographics became more homogenous, women were found to

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be more successful than men. However, these findings have been limited to the United States due to its legislative system (Bratton, 2005:114).

In this regard, Bratton's findings challenge the theory of critical mass. The constraints and pressures that women experience in institutions are not present in Bratton's (2005) study. However, Bratton did find that with higher numbers of women entering the legislative environment, more focus and resources are placed on women and their concerns (Bratton, 2005:122). This supports the core idea behind critical mass theory, which advocates the notion that as the numbers of the minority increase, so will the influence of that group within the larger institution.

Another scholar who challenges critical mass theory and is deeply critical of the theory is Karen Beckwith. In her work, Beckwith (2007:30) highlights that the theory is underdeveloped, as it is seen as both a theory and a concept that can be tested. Research on the topic has also not yielded a threshold number that delineates the boundary between too few women, which cannot have influence, and a group large enough to secure policy initiatives that address women's interests (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers, 2007:553). Boundaries or thresholds have varied between 15 and 30 per cent. In this sense, the theory requires quantification, and all thresholds need to be justified (Beckwith, 2007:30).

Beckwith (2007) further stresses the research design challenges that face scholars when investigating critical mass. Issues around case selection, context, time frames and the determination of threshold lead to her questioning the generalisation of findings and the reliability of results. Beckwith (2007: 34) points out that the term 'critical mass' was never actually used by Kanter (1977a; 1977b), nor did Kanter state that the thresholds she gave were fixed. Rather, she identified that porous thresholds and tipping points have the ability to incite change.

In recent years, Swiss et al. (2012) investigated the influence that the increased number of women legislators has on child health policies and development. Their study found that with increased numbers of women legislators, better policies are passed and there is improved implementation of these policies (Swiss et al., 2012:550). Their study departed from traditional work on critical mass in that it did not look at a developed nation; rather, it looked at 102 developing nations between 1980 and 2005. The longitudinal nature and the sheer number of countries that were investigated in this study help to negate a number of research design challenges highlighted by Beckwith (2007), which therefore makes it more reliable.

Scholars are now advocating for the study of critical acts and critical actors, thereby investigating substantive representation rather than descriptive representation. These critical actors are defined as 'legislators who initiate policy proposals on their own and/or embolden others to take steps to promote policies for women, regardless of the numbers of female representatives' (Childs & Krook, 2008:735).

In their study, Childs & Allen (2019) expand the concept of critical actors by arguing that women's parliamentary organisations (WPOs) as a collective may be the 'missing link' that can bring more clarity to the study of women's representation. They argue that these collective bodies lay the groundwork and seek to regender both their parties' and government's agendas. Therefore, WPOs should be studied along with individuals when considering critical actors (Childs & Allen, 2019:30).

Scholars have noted that it is not enough to merely increase numbers. Rather, legislators need to be willing to advocate for change in order for there to be more consistent and widespread transformation taking place within institutions. This indicates a significant shift from the study of descriptive to substantive representation. This debate and thread within the research will be discussed in more detail further on in this chapter. However, despite serious concerns regarding critical mass, it remains an enduringly desirable concept and a way in which to advocate for the increase of women in political institutions. The sharp increase in gender quotas that have been implemented around the global can testify to this.

Although research has shown that, to a degree, the increase in the number of women is necessary and has benefits to the representation of women, it is not enough. It is important now to turn to the effect that critical mass and, by extension, descriptive representation have had, namely through gender quotas within political organisations.

2.4.1.2 Gender Quotas

Since the 1970s, there has been an increase in attention paid to women in parliament and the way in which they enter the institution. The latter half of the 20th century saw great change within the structuring of politics on both a national and international level. During the second wave of feminism, scholars began paying attention to women and their contributions to government and corporations. Government institutions in Nordic countries, such as Norway and Sweden, steadily increased their numbers of women members. The gender quotas that had been implemented in these Scandinavian parliaments became the inspiration and the rally cry for other nations around the world.

However, this was misleading, since the quotas that had been enforced had come about only in the 1980s, when women already constituted between 20 and 30 per cent of parliaments in Northern Europe. The real change and increase had come the decade before, and is known in the scholarly debate as the incremental track to women's representation (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:27). Advocates of the incremental track claim that women do not have the same influence and resources that men do, but that as society changes and develops, the prejudice and obstacles that women face will disappear (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:30). Here, faith is placed in society and gradual change in providing women with the resources, influence and position necessary to bring gender parity. However, the significant percentage of women in parliament in Scandinavian countries has been held up by activists as an example of a model in which to include women in politics and bring about women's representation.

The second approach to the representation of women is known as the fast track, due to the accelerated rate at which women enter government and its institutions. Unlike the incremental track, which has the concept of gradualism built in, the fast track argues that an increase in resources does not necessarily mean that equal representation will be achieved (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:30). Rather, quotas are needed because political parties are gatekeepers of politics. By forcing parties to include a certain percentage of women as their candidates, women are better represented, and gender parity is made possible. The fast track approach pushes for political parties and governments to adopt gender quotas in order to increase the representation of women. The implementation of quotas may be voluntarily adopted by parties in their candidate selection process. Alternatively, they can be written into law, thereby ensuring that all political parties include women. Lastly, quotas can be implemented in the form of constitutional quotas.

Quotas themselves have also been formulated differently for different political environments. Some gender quotas reserve a certain portion of parliamentary seats for women (called reserved seats). Other quotas simply insist that a percentage of parliament must be women, and it is the responsibility of parties to ensure that women are added to their party lists. Parties have drawn on the theory of critical mass and tend to create party lists which consist of 30 per cent women.

In the developing world, women's movements and feminist activists have pushed for the fast-track approach with resounding success. In 2005, 40 countries had instituted gender quotas (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:26). Currently, 147 countries around the world have implemented gender quotas, with the majority of these countries being in the global south (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2019). This staggering

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increase demonstrates the success of feminist activists and the persuasive power of descriptive representation.

Tripp & Kang (2008) argue that quotas offer the best explanation for the increase in women's representation. They argue that the incremental track that was put forward as one possible model by Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2005) has not been the experience of most countries. Quotas, in all forms, need a strong support base and committed advocates who push for them. Fast-track gender quotas that are brought in through legislation or that are voluntarily adopted are able to change, significantly, the gender demographics and dynamics within one election cycle. It has been argued that women's under-representation in politics is due to a lack of integration into the public sphere, and that, in time, the gender representation gap will close. However, other researchers have demonstrated that there can be a certain level of backlash regarding women entering political institutions (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:31).

Dahlerup & Freidenvall (2005) found that there are two crucial dimensions regarding the successful implementation of quotas. The first dimension involves the specifications of the quota provision. For example, many quotas are written in a gender-neutral way, in order to overcome resistance to its implementation. However, this also helps men, since these quotas require a maximum number of representatives from each gender (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:38).

The second dimension is sanctions for non-compliance and the non-implementation of sanctions. When quotas are adopted voluntarily, should a party not make its mandate, the consequences may not be of any true significance. However, legalised quotas often come with rules and regulations that ensure compliance and punish those who do not comply (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005:40). As a result, most political parties are fulfilling their quotas and women are integrating into the political sphere. The most successful electoral system is the PR, closed-list system with a zebra list (alternating the names of men and women).

The most significant impact that quotas appear to be having is on the symbolic representation of women. By adopting quotas, political parties are having to change their recruitment processes, and as more and more women are elected into political offices – not only on a national level, but also on an international level – the way in which women are preserved is also changing. Women are seen as more competent, and they are challenging stereotypes. Furthermore, this is encouraging other women to run for office and enter political institutions (Mansbridge, 2005).

However, it is important to note that quotas are believed to be the means through which to bring about substantive change and representation of women. As Childs & Krook (2008) highlight in their work, the misreading of Kanter (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988) has played an important role in the spreading and implementation of gender quotas. Activists arguing for gender quotas were able to rally behind this theory, which claimed that a greater number of women in politics was needed before individual women would be able to make a difference in the way in which policy and legalisation was written and implemented (Childs & Krook, 2008:734).

Furthermore, women do not necessarily act in the interest of other women. Women may act in their own self-interest, which may be in accordance with a party's stance, and which may not align with the best interest of women and their concerns (Gouws, 2011). There has also been concern regarding reserved seats. As Matland (2006:287) notes, ruling parties are starting to use gender quotas in the form of reserved seats as a way in which to boost their own voting ability, and less democratic states are partial to this type of quota. This lends credit to the notion that parties are able to control their members, who will vote according to the decision that the party takes, rather than act for any one group, such as women.

Critics of quotas have often argued that quotas lead to a decrease in the quality of representation in political bodies. It is argued that qualified candidates are excluded in order to make room for women who do not have the necessary qualifications or experience. However, this is not necessarily the case. Quotas may, instead, open the political arena to women and, through electoral competition, drive off low-quality candidates – whether men or women (Júlio & Tavares, 2017:4) This argument has been supported through the work of O'Brien and Rickne (2016). These authors focused on the local government in Sweden, investigating the relationship between quotas and the socio-economic diversity and qualifications of the women elected. They found that the number of qualified women increased when quotas had been introduced; however, it did not generate greater diversity among the newly elected officials.

Although quotas are important for women's representation from the symbolic and descriptive representation perspectives, quotas do not fulfil their purpose in representing women substantively. It would therefore be wise to incorporate gender quotas along with policy and regulations that counteract and address obstacles to women in political organisations and institutions. Combating backlash against women's presence and looking to mitigate informal networks and activities are some of the ways in which to ensure the substantive representation of women in political institutions.

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2.4.2 Substantive Representation

Substantive representation is concerned with the effectiveness and quality of representation that is offered by elected members. In other words, it is concerned with the 'extent to which women members of parliament (MPs) represent women's interests, paying special attention to their policy priorities and legislative accomplishments' (Bauer, 2012:371). Ultimately, this form of representation considers whether women's representatives are acting in their best interest. The purpose of all the different forms of representation is to bring about substantive change for women in some way. Symbolic and descriptive representation would argue that the presence of women will influence their colleagues and bring transformation to the institution and society at large.

Descriptive representation is concerned with increasing the number of women in political institutions so that it better reflects their proportions in society. In contrast, substantive representation focuses on the reasons why it is important to increase the presence of women in government. It is argued that when women enter politics, they bring with them socialisation, values and life experience that are vastly different to their men colleagues. This unique perspective provides women parliamentarians with the ability to represent women. However, this argument minimises the role of institutions and their barriers to women (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000:382).

Unlike descriptive and symbolic representation, substantive representation does not claim that it is possible for only women to represent women. As the scholarly focus has shifted from critical mass to critical acts and actors, the gender of the representative has become less important than it once was.

As Tremblay & Pelletier (2000) argue, it is more important for a representative to have feminist values than to be a woman. Within symbolic representation, non-feminist women would be considered as representing women, but may in fact support and perpetuate patriarchal norms and policies. It is important to note that this argument supports the belief that women's interests are the same as feminist values and policies. Although this conflation of the concepts is problematic in the literature, it is a common theme that is found when discussing and analysing substantive representation (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers, 2007:555). Authors have used various means of establishing and measuring the substantive representation of women, including feminist values, agenda setting and the passing of legislation on issues that directly or exclusively impact women (Bratton, 2005; Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000).

Studies that investigate substantive representation have found an array of results regarding the success of representing women. Bratton (2005:113) found that the token status of women was not a hinderance when it came to sponsoring or passing a legislative bill. In some cases, the token status and skewed nature of the institution gave women an advantage, and as the institution closed the gender gap, women became less successful in passing legislation (Bratton, 2005:115). These results prove that an increased number of women is not necessary in order for women to be represented substantively.

Another study that found that numbers did not necessarily translate into substantive representation was the study conducted by Beckwith (2007). Beckwith's focus remains on the concept of critical mass and the shortcomings of the theory. However, she does highlight that the concept of 'newness' within Kanter's (1977a; 1977b) work has not received enough attention. Beckwith argues that politicians who enter political institutions for the first time are less likely to represent women than experienced MPs. Rather, newer members of the institution are more likely to support their party's policies. Furthermore, they are less likely to defy whips, vote against their party's leadership decisions, and initiate and support progressive legislation (Beckwith, 2007:42). In this regard, the descriptive increase in the number of women does not translate into substantive changes for women.

It is widely agreed that substantive representation involves acting on behalf of women and addressing women's issues. However, what amounts to women's issues has been a hotly contested topic. In the 1980s, the debate regarding women's issues was centred around the topic of labour – whether women's labour was to be within the home or outside of the home in the public domain (Diamond & Hartsock, 1981; Sapiro, 1981). By the 1990s, the debate had changed, and authors were rejecting the notion that women constituted one group. They argued that the vast diversity in the group ensured that it was not possible for there to be one set of topics that all women agreed upon. Representing women, then, became about making women's voices heard within political decision-making structures (Celis, 2009:99).

Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers (2007:554) further critique the notion of women's issues by rejecting the idea that all women have some shared experience, and that this can, in some way, foster common social political interest. They argue that women's experiences are socially constructed, and that women's social contexts differ across area, class, race and time. In this way, substantive representation differs across time and context, and therefore, women's concerns and interests are governed by the culture and history of their context (Beckwith &

Cowell-Meyers, 2007:554). The tension between gender and other identities limits a catch-all term such as 'women's issues' or 'women's interests'.

Furthermore, Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers note that there are three major sets of factors that create an environment that facilitates the success of women's substantive policy representation. These factors are the descriptive representation of women, a parliamentary context that fosters and supports women and their concerns, and a strong civil society that works to advance women's status and challenge patriarchal norms (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers, 2007:556).

The greatest contribution that these authors offer is the argument that without a conducive political environment (e.g. a parliament and civil society) that is supportive of women, descriptive representation does not offer an advantage (Beckwith & Cowell-Meyers, 2007:557). This added condition to the descriptive representation of women offers some explanatory support as to why some countries, despite having surpassed critical mass and having a sizable minority in political institutions, have not experienced substantive representation of women. Although numbers are important, they do not ensure substantive representation, nor do they bring about change on their own.

Celis (2009) expands on Pitkin's (1967) original work on substantive representation, who states that substantive representation refers to 'acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them'. According to Celis (2009:97), there are three facets that make up substantive representation: representatives must be active, the actions of representatives must be in the interest of the represented, and representatives need to be responsive to the needs and concerns of the represented group. Celis (2009:101) offers a more comprehensive understanding of substantive representation by defining it as 'performing acts in favour of women […] that deal with issues of specific importance to women situated in the private and/or public sphere and/or aiming at feminist goals'.

One possible problem with the definition that Celis (2009) proposes is the fact that it conflates feminist ideology and values with women's concerns and issues. As mentioned previously, this conflation is problematic, as not all women hold feminist values. Furthermore, there is diversity among feminist theory. The liberal and radical feminist theories, for example, have features that are irreconcilable. However, as Celis (2009:99) points out, the core belief of all feminist theory is to increase the autonomy of women. The different theories suggest different methods on how to achieve this.

Childs & Krook (2008) further emphasise that substantive representation is not based solely on numbers. They argue this by reviewing the literature that focuses on the link between substantive and descriptive representation. The authors argue that researchers should not be looking at when women make a difference, but rather, at how substantive representation occurs, and should focus on specific actors rather than simply on women (Childs & Krook, 2008:726). Childs & Krook (2008:726-727) state that critical actors that should be studied are those who have acted either individually or collectively to bring about women-friendly policy change.

These authors reject the theory of critical mass in studying women's legislative behaviour, and they conclude that there is little support for the notion that there is a relationship between specific percentages of women and change in the political arena (Childs & Krook, 2008:733). Celis et al. (2008) support this by advocating for the microstudy of individuals and their actions. They investigated the concept of the substantive representation of women and challenged previous literature by stating that actors other than women parliamentarians are or can be critical actors.

Actors such as civil society and civil servants who are not parliamentarians are important in creating, establishing and continuing the substantive representation of women (Celis et al., 2008:107). This broadening of the term 'critical actors' encourages researchers to focus not only on parliamentarians, but also on the support structure in government, as well as on men and civil society. Childs & Allen (2019) argue that by focusing on WPOs as critical actors, a deeper understanding of how the substantive representation of women is conducted in parliament is possible.

Sundström & Wängnerud (2016) investigated corruption in 18 councils in Europe. They found that corrupt practices have an influence on the substantive representation of women. The impact of corruption is twofold: It impacts the recruitment practices and who is recruited, and also indirectly impacts citizens' daily lives and discourages them from engaging in political matters. Women also tend to be more vulnerable and reliant on the state and its resources (Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016). This research has importantly pointed out that there are more factors at play that may influence the way in which substantive representation is hindered. It also links the concept of substantive representation with informal networks that use homosocial capital.

The exploration of the substantive representation is important to situate this study in the broader literature but also to highlight the challenges of establishing concepts such as women's interests

and therefore, substantive representation. The descriptive and substantive representation of women in government institutions, such as parliament, have had an effect not only on the legislation of countries, but also on society as a whole. As more women are elected, women who are active in those spaces have become symbols of their groups, and they influence the way in which society views women in those roles. The following section will consider the role that symbolic representation plays in the political arena.

2.4.3 Symbolic Representation

Symbolic representation is concerned with the effect that the presence of women in parliament has on public attitudes and women's engagement in politics (Bauer, 2012:371). It is argued that when minority groups or under-represented groups such as women are brought into political institutions, their mere presence can have a transformative effect on the public and on the institution. This form of representation may affect attitudes towards women's leadership and participation in politics, encourage women to enter the field, and empower women to speak up and talk about their concerns (Bauer, 2012:380).

The number of women and the quality of the representation that women in parliament can offer is not the focus of this form of representation. Rather, simply by having women in public offices, and having their abilities evidenced in these offices, the stereotypes that surround women in public spaces are challenged and are often proven to be fallacies. By including members of traditionally under-represented groups, citizens' perspectives of the legitimacy, fairness and progressive nature of the political system is increased (Franceschet et al., 2012:155).

