

**YOUNG WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN POST
1994 SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF PRETORIA EAST CONSTITUENCY**

by

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Young women's participation in electoral processes in post 1994 South Africa: The case of Pretoria East Constituency

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged using complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA or another qualification or at any other higher institution.

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DATE: 6/11/2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the University of South Africa, for the bursary support that facilitated this research; Prof. E. Kibuka-Sebitosi, my supervisor, for your guidance and support; my late mom, Phoebe Mutsikwi Duma, and late sister, Wendy Duma Siduna, for never getting the chance to see where I am today; my sister, Michelle Duma Biriwasha, for your love, support and being my role model; and my dad, Dereck Duma, for the sacrifices you made to be where I am today. To my lovely husband, Dr E. Kademeteme and our beautiful kids, Eliana Anopaishe and Zayne Anashe, thank you for holding on when I seemed so far from you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Chapter introduction	1
1.2 Background to the research problem.....	1
1.3 Problem statement.....	6
1.4 Purpose of the study	11
1.5 Research objectives.....	11
1.6 Research Questions	12
1.7 Thesis outline and chapter contents	12
1.8 Chapter summary	13
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	14
2.1 Chapter introduction	14
2.2 Clarification of key terms	14
2.3 History of South African elections and the voting patterns	15
2.4 Parliament composition.....	17
2.5 The role of young women in the election cycle	20
2.6 Forms of young women’s participation in electoral processes.....	21
2.7 Young women’s participation in electoral processes	22
2.8 Challenges or barriers that young women face in participating in electoral processes	24
2.9 Strategies that enhance young women’s participation	30
2.10 Theoretical framework	34
2.10.1 Jans and De Backer’s Triangle	34
2.10.2 Liberal feminist theory	35
2.11 Importance of the study.....	37
2.12 Chapter summary	40
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	41
3.1 Chapter introduction	41
3.2 Research design	41
3.3 Research approach	42
3.4 Research Paradigm.....	43
3.5 Sample design and sampling methods	43
3.6 Data collection methods and fieldwork.....	44
3.6.1 Data collection process.....	44
3.6.2 My positionality statement and gaining access to subjects.....	45
3.6.2.1 My positionality statement.....	45
3.6.2.2 Gaining access to subjects	46

3.6.3 Data collection techniques and procedures.....	47
3.6.4 Dates and settings of data gathering	49
3.7 Data capturing and editing	49
3.8 Data analysis	50
3.8.1 Qualitative data analysis.....	50
3.8.1.1 Data analysis processes.....	50
3.8.1.2 Cleaning and coding process	51
3.8.2 Quantitative data analysis.....	52
3.9 Ensuring validity and reliability.....	52
3.9.1 Validity.....	52
3.9.2 Reliability	53
3.10 Plans for pilot studies or testing of data-gathering instruments	53
3.11 Ethical considerations	53
3.11.1 Anonymity and confidentiality.....	53
3.11.2 Voluntary participation and the right to withdraw.....	54
3.11.3 Informed consent	54
3.12 Limitations of the study	54
3.13 Scope of the study	54
3.14 Chapter summary	55
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS.....	56
4.1 Chapter introduction	56
4.2 Quantitative data analysis	56
4.2.1 Age group.....	56
4.3 Qualitative data analysis	62
4.3.1 A brief analysis and interpretation of the themes generated from the study.....	63
4.3.2 Summary of the main themes	64
4.3.2.1 Research objective 1: To explore the forms of young women’s participation electoral processes	65
4.3.2.1.1 Candidates	66
4.3.2.1.2 Voters	66
4.3.2.1.3 Monitors	67
4.3.2.1.4 Observers	68
4.3.2.1.5 Polling agents	68
4.3.2.1.6 Did not vote.....	68
4.3.2.2 Research Objective 2: To determine young women’s participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East	69
4.3.2.2.1 Pre-electoral period – Registration.....	70
4.3.2.2.2 Electoral period	70
4.3.2.2.2.1 Campaign stage	70
4.3.2.2.2.2 Nomination period.....	70
4.3.2.2.2.3 Voting Period.....	71
4.3.2.2.3 Post-electoral stage-strategy.....	71
4.3.2.3 Research Objective 3: To determine the barriers to participating for young women in the electoral process.....	72
4.3.2.3.1 Lack of support	73

4.3.2.3.2 Patriarchal society	73
4.3.2.3.3 Discrimination of women	74
4.3.2.3.4 Lack of confidence and female role models	75
4.3.2.3.5 Corruption and nepotism	75
4.3.2.3.6 Inequality toward women	75
4.3.2.3.7 Unemployment and the voiceless	76
4.3.2.4 Research Objective 4: To ascertain the possible recommendations for young women to participate in electoral processes	76
4.3.2.4.1 Educating and empowering of young women	77
4.3.2.4.2 Partnerships and training	78
4.3.2.4.3 Being responsive to policies	78
4.3.2.4.4 Creation of employment opportunities	79
4.3.2.4.5 Promoting equality and women participation	79
4.3.2.4.6 Support from society and male counterparts	79
4.3.2.4.7 Creating more women role models	80
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	82
5.1 Chapter introduction	82
5.2 Summary and discussion	82
5.2.1 Discussion of the main findings based on the results from the previous chapters	82
5.2.2 Overview of the research	83
5.3 Interpretation and implications of findings	84
5.3.1 Evaluation and interpretation of data and formulation of conclusions	84
5.3.1.1 Research question one	84
5.3.1.2 Research question two	85
5.3.1.3 Research question three	85
5.3.1.4 Research question four	86
5.3.2 The connections/relationship between the results and the literature reviewed	87
5.3.3 Implications of the findings for revising the existing body of knowledge	90
5.4 Research contributions	91
5.4.1 Theoretical contributions	91
5.4.2 Contribution to practice and management	91
5.5 Limitations of the study	91
5.6 Recommendations and Future Work	92
5.7 Conclusion	93
REFERENCES.....	95
APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE-	107
APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE	111
APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (CSOs)	113
APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (POLITICAL PARTIES' WOMEN AND YOUTH WINGS)	114

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Candidates' average gender for the 2021 SA municipal Elections	9
Table 2.1: SA political parties, leaders, and genders	18
Table 2.2: SA political parties, leaders, and gender	19
Table 3.1: Thematic analysis	50
Table 4.1: Employment status table of young women in Pretoria East	58
Table 4.2: Main themes generated	63
Table 4.3: Forms of participation in electoral processes	65
Table 4.4: Levels of young women's participation	69
Table 4.5: Challenges hindering women from participating in elections	72
Table 4.6: Recommendations to participation	76