However, gender parity is not addressed in symbolic representation and, practically, more is expected of fewer women. They are expected to be all things to all people, which is not possible and creates further issues for women in political institutions. Often, this translates into women becoming tokens within institutions, where they become experts on women's issues and policies. These few women are then held up as symbols of their gender, and all of their strengths and shortcomings are believed to be a representation of women in general. This creates a narrow and limited understanding of women, their abilities and the issues that need to be addressed at an institutional level. It is important to remember the diversity that exists between women, and that the lived experience of one woman can be vastly different to that of another. Of the three forms of representation, symbolic representation has the greatest ability to impact multiple audiences (Franceschet et al., 2012:156).

For the purposes of this thesis, symbolic representation is not the focus of the research. As mentioned previously, South Africa ranks 11th worldwide for the number of women MPs in the Parliament of South Africa. Currently, 46 per cent of the Parliament of South Africa consists of women, which translates to 181 women (Rama & Lowe Morna, 2019:5). The argument that women are tokens in parliament cannot be made here. However, women as symbolic entities for the public remains a valid argument. Symbolic representation does not necessarily mean that there is a low number of women in the institution. Moreover, the continued importance of the ANC Women's League within the ruling party demonstrates the influence that women have within the ANC and, in turn, on the greater political landscape of the country.

The purpose behind women entering political institutions is so that awareness can be brought to the issues and concerns that impact women disproportionately. This awareness, in turn, is expected to lead to change, with the state addressing these problems and improving the circumstances and support structures for women. Scholars have argued that electing women to parliament and other governmental decision-making bodies is intended to facilitate and bring about this change.

However, the results remain inconclusive, with multiple scholars finding evidence to both support and deny the notion that descriptive representation either leads to or has a role to play in creating substantive representation. For the purposes of this study, substantive representation, where both men and women MPs might support and evaluate the voices and concerns of women, will be explored. The following section will consider research that has been conducted on the African continent, and in South Africa in particular, in the hopes that it will provide further context to the debate surrounding the representation of women.

2.5 South Africa and the Substantive Representation of Women

Most of the literature concerning the representation of women has focused on the developed world. Theoretical development and designs have been based on research conducted in developed nations of the global north. Since the rise in popularity of gender quotas, there has been a sharp increase in the number of studies that have investigated the role of women in politics and, particularly, the representation of women in the developing world. However, it is important to understand that there is a dramatic difference between the developed and developing world regarding the representation of women, gender quotas and informal networks. The following section will outline research that has been conducted in the developing

world – such as Africa and, particularly, South Africa – in order to situate us in the current reality of women's representation in South Africa.

For much of the developing world, women's independence was hard-earned, and they played an important role in these struggle movements. Scholars have argued that this has often been beneficial to women's movements, because they offer the opportunity for women's groups and activists to weigh in on new legislations and constitutions before they are accepted (Bauer & Britton, 2006). In this way, women and their issues are represented from the start, and legislation, to some degree, protects them and their interests. Unlike in a developed nation, where constitutions and laws often need to go through a lengthy debate and reform process, many nations in the global south have included the voice of women in policies and legislations after independence.

In this way, developing nations have offered a new model or approach to the representation of women. Many countries across Africa have adopted this fast-track approach, and Africa has been the continent that has experienced the fastest increase in the representation of women (Bauer, 2008:349). Multiple scholars have noted that a contributing factor to the success and implementation of gender quotas has been a proportional representation political system (Bauer, 2008; Bauer, 2012; Bjarnegård, 2009; Bauer & Taylor, 2011). The PR system allows for parties to choose the candidates they put forward, and the electorate vote for parties rather than candidates. In countries where there have been protracted conflicts, like in Africa, women's movements have often played important roles in bringing about peace and fighting for their cause. As a result, many women are included in parties and party lists once these conflicts have come to an end.

It has been argued that in order for substantive representation to take place, representatives need to act on the issues that women have a particular interest in. It is assumed that men and women have different policy preferences. A study by Gottlieb et al. (2016) investigated this assumption, by researching policy preferences in 27 countries across sub-Saharan Africa. They concluded that men and women did, in fact, have different policy preferences, albeit very small ones. Typically, women favoured access to clean water, as well as government investment in poverty alleviation and health. Men, on the other hand, favoured infrastructure investment, management of the economy, violence, agriculture, and social and political rights. However, when the data was broken down and considered per country, it became clear that the greatest policy preference gaps came from countries in which the fewest women representatives were in government institutions. As the authors note, 'it is exactly in countries where women and

men have the most divergent preferences that we also find that women face the greatest difficulties influencing government policies through political participation or by electing women into public office' (Gottlieb et al., 2016:24).

This inability to access political institutions is again noted by Bjarnegård & Zetterberg (2019) and by Madsen (2019). Bjarnegård & Zetterberg (2019) studied the formal selection criteria used by 101 political parties in 32 countries, including countries in Africa and Asia, as well as post-communist European countries. They considered four seemingly gender-neutral categories – background, qualification, experience and electability – and found that both background and experience are selection criteria that are detrimental to the inclusion of women. Since women are often excluded from key positions in political parties, their lack of experience, networks and 'know-how' of political institutions work against them (Bjarnegård & Zetterberg, 2019:331).

Further evidence of this is found in Madsen's (2019) case study of Ghana and the low levels of women in government. Madsen pays particular attention to the formal and informal institutions and structures within the political arena that have hindered women's progress. She incorporates the theoretical concept of homosocial capital and states that women MPs in Ghana are, to a large extent, dependent on the networks of men MPs. This, along with the first past-the-post system, the entrenched patriarchal culture within the country and the lack of economic resources, has meant that the inclusion of women in political institutions has been incredibly slow.

Other regions in the developing world also have a low number of women employed within their political bodies. The Arab world, including North Africa, continues to have a low representation of women, despite the fact that countries such as Egypt, Jordan and Morocco have gender quotas in one form or another (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2019). As Bauer (2012:372) notes, there have been regional differences that are evident within Africa. Eastern and southern Africa tend to have higher rates of women in parliament and other political decision-making bodies, while West, Central and North Africa lag behind. It is argued that regional and continental bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) have a role to play in the adoption of gender quotas and the success thereof in certain regions (Bauer, 2012). For example, the SADC adopted a policy stating that 30 per cent of decision-making positions within its member state governments were to be filled by women by 2005. This policy is a clear

indicator of the values of the SADC and, indirectly, the values of its member states (Bauer & Taylor, 2011).

South Africa has, at least on paper, embodied these values within its own political bodies. Women played an important role in the struggle movement against the apartheid regime. Within the ANC, the women's movement has impacted the party through its own women's caucus, the ANCWL, which has been an important component of the party. Other women's organisations, such as the Women's National Coalition, have organised women, as well as placed women and their concerns on the political agenda.

It has been noted that women's organisations, on both a national and provincial level, were previously organised on a basis of motherhood (Fester, 1997:46). This not only limited its membership, but also continued to place emphasis on traditional gender roles. Furthermore, at the time, many women's groups limited their autonomy because they believed that the end of apartheid would lead to the end of patriarchy within the country (Hassim, 1991:68). Women and their organisations, thus, became complementary bodies to larger organisations, such as the ANC (Fester, 1997:57).

Hassim (2006:184) notes the significant role that the ANCWL played in fast-tracking women representatives. Under pressure from the ANCWL, the ANC agreed to voluntarily adopt a gender quota of 30 per cent for the first democratic election. The commitment by the majority party led to a 'domino effect' with other parties, which led to a relatively high number of women entering parliament. In 2007, the ANC increased the gender quota, and now, it is a requirement for half of all members on a party list to be women.

When the first democratic parliament was elected in 1994, many women who had been a part of the party's women's league and who were leaders in civil society were co-opted by the ANC and elected as representatives for parliament. Furthermore, the South African Constitution is one of the most gender-sensitive constitutions in the world. Legislation passed by parliament that addresses abortion, domestic violence, sexual harassment in the workplace and customary marriage concerns have protected women, which shows an attempt to cultivate legislation and environments that address the concerns of women (Bauer, 2008; Geisler, 2000).

One of the best articles that contextualises the first decade of democracy and the role of women in politics is an article by Geisler (2000), titled 'Parliament is Another Terrain of Struggle: Women, Men and Politics in South Africa'. In it, Geisler traces the history of women in politics in South Africa, demonstrating the role they have played in fighting for democracy and how

this has led to the gender-sensitive constitution. Critique is offered regarding the fact that women's gender identity was often side-lined in the struggle movement, and that the Conference for a Democratic South Africa included only 23 women in a body that consisted of 400 members. Furthermore, Geisler highlights how the shift to democracy drained the leadership of the women's movement in South Africa and weakened civil society.

In Geisler's (2000) research, women parliamentarians were interviewed about their experience in the institution. Multiple MPs expressed the feeling that the institution was yet another area in society where being a woman was a disadvantage. One parliamentarian stated that she believed that the institution was even more patriarchal than she considered Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) to be (Geisler, 2000:617).

It was noted that there was a tone from the institution and from family members of MPs, that women did not belong in parliament unless they became honorary men (Geisler, 2000:620). This led to a division between women, as some did become honorary men, while others specialised in particular areas, working quietly and carving out a niche for themselves. This research is crucial and gives an important perspective of women who served in the first democratic parliament. However, this research has aged, and as the sixth democratic parliament was elected in 2019, these findings may no longer be valid.

Despite the gender-sensitive nature of the Constitution and the ratification of several international instruments, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the reality for women in South Africa does not match the values enshrined on paper. It has been noted that despite the fact that women represent the majority of voters in the country, they remain outnumbered by men in political decision-making structures and leadership (Øverland, 2000:94). Furthermore, Fester (2006:105) argues that society remains largely patriarchal and heteronormative. She also argues that citizens' rights have not yet been achieved by women as a group, and that particularly working class and lesbian women are vulnerable in society.

Research into gender quotas on the continent and in South Africa have been investigated by several authors (Bauer, 2008; Bauer & Taylor, 2011; Benstead, 2016; Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005; Franceschet et al., 2012). South Africa has been noted for its adaptation of the fast-track approach, and for its achievement of critical mass within its first election cycle (Dahlerup & Freidenvall, 2005). Bauer (2008) outlines the argument for gender quotas and their

implementation in eastern and southern Africa. There are two types of quotas that have been used on the continent: reserved seats and party/legislative quotas.

There are benefits and disadvantages to each form of quota. It is noted that the PR system in South Africa, along with the party quota of the majority party (the ANC), has ensured that women entered parliament in the first democratic election, and that the number of women in the institution has since continued to grow. Bauer (2008:356) argues that either form of quotas produces substantive gains. In the case of South Africa, the advances in legislation that protect women and that support their interests have been seen as early indicators of substantive representation.

As discussed previously, the link between descriptive representation and substantive representation has been fiercely debated in the literature. Rather than making a direct link between the increased number of women in parliament and the adoption of legislation that is women-friendly, Bauer (2008) simply states that these are promising signs of substantive representation. However, Bauer does not offer the criteria of what constitutes substantive representation.

Other obstacles have been found regarding women, feminism and leadership within South African politics. Gouws (2008) highlights the presence of four obstacles to women in politics. The first of these is that despite an electoral system that is friendly towards women, there is not enough support from the ANCWL, which is one of the largest women's groups in the country. The second is that there is a disconnect between the law, culture and tradition. The gender-sensitive laws that have been established have been met with backlash from men within society.

Another obstacle is the gap between elite women and women at a grassroots level. Here, the problem remains that women without the privileges of the elite remain one of the most vulnerable groups within society (Gouws, 2008:23). Finally, gender machinery within the government has been poorly implemented. These overlapping mandates, along with poor communication, have led to a dysfunctional system that does not serve women the way that it should. Furthermore, leadership in civil society is lacking, as leaders have been brought into government, thereby draining civil society of important leaders and leaving a leadership vacuum in the women's movement (Gouws, 2008:25-26). These findings suggest that there has not been a substantive representation of women, and that men and institutions have been obstructive factors towards women empowerment and the implementation and success of women-friendly policies and legislation.

Other concerns regarding the ability of women parliamentarians to represent women and their interests were noted when discussing the PR system. Despite the benefits that the PR system, it should be noted that there are certain shortcomings as well. One of these shortcomings is the fact that PR systems are designed so that citizens vote for parties, rather than for individual candidates. In these settings, it is possible, like in the case of South Africa, that parliamentarians are more loyal to their political party than they are to the people and, therefore, will place the position of the party before the concerns and needs of citizens (Gouws, 2011). This argument was put forward again by Walsh (2012), who claims that the dominance of the ANC, the PR system and gender quotas in the ANC have meant that the party has maintained the loyalty of its MPs.

From the literature, it becomes clear that scholars have hesitated to claim that parliament is acting to substantively represent women. Although there has been adoption and implementation of women-friendly legislation since the first democratically elected parliament, there remain patriarchal and institutional issues that hinder the representation of women. Despite the increased number of women in parliament, and despite South Africa having passed critical mass decades before, the substantive representation of women and their interests has not yet been fully realised.

2.6 Gaps in the Literature

The study of the representation of women within politics is a broad and highly researched field in political science and, in particular, feminist literature. Research regarding critical mass and its effect on the substantive representation of women has become a saturated field within academia, and therefore, the focus should shift to research regarding critical acts and actors. Furthermore, studies on the substantive representation of women should be narrowed to microstudies in order to gain a deeper understanding of the circumstances surrounding nations where women's issues are being addressed. If a broad context is understood, then it may be possible to find patterns or facilitating factors that lead to women-friendly policies and environments.

Moreover, homosocial capital as a conceptual tool has not been utilised widely. Homosocial capital has not been studied outside of Thailand since Bjarnegård's (2009) seminal work. However, this concept may be useful in explaining the lack of substantive representation despite women having breached critical mass. It is important to note that the link between

substantive and descriptive representation remains problematic, since the evidence to support this claim is inconclusive.

2.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has attempted to trace the academic conversation surrounding the topics relevant to the research question, which included homosocial capital, the substantive representation of women and research regarding women in the political arena in South Africa. In order to ground the research regarding political institutions, a short background was given on the theory of institutional feminism. The theory highlights that institutions are more than simply a sum of their parts. Members of institutions practise and perpetuate institutional culture and norms. According to feminist theory, patriarchal norms and practices have been embedded into the fabric of institutions, and they impact the way in which women are received, as well as their ability to work in the institution. Moreover, in the case of political institutions, patriarchal norms and practices affect the policies and legislation that are passed and that influence citizens.

Homosocial capital is the currency that is used by informal networks. For the purposes of this paper, a focus has been placed on men homosocial capital and how men are able to gain access to informal networks that offer them resources, influence and access to high-ranking individuals, while women are not afforded such access. These informal networks are secretive by nature, and they sustain, if not widen, the gap in power and resources between the genders. The concept of homosocial capital is only a decade old and, thus, has not been as widely used as other terms, concepts and theories that have been addressed in this chapter.

Research on the representation of women in politics has focused on the link between descriptive and substantive representation. The results of this research have been inconclusive, with evidence being found to both support and dispute the claim that the number of women in parliament has a direct effect on the substantive representation of women. The nature of this link between the terms has been challenged by research that has found that parliaments with fewer women have been more active and have better represented women than parliaments where women have made up larger minorities. Critical mass theory has been the theoretical underpinning for the notion that the number of women translates into legislative change that addresses women's issues. In many cases, it has not been the number of women that has effected change, but rather, the motivation and conviction that women in parliaments have had.

This chapter has outlined and situated the research within the broader literature. In so doing, it indicates, to the best of the author's knowledge, that no other research has been conducted regarding homosocial capital in South African parliament. This research follows the same line of thinking that Bjarnegård (2009; 2013) uses. The aim of the research is to establish the presence of homosocial capital and its influence on the substantive representation of women. In so doing, it may be possible to address these informal networks, and any negative influence they may have.

This research is important, since it identifies an element that has the potential to hinder the role and ability of MP's in representing women's interests. It establishes the influence that homosocial capital has on the representation of South African women and their interests. The following chapter (*Research Design and Methodology*) will discuss the methods that will be employed to answer the overarching research question through the collection of primary data in the form of one-on-one interviews and participant observation.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In order to answer the research question, there is a need to establish the presence of homosocial capital and its influence on the substantive representation of women within the Parliament of South Africa. The following chapter will detail and justify the research methodology that has been chosen and will outline the research process. The first section will discuss the research design and argue a case study analysis in which elite interview and non-participant observation have been used for data collection. The second section will provide further detail on the use of the different methods, along with justifications for these choices. Here, the choice of method, as well as its shortcomings, reliability, validity and any limitations and ethical considerations, will be discussed for both elite interviews and non-participant observation research. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a summary of the research design and the methodology that has been presented.

3.2 Research Design

This study has used qualitative research methods to answer the research question and to achieve its aims of investigating the substantive representation of women in the Parliament of South Africa. The research conducted was better suited for qualitative methods, thereby allowing for an in-depth case study approach, which was aimed not at making broad generalisations about political institutions, but rather, at highlighting the current dynamics regarding gender in South Africa's parliament. The number of participants that were interviewed does not satisfy the requirements for a quantitative study and a statistical analysis of the data. Although the research cannot be used as an indication of the global norm, or to provide an overarching answer to the question of women's representation, it can be used in comparative studies that investigate political institutions in the same line of research, and may highlight trends. In this way, it aims to bring insight into the interaction between gender and representation in South Africa.