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: SA general election voter registration statistics for 2019.....	5
Figure 1.2: Jans and De Backer's (2002) Triangle of Youth Participation	34
Figure 4.1: Pie chart of age groups of young women voters in Pretoria East.....	57
Figure 4.2: Bar chart of the education level of young women voters in Pretoria East	58
Figure 4.3: Employment status of young women in Pretoria East	59
Figure 4.4: Intention to register to vote in the 2019 upcoming SA elections by young women in Pretoria East.....	60
Figure 4.5: History of voting since 1994 in South Africa.....	60
Figure 4.6: Contested as a candidate in SA by young women in Pretoria East.....	61
Figure 4.7: The participation of young women in the electoral process since 1994 in South Africa	62
Figure 4.8: Main themes generated.....	64
Figure 4.9: Forms of participation in electoral processes	65
Figure 4.10: Levels of young women's participation	69
Figure 4.11: Challenges of participation.....	72
Figure 4.12: Suggested recommendations	76
Figure 4.13: 100 words used most in the study	81

ABSTRACT

The study investigates young women's participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East in post 1994 South Africa. A qualitative approach was used in this study. A case study that focused on young women aged between 18 and 35 was conducted in Pretoria East. Participants were selected using snowball sampling. The study drew on a narrative of 553 participants, 523 questionnaire respondents, 26 focus group respondents, and four semi-structured interviews. Questionnaires, focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews, and secondary data analysis were used as instruments to collect data from the participants. The data were analysed using thematic analysis. The primary findings showed that young women are not motivated to participate in electoral processes because of issues such as corruption and nepotism, a patriarchal society, inequality toward women and a lack of support. Among some of its recommendations, the study proposes gender equality, education and young women empowerment, job creation, and support from society and male counterparts.

Key terms: young women, participation, election, the electoral process, post-apartheid, patriarchy, gender equality, young women empowerment, corruption, nepotism, voters, candidates, monitors, observers, polling agents.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter serves as the study's introduction by giving an in-depth analysis of the participation of young women in post 1994 South African (SA) elections. It emphasises the problem statement, the goals of the research, and the key terms used in this study. The research disposition, which describes the research process's overall structure, is highlighted in the conclusion of this chapter. This study aimed to investigate how and the extent to which young women participate in elections.

1.2 Background to the research problem

Rural local government remained dominated by men throughout the British colonial era and apartheid from the 1940s to the 1990s (Myeni, 2014). Before white women received universal adult suffrage in the 1930s, women were legally regarded as "minors" and deemed ineligible to vote (Myeni, 2014). Because of a law passed in 1923 that attracted political power elites to local politics, white women were excluded from representative structures of local government until the crucial period of the 1990s (Myeni, 2014). Women continued to fight against patriarchy and for their rights during the apartheid era.

Before SA gained independence in 1994, the total exclusion of the black majority typically characterised the country's electoral system (Ballington, 1999). Black men and women were prohibited from casting ballots or participating in other electoral processes. This changed after SA gained independence because everyone could vote and participate in electoral processes, and the nation's 1994 general election recorded an impressive voter turnout of 86%. Ballington (1999) states that South Africans could finally cast their vote in the 1994 election after a long hard struggle for political equality.

Although the black majority had finally gained a voice through the right to vote, the patriarchal system that existed in black communities still had its roots deeply planted in the political system. Owing to patriarchy's tenacious persistence in SA, which was partially influenced by culture, women continued to be considered inferior to men (Alberton, 2009). Patriarchy is the network of economic, political, social, and religious laws that have long enforced male dominance over women (Epochi-Olise & Monye, 2021). Women and men have unequal power relationships because of patriarchy, an ideological construct of a system encompassing ideologies, beliefs,

values, and practices that support a society's organisation and structure (The ANC Gender Policy Discussion Paper, 2012). Black and white women in South Africa have historically been idealised as mothers rather than as political leaders (Mbukanma & Strydom, 2021). According to Britton (2005), Lindiwe Zulu, an ANC Member of Parliament (MP), stated that women were not excluded from the 1994 ANC-led negotiation process because they were unwilling to participate, but rather because the negotiators did not deem it necessary to include them. According to Akala (2018), cultural norms and social institutions reinforce and reproduce male superiority and female inferiority. Patriarchy views women as inferior (Akala, 2018). Men were and still are regarded as the heads of families, making all the important decisions that impact on the families (Coetzee, 2001). IDEA (2017) notes that the tendency to associate women with domestic and familial responsibilities can restrict opportunities for political engagement and place particular burdens on women when they choose to entertain the idea of running for office. President Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria once said about his wife that she belongs to his kitchen, living room, and "other room" (Epochi-Olise & Monye, 2021). Therefore, men can easily manipulate their authority to determine whether women can participate in electoral processes and the candidates they choose to support.

The patriarchal structure is still present in comic books, according to Garland, Phillips and Vollum (2018). Garland et al. (2018) claim that, when women attempt to break free of gendered stereotypes, they occasionally pay with their flesh. The recent incidents involving the abuse of women in SA serve as further evidence that men still hold a dominant position over women. The Minister of Women, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, claims that in August 2019, more than 30 women were killed by their spouses (Francke, 2019). According to Francke (2019), at least 137 sexual offenses, mostly against women, are committed daily in South Africa. Owing to patriarchal structures that confine women to the world of economic production and reproduction, the advancement of women in African politics is still difficult (Okrah, 2017). Additionally, the SA Ubuntu System illustrates a gender equality gap. According to Keevy (2008), "[a]bsent husbands may be replaced by men appointed by them; sterile husbands may appoint surrogates to have children." Polygamy, gender-based violence, and the ordination of women's roles by men are all clear indicators that men in South Africa clearly dominate women's roles (Roberts, 2010).

It is perplexing that the same women, who fought in the liberation struggle alongside men in the same capacity as freedom fighters, are treated as minors in independent SA (Yoon, 2001). Ballington (1999) notes that women were integral to the struggle for South African

independence. These young women also participated in the well-known Soweto Youth Uprising of June 16, 1976 (Ndlovu, 2007). South African women, according to Britton (2002), were crucial to every aspect of the anti-apartheid movement during the liberation struggle. Many exiled women used their international status to pursue higher education or seek military training (Britton, 2001). Those who were unable to cross the borders for training nonetheless played a crucial role in mobilising for night vigils where freedom fighters would meet communities and deliver food and other supplies to them. However, as evidenced by their low participation in electoral processes, particularly as candidates, young women's significant participation somehow failed to transit into the independent SA. Yoon (2001) asserts that women have been underrepresented in politics, particularly in decision-making roles in governmental ministries and parliaments.

National and provincial elections are held concurrently in South Africa, where elections have been held on a five-year cycle since 1994 (IEC, 2019). Schulz-Herzenberg (2014) notes that SA's voting age population (VAP) constitutes all citizens aged 18 years and over. A green bar-coded South African identity document (ID), a valid temporary identity certificate or a smart card ID allows citizens to register at a specific voting station and vote (IEC, 2021). People outside the province where they are registered to vote, will only be able to vote in the national election but not the provincial or municipal election (IEC, 2019). According to IEC (2019), the South African electoral system is a two-tier compensatory closed party list that has a proportional representation. During the seat calculation process, a quota of the number of votes per seat is used, which implies that seats in a legislature are distributed to parties according to the number of votes they received (IEC, 2019). Every vote count in proportional representation systems because it affects how seats are distributed to competing parties (IEC, 2019). (IDEA, 2019) notes that, in accordance with the mandated candidate quotas in South Africa, parties are required to make efforts to ensure that, for local council elections, 50% of the candidates on their party list are female. Parties must work to balance the representation of men and women on the candidate list for local council elections (IDEA, 2019). Young women continue to be underrepresented in SA despite these quotas because there is no quota for this age group. According to IDEA (2019), the ANC adopted a 50% gender quota for local elections in 2006 and, in 2009, the quota was expanded to national elections. After initially implementing a 30% quota ahead of the 1994 parliamentary election, the ANC is still the only party in the country to use voluntary party quotas (IDEA, 2019). The other political parties' resistance to SA's voluntary gender quota makes it difficult for young women to participate fully in politics.

According to Nolan (2004), from the 1994 election, only 111 (27.7%) women were elected to be members of parliament (MPs), compared with 289 (72.3%) men. Presently, there are 400 members of the National Assembly, of whom 186 (47%) are women and 214 (53%) are men (IDEA, 2022). Although SA's percentage is higher than those of other African nations, there is still a gap in the representation of young women. Only 9% of the National Assembly's MPs are youth and 40% of the youth are female (People's Assembly, 2021). Many nations have "double discrimination" against young women based on their age (youth) and gender (UNDP, 2017). Political parties have consistently put young women in non-decision-making roles since 1994, while men have held key positions within party structures. According to the South African Government (2022), there are no young women in the SA cabinet. Men dominate political parties, according to Okrah (2017), which makes it challenging for women to serve in parliament. Only nine women, or 36%, are among the top 25 candidates in the ANC (Knight, 2019). A female president, according to Knight (2019), is unlikely because the top three political parties, that is, ANC, DA, and EFF, are all running men for the office. According to the Africa Barometer (2021), male dominance of top leadership is a trait of all nations, even those with at least 40% female representation in parliament and/or local government.

Political parties are the gatekeepers of elected positions, according to the UNDP (2017), and they choose the individuals and their positions for their candidate lists. Political parties' nomination procedures have not always favoured young candidates because they are frequently listed in low positions with little chance of winning (UNDP, 2017). The South African president in 2019 chose a man as vice president (South African Government, 2022). Thus, no women were considered for that position. Additionally, the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) has 54 permanent delegates, 20 (37%) of whom are women and 34 (63%) are men (IDEA, 2022). Therefore, this study, which examined the participation of young women in South African elections after 1994, was necessary. The study hopes to boost the political engagement of young women.

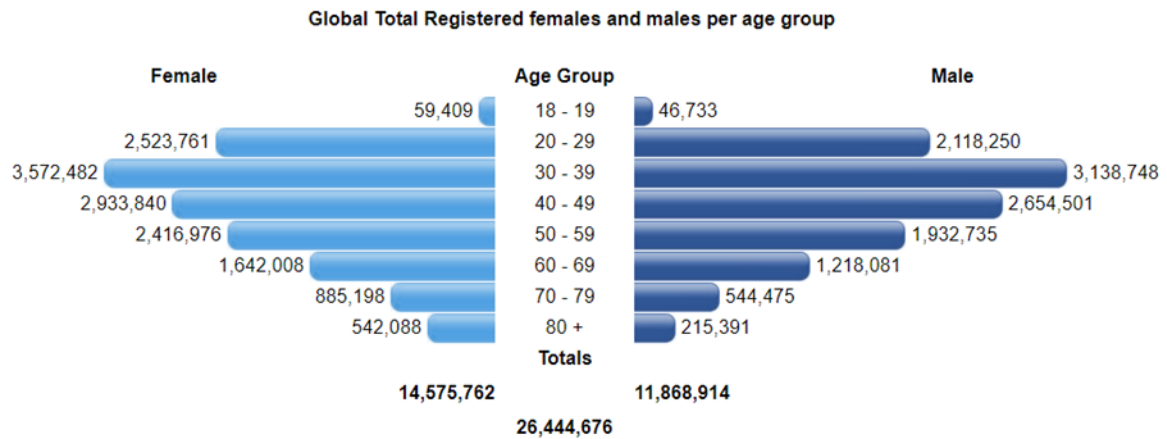


Figure 1.1: SA general election voter registration statistics for 2019

(Source: IEC, 2019)

Figure 1.1 shows voter registration statistics for the 2019 SA general elections. The data show that women comprised 55% of the voters. The same percentage of women appeared in the 2021 municipal elections (IEC, 2021). Although there were many more female than male voters, less than 20% of young women were registered to vote. This is low because the youth constitute most of the population, and young women outnumber young men because women typically make up about 51% of the country's population. Therefore, it is evident that young women still lag in voting.

The study combined Jans and De Backer's Triangle of Youth Participation with liberal feminist theory to understand how young women participate in elections. While liberal feminist theory looked at the effects of gender inequality on the participation of young women in electoral processes, Jans and De Backer's (2002) Triangle of Youth Participation examined the difficulties that youth typically face when participating in electoral processes. Triangulation therefore allowed this study to benefit from each theory's advantages. Additionally, qualitative research methodologies were applied. A case study of Pretoria East was conducted of young women between the ages of 18 and 35 years. The case study was chosen because it allowed the researcher to analyse a current phenomenon in the context of real-world events (Simons, 2009). Additionally, Pretoria East has all socio-economic classes; thus, the area has people of the upper, middle, and lower classes therefore the study was able to obtain the perspectives from young women of all classes, thereby, reducing the bias that usually comes with collecting data from one socio-economic class. Pretoria East was also chosen because the area was convenient for the researcher. This convenience reduced the researcher's transport costs and time consumed. The

gender representation was also better in this area because it had 66 399 young women between the ages of 18 and 35.