The current research has used primary data collection through elite interviews with current and former MPs, and through non-participant observation. Since the data has been collected from a single institution, this study is considered as a critical case study. Case studies are limited to a particular time and place, and they offer a snapshot of the institution that is under investigation. This means that the study may be replicated by others in the future, but it may yield different results (Burnham et al., 2008:66). Investigating one institution – in this case, the

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Parliament of South Africa – has offered the researcher a clear and focused opportunity to delve deeply into this political decision-making body.

3.3 Research Methodology

The purpose of this study is to answer the research question, as well as any sub-questions, and to study the representation of women in the Parliament of South Africa. As stated in Chapter 1, the research question is as follows:

'What influence does men's homosocial capital have on the substantive representation of women in the Parliament of South Africa?'

In order to answer this broad question, three sub-questions have been developed. The first sub-question – 'What is homosocial capital?' – has been answered in Chapter 2, through the investigation of the literature surrounding the concept, and has been defined for the purposes of this study in Chapter 1. The second, third and fourth sub-questions – 'Do informal networks in parliament use men's homosocial capital?', 'How does homosocial capital help or obstruct the substantive representation of women?' and 'How do women engage with these informal networks?' – have been answered through the data collection and its analysis, and will be considered in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Two data collection techniques have been used. The first technique included the use of elite interviews conducted with current and former MPs. The second technique included non-participant observation, where data was collected by sitting in on committee meetings and parliamentary debates. These forms of data collection relate to one another in the sense that the data collected in the elite interviews may be supported or challenged by the data gained through non-participant observation.

The rest of the chapter will argue the suitability of these data collection techniques and will examine the manner in which they have been implemented in this research. The following section will outline the appropriateness of elite interviews as a data collection technique. Following this, the technique of non-participant observation will be investigated. The sections that outline the methodology used will examine each approach's design, sampling method, reliability and validity, analysis method, and limitations, and will reflect on and summarise that particular method. In providing a detailed and clear argument of each method, it becomes clear that the methods chosen are relevant and suitable for answering the research question and sub-questions.

3.3.1 Semi-Structured Elite Interviews

Elite interview is a technique often used by political scientists in research where a target group has an elite status in some way. As Leech (2002) states, 'elite interviews can be used whenever it is appropriate to treat a respondent as an expert about the topic in hand'. For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that the MPs who have been interviewed are experts regarding the culture and institutionalisation of parliament, as well as regarding the informal networks present in the institution and the representation of women through policies and legislation.

It has been noted that elite interviews can be unrepresentative, as they deal with a limited and often small number of participants (Devine, 1995:141). Findings can be skewed by the sample size and by the bias of the interviewer. However, the purpose of this study, and of qualitative research as a whole, is to investigate the 'experiences, practices, values and attitudes in depth and to establish their meaning for those concerned' (Devine, 1995:207). Steps will be taken to mitigate and diminish the role that bias and skewed sampling can have on the findings of this study.

For the purposes of this study, elite interviewing is "defined both in terms of the target group being studied, an 'elite' of some kind, and the research technique used, most characteristically what is known as semi-structured interviewing" (Burnham et al., 2008: 231). Using this definition it is understood that the concept of elite interviews will inform the sampling method used in order to determine the interviewees that were invited and ultimately were interviewed for the study. While all interviews used a semi-structured format giving the researcher the freedom to ask follow-up questions while still ensuring that all themes were addressed.

3.3.1.1 Questionnaire Design and Collection

By collecting the data through elite interviews, which included both men and women, it is possible to have detailed discussions surrounding the topic, and to discuss the participants' experiences in terms of working in parliament. This method was also chosen for the following reasons:

1. Elite interviews encourage parliamentarians to engage with the topic and to be honest when answering the questions. The confidential nature of the interview also ensures their anonymity.
2. Elite interviews allow the researcher to accommodate and work around the participants' schedules, which focus groups do not allow for.

3. Elite interviews allow the researcher to ask for further detail and clarification, and to probe for further information, which may reveal other topics and variables for consideration. This is not possible when using other methods, such as surveys.

All interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner, which offered the researcher the opportunity to gain further insight into topics and account for new themes when they arose. For this purpose, questions were prepared beforehand in order to guide the interview and to ensure that the discussion was relevant to the topic at hand. All questions were asked in an open-ended manner, so that participants were encouraged to engage and add detail that they believed to be necessary. This offered new themes and led to further discussion, which remained within the parameters of the broader research question. All interviews were digitally recorded, which ensured the reliability of the data, and when transcribed, offered accurate and easily codable data. This ensured that the data could be analysed in a systematic and coherent manner.

3.3.1.2 Sampling Process

It is well documented the difficulty in gaining access to the individuals concerned in the literature regarding elite interviews. Elites are often difficult to contact and permission from institutions is difficult to obtain. Furthermore, as noted by Ware and Sánchez-Jankowski (2006:10), participants may be interested in the study, but may not have the time to participate in the research that is being conducted. For these reasons, a snowball or referral sampling method has been used in this study. This method uses a gatekeeper of the institution in order to gain access to participants.

In total, 12 participants were interviewed. This included ten members of the DA – five men and five women – as well as one woman from both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The researcher asked for participants to refer the study, where possible, to other colleagues who may be interested in the study. In this way, the researcher aimed to tap into the networks that MPs have created. Party officials who work within party structures were also able to refer the researcher to MPs. As a result, the researcher was able to gain access, along with a certain level of creditability, when one person referred the study to another. However, this has meant that the sample is not as representative as possible, and due to difficulties in accessing MPs from the ANC, the ruling party is under-represented in this study. This sampling method was the only method available to the researcher that ensured the necessary access to parliamentarians.

3.3.1.3 Data Processing and Analysis

All elite interviews were digitally recorded, and then transcribed by the researcher in order to apply content analysis. All interviews were recorded on a recording device and stored in a secure electronic folder. Interviews were conducted in MPs' offices at parliament, in coffee shops chosen by the MPs', and via Skype due to limitation placed on movement and gatherings in response to the COVID-19 outbreak in South Africa. Interviews were conducted over several months between August 2019 and May 2020.

The data collected through the elite interviews has been analysed using a categorising element and an interpretive element. The categorising element involves dividing the data into themes linked to the particular research objectives and sub-questions that were discussed in Chapter 1, so as to ensure that the research question is answered. The interpretive element of the data collection involves determining the meaning of the themes in relation to the sub-questions outlined in the first chapter. The themes are used as a tool in qualitative research in order to focus the study.

The themes for this study include background, recruitment and party politics, institutional culture, informal networks, and substantive representation of women. Each of these themes are purposed to answer the research question and are interconnected and complex. The themes chosen are intended to speak to one another and help the researcher to identify and analyse the responses of participants. All interviews have been transcribed, and responses have been categorised under the different themes.

The interview questions asked in the process of data collection have been tailored to each gender and their unique experience in parliament. Although some questions are the same or are indeed similar to each other, certain questions have been asked in order to explore the individual and differing experiences that men and women encounter in the institution. Despite this, all of the themes have been applied to each gender – although women parliamentarians have been asked more questions than their men counterparts, since it is likely that women have experienced more obstacles and challenges within the institution. The questionnaires mentioned can be found in the appendix of this thesis. The following section will justify the themes chosen and will discuss how they are helpful in answering the research question.

The first theme, *background,* does not relate directly to a research objective or sub-question. Rather, questions 1–4 were used in order to ease the participant into the interview and make them comfortable with the researcher. Furthermore, by determining the reasons that

participants entered into the political arena, their focus in terms of legislation could be highlighted. The second theme of *recruitment and party politics* corresponds to questions 5–12, as well as to Objective 2 and Sub-question 2. Discussions surrounding the difference in gender within parties speaks to the differences uncovered within the parliamentary culture, where each party contributes and helps in creating the existing culture in the institution.

The theme of *institutional culture* speaks directly to the culture in parliament and the way in which women are treated and are seen not only by their men co-workers, but also by the institution as an entity. Questions 13–20, as well as 38 and 39, in the women's interviews and questions 13–18, as well as 24, 27, 29, 34 and 35, in the men's interviews are linked to this theme. The theme corresponds to Objective 3 and Sub-question 4. In contrast, the theme of *informal networks* aims to answer Sub-questions 2 and 4, and is linked to Objectives 2 and 4. In the interview process, this theme was explored through questions 21–28 for the women and questions 19–23, as well as 27, for the men.

Finally, *substantive representation of women* was considered through questions 29–37 for women parliamentarians and questions 25–33 for men parliamentarians. The theme seeks to answer Sub-questions 3 and 4, which are derived from Objectives 3 and 4. It is clear that the themes have been chosen to ensure the focus of the research and to explore the representation of women in parliament. The literature that was explored in the previous chapter identified and determined the themes that have been outlined.

3.3.1.4 Reflection and Limitations

All research is limited in some way, and it is necessary for scholars to reflect on these limitations, so as to highlight the constraints that should be placed on the conclusions that have been drawn. The case study nature of this study brings a number of limitations to the research. Generalisations cannot be made from this research regarding parliaments globally, nor can generalisations be made regarding other forms of representation in the Parliament of South Africa.

However, it is a crucial first step in developing case studies that investigate women and parliament, and this research may be used in future comparative studies. Although generalisations cannot be made from this research, findings of this study may suggest themes for future researchers when studying the gendered nature of the South African Parliament. This means that the findings of this study surrounding the themes of substantive representation and homosocial capital can be seen as indicators of the culture of the institution and does not

provide conclusive results. The in-depth nature of this work would be beneficial, and in comparison to other contexts and times, it may help to establish a baseline for scholars, as it is the first fieldwork on this topic in South Africa.

Another challenge encountered in this research is in relation to this particular form of data collection. As stated previously, the researcher had difficulty gaining access to parliamentarians. Gaining access to MPs from the ruling party, in particular, was found to be challenging, and their contribution to this topic may offer greater insight and clarity into the functioning and culture of the South African parliament. The lockdown for the COVID-19 pandemic also slowed down fieldwork, as parliament was not in session.

Access to MPs was not the only challenge faced in conducting this study. Elite interviews as a data collection technique are highly dependent on the skills of the researcher and the willingness of participants to engage with the questions and contribute to the research. Participants may easily bring up topics that are irrelevant to the study, or they may be unable to articulate their views clearly. It was therefore important for the researcher to take the necessary steps to mitigate participants' wandering into irrelevant topics. Moreover, much reading was done in order to ensure the researcher's competence in conducting the interviews.

Digital recordings of the interviews were of great importance in serving as a record of the interviews and in enabling the researcher to analyse the responses of participants in depth. It also enabled the researcher to focus on the participant, and to take note of elements that the recorder could not capture, such as the atmosphere and the body language of the participants. All participants gave their consent for the researcher to record their interview, with the understanding that all interviews would be kept confidential. All interviews were then transcribed, which although proved to be a time-consuming process, allowed for a rich and in-depth analysis of the data. Furthermore, none of the participants were introduced to the researcher beforehand, thereby ensuring that there was no familiarity between the researcher and participants, and in this way, any form of bias or distortion was minimised.

3.3.1.5 Summary

The data collection technique of elite interviews offers this research the opportunity to explore gender dynamics and informal networks from the perspective of parliamentarians themselves. As members of the institution under investigation, parliamentarians are considered to be experts in the culture of the institution. Through one-on-one interviews, participants were asked about informal networks, recruitment and party politics, the institutional culture of parliament,

and the substantive representation of women. As noted, access to parliamentarians and the institution proved challenging and, thus, a snowball sampling method was chosen. In order to analyse the data collected through the interviews, responses were analysed in accordance with the five themes discussed previously, which linked to particular research objectives and sub-questions. Although there are certain limitations to the study, steps have been taken to mitigate and address these in order to ensure the reliability and validity of the research. Further discussion regarding the reliability and validity of the research will be explored later on in this chapter.

3.3.2 Non-participant Observation

The data collection technique of non-participant observation was first developed and used by social and cultural anthropologists in order to gain an understanding of social groups and their behaviour. The purpose of this form of research has been understood differently by different researchers, and it has often been viewed as an inferior research strategy within political science. However, in recent years, more and more researchers are using this technique – particularly in cases where it is difficult to obtain data due to challenges in gaining access to the process or institution under investigation, or where it is unethical or dangerous to conduct the research (Moug, 2007:110).

For the purposes of this study, non-participant observation will be understood as 'a research strategy whereby the researcher becomes involved in a social situation for the purpose of understanding the behaviour of those engaged in the setting' (Burnham et al., 2008: 265). Ultimately, the purpose of this form of data collection is to offer a detailed account of the activities and behaviour of both men and women within the social setting, or in this case, an institution (Lofland & Lofland, 1984:12). For this study, non-participant observation will form an important element, as it will offer new insight; however, more importantly, it will help to support the claims and responses that non-participants have given in their interviews.

3.3.2.1 Non-participant Observation Design and Collection

Collecting data through non-participant observation will offer insight into the behaviour of parliamentarians and their responses to women and women's challenges. This form of data collection was chosen for the following reasons:

1. Non-participant observation enables the researcher to enter the institution and gain a first-hand understanding of the workings, practices and norms of the institution under investigation.

2. Parliamentarians can be observed in their work setting, and body language and unconscious behaviour may indicate women's relative power and social standing within the institution, as well as the responses of men.

3. This technique offers data that can help to bring together the experiences of respondents, collected through elite interviews.

4. Parliamentarians are comfortable and conditioned to an audience observing them during meetings and debates, and the researcher's presence is not overly disruptive to the procedures of parliament and the responses of members during proceedings.

5. It offers a broader range of parliamentarians to observe and provides a better indication of the norms and practices within the institution.

Unlike that of elite interviews, non-participant observation has little possibility of being structured in the same way. Rather than having particular questions to answer, general guidelines and themes are used in order to analyse the data collected through this method. However, topics and themes may be uncovered through the observation and added to the research as they become apparent. The purpose of this form of research is to observe the behaviour of MPs on the floor of parliament and during debates.

3.3.2.2 Sampling Process

Debates in the National Assembly and most committee meetings are open to the public. The schedule for these events is posted on parliament's website and tickets can be obtained through the Public Relations office via email, or by checking in at the Visitor Centre on the day of the debate or committee meeting. Researchers who have used non-participant observation have agreed that data needs to be collected over a period of time in order to ensure the reliability of the data, and to understand the environment and the behaviour of those within it (Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Moug, 2007).

However, limited time and resources placed a number of constraints on the current study. Therefore, five budget debates were observed between 9 and 11 July 2019 at the Parliament of South Africa in Cape Town, which included debates regarding the following departments: Transport; Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities; Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs; Labour; and International Relations and Cooperation. The researcher also observed a committee meeting relating to the Department of Health on 23 July 2019. Furthermore, the researcher was invited to observe the Multi-Party Women's Caucus meeting held on 28 November 2019. Although no formal sampling method was used, the number of

debates and committee meetings observed offered rich and detailed data, which can be used to support and challenge the findings of the elite interviews.

3.3.2.3 Data Processing and Analysis

It was important to document the informal activities and interactions between parliamentarians at the time, and thus, the non-participant observation methodology was used. Identifying and observing whom parliamentarians interacted with before and after the meetings highlighted the divisions between the genders and brought to light other elements or characteristics that can be considered to divide or connect parliamentarians.

Furthermore, parliamentarians heckle one another during meetings and debates, and the insults used have offered insight into the way in which women and their interests are viewed by parliamentarians and by the broader institution. Such events have substantiated the claims of MPs made during the interview process. Therefore, when observing parliamentarians, the following elements have been considered: the responses of men and women when a woman addresses the meeting; the way in which parliamentarians group before and after meetings as an indicator of informal networks; whether or not attention is paid by the MPs when policies are being discussed; and the manner in which men and women speak about their fellow MPs.

Therefore, qualitative data analysis was conducted regarding the data collected through non-participant observation. As with the elite interviews, themes have been identified, which enables the data to be categorised. This makes the content manageable and offers a systematic way in which to analyse the data. The themes that have been used as categories for the data include *substantive representation of women* and *institutional culture*. These themes correspond to Objective 3 and Sub-question 3, which were discussed in Chapter 1.

The theme of *substantive representation of women* has been broken down into subcategories, including *men's responses to women-friendly policies, women's responses to women-friendly policies* and *policy and legislation* (which will consider whether or not the policy is women-friendly). The theme of *institutional culture* corresponds to Objectives 2–4 and Sub-questions 2–4. This theme is also broken down into subcategories, including *homosocial capital* and *informal networks and women*. This ensures that the focus in analysing the data is within the boundaries of this study and answers the research question of this study. These themes and sub-themes offer a clear way in which to divide and analyse the data that has been collected.

3.3.2.4 Reflections and Limitations

The data collection method of non-participant observation has not been a popular one within political science, and concerns have been raised regarding the fact that it lacks a systematic process of analysis, and that the nature of the data gathered is unquantifiable. However, as Moug (2007:108) states, '[it] does not deserve its current position as the "poor relation" of political research methods'. As a qualitative study, the point of the research is not to offer quantifiable results, but rather, to uncover unseen or unstudied elements, and to offer insights into the institution – in this case, the gendered nature of the institution.

Since this research is of a case study nature, it cannot make generalisations regarding all political decision-making bodies, and it cannot be seen as the norm for all parliamentary institutions. Furthermore, due to the restrictions on the time the researcher had in order to conduct the study, a limited number of meetings and debates were attended. However, the meetings attended related to a variety of departments, which offers a broad understanding of the institution. As argued previously, although generalisations cannot be made from the data gathered, its in-depth nature may offer insight and further understanding of parliament as a political institution, and may help other scholars who are investigating similar topics.

For the best results in non-participant observation, it is important that the researcher's presence is taken for granted by the participants (Burnham et al., 2008:268). As such, participants will not censor their actions and the researcher is able to observe the participants in as candid an environment as possible. For this study, the accessible nature of parliament has been beneficial in using non-participant observation. Committee meetings and debates are often observed by members of the press and public. This means that the presence of outsiders is accepted and even expected. Parliamentarians have become desensitised to the presence of those who are not members of the institution and, therefore, continue to behave and operate in the same manner as they usually would. This offers authentic norms and behaviour to study, and as a result, accurate data can be obtained.

3.3.2.5 Summary

For the purposes of this study, a non-participant observation data collection technique has been used, as it offers rich and insightful data regarding the undocumented behaviour and attitudes of parliamentarians. It offers this research additional data, which can be used to challenge or support the findings of the elite interviews, as well as uncover elements that have not necessarily been seen by members of the institution. Specific themes and sub-themes have been

chosen through which to analyse the data and have been discussed earlier in the chapter. These themes are linked directly to the research questions and objectives in order to ensure that the broader research question may be answered.

No formal method of sampling was used; however, rich and significant data was collected by attending meetings. Furthermore, data collected was analysed by categorising the data according to the themes and sub-themes previously discussed. As with any data collection technique, there have been limitations placed on non-participant observation and, therefore, attempts have been made to mitigate its effects within this study.

3.4 Reliability and Validity

As stated previously, this case study is merely a snapshot of a particular time and place. The discipline of social sciences does not lend itself to the same scientific methods as the discipline of natural sciences in its ability to establish cause and effect. In other words, one particular variable cannot be isolated from the broader environment or context and then be tested. Rather, should an element change within the environment, it may influence the results if the research is conducted at a different time or place.

According to McIntyre (2005), reliability refers to 'a measure that gives consistent results'. Ultimately, it refers to whether the study that was conducted can be replicated by other scholars. Elite interviewing is an established and well-documented methodology used within political science (Dexter, 1970; Moyser & Wagstaffe, 1987; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Thus, it can be argued that the research method used here can be replicated by others, although they may not necessarily interview the same participants or have the same outcome.

The same argument could be made for non-participant observation. Once again, the context, both in regard to time and place, will play a role in the outcomes received by other scholars. Although non-participant observation has been a common research method primarily in sociology and anthropology, its popularity within the field of political science is growing (Burnham et al., 2008:266). By sitting in on parliamentary debates and committee meetings, it was possible to observe the interaction between the genders and the way in which men and women relate to one another. This data has enabled the researcher to challenge or support the data that was collected through the elite interviews. Thus, it is clear that the methods of elite interviews and non-participant observation are accepted as well-documented data collection techniques used within the field of political science.

If reliability is the measure of consistency within research methodology, then validity is the measure of accuracy. A research method is considered to have validity if the method measures what the research aims to measure (McIntyre, 2005:66). For this study, women's representation and homosocial capital are the social phenomena that are intended to be measured. The elite interviews have been structured in such a way as to ensure that participants are questioned regarding their own networks and those networks that they have witnessed, and whether or not they are representing women in parliament through policies and legislation. By observing interviewees and the members of the broader institution, as well as analysing meeting minutes and other documentation, it has been possible to find support for the themes that arose in the interviews, and for the claims that participants made regarding the structure of parliament as an institution. The data collection techniques used in this study provide the best means of gaining the necessary data in order to answer the research question.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

All researchers should consider the ethical implications of their work and the influence they may have when they conduct their research. Scholars have argued about appropriate approaches, what is considered to be ethical or unethical, and what role morality should or does play when conducting research. According to Burnham et al. (2008:286), the following set of ethical principles should guide researchers at all times:

1. The avoidance of harm: Researchers should seek to do good and not bring harm.
2. Honesty: Researchers should be honest about their research, aims and methods at all times.
3. Respecting privacy: Participants have the right to restrict access to information about themselves.
4. Confidentiality: Participants have the right to control how information about themselves is used.
5. Consent: Informed consent is key to ensuring the validity of a study. Participants should be aware that they are being studied and for what purpose they are being studied.

This research has complied with each of the ethical principles that have been outlined by Burnham et al. (2008) and has received ethical clearance from Stellenbosch University's Research Ethics Committee. Participants and the institution have been made aware of the researcher and the purpose of the study, and have granted the researcher permission to observe any public committee meetings or debates. Furthermore, each participant who was interviewed

was given a consent form. These forms outline the participants' rights to privacy and anonymity. In the consent form, it was stated that participants have the right to review their interviews, and that there were no consequences for refusing to answer a question. Additionally, the identity of participants was limited to that of the researcher and her supervisor. In this regard, participants were encouraged to answer honestly and were assured of the necessary confidentiality. Through the use of these measures, this study has met the ethical principles mentioned above.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

This study has employed three data collection techniques in order to answer the research question. Elite interviews have been conducted with 12 parliamentarians – both men and women – who have served within the last five years. The data obtained from these interviews was recorded, transcribed and analysed. The division of this data according to the themes mentioned above allows for an in-depth analysis, as well as further insights into the way in which women in parliament are received and how the institution operates.

Non-participant observation has offered further insight into the institution and the dynamics between the genders. By observing committee meetings and debates, data was gathered regarding the behaviour of parliamentarians and the receptive nature of MPs to women-friendly policies and legislation. Once more, data was divided and analysed according to themes that were linked to the sub-questions and objectives, which ensured that the focus remained on the broader research question. This data challenged and offered support for the findings of the interviews, and it further uncovered insights that had not been foreseen by the researcher and not mentioned by the interviewees.

Elite interviews and non-participant observation offer insightful data regarding informal networks, women, and the way in which the Parliament of South Africa operates. They are the best qualitative approaches available that are able to obtain sensitive, undocumented and informal data that will answer the research question. The following chapter will provide the analysis of the data and the results of this study.

Chapter 4: Data Description

4.1 Introduction

The data collection technique of elite interviews has offered in-depth and detailed information that outlines informal networks in parliament, as well as the experiences of MPs and their ability to represent women and women's interests. The aim of this chapter is to offer a detailed description of the most salient patterns and topics in accordance with the themes discussed in the previous chapter (Research Design and Methodology), and which ultimately help to answer the research question.

The first section of the chapter will contextualise the opposition parties represented in this study, outline their ideologies and perspective on gender and gender inequality. Thereafter, the focus will shift to the manner in which the content has been presented, explaining how it should be read and understood. Then, each relevant theme will be discussed, along with the data relevant to that particular theme. Finally, the chapter will conclude by highlighting the main points outlined in the chapter. It is important to note that the first theme of *background* will not be explored here, as the information does not pertain to the current research topic, and the questions asked were intended to settle participants into the interview.

4.2 Ideology of opposition parties

4.2.1 The Democratic Alliance

Due to the lack of response from the ANC, the majority of participants are former or current MPs for the DA. The Democratic Alliance, in its current form, was established in the early 2000s, but has had many different iterations over the years, such as the Democratic Party, the Progressive Federal Party and the Progressive Reform Party. The ideology of the DA is deeply liberal, and as with all political parties, members need to agree with the foundational ideology of the political party that they represent.

Liberal ideology places the individual in the centre of the political life and emphasises fairness and equality. According to the party's 2019 manifesto, the DA's core values are freedom, fairness, opportunity and diversity (Democratic Alliance, 2019). The party strongly supports the practice of meritocracy and rejects quotas in all its forms, including gendered quotas. Participants were emphatic in their denouncement of gender quotas and requiring a particular number of women to be a part of any party; however, they noted that redress was key in bringing about fairness to not only parliament, but also society.

Although the party does not adhere to any codified quota system, it does rework the party list before each election to ensure diversity across racial, gender, demographic and vocational lines. Currently, of the 84 seats won by the DA in the 2019 election, 31 are held by women. This is an increase of four seats for women from the previous election, despite the fact that the party lost five seats in comparison to the 2014 election (Gouws, 2019:166).

In spite of these gains, men are disproportionately represented, making up 64 per cent of the party's MPs. Men continue to dominate leadership positions, since no party in parliament achieves parity within the top five positions (Gouws, 2019:167). As will be noted later in the chapter, men's dominance has influenced the culture of parliament, and the lack of political will concerning women's interests from leadership within the institution has severely hindered the substantive representation of women.

4.2.2 Inkatha Freedom Party

The IFP was established in 1975 by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a liberation party advocating for freedom for the black majority who were discriminated against under Apartheid law. Since the 1994 elections, the IPF has been a small but influential political party in the National Assembly – first in alliance with the ANC and later as an opposition party. The IFP is guided by three central values – solidarity, freedom, and unity in diversity - which informs the entire party's policies.

Importantly, the IFP stronghold remains in northern Kwa-Zulu Natal and in rural communities, their 2019 national election manifesto as well as the party's website highlight the importance of these constituencies. The party recognises the unequal lived experiences of women in South Africa and advocate for free sanitary pads, increased funding for the Commission for Gender Equality, equal pay for equal work and special courts to deal with gender-based violence (Inkatha Freedom Party, 2019).

The IFP also notes the importance and disparity in education and works to empower women in rural communities. It is an internal policy of the party, that all members and staff have a voice and are able to work their way up within the organisation – including their women employees (Inkatha Freedom Party, 2021b). It would appear that in recent years the party is making inroads in including more women. In the 2019 elections the IFP won 4 more seats and three more women joined their National Assembly caucus. However, despite these gains, only 36 per cent of the caucus are women – falling short of gender parity (Gouws, 2019:166). As with the DA, men dominated the political party at the National Assembly.

4.2.3 African National Congress

As stated previously, South Africa's national parliament is one of the countries with the highest representation of women in its national parliament. This is in large part due to the ANC and its stance on women. Since its time as a liberation movement, the ANC has had a particularly vibrant and influential women's league, which during the negotiations in the led up to the 1994 elections placed pressure on the party to include a quota of 30 per cent women which has since increased to 50 per cent (Hassim, 2006:184). The ruling party has in essence committed itself to gender parity and which was demonstrated in sixth parliamentary caucus.

In its 2019 national election manifesto, the ANC recognises the importance of representation and empowerment of women in the public and private sectors due to their commitments to non-sexism and gender equality (African National Congress, 2019). These values have translated into the party's national caucus consisting of 49% of women of its 230 seats that it won in the 2019 elections. Although, this is a more than 4% decrease in the number of women in the sixth parliamentary caucus, it is nevertheless an indication of the commitment by the party (Gouws, 2019:166). Although the party appears to have included women, the top leadership positions remain dominated by men.

The ANC has embraced gender quotas in order to create a more gender inclusive party, at least in terms of descriptive representation. This meant that South Africa joined many of its African counterparts in fast-tracking the inclusion of women within political institutions and structures as noted by Bauer (2008: 249). This chapter will continue by exploring the themes discussed previously.

4.3 Understanding the Text

The following description of data was obtained through interviews with 12 former and current MPs. Direct quotes from the participants will be presented with the use of italics, while quotes within a paragraph will have additional quotation marks ('…'). Where it has been necessary for the research to clarify the text in order to make it more understandable and readily accessible, the use of square brackets ([…]) has been employed. Furthermore, in relation to the direct quotations, the participant will be identified by a letter and their gender.

4.4 Data Description Categorised According to Themes

4.4.1 Recruitment

4.4.1.1 Joining the Party

One of the objectives of this study is to identify the presence of informal networks and the role that they play within political parties, including the recruitment process of MPs. Political parties act as gatekeepers to the political system and by exploring the gender nature of this process, further insight into the functioning of these political parties might be gathered. Therefore, the theme of recruitment remains important in order to assess whether gender was a facilitating factor or a hinderance for participants.

Of the 12 participants who were interviewed, five had been approached and asked to run for political office, which included both local and national government, while four others had joined the party as students at university. Of the five participants who were approached, three served as part of the party's student organisation or approached the party regarding other business and, therefore, were known by leadership within the party. A 'cold' approach was conducted with two of the participants. As participant A (female) notes, '*[a senior leader] phoned me and asked if I wanted to be an MP*'.

Gender does not appear to be a determining factor regarding the recruitment of members. Of those approached, three were men and two were women. Participant B (male) explains, '*I know in cases where people were specifically approached […] in those cases, I think it's 50/50*'. Participant I (male), who has approached possible candidates in the past, says, '*I've done a lot of approaching over the years and, you know, generally we [are] just looking for reliable, clever, talented people, regardless of gender*'. However, this perspective is challenged by Participant E (female), when she states, '*my position on […] the party list had very little to do with my qualifications or, ironically, my gender, but had everything to do with the strategic positioning to capture the Afrikaner vote*'.

DA members noted that the number of women who apply to join the party is much lower than the number of male applicants and, particularly, the number of women of colour is rather low. One male participant highlighted the challenges in recruiting women from the private sector when he said, '*So, you have to look ten times harder to find a woman who is willing to give up the career she quite literally fought for, to come into politics*'.

A Participate L (female) noted that obstacles exist in the form of resources and education. Applicants need to be able to read and write competently, and they must have access to resources such as a laptop and Internet or, alternatively, be able to access transportation to drop off the required documents to apply. Historical disadvantages and continued perpetuation of these inequalities may also explain the difficulty that some women of colour experience in the process.

The overall view of participants was that gender had very little to do with their recruitment in terms of why they were recruited and how they had been approached. However, the relatively low number of women applicants would suggest that the space is seen as undesirable in some way to qualified participants, or that obstacles exist regarding limited access to education and resources, which have disproportionately affected women of colour.

4.4.1.2 Party List

Participants were asked about how they got onto their respective party's lists. DA participants noted that the process was '*rigorous*' and '*strict*', and that '*it was really a true sifting process*'. An IFP member noted that '*we've got a very complicated internal process, but I think it works*'. Overall, participants were pleased with the process of joining the party list, and believe that it not only represents the values that their respective parties have, but also offers opportunity and fairness in the process.

DA participants noted that although the party opposes the use of quotas, the party list is reworked in order to ensure better representation. Strict rules are in place and leaders are required to motivate all changes that they wish to make to the list. Participant D (male) explains the process, stating the following:

> *[E]ither the federal executive, or the provincial or regional executives, looks at the lists and may adjust them in certain bounds to ensure that there's geographic spread, gender, race and demographic diversity, and that the people who are likely to be elected are fit for purpose. In other words, they can do the job.*

Participant I (male) explains how this creates obstacles for men, as fewer women apply, resulting in women more likely being placed in electable positions. He pointed out that the majority of applicate were male. The party requires that the list be diverse, and the competition was more intense between men than it was between women. Thus, offering women an advantage over the men applicates

However, this has not negatively impacted the way in which participants have viewed the process. Participant K (female) discusses the reworking of the list for women and people of colour, stating the following:

> *I had the experience, and others, of [being at] the top of the list on your exam results and your performance. But having to accept a demotion, in a sense. Then the provincial executive council would say, 'no, no, no, we need to bring in a woman. Okay, [Participant K], you'll have to go down. Let's make place for so and so'. And, and that's quite important when you think about, you know – your position and whether you're going to get in or not depends on the amount of votes you get. […]And that happened to men and women. But we were glad to bring in people, but as long as they were good.*

There is no evidence that there are formal structures that hinder the recruitment and placement of women on party lists. Although the issue of gatekeeping and men's networks will be explored later in this chapter, the recruitment and selection processes of the DA and the IFP, which have been discussed, indicate that there are no codified obstacles to women's placement on party lists.

4.4.2 Party Politics

4.4.2.1 Mentorship

The purpose behind asking questions about mentorship at parliament was to uncover informal networks that participants may be accessing, along with the gender aspects thereof. Ten participants stated that they did in fact have mentors in one form or another, and there were multiple methods through which they had developed these connections. Mentors had been appointed by their party through the young leaders' programme, or when participants had entered parliament for the first time. Others had sought out different people for a particular skill that they had admired, and for another, mentorship had developed during their time as a staffer. In total, six participants noted that they have mentors whom they utilise and consider to be of some value to them.

However, the influence that these mentors have on the participants vary considerably. For some, their mentors have been deeply impactful and necessary in their journey and have been an important resource. Participant H (female) highlights the important resource that her mentor is, stating that she always goes to her mentor when needing advice. Furthermore, Participant G (female) emphasises how influential her previous mentor was, stating the following:

> *I was definitely mentored by [Participant G's mentor] throughout my career, and I*
> *would not have been where I am if not for him and for him taking the time […] I mean*
> *the only reason why I am sitting here today is because [of him].*

However, this level of connection to mentors does not appear to be the norm within the institution. Some participants mention their mentors in passing, claiming that they have never had a mentor, that their mentor is of no benefit, or that they never really utilised their mentors. One participant noted that although his previous mentor was very receptive, '*I didn't have all that much to ask. I went and I read up on everything*'. Participant A (female) laughed when she explained that the reason she didn't utilise her mentor was because, '*I don't fit comfortably under anybody's wing*'.

When considering the gendered aspects of mentorships in the institution, there is a slight difference between men and women. Of the six participants who stated that they had mentors in one form or another, four were women and two were men, with the women being equally mentored by men and other women. Three MPs, two men and a woman, indicated that they were or had been mentors, either informally or formally, in different levels of the organisation. Although gender was never a deciding factor for any of them when choosing mentees, Participant D (male) remarks that he has mentored more women than men, stating, '*I prefer mentoring women, because I get on better [with them]*', since his family consists predominantly of women. Although informal networks do exist regarding the mentoring of participants, they appear to be fairly weak and are not divided along gender lines in any meaningful way.

4.4.2.2 Treatment and Position

Participants were asked whether they believe that men and women within their parties are treated in the same way and are able to compete for positions equally. Eleven of the 12 participants claimed that they believe that the gender of a candidate does not affect the way their colleagues treat them, nor does it influence their chances of obtaining positions. However, there is some evidence provided by participants that would contradict this belief.

Although candidates answered in the negative to the question, participants were able to recount instances where gender had been a factor in lost opportunities, or where there had been situations in which a double standard existed between men and women. Participant E (female) claims that men are not always held accountable by leadership, stating the following:

> *Male colleagues would not attend committee meetings, and if you would point out that*
> *they were shirking their parliamentary jobs for their organisational responsibilities,*

you would be the one who would be cracked down on – not them for them not doing their duty.