1.3 Problem statement

Because youth have been acknowledged for their creative skills and pioneering ideas, their political participation and access to opportunities for socio-economic development remain crucial in Africa (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). Despite making up about one-fifth of the world's population, young people between the ages of 15 and 24 still have a relatively small influence on formal politics (UNDP, 2017). Enaifoghe and Dhlamini (2021) claim that youth are one of the most politically disengaged groups and have the lowest election turnout rates of any age group. According to the UNDP (2017), youth between the ages of 18 and 25 continue to participate in elections at rates lower than other age groups and are less likely to join political parties. An example is the 2017 Bulgarian Parliamentary Election, where only 14.9% of young people participated (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). The UNDP (2017) found that, in Europe, 60% of the 16- to 24-year-old eligible voters decided not to cast a ballot in the most recent national elections. With a dismal 15.4% youth turnout in elections in 2019, South Africa is not an exception (IEC, 2019). According to the People's Assembly (2021), only 2.6% and 17.5%, of the world's parliamentarians are under the age of 30 and 40, respectively. One-quarter of single and lower chambers of parliament around the globe do not have any members under the age of 30, and 1% of single and lower chambers do not have any members under the age of 40 (People's Assembly, 2021). This implies that the young are frequently not considered as political candidates and in the decision-making process (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021).

In the most recent presidential election in Africa, 11.4% of young people worked for a candidate party, and 34% of them attended rallies or meetings (UNDP, 2017). According to Zvaita and Tshuma (2019), a survey of 36 African nations conducted by Afro-barometer, a Pan-African, non-partisan survey project that gauges citizen attitudes toward democracy, governance, the economy, and civil society, revealed that African youth exhibit the lowest levels of political and civic engagement in comparison to other age groups. Political parties also struggle to enlist new members, especially young people, as the past decade has shown (UNDP, 2017). According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2021), young women who want to run for public office experience "double discrimination" based on their gender and age. Contrary to men, they frequently face more challenges (UNDP, 2017). Only five of SA's 14 political parties, a

negligible percentage, have young women serving as their MPs (People's Assembly, 2021). Men are typically seen as having an advantage when it comes to gaining the political experience necessary to run for office, and women are typically at a disadvantage in this regard (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). Additionally, youth are systematically marginalised because of their age, they have limited access to opportunities and empowerment, and are believed to lack the required leadership experience (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021).

African youth empowerment is in crisis (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). Young people are no longer expected to simply be consulted; instead, their involvement in parliamentary processes must be improved, both in terms of political representation by including more of them as MPs in the decision-making process and in terms of ensuring that they participate in politics more broadly by making a full and meaningful contribution to parliamentary work (Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2021).

Less than a quarter of members of national parliaments worldwide are women, despite making up half of the world's population (Majola, 2021). Given that women (apart from children) experience the most suffering on the continent, the calls for women's emancipation are persistent and humanistic (Babtunde, 2021). Starting with the struggle for the right to vote, which was granted very slowly even in developed countries like Switzerland, the participation of women in national politics has always been difficult (Research and Advocacy Unit, 2011). Young women frequently find themselves as observers rather than active participants in both election and decision-making processes, according to Britton (2005), Hassim (2003), and Gouws (2004). Only 15% of women serve in legislatures worldwide, according to the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women's 2005 report. IDEA (2019) reports that, as of January 2019, the average percentage of women in parliament worldwide was 24%, and that only three nations – Bolivia, Rwanda, and Cuba – had national legislatures with 50% or more women and 29 legislatures with less than 10%. Presently, women make up only 24% of Africa's 12 113 parliamentarians, 25% of the lower houses, and 20% of the upper houses, far below the 50% threshold stipulated by global and continental gender instruments (Africa Barometer, 2021). Additionally, only 21% of councillors across 19 African nations are women (Africa Barometer, 2021). Only 7% of women hold top political executive positions (presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers, and deputy prime ministers) across the continent, according to the Africa Barometer (2021), including the top six party positions in both the ruling and opposition parties. This has led to a partial representation of women's issues. President Sahle-Work Zewde of

Ethiopia and President Samia Suluhu of Tanzania are currently the only women who are the heads of states in Africa.

Low voter turnout in the national elections from 1999 is evidence that participation in SA electoral processes, particularly voting, has been declining over time. Schulz-Herzenberg's (2014) election reports from 1999 to 2014 show that the average voter turnout has been around 66%, which is exceptionally low compared with the 1980's turnout of 86 percent. In South Africa, the most recent municipal elections show a further low voter turnout of 45.87% (IEC, 2021). Only 6.4 million people in South Africa between the ages of 18 and 29 (including young women) were registered to vote in the 2014 elections, according to Schulz-Herzenberg (2014). Youth voter registration was approximately 7.5 million in the 2021 SA municipal elections (IEC, 2021). Given that there are 17.84 million young people in South Africa, or nearly one-third of the country's total population, this is a low number (Stats SA, 2019).

More women than men participated in the voting phase of the 2016 South African local government election (Electoral Commission of South Africa, 2016). According to the IEC (2016), there were 14 465 896 female voters, or 55% of the total vote, compared to 11 867 457 male voters, or 45%. However, few young women voted compared with older women. Additionally, the number of women who participated as candidates was low compared with that of men. Women candidates constituted 31% while men constituted 68% (IEC, 2016). According to IEC statistics, very few young women participated as voters and candidates during the 2016 election.

Furthermore, according to IEC (2019), 55% of women and 45% of men were registered to vote in the general election of 2019. This is low because young people make up the highest percentage of the population, and young women outnumber young men because, on average, women make up about 51% of the population in this country (IEC, 2019). IEC (2019) notes that nine million eligible South Africans did not cast ballots, many of whom were young people (46% of this group were between the ages of 20 and 29). Being youth, young women made up a portion of that percentage. Additionally, the number of actual voters in the 2019 SA National election significantly declined, mostly owing to the youth who demonstrated against voting on election day (IEC, 2019). The youth include young women; therefore, it is important to examine their involvement in electoral processes.

In the 2021 South African municipal elections, more women (58%) than men (42%) voted (IEC,

2021). However, the number of youth voters was significantly low. According to Bekker and Runciman (2022), in the 2021 SA local elections, nearly 1.8 million 18 to 19-year-olds were eligible to vote, but 90% of them did not register to vote. Additionally, less than 20% of people aged 20 to 35 registered to vote, compared with more than 90% of people aged 40 and older (Bekker & Runciman, 2022). Thus, few young women voted in the 2021 SA local elections.

From 1994, it has been difficult for young women to participate in politics in SA. Since the local government was reformed between 1995 and 1996, the proportion of women councillors has fluctuated (Majola, 2021). The 2021 SA local elections saw a decrease in women participation as councillors. According to the IEC (2021), of the 9 473 councillors elected in the 2021 municipal elections, 5 975 (63%) were men and 3 498 (37%) were women. Of the elected male councillors, 49 were independents running in wards, 2 712 were from lists using proportional representation (PR), and 3 214 were elected from wards (IEC, 2021). Additionally, out of the elected female councillors, 1 202 were chosen from wards, 2 294 were chosen from PR lists, and two were independents who ran in ward contests (IEC, 2021). According to the IEC (2021), ward elections featured almost two-thirds male candidates and one-third female candidates. Among independent candidates, men predominated with 87% of the vote compared to 13% of female candidates, therefore the gender gap was even more pronounced.