Participant G (female) explains how she has had to implement '*protective measures*' against her male whip, stating the following:

So, I also took the decision recently not to serve [in leadership] anymore because I felt as a female there are different ways of how he treats his male colleagues and how he treats me. And […] I've had to implement measures to protect myself, you know, in the sense that I am not going to be able to win that battle. Although I am a feminist […] I also don't want to be in a situation the whole time where I am being undermined.

This is not the only time when gender has been a contributing factor to the loss of opportunities for women. Participant D (male) describes one such instance as follows:

[S]he should, by all rights, should be MEC, because she has the ability – she's very, very bright indeed, very articulate, very hard-working. And she by right should have been the MEC for community safety, but [she] has a [young child]. The work of the MEC for community safety is mainly talking to angry crowds in crime-infested areas. It's not necessarily safe for a woman to walk around or drive around in those areas. And I think on her [young] child, for her to not be home at all, despite the fact that she has a very supportive husband and so on. So just from that point of view, her career was limited by the fact that there were environmental factors.

When asked if this had been discussed with the woman colleague before the decision had been taken, Participant D (male) said that it had been decided in mutual discussions that the women in question would take another position that did not have those types of safety concerns. However, he noted that '*[it] is a very responsible position indeed. But it's not a cabinet position*'. Motherhood, in this case, has limited the opportunities of women serving in the political party.

Participants often pointed out influential and powerful women within their own party and other parties as evidence of the fact that women have been able to compete and, in fact, succeed in politics. Current Speaker of the House, Thandi Modise, was praised by participants from all political parties, while women figures in the DA such as Helen Zille, Dene Smuts and Helen Suzman were all mentioned as examples of women whose gender had not impacted their ability to be successful in the institution.

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However, Participant H (female) made the observation that processes and structures within the party are egalitarian and governed by the party's constitution, which has enshrined fairness and merit into the considerations of all applicants. Nevertheless, she notes that the subjective opinions of individuals within the institution have a role to play in the outcomes of the organisation. Participant D (male) also heralded Dene Smuts as an example, but qualified her success, stating, '*but then again, her children were that much older*'.

Despite the fact that participants have claimed that the gender of MPs has neither contributed nor hindered their ability to achieve positions, experiences described by participants would suggest otherwise. Gender and motherhood appear to have been factors in the unequal treatment of MPs and have obstructed women from advancing in the institution. The following section will consider the culture within parliament and how this affects both men and women in being effective representatives from the perspective of participants.

4.4.3 Institutional Culture

4.4.3.1 Gender

Although participants were adamant that gender did not influence their ability to advance, the majority of women participants did indicate in their interview that they had, in some form, found parliament to be a difficult place for women. One of the most common complaints was the lack of facilities that makes parliament a less women-friendly environment.

Issues surrounding women's toilets was one of the most common complaints, which has been a continual issue since the first democratic parliament. Melanie Verwoerd (2013:100), an ANC MP during the first parliament, indicated how women MPs in the first parliament claimed men's bathrooms as their own after their requests for more women's bathrooms took too long to materialise in the institution. Women also organised themselves and placed pressure on the institution regarding childcare facilities, gyms and maternity benefits (Geisler, 2000:617-618).

Participant K (female), a veteran of the institution, explained how when she first arrived in parliament more than 20 years ago, there had been very few female toilets, but '*parliament had to evolve as well, and gradually there were many more toilets*'. Despite this claim, Participant A (female) laments the state of the toilet facilities, stating the following:

> *I've never been into the men's toilets, but there are many of them. The women's toilets are an absolute add-on and a disgrace because, of course, no women's toilets were built, because there were never any women. And so, some of those, I think, are cloak*

> *closets that have been converted into makeshift toilets. The women's toilets, I, for instance, won't use them. I walk from there to here to use the toilets in this building. Because I will not use the toilets in that building. They are disgusting […] I'm sure that the men's toilets don't look like that.*

Of the seven women who were interviewed, three mentioned issues regarding either the state of the women's bathrooms or the lack thereof. Other complaints surrounded the cobblestones at parliament, the lack of a nearby shop where female parliamentarians can buy sanitary products and, crucially, the lack of a childcare facility for MPs, which was a concern not only for female MPs, but also for one male participant, who states the following:

> *[P]arliament also doesn't, for example, have any childcare facilities, which I've, which I've long complained about. You know, since my [child] was born, I could never, I could never take [them] there and, and have any childcare facilities.*

Participant G (female) and I (male) also highlighted the disruptive lifestyle that MPs have. The long hours, travel and workload have negatively impacted them and their colleagues. Participant G provides the following statement:

> *I mean, I don't have children yet and it is simply because of my job. I have to travel a lot. We, we can't sit at home on the weekends. Weekends are time to work. So, in the week, you're in parliament – some nights we stay very, very late in parliament.*

This is supported by Participant I (male), who notes, '*I can think of two examples of young mothers in parliament who have really struggled to balance the needs of childcare*'. During one of the committee meetings that were observed, a women MP stressed the importance of childcare facilities at parliament, stating that she was scared to fall pregnant because it would ultimately mean the end of her career at parliament, due to the amount of travelling that MPs who do not live in the Western Cape must do.

As with the complaints about the bathrooms, childcare facilities have been a topic of discussion since the mid-1990s. For a short time, there were, in fact, childcare facilities at the institution. Verwoerd (2013) describes how MPs were forced to place pressure on the institution after the promise of a crèche on the grounds of parliament never materialised. A group of parliamentarians brought their children to work on the same day and the ensuing chaos led to a temporary crèche being set up that very day. During the first and second parliament, day-care facilities were available to both MPs and staff at the institution. It is unclear what led to the disbandment of the facility in the years to follow, but according to members who have been

MPs since 2012, there have not been any crèche facilities since they were elected to parliament. Despite the clear need for childcare facilities, a permanent facility was never established.

Britton (2005) notes that white women in the opposition's ranks had a negative view on the crèche facilities at parliament. These middle-class women had the financial means to hire help, and they disparaged other women and their claims that a childcare facility was important to their ability to perform their duties as MPs. These women opposed childcare facilities in parliament, claiming that women should either have more supportive husbands, hire help, or wait until their children are older before they run for a parliamentary position. These views no longer appear to be shared by the women in the opposition. On the contrary, all women and men who mentioned crèche facilities were supportive of the initiative.

However, childcare facilities are not the only inconsistencies that MPs have noted. Participant G (female) continues, pointing out the discrepancy between facilities for men and women by highlighting that facilities that are deemed important to older men, such as squash clubs and gyms, are available to MPs. Even parliamentarians' medical aids are inadequate to meeting the demands of young mothers. Participant G (female) states the following:

> *[…] even our medical aid, because our medical aid was made up for old, white men. So, I haven't had a baby yet, but people have been complaining, saying that 'our maternity benefits on our medical aid [are inadequate]', because at the time that they conceived this medical aid, they were more focused on older males…*

It is important to note that the issue of childcare facilities has been placed on the agenda of the Multi-Party Women's Caucus (MPWC), and women participants are cautiously optimistic that the caucus will be able to drive this issue in the current term. As for the men who were interviewed, all said that they had never been aware of their gender in the institution, and that they could not identify any obstacles or instances in which their gender had been a disadvantage for them.

4.4.3.2 Youth

The gender divide and discrepancies between facilities have not been the only obstacles that participants have faced. Men and women respondents who entered parliament at a young age have called attention to the fact that their youth has been a disadvantage and has been used to discredit them, both within their own parties and in committee meetings. Participant J (male) notes that he has felt as though because he does not look like the stereotypical image of a member of parliament, it has led to a difference between the way he and his older colleagues

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are treated. He uses the examples of police officers questioning him more vigorously when he has tried to access parliament, and parliamentary officials treating him less professionally or questioning whether he is, in fact, an MP.

A number of participants noted that age has been a factor in terms of them being dismissed as well as discredited. Participant B (male) describes his experience when he first entered parliament and the reaction of other MPs as follows:

> *I was a member of parliament. [People would say,] 'Are you serious? You can't be a member of Parliament at the age of 26'. but I was a white male, so, if I had experienced that kind of prejudice, I can only imagine what a young female politician must go through.*

In fact, like within society, gender, race and youth have created further obstacles for parliamentarians, as Participant L (female) explains:

> *And I can find the age thing to be a common, a common factor throughout all institutions. The fact that I'm a woman of colour, a young woman of colour, you know, when I speak, it's almost [like] I have to back it up with so much more than if a, you know, a man of my age has to say it. I would raise something, and I would raise it, and then somebody else would raise it. But that person happens to be a man and they would take it from that person and not necessarily from me. And that's very frustrating. And it still [happens]. It happened at a committee meeting on Tuesday.*

What was also evident in committee meetings was that the term 'young girl' was used to discredit young women parliamentarians who were asking difficult questions. Participant H (female) explains how during a tense committee meeting in which she brought evidence of corruption by departmental officials, ANC MPs used her age and gender in order to call her contribution into question and cast suspension on the validity of her claims. As Participant L (female) mentions, the issue of her and her men colleagues' youth had to be addressed:

> *[W]e had to address this in a committee meeting. We had to address, to [say] 'don't call us your children and don't look down at us and say that we are equals in this committee. And we all went through the same process and we were all elected to serve. So, we should all be treated the same'.*

Youth and gender play a role in the treatment of MPs according to respondents, and this highlights the discrepancy that exists between the senior and junior members of parliament. By dismissing members based on their age or gender, the contributions of these MPs go unheard.

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In doing so, the viewpoints of older men become the most dominant, and it is assumed that this is the natural order and manner in which the institution should operate. The sixth parliament remains disproportionately older and male-dominated, with the average age of MPs being 50 years old (Schreiber, 2019).

However, in recent years, there has been a surge in the number of young people in parliament. Currently, the DA has the highest number of young people, with 20 out of its 84 members being below the age of 35, while the ANC and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) have 14 and six members respectively. In terms of percentage, smaller parties such as the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) and the IFP outperform larger parties, with 30 per cent (FF+) and 28.6 per cent (IFP) of their members being younger than 35. The DA is proportionately the third youngest party, with 23.8 per cent of its members considered to be youth (Schreiber, 2019). The theme of youth will appear throughout the rest of this chapter. This theme may hold important insight for future studies into the functioning of parliament and the ability of MPs to represent women's interests.

4.4.3.3 Women's Interests

As was outlined in Chapter 1, the term 'interests' has been used in this study due to the continual change and redefining of what women's interests are. Women as a group do not have an overarching identity or area of focus, and what would be a gain to one woman may be a disadvantage to another. As Pringle & Watson (1998) argue, '"men" and "women" and their "interests" rest not on biological difference, reproductive relations, or the sexual division of labour, but on the discursive practices that produce them'. Interests are created and recreated by their contexts and the actors who involve themselves in the conversation.

Political parties are just one of the actors involved in this process, and each party's ideology underpins the manner in which it constructs what it considers to be the interests of women. Due to the vast array of ideology present in parliament, what is considered to be women's interests is constructed differently by each party. Thus, participants were asked questions regarding the attitudes of MPs and the culture that exists in parliament surrounding women and their interests. Nine of the 12 parliamentarians claimed that women's interests are simply not taken seriously. Although parties represent women by putting forward policies and legislation that represent them, this is due mainly to the ideological perspective of the represented parties, rather than to the beliefs held by individual men within the institution.

As Participant F (female) explains, '*I think that the ANC stood for non-sexism, non-racism and democracy, and they had to show that*'. Participant H (female) echoes this sentiment, stating

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that '*the men of the ANC, again, on a one-on-one basis they'll be nasty, but at a policy level […] they are quite progressive*'. She goes on to explain that the women, and particularly older women, in the ANC have influenced the culture of the party, stating, '*those benches of the ANC's, I would challenge you to find […] one ANC female MP who is not a radical feminist*'.

However, when considering the experiences of respondents, it appears that more subtle and nuanced element regarding the attitudes surrounding women's politics and the importance that has been placed on these politics is present. Women participants place emphasis on the fact that although men support women's interests, they simply do not understand the significance of these interests or place enough importance on them. Participant G (female) gives the example of day-care facilities and the initiative of free government sanitary pads, claiming that men in the institution simply do not see the importance of either programme. Participant B (male) notes that men do not pay attention because it does not affect them. Participant H (female) also states the following:

> *I certainly believe that every man in our caucus would support redress around things like, for example, of the criminal justice system around rape and murder […] I think they battle to see why women sometimes become emotional about those issues.*

One participant notes that when the Women's Day debates came around, men in the institution would complain, saying, '*Not again*'. Another MP said that her advocacy around women's interests had led to male colleagues calling her a '*radical feminist*' as though the term were an insult. Another female MP recounted that her male colleagues had said, '*Urgh, are you talking about that again?*', when she brought up the issue of sanitary pads and gender-based violence (GBV). Participant C (male) explained his lack of support for the women's debate as follows:

> *I once remarked [that] we had women's day debates, we have international women['s] day, we have too many women debates, but I think that women are equal. So, we don't have a men's day debate. And I remarked, saying that if anyone can show any inequality because the debate devolve[s] into attacking different political parties and everyone forgets about women anyway. So I said, 'What's the use of this? What is the value?' If there's value, then start talking about issues that actually curtail women's rights or could curtail their vulnerability or whatever, but don't have a women's day debate where we stand up to attack the ANC.*

The concerns about the debates and the lack of attention that is being paid to women's issues were further highlighted by a number of participants. Participant G (female) notes that in her

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committee, the issue of GBV is addressed only once a year, due to the sheer scope of the committee. Participant L (female) notes that parliament seems to pay seasonal focus to women's issues, stating the following:

> We don't speak about it every day. It's a seasonal thing. So, so, when Women's Day comes up, we speak about it. [When] 60 days of activism comes up, we speak about it. When the city goes to war, when the country stops because we're sick and tired of this, and we do it [protest], and we happen to do it once a year.

Furthermore, certain women participants stated that they feel that men within their parties leave women to deal with women's issues. When asked about the involvement of men in women's issues in her party, Participant F (female) answered that she knows that men have been allies, but she could not remember an example of where men had been actively involved in any policy or programme surrounding women's interest during her time at parliament. One possible reason for this may be gleaned from Participant D (male), who states the following:

> I've never had a child. I don't know what it's like. I've never been discriminated against because I might fall pregnant. I know a number of women who have. So, I can talk about it, but I can't talk about it with the same degree [of] authority and real conviction.

Additionally, women parliamentarians highlighted how certain committees and initiatives are simply unimportant within the institution. Participant E (female) recounts one such initiative as follows:

> I served on that committee and that committee was treated by all party leaders like a backwater. No one ever talk[ed] about anything that emanated from that committee. It would be talked about to make it [parliament] look good. But substantially when the women who served on that committee would try and report back to their party caucuses, there [would] be absolutely zero interest in any description.

This lack of interest in women's interests is not limited to the men in the institution. As Participant A (female) explains, it has to do with the interests of the MPs. She states the following:

> [It's not a concern if] it's not an issue for your portfolio or [one] that you're involved in, unless it's a national debate, you know. I don't need to listen to what's going on in social development. No, it's not my interest. I have no influence there.

However, it should be noted that there appears to be a growing – or rather, a better – understanding of women's interests from young, men participants. Participant B (male) was passionate about his support for women's interests, emphasising that the full parliamentary caucus in the DA, rather than only the women's network, should be driving women's issues. Participant G (female) lauded deputy minister of higher education, Buti Manamela, who asks for donations of sanitary pads every time he runs a marathon. Participant H (female) also noted that '*the young males that have come in with me and that […] are the same age, those guys get it*'.

Increasingly, it is clear that from the perspective of participants, the concerns of women and their interests have been side-lined in parliament. Although from an ideological perspective men MPs support women-friendly policies and legislation, the lack of attention from both men and women within the institution has meant that such policies and legislation are seen as a political backwater or niche politics. This is concerning, considering the rampant issues that are currently faced by the women of South Africa.

4.4.3.4 Male dominance in the National Assembly

One of the most striking patterns that emerged within this study was the beliefs that participants held regarding what it takes to be successful in the institution. When asked about the culture in parliament, several participants described it as '*combative*' and '*male-dominated*', despite the fact that over 45 per cent of parliamentarians are women. Participant E (female) highlights the mismatch between women and the institution as follows:

> *We [women] are socialised not to be combative, and as a consequence, there's a bit of an inherent incompatibility between an arena that is combative and how women are socialised – and in and of itself makes it a much more comfortable environment for men than it is for women.*

Thus, women MPs noted that in order to survive in that space, it is important for them to take on a number of traits and behaviours. These include demanding respect from their colleagues, confronting other members when they feel undermined or side-lined and, most importantly, never showing emotion, but rather, arguing their points logically from an ideological perspective. According to participants, women who become emotional about a topic are dismissed by MPs as being illogical, and therefore, their contributions are without substance. Participant H (female) gives an example of this regarding the women's protests outside of parliament in September 2019:

> *[W]e were debating that legislation internally on that day and it was an incredibly tough time for the women in our caucus, because it was hard to separate the emotions from the policy and the legislation. I said nothing, but what I noticed was it was those who became emotional - instantly people disengaged from them.*

Participant J (male) explains the double standard that exists between men and women when it comes to emotion, stating the following:

> *[O]ften with female leaders, what I realised in politics is their passion […] and their ability to be passionate […] often gets reduced to being unable to manage their emotions. And with men, that isn't the case, you know.*

Ultimately, for women to succeed in politics, they need to be emotionless and be '*strong women*'. Importantly, successful women '*never, ever overtly speak about […] inherent feminism*'. Participant A (female) and Participant L (female) both commented on the fact that women within the institution have to be strong in order to survive in the space. Participant A (female) also notes that similar personalities exist between women:

> *I must say that most of the women in parliament are similar. There are no – well, there's very few, certainly in opposition benches, very few shrinking violets. It's a robust space and if you're terribly sensitive, you may not enjoy it here.*

Participant B (male) highlights the fact that women who are successful in the field seldom become so through focusing on women and their interests, or by being deeply connected with women's organisations. Participant B (male) states the following:

> *But if you look at the female leaders that the party has had, starting from Helen Suzman, Helen Zille, who was our federal leader, leaders in parliament, prominent shadow ministers – all of them actually went through the ranks of the party in the mainstream party. So, in the mainstream organisation. They weren't put there thanks to the fact that they were the leader of DAWN.*

The culture within parliament of being an aggressive and combative institution does create a number of challenges for women in the institution. Alongside these characteristics, another pattern emerged from data collected through participant observation. Men spoke in debates and heckled more than women did. For example, in the debate on the budget of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, roughly 40 MPs attended the debate, with men accounting for 22 of the attendees, or 55 per cent. However, men accounted for roughly 71.43 per cent of the speakers who debated the budget.

This trend of men's voices dominating debates was witnessed in other sittings, such as debates on the Department of Transport and the Department of Labour, where men made up 85.7 per cent and 64.24 per cent of the speakers, while they accounted for only 61.25 per cent and 45.45 per cent of attendees respectively. However, women also dominated other committees, as was seen in the debate on the Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities. Although the percentage of women in attendance was roughly 59.15 per cent, women accounted for 83.4 per cent of the speakers. It is clear from these observations that certain committees are dominated by one gender. This trend has been highlighted by participants and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Additionally, when observing the interactions between parliamentarians, it appears that men and women have friendly working relationships in the institution. Participants noted that men and women MPs were often seen socialising with one another but that a division in the genders became clear in portfolios that were dominated by one gender. In portfolios dominated by men, women were often seated in the back rows of their caucus, and appeared to be there only for voting purposes. The same was witnessed in the debate on the budget for the Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities.

4.4.4 Informal Networks

4.4.4.1 Individual Networks

The personal networks of participants are of the utmost importance for MPs to do their jobs and to be effective representatives. It became clear from discussions how broad and far reaching the personal networks of respondents are. One of the common methods in how respondents have been able to enter parliament with an existing network is by first entering the institution as staffers for their political party. Of the 12 participants who were interviewed, half of them had worked for their political party before they ran for political office. There does not appear to be a gendered element to this, as equal numbers of men and women were staffers. However, age does appear to be a factor here. The majority of MPs who had been staffers before joining parliament were young members under the age of 40.

This access to leaders has been important to the journey of several participants. One MP highlighted how her time as a staffer had opened the door for her to stand for office. This was emphasised by a comment made by Participant J (male) when he said, '*I was fortunate. I've always had these resources of incredible senior political figures, you know, at close range*'.

Two of the participants who had been '*parachuted*' into their party had incredibly broad networks, including private-sector boards, non-governmental organisation (NGO) networks looking at specific interests, and government officials. Additionally, other MPs, such as Participant B (male) and Participant J (male), were conscious about expanding their networks. Participant K (female) noted how crucial it is to have a broad network in order to be an effective representative. When asked about her network, she said that her network had included members from NGOs, journalists, members from religious groups, MPs from both her own party and other parties, and women's caucuses, both within her own party and the MPWC.

It is important to highlight the value of civil society within these networks. A number of parliamentarians pointed out the fact that MPs often lack resources, particularly research capacity. Professional assistance is described as '*overstretched*', and MPs need to learn to work independently and become, as one parliamentarian called it, '*a one-woman show*'.

However, civil society is of the utmost importance, as it helps to equip and capacitate MPs. Participant L (female) pointed out just how crucial NGOs are in her work, saying that, '*every issue that I drive in parliament, I drive it with the backing of civil society*'. Other MPs described civil society as '*critical*', '*experts*' in their fields and '*helpful*'. Participant G (female) drew attention to the role of NGOs in connecting participants to what is happening on the ground, saying, '*at least you know that the questions you're asking will be relevant or you've got the right facts*'.

It is clear from the discussions with the MPs that personal networks are not only expansive, but also crucial, for parliamentarians. Participants stated that there are no networks that are made up of only one gender, although some networks are predominantly made up of only one gender. It remains common practice for MPs to cross networks often, and both men and women have networks with members of the opposite gender. When considering the networks of participants, focus was placed on the gender aspects of these networks, as well as on the limitations or benefits that such aspects have afforded interviewees. The following section will focus on men's networks, which will be followed by a section on women's networks.

4.4.4.2 Men's Networks

When considering the networks of men and women, it is important to note that the theory of homosocial capital does not dictate that all network will consist of only one gender (Bjarnegård, 2009). Rather networks tend to be dominated by one gender. An interesting pattern emerged regarding gender and the sensitivity of men participants to these networks when considering

the respond by participants in this study. When MPs were asked about whether a Boys' Club exists in parliament, all men denied its existence, except Participant D (male), who downplayed its existence and stated that all institutions have Boys' Clubs, including parliament, although it is not '*prevalent*'. In contrast, all women participants emphatically stated that there is a Boys' Club within parliament.

Participants made a point of highlighting that men's friendship groups and a Boys' Club are not the same thing. Participant J (male) gave the example of his friendship group that is based on an interest in sport, while Participant H (female) indicated that her friendship group consists mostly of younger men and, therefore, some may consider her to be part of a Boys' Club. She goes on to explain that a Boys' Club does not exist between backbenchers, but rather, exists in the leadership of parties:

> *The place where you do see those dynamics playing out, where it's very much a Boys' Club, is in our national leadership structures. [It's] not because there would be overt discrimination against females, but it's because proximity to power engenders power. If you've been an MP and you've been a man for long enough, you drink with powerful men. The powerful men encourage the other powerful men to run for powerful positions. The powerful men dominate the powerful positions and have leverage to get [other] powerful men onto those positions. That's not to say that if you're a woman, you can't get onto one of those positions. Look at Helen, look at Tash – it is possible. But generally speaking, it is a lot easier for the men, and that is where the Boys' Club exists.*

Participant G (female) further emphasised the dominance of men in leadership when she examined the front benches of the opposing parties and pointed out that all were dominated by men. Furthermore, she notes that the same group of senior men in leadership are called on to deal with issues that arise in parliament, stating the following:

> *… and like I said, [the] senior people in parliament are all, are all men. So, they will conspire about the programme. It hardly ever involves females. So, so, Boys' Club in terms of, you know, they recognise their influence, their power, and they keep it amongst themselves. Definitely. It is there.*

When women were asked if they had access to these networks, the majority of them said that they did not, or that they were not members. However, other women participants identified other interviewees as having been part of men's networks. This may suggest that although women have access to these networks and socialise with men colleagues, they do not really

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hold influence or sway within the group highlighting their lack of social capital within the network.

Evidence of Boys' Clubs or networks that trade on homosocial capital appear most often regarding claims of sexual harassment. The DA is the only major political party that has a policy on sexual harassment, which was adopted in 2019. The IFP and EFF do not have sexual harassment policies in place, and the ANC's draft has been sent to the Commission for Gender Equality for a quality check but has not yet been adopted by the party (Jagmohan, 2019). Parliament as an institution adopted a sexual harassment policy in 2006, which allows for MPs and staff to lodge complaints (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019b).

The DA's sexual harassment policy is clear, and it recognises the varied and subtle ways in which sexual harassment can occur. Despite having these policies in place, it appears that the seriousness of this type of behaviour is not recognised, nor are there consequences for the actions of this behaviour. The researcher was unable to obtain a copy of parliament's 2006 sexual harassment policy. This is concerning, as staffers and MPs in the institution may themselves not report harassment due to not being able to find the relevant policies. According to interviewees, often, the sexual harassment that is observed occurs between members of different political parties or is perpetrated by policemen.

Overall, when considering the input of respondents, issues of sexual harassment within the institution appear to remain unaddressed by both women and men. Women participants noted that, most often, sexual harassment comes from policemen and from MPs not within their own caucus, but rather, from other parties. Unwanted physical contact such as kisses, arms over a woman's shoulder or the touching of a person's face have been witnessed by both men and women. Of the seven women participants, four have experienced sexual harassment from either men MPs or policemen in the institution. Once again, age plays a significant role, as all four of the women are under the age of 35, while older participants have not personally experienced any form of sexual harassment.

Older men parliamentarians seem to be the most common perpetrators of this type of behaviour. Participant J (male) noted this when he spoke of the difference between the experiences of men and women within the institution:

> *It starts again with greetings. I mean, I've witnessed where you'd see that, you know, the very old members of parliament, often to the youthful female members of*

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parliament, you know, they'll make inappropriate physical contact. And they would, they would just be, like, wholly inappropriate.

One DA member was open about her experience regarding accountability within the organisation in response to men's networks and sexual harassment. When asked about the suitability of the Federal Legal Commission – the body meant to hold DA MPs accountable – she said that the commission was ineffective. She goes on to state the following:

Generally, I think that men particularly tried to find an arrangement that is not going to embarrass the person concerned or bring it out in public. So, they will find other ways [...]. But I was very angry with the party on many occasions. We had some bad cases in the Eastern Cape. And they just ignored it, because the leader at the time was not particularly concerned about it. [...] There were one or two people who were dismissed. They're far quicker to dismiss you for neglecting any other sort of duty and not that. So, there is a kind of protectionism still. There is a buddy-buddy system.

Participant L (female) also recounted her experience of accountability when she was in local government. On one occasion, a male colleague grabbed her wrist after a meeting and became aggressive. Despite the fact that she reported him, and other women had admitted to similar experiences with the accused, nothing was ever done regarding the incident. She spoke about the outcome, stating the following:

Absolutely nothing happened. The councillor ended up not returning in 2016. And that's when I was just like, forget about it. But it was frustrating that the complaint didn't have anything that move[d] forward. So, it's almost like a precedent that they set with women to be like, if you complain about them doing it, nothing's going to happen.

When participants were asked about how groups or networks form within parliament, many said that they form around shared interests such as living in parliamentary housing, shared sexual orientation and working relationships with members representing the same province. Participant H (female) expanded on this, saying that friendships tend to run along the same fault lines that can be observed in society. Factors such as race and age contribute to the development of friendships within the institution. However, the most common reason for the development of networks is due to members serving on the same committee. Committees tend to be divided along gender lines, and this trend, as noted previously, will be explored in more detail in the following section.

Men participants appear to be unaware of or refuse to acknowledge the predominantly men network within parliament and the apparent protectionism by men's networks regarding sexual harassment are indicators of not only the power of these networks but the scope of them as well. The clearest example of these men's networks appear to be isolated to leadership – not only within individual parties, but, from the perspective of respondents, across the institution as a whole. Shared interests have led to the development of networks and friendships, which are often a result of MPs serving together on the same portfolios. However, homosocial capital is evident not only in men's networks, but also in women's networks.

4.4.4.3 Women's Networks

While discussing the participants' networks, it became clear that MPs are continually entering and accessing their colleagues' resources and networks – both men and women. Most participants claimed that they felt that it would not be a problem to approach colleagues of the opposite gender about their networks, so long as they had a good relationship or sufficient bonding or bridging capital.

Participant B (male) drew attention to the fact that all of his direct seniors are women, and that he has, on a number of occasions, accessed their networks, since theirs are much larger than his own. Participant C (male) also noted that the majority of MPs within his province are women, and that he needs their resources. Likewise, women participants claimed that they feel that they can approach their men colleagues, should they need to. Participant L (female) argued that access to men's networks is crucial in her ability to do her job, saying that '*I've been in this game for a while now, and if I didn't do that, I would have gotten nowhere*'.

Several women MPs noted that, oftentimes, they do not need to access their men's networks as their networks tend to be broad enough that access to men MPs' networks is not always necessary. Participant A (female) concisely made this point, saying, '*If I want something, I go and get it. I don't need anyone else*'. Participant F (female), Participant H (female) and Participant K (female) echoed these sentiments. This was emphasised by Participant F (female) when discussing access to resources in respect of women's interests:

> *I never approached men. I actually just went directly to [the Speaker], because I knew that she was sympathetic. And she was the speaker, right? That she had power. So, you go to people that often [are] strategic.*

Like their men colleagues, women have created their own networks that are predominantly made up of other women. Participant E (female) observed that women tend to relate better to

one another. She gave the example of working with two other women from different political parties in her committee in order to slow down legislation that they believed was not ready. Participant F (female) highlights another women's network when discussing women-friendly legislation, where women from different spheres have worked together in order to pass legislation:

> *So, you had legal women, you had women academics and you had women in politics, and now that is how it should be – working together. The Act is not perfect, but it was an example of how you could make interventions, working together.*

Participant G (female) noted that these networks are informal, and members will often encourage and support one another where they can. She gives the following example of a fellow female colleague who is often mocked for her language skills:

> *We [women] would try and look out for one another. I would also protect [woman colleague] wherever we go. If somebody makes fun of her or attacks her, I know it is because she is female, and she is from a rural area and because people like to poke fun at her for her level of education and all that. But I would protect her, even though she is not from my party.*

Participant H (female) also recounts an experience of being harshly heckled by ANC men while at the podium and a senior ANC woman shouting encouragement to her in response:

> *So, I looked at her and smiled at her and she made this big smile. It was [a] very interesting thing, where [she] saw me as a young female and, even across party lines, shouted out, almost as if to give me a bear hug.*

However, these networks are often compromised by the party identities of their members. Participant E (female) stated that '*[p]eople are so horned off in their party identities that they can't talk to each other as people, let alone across gender lines or within a gender network*'. Examples of women working together across parties are a rare occurrence, and often, their ability to do so is hampered by their own party's agenda.

Gouws (2011) argues that a closed list and PR system in South African politics has meant that MPs are loyal to their parties rather than to constituencies. MPs need to act in their own self-interest in order to ensure their place on the party list in the next election. This has meant that self-interest has trumped the cooperation of women across party lines. Nowhere is this more evident than when considering the effectiveness and attitudes of women MPs regarding the MPWC.

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Women participants were asked about their involvement with the MPWC. Of the seven women participants, four stated that they are not members of the MPWC. They claimed that the MPWC is a '*waste of time*' and '*ineffective*', and that is a caucus '*without teeth*'. One participant recounted a conversation that she had with a member of the MPWC, who said that '*it's a platform for the old ANC girls to fight each other about, like, completely ridiculous internal stuff'*. Only one participant stated that she is not a member due to reasons based on ideological grounds.

Of the remaining three women, two said that they believe that the MPWC has potential, and that they hope it will become more active in the current parliament than it has been previously. One participant did claim that the MPWC is able to drive policies and programmes but admitted that the caucus is ignored by both men and women within the institution. During observation of the MPWC, it became clear that the members themselves do not take the caucus seriously. Some members arrived nearly an hour late, and the meeting failed to get through the five items on its agenda, despite the meeting running 30 minutes over its allotted time. Moreover, members did not listen to one another's contributions, which meant that the same issues that had been raised previously were repeated multiple times.

As has been mentioned previously, networks have formed based on the committees on which members serve. One participant explained that there are '*silos*' of women and young people in parliament. '*So, you'll notice how they put young people in those committees: gender, youth, people with disabilities. You know, look at a basic education, higher education*' (Participant L [female]). This was evident in the data collected through participant observation, which showed that portfolios such as Transport and Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities are dominated by men and women respectively.

Participant G (female) noted that portfolios such as Social Development are largely made up of women. Participants also emphasised the fact that, oftentimes, their network of MPs are made up of members within their portfolio committee. If their committee is dominated by one gender, so too is their network. This is important to note and can explain, to a degree, why participants indicated the dominance of one gender in different networks. However, it is also concerning that portfolios that are considered to be 'soft' politics are dominated by women.

Women have been able to create their own networks within parliament that trade on women homosocial capital. Women's networks have been expansive, and women MPs do not always need to rely on men and their networks in order to be effective representatives. In fact, men

parliamentarians stressed that access to their women colleagues' networks is just as important for them. However, formalised networks such as the MPWC remain ineffective and deeply divided along party lines, and the mobilisation of women within the institution does not appear to be a possibility at this time.

4.4.5 The Substantive Representation of Women

4.4.5.1 Women-Friendly Legislation

When looking at the substantive representation of women, it is necessary to establish whether MPs believe that legislation is needed in order to address and differentiate between men and women and their interests. All participants, both men and women, across all political parties represented in the sample, agreed that legislation is needed in order to address women's interests.

DA participants placed restrictions on what they believe would be necessary legislation, due to their liberal ideology. Issues supporting equal pay, reform of the justice system and women's right to decide what to do with their bodies are areas within legislation that they believe do need legislative measures in order to protect women and their interests. However, a number of DA participants rejected quotas in all forms. Participant I (male) explains his position as follows:

> *I do not believe in reducing people to mere statistical, uh, facsimiles of groups or, or categories. I think it's demeaning to those people and [...] it hides the competence and power and effectiveness that that person is able to offer.*

Overall, participants were supportive of legislation regarding the interests of women. They deemed it necessary and noted that all vulnerable groups in society need legislation to protect them. As Participant J (male) noted, there is a history of inequality within society that needs to be addressed. Participant E (female) emphasised the fact that the law has been reworked and legislation has been introduced to redress issues regarding race and racial inequality, but the same care and effort has not gone into addressing gender inequality. Thus, it is clear that respondents recognise the importance of legislation that addresses women's interests.

4.4.5.2 Legislation, Programmes and Other Forms of Representing Women

Although the substantive representation of women is not limited to legislation, participants were questioned about whether they have championed any Bills on women's interests. Of the 12 participants, two participants said that they have been able to pass legislation from the

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opposition in support of women's interests, while another two MPs are in the process of drafting legislation that aims to represent women and their interests. Interestingly, of these four participants, two were men and two were women. Although one man participant claimed never to have been involved in such legislation, Participant K (female) mentioned him by name, stating that he played an important role in her ability to gain support from the private sector for her legislation.