Table 1.1: Candidates’ average gender for the 2021 SA municipal Elections

Candidate Type	Percentage Male	Percentage Female
PR lists	55%	45%
Ward Candidates	65%	35%
Independent candidates	87%	13%
Total average	62%	38%

(Source: IEC, 2021)

Table 1.1 shows that there are still fewer women running for office than men. This situation is worse for young women because they face a double discrimination as youth and women who are both underrepresented in politics.

There are 400 members of the National Assembly, 186 (47%) of whom are women, and 214

(53%) are men (IDEA, 2022). There is still a need for young women's representation in South Africa despite the percentage being higher than that of other African nations because the parliament consists of many older women as compared to young women. According to the People's Assembly (2021), only 9% of the National Assembly's MPs are youth, and 40% of that figure is women. These stats excluded Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Additionally, Knight (2019) notes that, of the ANC's top 25 candidates, only nine are women (approximately 36%). Knight (2019) emphasises that the likelihood of a female president is low because the top three political parties – the ANC, DA, and EFF – all have men as their leading presidential candidates. The South African Government (2022) notes that the South African Cabinet is made up of 41 men and 31 women. The ministerial positions are shared equally between men and women (South African Government, 2022). However, young women hold none of those 50% female positions. Men hold 55% while women hold 45% of the deputy ministerial positions. Again, this figure excludes young women. Men hold 78% of the Premier positions, while women hold only 22%. There are no young women in the 22%. Thus, young women do not hold important or executive positions in the SA parliament or government. This study was essential because the participation of young women in electoral processes was examined to promote gender equality.

Besides contributing to the low voter turnout that characterises the SA elections, especially in urban areas, young women's low participation also means they become invisible as public actors and their interests are poorly represented. According to McEwan (2003), efforts to include black women continue to largely fail, and councillors do not seem to take public participation seriously. Across nations and development organisations, advancing gender equality and women's empowerment is a top priority (Majola, 2021). In SA, parties give young people a lot more consideration as a group, taking concrete steps to ensure their involvement in the economy, in decision-making, and in developmental opportunities (Hicks, Morna & Fonnah, 2016). No party manifestos examine the gendered aspects of youth or the differences between young men's and women's experiences (Hicks et al., 2016). Hence, the need for this study that focused on young women.

According to the World Bank, gender equality and a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) are directly correlated, and there can be no growth without equity (Hicks et al., 2016). Excluding the additional unpaid care work that women perform, estimates place women's contributions to GDP at 35%–45% globally (Hicks et al., 2016). Additionally, young people ought to lead global innovation and change (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). If they are given the necessary tools, they

can play a significant role in promoting peace and development, but if they are kept on the periphery of society, everyone will suffer (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). This study will ensure gender equality and youth empowerment in SA, which in turn will improve the nation's GDP.

Policymakers and civil society will need to work together in a concerted effort to achieve Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5.5 by its deadline, with most African countries having just two elections remaining before 2020 (Africa Barometer, 2021). The timing of the present study is ideal. This study will assist SA in achieving SDG 5.5 before 2030.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The participation of young women in South Africa's post 1994 elections was the focus of this study. The level of participation of young women in elections in Pretoria East was examined. The researcher concluded by making recommendations for raising women's electoral participation. The research will be used in Pretoria East to advance gender equality, or the parity of men and women in political decisions.

1.5 Research objectives

This study investigated the participation of Pretoria East's young women in electoral processes in post 1994 South Africa.

Sub-objectives

The study aimed to achieve the following sub-objectives to reach the main goal:

- 1) To explore the forms of young women's participation in electoral processes.
- 2) To determine young women's participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East.
- 3) To determine the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes.
- 4) To ascertain the possible strategies or recommendations for young women to participate in electoral processes.

1.6 Research Questions

To what extent do young women participate in elections?

Sub-questions

- 1) What are the forms of young women's participation in electoral processes?
- 2) What are the levels of young women's participation in electoral processes?
- 3) What are the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes?
- 4) What strategies can ultimately be developed to enhance young women's participation in electoral processes?

1.7 Thesis outline and chapter contents

The background of the study, the research problem, and the goals and questions that guided the research's direction are covered in the study's first chapter.

Literature on the participation of women in elections is covered in the second chapter. Thus, providing findings of other researchers or authors who have conducted research related to this study and limitations or shortfalls from those findings are also described. This chapter also discusses the study's limitations and the theoretical framework that informed it.

The research process and ethical issues are covered in Chapter Three. This chapter covers the research design, population, sample frame, sampling methods, sample size, data collection techniques (focus groups, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and secondary data analysis), methods for ensuring validity and reliability, plans for pilot studies or testing of data-gathering instruments, and ethical considerations (anonymity and confidentiality, voluntary participation, and informed consent).

The fourth chapter discusses the data analysis and the results. This chapter also includes a presentation of the outcomes.

The study's implications are discussed in Chapter Five, which also offers suggestions for increasing the participation of young women in electoral processes.

1.8 Chapter summary

The study of the participation of young women is crucial because it will ensure their active participation in electoral processes, which will improve their representation in decision-making platforms, such as parliament.

The study's background, problem statement, purpose, research aims and sub-objectives, research questions and sub-research questions, and the study's outline were all introduced in the first chapter. This chapter served as this study's framework because it shaped the rest of this study's chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Chapter introduction

To fill in any research gaps and guide the current study, a literature review was conducted. A literature review is a critical summary of relevant research on a subject of interest, frequently created to frame a research problem (Polit & Beck, 2017). Researchers, such as Okoosi-Simbine (2012), Mwatha, Mbugua and Murunga (2013), and Akpan (2018), examined the participation of women in politics. An analysis of prior research on the participation of young women in elections is presented in this chapter. The following topics are covered in this chapter: types of electoral participation; levels of participation; obstacles to participation; and suggestions or strategies. Thus, the literature review is thematically organised considering the world view, the African continent view and, lastly, the South African view.

The history of SA elections and the voting patterns are first discussed, then the Parliament composition, and the role of young women in the election cycle and this study's themes. To better understand how young women participate in elections, a study was conducted in Pretoria East, SA.

2.2 Clarification of key terms

- a) Young women: According to the National Youth Development Agency (2015), young people are those between the ages of 14 and 35. But in this study, young women are those who are between the ages of 18 and 35.
- b) Participation: According to McEwan (2003), participation is the act of allowing individual citizens within a community to participate in the formulation of policies and proposals on matters that have an impact on the entire nation. This study defines participation as the involvement of young women in electoral processes.
- c) Election: According to Struwig, Roberts, and Vivier (2011), elections are the main method by which people nominate and elect their political leaders, thereby granting the latter power.
- d) Electoral process: For this study, the terms "electoral process" and "election" are used to refer to the three phases of the electoral cycle: pre-election, election, and post-election.