Of the two participants who had passed women-friendly legislation, both noted that they had great support – not only from their own party, but across the institution. A possible explanation for this support is that, as one participant noted, no one wants to be seen as being on the other side of the issue. While discussing legislation that an MP is currently working on, the participant noted, '*I think it is a sure, safe bet, because I don't think that any man is going to say, "no, a woman shouldn't"*'. One participant who had championed legislation that had been passed through the house noted that he never had anyone question why he, as a man, was putting forward that particular Bill.

However, legislation is not the only manner through which parliamentarians have represented women and their interests. Participant J (male) gave an example of filing a complaint with the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), a Chapter 9 institution. Although, ultimately, the Commission did not rule in his favour, he said that it brought a '*spotlight*' to the issue, and that he continues to champion the issue despite having changed portfolios since then. Another MP noted that debate and discussion of legislation have created opportunities to educate men in the party regarding issues that affect women.

Thus, both men and women participants have been able to represent women and their interests. They note that support for women's interests does exist, as long as the legislation that is put forward is not of a controversial nature. Additionally, women's interests have been represented through other methods, such as formal complaints to the CGE. From a gender perspective, both men and women have substantively represented women in parliament.

4.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to summarise the results according to the themes outlined in Chapter 3 (Research Methodology), which include recruitment, party politics, institutional culture, informal networks and the substantive representation of women. It is important to note that overall themes were drawn from the interviews conducted and the academic literature on the topic. Participants do not believe that gender is not a factor in terms of recruitment and it

does not influence – neither positively nor negatively – MPs' ability to join their party or their party's party list.

When considering the theme of party politics, the results are mixed. Both men and women are mentored within the institution; however, the meaningfulness of these connections are varied, and there appears to be significance to these networks from a gendered perspective. However, according to participants, that there is a distinction between the manner in which men and women are treated in the institution. Women respondents have noted that they have had to take protective measures against their leaders, other women within their organisations have been passed over for promotion due to their motherhood, and they have felt as though there has been a double standard between members being held accountable.

When participants spoke of the broader institutional culture of parliament, it became evident that facilities that address both men and women are also unequal. Issues surrounding day-care facilities, bathrooms and inadequate medical aid were highlighted as examples. Furthermore, both men and women participants pointed to the fact that age is used to undermine and discredit MPs in the institution. Political parties' ideologies have meant that, on a policy level, parties are supportive of women's interests, but in practice, responded believe that parties treat women's interests as seasonal concerns or as a political backwater. Thus, parties lack political will in this area. The entrenched traditional masculine culture in parliament of aggression and combativeness has also been noted as an obstacle which makes the space a difficult one for women MPs.

However, this has not meant that women have not been able to develop their own networks within parliament. Both men and women have expansive networks that include other MPs, NGOs and government. Evidence of homosocial capital is found in networks dominated by men and in those dominated by women, with men's networks appearing to be more powerful, due to many leadership positions within the institution being filled by men. Men's networks are also more apparent regarding sexual harassment. Women participants noted that there is a Boys' Club and a culture of protectionism within parliament. Women have also created their own homosocial networks; however, these are often compromised by party identities, and they lack the power and resources that are evident in men's networks.

Finally, women and their interests are substantively represented in the Parliament of South Africa, despite the obstacles that MPs face in representing women's interests. Parliamentarians have recognised the importance of legislation that addresses women's interests and have, in

several instances, put forward legislation or lodged complaints with the CGE regarding gender inequality. Some were even, at the time of their interview, in the process of drafting legislation that would address what they believed to be of concern to women. The following chapter will analyse the data that was presented here in relation to the theory of homosocial capital and the broader literature regarding the substantive representation of women.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter provides an analysis of the primary and secondary data collected for this study. The analysis links the debate around women's representation and homosocial capital networks to the South African context. Special attention will be given to results that support and, importantly, deviate from the current conversation regarding the topics of women's representation and homosocial capital.

The first section of the chapter will discuss informal networks in parliament (both men's and women's networks) and the engagement of MPs with their respective networks. This will be followed by an examination of the substantive representation of women. This section will highlight factors that both facilitate and impede the substantive representation of women. These challenges relate to the dominance of the ruling party, the erasure of femininity in the institution and a lack of political will regarding women-friendly legislation. Thereafter, a number of recommendations will be made to the Parliament of South Africa and further complex challenges will be identified – such challenges will continue to affect the representation of women unless they are addressed.

5.2 Informal Networks in Parliament

When considering the informal networks within the Parliament of South Africa, it is important to note the use of quotas by the ANC and the increased number of women within the institution over the past 20 years. Currently, 46 per cent of South Africa's parliament consists of women, and cabinet has reached parity, with half of all ministers being women (Rama & Lowe Morna, 2019:5). The descriptive representation of women within the Parliament of South Africa is one of the highest in the world, and the sheer number of women has meant that women have spread throughout the institution, including throughout the informal networks that exist.

As highlighted by participants, almost no network exists without women being present to some degree. However, there are networks that are made up of primarily one gender or another. These networks trade on both bonding capital and bridging capital among their members. Participants explained that they would often approach members of the opposite gender, as well as those within their own networks, in order to access resources, influence and connections. However, interviewees stipulated that they would do this only if they believed they had a good relationship with the members they were approaching – in other words, if they believed they

had sufficient social capital to trade in order to access the networks and resources of the members whom they approached. This trading on social capital occurs between members of the same gender, as well as between men and women, which indicates that bonding and bridging capital are present within these networks.

Bjarnegård's (2009; 2013) research focused on Thailand's parliament, of which women made up less than 20 per cent at the time (The World Bank, n.d.). If one considers Kanter's (1977a; 1977b) work and her delineation of groups, Thailand's parliament would be considered to be a tilted group (a ratio of 85:15), while South Africa's parliament would be a balanced group (a ratio of 60:40 or 50:50).

Thus, the results that have been presented are different to that of Bjarnegård's (2009; 2013) study, since the Parliament of South Africa has 26 per cent more women than Thailand's parliament did when Bjarnegård (2009; 2013) conducted her research. The following section will consider men's and women's networks, the role that homosocial capital plays in both forms of informal networks, and the manner in which women access and engage with men's homosocial networks.

5.2.1 Men's Networks

The purpose of this research was to determine the existence of homosocial capital within the Parliament of South Africa. From the evidence gathered, it appears that homosocial capital exists in both men's and women's networks. However, it appears that men are unaware of these networks, or they take for granted their privileged position within the institution. Men participants were unaware of their gender, while women participants, for the most part, were aware. The most evident examples of these networks exist in the leadership of parties within parliament, which are dominated by men. Women generally have little access and are not seen as members of these networks.

These results both support and deviate from the argument that Bjarnegård (2009; 2013) makes regarding homosocial capital and the workings of informal networks. She argues that informal networks exist within political institutions, and that the social capital that develops between members of the same gender facilitates and resources the work of men within the institution. In South Africa's parliament, this remains true, with leaders having access to resources and other influential members of the institution due to their position, and since men dominate leadership, so too do they dominate access to resources and influence in the institution.

Furthermore, Bjarnegård (2009) argues that gender, as a visible category, has allowed members of a network to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate members of the network. As evidenced by the data gathered, women parliamentarians do not find it difficult to access men's networks; however, participants did indicate that it is difficult to have influence and to be heard by men in those networks. This is not to suggest that women cannot be members of these networks.

Although all participants denied being members of men's networks, other interviewees identified certain participants as members. This may suggest that some women are included in these networks, but their membership is conditional, and therefore, these women do not consider themselves to be members because they are not legitimate members of the network. As Bjarnegård (2013:28) argues, women often need to be sponsored by a man members in order to be accepted into men's network. Women will continue to rely on their sponsors since, because of their gender, they will never be able to become legitimate members of such networks.

Additionally, Bjarnegård (2009:25) points out that men within society – and therefore within parliament – hold the most powerful positions. These political positions provide access to resources and information that is required for certain political actions. This is known as positional power, according to Celis & Lovenduski (2018). This means that both men and women tend to rely on men within those positions in order to be effective representatives. In the case of the Parliament of South Africa, this is true to a certain extent. Participants did indicate that access to leaders is important, but that the parliamentary caucus of their party in its totality is the true gatekeeper when it comes to legislation and support for proposed initiatives and policies.

The clearest example of men's networks trading on homosocial capital is evident regarding sexual harassment in parliament. None of the men interviewed had experienced sexual harassment in the institution. This suggests that, by and large, the majority of those who are sexually harassed are women, thereby making the issue deeply gendered. The structures to keep MPs accountable for their behaviour appear to be ineffective, at least in the DA's context, with men protecting one another from the consequences of inappropriate behaviour within the workplace. Unlike in other instances, where networks appear to have mixed membership to a greater or lesser degree, sexual harassment protectionist networks appear to be made up almost exclusively of men.

Bjarnegård (2009; 2013) argues that homosocial capital networks increase predictability, which is needed in uncertain circumstances, such as within the political arena or illicit activities, and members of these networks are considered to be predictable and trustworthy. However, anticipated gender roles and attitudes mean that women are not included in these networks. This is because men may assume that women will not be loyal to the network, or that their attitude on a matter – in this case, sexual harassment – will not align with the attitudes of the men within the network. This may be the clearest example of gender being used as a category for membership to a network in the South African context.

Men's networks are important and, in fact, powerful within the institution. These networks are concentrated mostly in spheres of leadership, where the most experienced MPs hold positions – currently, mainly men hold such positions. Trading on homosocial capital, powerful men help other powerful men to obtain positions and expand their resources and influence. Interestingly, MPs who had been a part of the institution since the first or second parliament indicated stronger men's homosocial capital networks than are currently evident in parliament. This is significant, as it may suggest that the increase in the number of women, as well as the influence of those women, has an impact on the power and influence of men's homosocial capital networks.

The majority of research on homosocial capital has focused on corrupt practices and clientelist networks, which have not been the focus of the current research (Bjarnegård, 2009; Bjarnegård 2013; Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016; Benstead, 2016). However, the contributions of Benstead (2016) have some bearing on this research. Benstead (2016) investigated homosocial capital networks in North Africa and found that MPs' networks expanded to include those whom they represent. In the current study, it is clear that MPs' networks are vast and include not only citizens and community groups, but also civil society and the private sector.

Benstead (2016) also notes that patriarchal norms, which influence and inform the way in which men and women relate to one another, are important when studying networks. She claims that these prescriptive stereotypes dictate the behaviour of men and women, and that where patriarchal norms have been entrenched, men have an advantage in accumulating homosocial capital. This appears to be the case in the Parliament of South Africa, where women experience more obstacles than their men counterparts in advancing in the institution.

5.2.2 Women's and Men's Networks

In her work, Bjarnegård (2009; 2013) does not make the claim that men's networks mean that women are unable to succeed in the institution; rather, she points out that their existence creates obstacles for women's advancement. These networks mean that women – as well as men who are not members of these networks – are reliant on men in the networks for resources and influence. Thus, both men and women tend to be more interested in building networks with men rather than with women. This may create obstacles for women in developing their networks, thereby making their networks smaller and less powerful.

This does not appear to be relevant to the South African context. Both men and women participants noted that women MPs have large networks, and that women's networks are important to men in the institution and are easily accessible to the men MPs. Women have been able to build wide and effective networks, both within and outside of their political party, as well as outside of the institution. Participants gave evidence of women working together across political lines in order to be better representatives, as well as banding together in committees in order to have greater influence and to place sufficient pressure on the committee or on specific members.

This banding together of women, although rare, suggests that women work together in response to the dominance of men in the institution. By creating networks based on women's homosocial capital, participants are able to counter the strength of men's networks. In some instances, women are able to circumvent men altogether. By approaching women who are in powerful positions and who have their own instrumental resources, women respondents are able to fulfil their needs, without involving any men's networks in the process. However, it must be noted that these instances are not common, and that partisan identities and politics play an important role in limiting the banding together of women in the institution.

This is most evident in the attitudes towards, and the functioning of, the MPWC. Women and men within the institution do not take the MPWC seriously, nor does the MPWC appear to have significant influence within the institution. This contradicts the contribution of Childs & Allen (2019), who suggest that WPOs could be a critical actor and an important body to study when it comes to the representation of women. Participants indicated that the MPWC is not effective in its current form, and that part of the caucus's work in the current parliament is to make the body effectual in representing women in the institution.

Women have also created networks among themselves, because women, like young people, are placed in portfolios that are either of interest to them or that are considered, by leadership, to be women's/youth portfolios, such as the Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities, the Department of Basic Education, the Department of Higher Education and the Department of Social Development. This is also true of men within the institution. Portfolios such as the Ministry of Finance, the Department of Transportation and the Department of Public Enterprise are dominated by men.

According to research on the policy preferences of men and women, there is a small difference between the genders (Gottlieb et al., 2016). Issues of poverty and health are preferred by women, while men focus on infrastructure, investment management and agriculture. Gottlieb et al. (2016) argue that the differences in policy preferences between men and women decrease in governments that have a larger number of women as elected officials. Women represent women's interests when they enter government and serve on committees that represent the interests that women are most concerned about. Considering this research, it may partially explain the domination of one gender in certain portfolios. Men and women serve on committees that are of interest to them, and they naturally gravitate towards these committees. This leads to portfolios being dominated by one gender.

However, it is important to note that this is only a partial explanation of the gendered nature of portfolios within parliament. Additionally, women participants noted that they believed that women are placed in portfolios such as Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities because these portfolios deal with women's issues, and women MPs should be the ones to address such issues. This is either because men do not have an interest in these types of committees or, as one man participant from the DA explained, women have the authority to discuss and address these issues.

These 'silos' of women and young members serve on portfolios that are often considered to be soft politics and portfolios that do not draw attention from the public or the media, and that have little political capital or have low profiles. In this way, in order to be effective representatives, parliamentarians often develop networks with people within their portfolios who are members of the same gender.

Portfolios that have influence are dominated by men, and it is through their work within these portfolios that their influence and resources increase. Participants noted that women who tend to succeed in the institution are not those who focus on women's interests or who have formed

networks through the women's caucus of their party. However, this is not to say that women have to focus on traditionally portfolios dominated by men. Rather, power and interest needs to be shifted to portfolios that have been side-lined and are considered niche politics or the political backwater of the institution.

When considering the informal networks of parliamentarians, the evidence of homosocial capital networks is apparent. Both men and women have created vast networks that include members of both genders, with instances of bonding and bridging capital. However, the networks with the most power are those that have members who are within leadership positions – at this time, positions of leadership are dominated by men across all political parties. The most overt instances of men's homosocial capital are evident in the response to sexual harassment. Women's homosocial capital networks, on the other hand, play out in a variety of situations and are not as powerful as their men counterparts' networks.

5.3 The Substantive Representation of Women

In order to answer the research question that was asked in Chapter 1 (Introduction), the current situation regarding the substantive representation of women needs to be established. There are facilitating, as well as impeding, factors to the substantive representation of women in the South African context.

Due to the sampling of participants, it is possible to explore the ability of only opposition MPs in representing women. In total 11 MPs from the opposition were interviewed, representing 6.4% of elected representatives at the National Assembly. As stated previously, the small sample size limits this study from making generalisation regarding the institution. However, findings presented here might be used as guides to future researcher who wish to study gender and the Parliament of South Africa. The following section will consider the findings which demonstrate factors which both facilitated and hinder the substantive representations of women.

5.3.1 Facilitating Factors

Ideology is one of the greatest facilitating factors when it comes to the representation of women in parliament. Since the majority of participants are/were DA members, the DA's liberal ideology deeply influences the perspective of participants on the topic of women's interests. Although members are committed to a liberal feminist perspective, all participants, including those from other parties, agreed that women-friendly legislation is needed in order to address the interests of women in South Africa. This indicates that parliamentarians are aware that there

is a legislative need for the representation of women's interests, and that there is a disparity between the experiences of men and women within society, despite the increase in the descriptive representation of women.

In terms of support for policies, the men and women who have passed legislation regarding women's interests have indicated support not only from their own party, but from parties across the political spectrum, so long as the law has not been controversial. No political party, or any of its members, wants to be seen as though it is sexist. Therefore, as long as the legislation does not challenge the ideology of members, parties are receptive. As Swers (2002) notes, issues, interests and framings that challenge or are in conflict with the prevailing perceptions or framings within an institution are often either strategically or unconsciously discarded. Interests and issues that are more acceptable to the members of the institution, and that have a chance of gaining support, are pursued instead.

Importantly, when discussing the process of passing legislation, respondents indicated that their networks were important. The working relationships that they had formed with other representatives, particularly those within their own party and committee were deeply important in order for the legislations to be consider and eventually passed. This indicated the importance of good working relationship and how networks were crucial in gaining support to pass legislation.

5.3.2 Impeding Factors

Despite the ideological basis and feminist leanings of both the ANC and the DA, there continues to be obstacles to the substantive representation of women in parliament. The following section will explore these factors relating to the domination of the ANC, the culture within the institution regarding femininity and, lastly, a lack of political will from leadership in parliament. Without addressing the challenges outlined here, it is unlikely that women and their interests will be substantively represented in the current parliament.

5.3.2.1 ANC Dominance

As noted previously, the ideologies of political parties play a role in the position they take in terms of the substantive representation of women and women's interests. Due to this, opposition members who have passed women-friendly Bills have done so with great support from across the institution. However, it is important to note that this legislation has been in the form of private member Bills. This means that it is not possible for a political party from the

opposition to take credit for the Bill; rather, it means that the Bill was championed by an individual MP. This is due to the dominance of the ANC within the institution.

Participants gave numerous accounts of the ANC blocking and rejecting policies and Bills from the opposition, not due to ideological differences, but rather, due to the partisan identity of the member putting the Bill forward. Although most of these initiatives did not focus on women's interests, it is important to note the difficulty that opposition MPs face in attempting to pass legislation. Participants noted that policies that they championed would be shut down in committees, only to be brought back by an ANC member later on, or alternatively, the ANC would take over legislation from the opposition, as long as opposition members agreed not to take credit for these initiatives.

Since the ANC has, until the last election, enjoyed more than 60 per cent of the votes, it has dominated the institution, set the culture and, importantly, determined the legislative priorities and the course of the democratic institution. However, hindering legislation put forward by the opposition, only for the party to bring that same legislation back itself, creates delays in passing important and necessary legislation.

Furthermore, the loyalty of ANC members to their party rather than their constituencies means that ANC MPs will vote as the party leadership has decided, rather than vote for Bills that are brought forward by the opposition (Gouws, 2011; Walsh, 2012). Since South Africa is a one-party-dominant democracy, and with the ANC's strong majority, it remains likely that opposition MPs will continue to face walls of resistance in their attempts to pass legislation and put forward policies.

5.3.2.2 The Erasure of Femininity and the Lack of Political Will

The most damaging obstacle to the substantive representation of women is the culture of masculinity, which creates a lack of political will when it comes to women's interests. Traditional feminine traits are erased in the institution and substituted with masculine ones, such as aggression and combativeness. Participants spoke of the penalties that women experience when they express emotion or speak about their feminist perspectives or values. Rather, logic and rationality, traditionally seen as masculine qualities, are hailed as the most desirable traits, as well as the most persuasive when debating issues.

Other penalties, such as motherhood, had not only cost one parliamentarian a promotion, but the lack of day-care facilities has also meant that some women have had to choose between their careers and their families. This was a concern for a number of the women interviewed;

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however, none of the men that participated indicated that his fatherhood had been an obstacle to his ability to be a public representative. Historically, representatives did not have care responsibilities, nor did they fall pregnant. Political institutions were designed when the concept of public and private life was divided into gender roles, which no longer applies to modern society (Celis & Lovenduski, 2018:156).

'Gendered formal and informal rules and practices that establish masculinity and men's behaviour and interests as the norm are deeply embedded in political institutions' (Celis & Lovenduski, 2018:157). Therefore, traditionally feminine characteristics are seen as obstacles and as a weakness, not only by men in parliament, but also by women. As a result, women have had to adopt masculine qualities, and some have become honorary men. Women participants indicated that they had to change their behaviour, perspectives and even the manner in which they engage other MPs, due to the culture of the institution. This coincides with the findings of Geisler (2000), who found that women take on masculine traits in order to navigate the institution.

As Celis & Lovenduski (2018) argue, women's interests, when brought into the political space, are systemically marginalised, and as such, these interests are labelled as 'special' or 'minority' issues. By viewing women and their interests as soft or niche politics, and with women who enter the institution through quotas being seen as having not earned their position, it is evident that both men and women do not take seriously the substantive representation of women. Those participants who focus on women's interests work with portfolios that have the closest ties to women and their interests, with only one outlier: a man who participated who represents women due to his previous work outside of the institution. Women's representation is not his focus in parliament.

This has meant that women have been divided into two groups: women who specialise or have a particular interest in women's politics, and women who have rejected or do not speak about their own feminist values and focus their attention on other concerns. Once again, the results here mirror Geisler's (2000) investigation of the first democratic parliament, where she found a divide between women who had embraced and adopted the institutional culture, thereby becoming honorary men, and women who specialised in a particular field and carved out a niche for themselves, usually within women's politics.

Women taking on masculine traits means that they, too, need to reject traditionally feminine characteristics and never discuss their own feminist stances. Participants also noted that women

who focus on women's politics are unlikely to advance within their party. The portfolios that traditionally represent women's interests are low-profile committees that are unlikely to draw attention from the public and that have very little political capital. Therefore, the women most likely to advance are the ones who have no interest in, or do not focus on, women's interests.

Since leadership has the most power and influence, the next generation of women leaders is unlikely to focus on, or have an interest or background in, women's politics. As Britton (2005) notes, as parliament has matured, women representatives have become more professional. Women are no longer being recruited from civil society, where they have been members of women's organisations, and as such, women do not consider themselves to be activists.

In order to substantively represent women, parliamentarians need to be able to impress upon their party's leadership the importance and benefit of women's interests. Since the women who are most concerned with these interests are unlikely to be honorary members of men's networks, and are unlikely to advance within their institutions and enter leadership, this embedded masculine culture and a lack of political will from leadership regarding women's interests is likely to be perpetuated within the Parliament of South Africa. This suggests that critical actors, rather than critical mass, are of primary importance in parliament when it comes to the substantive representation of women. Women entering the institution does not necessarily lead to substantive gains (Childs & Krook, 2008).

5.4   Implication and the Need for Change

Through the analysis of this study, it has become clear that there are challenges that MPs face in their attempts to substantively represent women in the Parliament of South Africa. The evidence presented here indicates the existence of informal men's and women's networks that trade on homosocial capital. These networks are in continuous contact, and bridging capital is used in order for members from either network to access the resources of other parliamentarians. Furthermore, women's interests have been substantively represented by members of the opposition – both men and women. The lack of backlash from members within parliament, based on gender, is an encouraging sign that suggests that women-friendly legislation is supported by members across all political parties.

The majority of women within the institution continue to note that the institution is a difficult space for women. This supports the findings of Geisler (2000), who claims that parliament is just another terrain within society where women are at a disadvantage. The findings of this research indicate that despite the 20 years since Geisler's (2000) work, the culture within the

institution has not sufficiently changed. Masculine traits are still valued over traditionally feminine qualities, and women have adopted these masculine traits in order to navigate the institution.

This lack of change in parliament is concerning. Women who have become honorary men have been able to infiltrate and have some influence over men's homosocial capital networks. However, the limited impact that these women and others have had on gender equality suggests that men's networks are powerful and robust. Since the women in these networks have rejected feminine characteristics, are silent about their feminist stances and have adopted masculine traits, the culture of these networks is unlikely to change.

The adoption of masculine traits and values, along with the disinterest that MPs have regarding women's interests, creates the greatest barrier to representing women substantively. Since those with the greatest influence and resources disengage from women's representation, there is a lack of political will from leadership and a lack of political capital for the members who work in those portfolios. This creates the illusion that portfolios that deal with policy and legislation that impact predominantly women and families are unimportant. This belief leads to these portfolios and the work they do being regarded as the political backwater of the institution.

Homosocial capital networks influence the substantive representation of women in South Africa's parliament by setting the culture of the institution. These networks within the leadership hold the most influence and power, and by minimising the importance of portfolios that deal with women's interests, they signal to other MPs the manner in which they should view these committees and their work. Additionally, due to the rejection of emotion and feminism, and as a result of a culture of aggression and combativeness, there is a lack of interest in representing women in parliament. This is not to say that MPs do not have the ability to represent women; rather, they simply lack the motivation to do so. A shift in the culture of the institution is therefore needed, and power needs to be redistributed in order to counteract and change the current circumstances in parliament.

However, perhaps the manner in which to ensure the gendered perspective of legislation is to have MPs consider the gendered implications of all legislation that is put forward. Rather than having portfolios such as Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities and Social Development focus on women's interests, MPs should consider the role that gender has on all of the issues they wish to address. By placing gender as a qualifier, all legislation would be

engendered and would place the necessary focus on a systemic issue that has not received the care and consideration that it should, through gender mainstreaming.

5.5 Empirical Findings

The current study has attempted to situate the Parliament of South Africa within the scholarly conversation on the substantive representation of women. By investigating the informal networks and the gendered aspect of these groups, the research has shed some light on the informal obstacles and challenges that opposition MPs face in representing women and their interests within the institution. In answering the research question outlined in Chapter 1 (Introduction), it has become clear that networks exist in the Parliament of South Africa which trade on homosocial capital which are mostly limited to leadership structures. The networks of the respondents are important in order to capacitate them in their work, for example, in gaining the support needed to pass legislature.

Women's homosocial capital networks have been large enough and have possessed enough resources that, at times, women parliamentarians have been able to circumvent men's networks entirely. Furthermore, these networks have been able to counteract pressure from senior men in parliament to ensure that legislation is ready to be considered by MPs. However, these networks have been inconsistent and often compromised by partisan identities, thereby making the banding together of women across parties lines a rare occurrence.

Men's homosocial capital networks often continue to go unseen and unexamined by members of the institution. The institutional culture's entrenched masculine qualities, and its penalisation of members for expressing traditionally feminine qualities, has meant that masculine practices are seen as natural and the best manner in which to structure the institution. Protectionist men's networks on the sexual harassment of women – both MPs and staffers – have been the clearest example of networks that trade on men's homosocial capital.

The domination of men and masculinity in the institution has systematically marginalised the interests of women. Portfolios that are traditional interests of men have the most political capital and the highest profile in parliament. Soft politics portfolios such as Social Development and Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities, which consist disproportionately of women, tend to have low public profiles and smaller budgets, despite the broad issues that they deal with.

Leadership's lack of interest and the treatment of these portfolios as a political backwater has signalled to members of the institution the manner in which they should view these committees

and their work. This creates obstacles for those MPs attempting to represent women by convincing their parties of the importance of women-friendly legislation. However, that is not to say that the MPs do not have the ability to champion these Bills, as two of the participants in the study had been able to pass women-friendly legislation as private member Bills. Therefore, the track record for the substantive representation of women in parliament is an inconsistent one, and it often lacks the effectual implementation of legislation.

5.6 Theoretical Contribution

Bjarnegård's (2009; 2013) theory of homosocial capital has outlined the gendered nature of networks in parliamentary institutions, and it has highlighted the way in which social capital based on gender has the ability to create predictability in uncertain circumstances. Bjarnegård's work has drawn attention to the informal practices within institutions and how these may create obstacles to women working in those spaces. The current study has applied those theoretical concepts, finding that both men and women create these informal networks that trade on homosocial capital. Unlike Bjarnegård's (2009; 2013) investigation of Thailand's parliament, the high number of women in the Parliament of South Africa has meant that both men and women rely on the networks of others in order to be effective representatives. Women have also been able to create their own networks which, although inconsistent, have been able to circumvent men and their networks.

The results of this study also indicate that descriptive representation does not always lead to substantive gains for women. Simply increasing the number of women within a political institution does not necessarily mean that those women can or will act in the interest of other women (Beckwith, 2007; Childs & Krook, 2008). Therefore, critical actors, rather than critical mass, are the most effective method by which women's interests should be represented within the institution.

The study conducted by Geisler (2000) on the experiences of women MPs in South Africa's parliament remains accurate, despite the two decades that have passed since the research was conducted. As within the first parliament, parliament as an institution remains deeply masculine, with some women adopting masculine behaviours and traits in order to navigate the institution. This masculine culture has marginalised and downplayed the importance of women's interests within the institution and has made the representation of women an unattractive duty to parliamentarians. The partisan identities of members compromise the abilities of MPs to band together around issues, and the dominance of the ANC has created

obstacles for the ability of opposition MPs to pass women-friendly legislation. Until leaders of political parties highlight the value and importance of women, and place a premium on representing women, it is unlikely that parliament as an institution will have the necessary political will and momentum in order to address the systemic gendered issues that South African society faces.

5.7 Recommendations for Future Study

There are a number of areas that warrant further research, given the limited scope of this study. Firstly, this study is limited in terms of the experience and perceptions of parliamentarians, due to the lack of representation of members of the ruling party. Future research should sample members of both the ANC and the EFF on their experiences in the institution, which would offer valuable insight. The culture and ideology of both parties are likely to be vastly different to that of the DA's philosophy, and research on this will offer a comprehensive understanding of the informal workings of the political institution.

The values and views of leadership would be an important component of future research. Establishing the interests and priorities of leadership within political parties would offer insight into the factors that determine the manner in which party leaders construct and prioritise issues and interests. This would reveal key stakeholders within the political arena.

Finally, the continued and seemingly widespread sexual harassment of women MPs within parliament should be investigated. Protectionist networks and the inability to hold men accountable for inappropriate behaviour in the workplace are concerning. By highlighting these practices and networks, political parties may be able to address the underlying causes and, in this way, protect their members.

5.8 Conclusion

Feminists across the globe have argued for the inclusion of women in political institutions so that they may represent women and their interests. However, the 'just add women and stir' method has not necessarily led to the substantive representation of women. Such is the case of the Parliament of South Africa. Despite the institution nearing gender parity, with 46 per cent of its members being women, the substantive gains have been inconsistent. Obstacles remain for MPs wishing to represent women – particularly, informal men's homosocial capital networks and the dominance of a traditionally masculine culture within parliament. Women MPs who take on masculine traits and become honorary men are in the best position to advance.

In this way, although the existence of homosocial men's networks does not stop the advancement of women, it does create yet another obstacle for women in the institution. This has meant that the substantive representation of women has been deficient, due to a lack of interest in the concerns of women. MPs do not lack resources in terms of their networks to represent women. Rather, the lack of interest in the concerns of women creates an obstacle for MPs wishing to substantively represent women in parliament.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questionnaire for Women

1. Before entering parliament, what was your background?
2. Did you study at a tertiary institution? If so, what did you study and why?
3. Have you always been interested in politics?
4. Have you always wanted to enter politics? Why?
5. How did you join your party?
6. What was the recruitment process that you went through?
7. How did you get onto your party's list? (What was the process?)
8. Were you welcomed into your party?
9. What do you see as obstacles for women in the recruitment process?
10. Did you experience a difference in treatment between you and the men who were recruited at the same time?
11. Do you believe that there is a difference in the way that men and women are recruited in your party?
12. Do you believe that men and women are offered the same types of positions and opportunities when they are brought into the party?
13. What was your experience as a woman when you first entered parliament?
14. What, in your opinion, are the most significant differences between men's and women's experiences as members of parliament?
15. Do you have access to the necessary training in order to be a member of parliament?
16. Have you ever been mentored or been a mentor to other parliamentarians?
17. Do you find it difficult to be taken seriously as a woman? Do you believe that your opinions and suggestions are taken seriously?
18. Do you feel that you are treated in the same way in parliament as your male colleagues? If so, why? If not, why not?
19. Have you ever felt disadvantaged as a woman in parliament?
20. Have you ever felt undermined by your male colleagues?
21. Do you have networks with male MPs?
22. Do you have networks with women MPs? Are they similar or different?
23. Who do your networks consist of?
24. Can you access male colleagues' networks?

25. Do you believe that there is a Boys' Club in parliament? If so, why? If not, why not?

26. Do you have networks with civil society? If so, which organisations?

27. Are you a member of the Women's Caucus in parliament? If so, why? If not, why not?

28. Have you ever had to approach a male colleague and ask him to introduce you to someone with the influence or resources that you needed?

29. Have you ever attempted to introduce a Bill in parliament on a women's issue? If not, why not? If so, which one and why?

30. How was it received?

31. Do you believe that special legislation is needed in order to address women's interests and concerns?

32. Do you find it difficult to gain the respect, influence and resources that you need in order to represent women?

33. Have you ever chaired a committee in parliament? What was your experience of it?

34. Have your male colleagues challenged your authority or position before?

35. Do you believe that your male colleagues take women's interests and legislation seriously?

36. When legislation regarding women's interests is discussed on the floor, what is the reaction from the women present? What about the men?

37. When you are addressing parliament, do the men pay attention?

38. Do you socialise with male colleagues after work? If so, why? If not, why not?

39. Have you ever felt sexually harassed?

Appendix B: Interview Questionnaire for Men

1. Before entering parliament, what was your background?

2. Did you study at a tertiary institution? If so, what did you study and why?

3. Have you always been interested in politics?

4. Have you always wanted to enter politics? Why?

5. How did you join your party?

6. What was the recruitment process that you went through?

7. How did you get onto your party's list? (What was the process?)

8. Were you welcomed into your party?

9. What do you see as obstacles for men in the recruitment process?

10. Did you experience a difference in treatment between you and the women who were recruited at the same time?

11. Do you believe that there is a difference in the way that men and women are recruited in your party?

12. Do you believe that men and women are offered the same types of positions and opportunities when they are brought into the party?

13. What was your experience as a man when you first entered parliament?

14. What, in your opinion, are the most significant differences between men's and women's experiences as members of parliament?

15. Do you have access to the necessary training in order to be a member of parliament?

16. Have you ever been mentored or been a mentor to other parliamentarians?

17. Do you believe that men and women are treated differently in parliament?

18. Have you ever felt disadvantaged as a man in parliament? If so, why? If not, why not?

19. Do you have networks with male MPs?

20. Do you have networks with women MPs? Are they similar or different?

21. Who do your networks consist of?

22. Can you access female colleagues' networks?

23. Do you believe that there is a Boys' Club in parliament? If so, why? If not, why not?

24. Do you believe that women should be parliamentarians? Why?

25. Have you ever attempted to introduce a Bill in parliament on a women's issue? If not, why not? If so, which one and why?

26. How was it received?

27. Have you ever approached a women colleague and asked her to introduce you to someone with the influence or resources that you needed?

28. Do you believe that special legislation is needed in order to address women's interests and concerns?

29. Have you ever felt undermined when giving a speech in parliament? If so, why? If not, why not?

30. Have you ever chaired a committee in parliament? What was your experience of it?

31. Do you believe that your male colleagues take women's interests and legislation that addresses it seriously?

32. When legislation regarding women's interests are discussed on the floor, what is the reaction from the women present? What about the men?

33. During discussions regarding legislation, are women taken seriously when addressing the chamber?

34. Do you socialise with male colleagues after work?

35. Have you ever felt sexually harassed by a women MP?