- e) Post-apartheid or post 1994: This is the time in which SA became free from oppression or apartheid. Apartheid officially ended in April 1994 with the opening of a new democracy when all adults, regardless of “race” or gender, were permitted to vote (McEwan, 2000).

2.3 History of South African elections and the voting patterns

Before 1994, SA was a colony, and faced racial segregation, which denied the citizens political freedom, such as democratic elections. In 1994, the nation witnessed its first democratic elections. According to Johnston (1995), the 1994 elections marked a striking departure from the past. Since its historic political transition in 1994, which brought about majority rule after decades of oppressive apartheid rule, South Africa has held democratic elections on a regular basis (Matlosa, 2009). According to Nupen (2004), the IEC has been overseeing the SA elections since 1994. Election administration, integrity monitoring, and results certification fall under the purview of the IEC (Nupen, 2004). The first democratic elections in South Africa took place in 1994 after four years of protracted negotiations that had started in 1990 with the lifting of the ban on liberation movements, including the ANC, and a commitment by the Nationalist Party (NP), which was in power at the time (EISA, 2009).

In 1994, the Voting Age Population (VAP) was 22 709 152, of which 19 533 498 managed to cast their vote (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2006). Thus, 86% of the VAP voted in the 1994 elections (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2006). No voter registration occurred in these 1994 elections (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2006). The exact number of women who voted in these elections is not known as no voters’ roll was compiled (Ballington, 1999). Of the 400 parliamentary seats won by the political parties, women held 111 (27.7%) (Gouws, 2004). The next SA democratic elections were held in 1999. According to EISA (2009), an SA identity document was needed to be able to register to vote. Unlike the 1994 elections, in 1999, voters had to register to be able to participate in the elections. Schulz-Herzenberg (2006) notes that there were 22 589 369 in the VAP in the 1999 elections, of which 18 172 751 registered to vote and 15 977 142 cast their vote. Thus, 80.4% registered to vote; the turnout of registered voters was 89.3%; and the VAP turnout was 71.8% (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2006). One million more women than men registered to vote in SA’s second democratic election in 1999 (Vincent, 1999). After the 1999 elections, 120 women were elected as MPs, making up 30% of the seats in parliament (Gouws, 2004).

South Africa held its third national elections in 2004. The VAP was 27 865 537, which was about

a five million increase from the 1999 general elections (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2006). The voter turnout was, however, 12.57% lower than it was in 1999 (EISA, 2009). The voter turnout in the 2004 elections was 76.7%, according to Schulz-Herzenberg (2006). The IEC (2004) notes that the registration data showed that 9.2 million registered voters – or a staggering 44.47% of all registered voters – were young people (18–35 years). Women comprised 11.3 million (55%) of the total registration figures across all age groups, while men comprised 9.3 million (45%) (IEC, 2004). Following the 2004 elections, 131 (32.75%) women were in parliament, up from 120 (30%) (Gouws, 2004).

The fourth SA general elections were held in 2009 and the VAP in 2009 was 30 224 145. The number of VAP increased from that of the 2004 elections by approximately three million. According to EISA (2019), out of the 23 181 997 registered voters who were able to cast a ballot in the 2009 elections, 17 919 966 (or 77.3%) did so. According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2009), 77% of eligible voters registered to vote in the 2009 elections, an increase from 75% in the 2004 election. According to the IEC, voter registration increased by 3.16 million (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2009). Rama and Morna (2019) note that 55% of the registered voters were women. Women made up 43% of the parliament, up from 33% (Rama & Morna, 2019).

South Africa held general elections in 2014, marking the fifth time since 1994 that such elections were held. The VAP in 2014 was 32.7 million (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2014). The IEC (2014) reported that 25 388 082 people were registered voters, but only 18 654 771 voted. Thus, the voter turnout was lower than in 2009 (73.48%), at 77.3% (IEC, 2014). According to Schulz-Herzenberg (2014), many eligible young voters between the ages of 18 and 29 were still unregistered to vote at the time of the election. In 2014 elections, 56% of all voters were women (Rama & Morna, 2019). Morna, Mbadhlanyana, Ndlovu and Robinson (2014) noted that women's representation dropped from 43% to 40% in 2014.

The sixth national elections for SA were held in 2019. According to the IEC (2019), there were 26 756 649 registered voters, but only 17 672 851 (66%) cast ballots. The voter turnout was lower than in other general elections in the past. According to IEC (2019), nine million South Africans who were eligible to vote – mostly young people – did not register to vote. The average age of this group was between 20 and 29 (IEC, 2019). The percentage of women voters was 55% and the percentage of women who became members of parliament was 46%, which was an increase from the previous elections (Rama & Morna, 2019).

The lowest voter turnout in the history of SA's democratic local government system occurred in the most recent local elections, which were held in November 2021, with just 46% of eligible voters casting ballots (IEC, 2021). Ninety percent of the nearly 1.8 million 18–19-year-olds who could have voted in the 2021 SA local elections did not register to do so (Bekker & Runciman, 2022). Additionally, less than 20% of people aged 20 to 35 registered to vote, compared to more than 90% of people aged 40 and older (Bekker & Runciman, 2022).

South African election history and voting patterns reveal the youth lag regarding electoral participation. Young women are also part of the youth, which has not been participating well in elections in SA. Although women have become more active in politics over time, there are still more older women than younger women involved in politics, and overall, women participate in politics at a lower rate than men.

2.4 Parliament composition

The National Assembly and National Council of Provinces are the two houses of South Africa's national parliament, whose members are chosen by the country's citizens (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2019). According to Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2019), each house has specific duties and authority that are outlined in the Constitution. The National Council of Provinces (NCOP) has 90 seats, while the National Assembly (NA), which has 400 seats, is the first house or chamber (Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 2019). According to the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2019), there are currently 446 MPs, 393 of whom are in the NA and 53 in the NCOP. Of the current 400 NA MPs, 186 (47%) are women and 214 (53%) are men (IDEA, 2022). Currently, NCOP Permanent Delegates comprise 20 (37%) women and 34 (63%) men (IDEA, 2022). According to the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2019), women make up about 45% of MPs (both NA and NCOP), an increase of about 3% from the previous democratic parliament. The People's Assembly (2021) notes that only 9% of the National Assembly's MPs are youth, and 40% of that youth figure are women. These stats excluded Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Additionally, according to the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (2019), there are 51 (11%) young MPs, of whom 45 are NA members and six are NCOP Permanent Delegates. Of the 51 youth MPs, 22 make up 5.6% of the total parliament seats, 43% of the youth in the parliament are young women and 29 are young men, who make up 7.4% of the total parliament seats, and 57% of the youth in the parliament. The Parliament's youngest MP is a 20-year-old, and the second youngest MP is a 24-year-old

(Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2019).

Young women are still underrepresented in parliament, according to the SA Parliament's composition. Furthermore, it is either older women or their male counterparts who are holding executive positions. This demonstrates the need for a parliament that gives young women a fair voice and more attention to motivate many young women to get involved in politics.

Table 2.1: SA political parties, leaders, and genders

South African Political Party	Name of the leader	Gender
African National Congress (ANC)	Cyril Ramaphosa	M
Democratic Alliance (DA)	John Steenhuisen	M
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Julius Sello Malema	M
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	Kenneth Meshoe	M
African Independent Congress (AIC)	Mandla Galo	M
African People's Convention (APC)	Themba Godi	M
Agang SA	Mike Tshishonga	M
Congress of the People (COPE)	Mosiuo Lekota	M
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	Pieter Groenewald	M
Good Party (GOOD)	Patricia de Lille	F
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	M
National Freedom Party (NFP)	Zanele KaMagwaza-Msibi	F
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	Luthando Mbinda	M
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	Isaac Siphon Mfundisi	M
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	Bantu Holomisa	M

(Source: Indexmundi, 2019)

Table 2.1 shows SA's political parties, their presidents, and the gender of each president. Men still hold the top positions of most political parties in SA. Of the 15 SA political parties, women only lead two parties. Thus, only 13% of political party presidents are women, compared with 87% men in those positions. The statistics shown in Table 2.2 show that SA political parties are

not yet prepared to accept women as their leaders. Hence, they let them hold positions of little or no influence.

Table 2.2: SA political parties, leaders, and gender

South African Political Party	Name of the leader	Gender
African National Congress (ANC)	Cyril Ramaphosa	M
Democratic Alliance (DA)	John Steenhuisen	M
Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Julius Sello Malema	M
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	Kenneth Meshoe	M
African Independent Congress (AIC)	Mandla Galo	M
African People's Convention (APC)	Themba Godi	M
Al-Jama-ah (ALJAMA AH)	Ganief Hendricks	M
Congress of the People (COPE)	Mosiuo Lekota	M
Freedom Front Plus (FF+)	Pieter Groenewald	M
Good Party (GOOD)	Patricia de Lille	F
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	Mangosuthu Buthelezi	M
National Freedom Party (NFP)	Vacant	
Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	Mzwanele Nyhontso	M
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	Bantu Holomisa	M
African Transformation Movement (ATM)	Vuyowethu Zungula	M
ActionSA (ACTIONS)	Herman Mashaba	M
Patriotic Alliance (PA)	Gayton Mckenzie	M
Forum for Service Delivery (F4SD)	Mbahare Johannes Kekanana	M
African People's Convention (APC)	Themba Godi	M
Independent Civic Organization of South Africa (ICOSA)	Jeffrey Donson	M
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	Kenneth Meshoe	M

Plaaslike Besorgde Inwoners (PBI)	Isaac Sipho Mfundisi	M
United Independent Movement (UIM)	Neil de Beer	M
Better Residents Association (BRA)	Delta Mokoena	M
Cape Independence Party (CAPEXIT)	Jack Miller	M
Map16 Civic Movement (MAP16)	Gilbert Mokotso	M
Defenders of People (DOP)	Rufus Mphahlele	M
Tsogang Civic Movement (TCM)	Papi Rangwaga	M
Team Sugar South Africa (TSSA)	Shukela Twala	M
Justice and Employment Party (JEP)	Bongani A Mchunu	M
Independent Alliance	Gayton McKenzie	M
Namakwa Civic Movement (NCM)	Dr Gustav Bock	M

(Source: TimesLive, 2021)

Table 2.2 also lists SA political parties, their presidents and the gender of each president that participated in the 2021 SA municipal elections. The table demonstrates that, since the 2019 General Elections, the number of men holding leadership roles has continued to rise, while that of women has either stagnated or decreased. Of the 33 political parties, women lead only one (3%) party, and of those parties, young women lead in none (0%) of them. The statistics in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show that SA political parties are not yet ready to accept women as their leaders, hence they let them hold positions that are of little or no influence.

2.5 The role of young women in the election cycle

The pre-election, election, and post-election phases make up the election cycle (UNDP, 2019). The pre-election phase includes planning, training, information, and voter registration; the election phase includes nomination, campaigning, voting, and results; and the post-election phase includes strategy, reform, and review (Aceproject, n.d.).

According to the UNDP (2017), youth play a key role in determining the 2030 Agenda for SDGs by establishing the priorities for the future they want, with a focus on employment, education, and transparent, accountable governments. Young women, who make up about one-fifth of the global population, play a crucial part in an election cycle because young women are also a part of

the youth (UNDP, 2013). They are essential change agents (UNDP, 2017). Young women in SA form part of women in general, who constitute approximately 51% of the population and are part of the youth, which constitute 35.7% of the population. Women, therefore, should be given a chance to participate in politics, as they may make a significant impact on the nation's well-being and democracy (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2019). Fresh perspectives and new leadership can assist transitioning nations in overcoming authoritarian norms (UNDP, 2013).

Young women also play a part in voting. The UNDP (2013) asserts that the overall number of young voters has risen, especially in the youth bulge societies. In SA, young women played a significant role in political issues before independence, thus before 1994, for example, on August 9, 1956, young women also joined the women's march (Vuk'uzenzele, 2018). They were also part of the popular Soweto Youth Uprising that started on the 16th of June 1976, which made history in SA (Ndlovu, 2007).

2.6 Forms of young women's participation in electoral processes

The literature review demonstrated various forms of the political participation of young women. Voting, candidacy, and working as polling staff – that is, as agents, officers, observers, and monitors – are among the various forms of participation mentioned. Yoon (2010) looked at women's participation in the electoral process in the context of parliamentary representation for women. According to Yoon's (2010) research, overall democratisation has reduced the number of women in parliament. Only a few countries use gender quotas, although they increase the representation of women in legislatures (Yoon, 2010). Additionally, Cheema, Khan, Mohmand, and Liaqat (2019) examined the causes of Pakistan's gender voting gap. Cheema et al. (2019) concentrated on voting as a form of women's electoral participation. Murray and Senac (2018) explained the representation of women in the legislature. Women predominate in lower status committees while men are disproportionately overrepresented in influential and prestigious ones (Murray & Senac, 2018).

Okoosi-Simbine (2012) mentioned some forms of participation in their analysis of the gender-specific results of the 2011 Nigerian election. According to Okoosi-Simbine (2012), the Registration and Election Review Committee (RERC) reported that, during the 2011 election, women participated in the election in many ways, including as polling staff and election observers. Women's participation as candidates in Nigeria was also insignificant. Okoosi-Simbine (2012) focused on women's participation in all electoral processes, thus as voters,

candidates, polling agents and election observers. This is consistent with the current study, which, in attempting to understand the political participation of young women, also investigated the various ways in which they participated. However, this study acknowledged that, since other studies had not been carried out in SA, it was essential that this study be conducted to prevent the extrapolation of findings from other nations.

2.7 Young women's participation in electoral processes

Much literature has explored the level of women's participation in electoral processes. Women still have less voting power in Pakistan (Cheema et al., 2019). The Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) estimates that there were approximately 11 million fewer women than men registered to vote in the general elections of 2013, and that the disparity has widened since then (Cheema et al., 2019). Cheema et al. (2019) mention that fewer women were voting in one district, despite their rising educational attainment.

Lekalake and Gyimah-Boadi (2016) found that, while these differences are smaller for voting rates and participation in protest marches or demonstrations, young women's political engagement in Africa lags behind that of their male peers. Despite widespread support for gender equality throughout Africa, African women are typically less likely than men to participate in political processes (Lekalake & Gyimah-Boadi, 2016). Voting is the form of political participation where gender differences are the least pronounced (2% points on average), though there are significant country-specific variations (Lekalake & Gyimah-Boadi, 2016).

Despite efforts to advance gender equality, most women who are involved in politics are voters rather than candidates for elected or appointed positions (Mwatha, Mbugua & Murunga, 2013). According to Mwatha et al. (2013), young women are politically engaged and informed as voters, but they must be given more opportunities to advance as political leaders. According to Mwatha et al. (2013), young women are sparse in political leadership, despite being engaged as voters.

According to Tagoe and Abakah (2015), few women (64.2%) cast ballots in the district assembly elections for Ghana in 2010. Despite women voting in district assembly elections and being highly active in volunteer organisations, where they demonstrate leadership skills, they are underrepresented in local governance politics (Tagoe & Abakah, 2015). For several reasons, their leadership abilities have not translated into leadership opportunities in local governance (Tagoe & Abakah, 2015). Women in Nigeria make up nearly half of the population and 51% of election

voters, but they are not given enough credit (Ushe, 2019). Ushe (2019) found that the recommended 30% representation of women in government, as advised by the Beijing Platform for Action, to which Nigeria belongs, has not yet been reached. Young women who are disadvantaged, because of their gender and age, experience more gender inequality or under-representation in political participation in Nigeria (Nche, 2019). However, women were put in one group hence there was no specific data on the participation of young women. Hence, the need for this study.

In Zanzibar, women make up more than half of the population and more than half of the electorate (Salim Ali, 2020). Since the multi-party system was reinstated 25 years ago, according to Salim Ali (2020), women have made up 6% of MPs, 12% of House Representatives, and 20.7% of councillors elected in general elections. Nche (2019) further argues that women, particularly young women, are underrepresented in many societies globally, particularly in the mainstream forms of participation, such as running for political office, campaigning, attending political meetings, belonging to a political party, and participating in legislative communities. Samia Suhulu, the United Republic of Tanzania's first female leader, took office in March 2021 after President John Maghufuli passed away, making her the sixth leader of that country (Rao, 2021). Rao (2021) notes that President Samia Suhulu had previously held the position of Vice President in 2015 and had been re-elected to it in 2020.

Women are underrepresented globally and locally, and Lesotho is no exception (Nyane & Rakolobe, 2021). According to Nyane and Rakolobe (2021), as of January 1, 2021, there were 23% women in the Lesotho National Assembly and 21% in the Senate. After the 2017 local government elections, 40% of local councillors were women (Nyane & Rakolobe, 2021). Despite having a gender quota at both the national and local levels, statistics show that women are underrepresented in Lesotho's legislative bodies (Nyane & Rakolobe, 2021).

Since 2000, young people in SA – including young women – have typically had the lowest party identification rates (Mattes & Richmond, 2015). According to Mattes and Richmond (2015), young people are much less likely to engage in local politics or to contact elected officials. Although they are equally involved in other election-related activities, such as attending rallies, working for political parties, and following election campaigns, youth are significantly less likely to vote in national elections (Mattes & Richmond, 2015). In the 2019 SA National and Provincial elections, the youth voter turnout was low (15.4%) (IEC, 2019). Additionally, less than 20% of young women voted during the elections. Young and first-time voters showed low and declining

voter turnout during the 2021 SA municipal elections (Bekker & Runciman, 2022). In the 2021 SA local election, nearly 1.8 million 18 to 19-year-olds were eligible to vote, but 90% of them did not register (Bekker & Runciman, 2022). Additionally, less than 20% of people aged 20 to 35 registered to vote, compared to more than 90% of people over 40 (Bekker & Runciman, 2022).

The 2019 and 2021 SA election reports from the IEC show that few young women register to vote and, even worse, turn out on election day. However, the IEC employed many young women as the electoral staff (IEC, 2019; IEC, 2021). In 2019, 118 702 (38.3%) of the youth were recruited as electoral staff (IEC, 2019). Furthermore, 146 542 (72.96%) of the electoral staff were women compared with 54 313 (27.04%) men. In the 2021 municipal elections, about 120 750 (62%) of the electoral staff were youth (IEC, 2021). About 142 328 (73%) of the electoral staff were women, whilst 52 177 (27%) were men. These statistics demonstrate that many young women in SA participate as electoral staff.

2.8 Challenges or barriers that young women face in participating in electoral processes

Young women still have difficulties participating in the electoral processes. Despite making up the larger proportion of the population globally and in SA, they still have a significantly small political presence. Although they sometimes resemble one another, these difficulties differ from country to country. Despite young people being agents of change and active in socio-political movements, formal politics is still largely the purview of those over 35, with youth continuing to be underrepresented (UNDP, 2017). In many societies, young women experience double discrimination during the electoral cycle based on both their age and gender, and they also face more challenges than men (UNDP, 2017). This literature review shows that young women across the globe are facing difficulties in participating in politics.

The UNDP (2017) outlined several barriers that hinder the participation of young women in the election cycle. These obstacles include: the minimum age requirements to vote or run for office, which accounts for the gap that most nations have between these two thresholds; higher costs associated with candidate nomination and campaigning; social and cultural norms that favour men and older women; a lack of information on youth political participation; difficult voter registration procedures; and party politics that do not support young candidates. The 2017 UNDP report provides a general picture of what young women are facing worldwide. The purpose of this study was therefore to comprehend the difficulties that young women in South Africa, particularly Pretoria East, face.

According to the IPU (2021), younger candidates may receive less party support and may therefore appear lower on the list, decreasing their chances of winning. Younger candidates are occasionally chosen for “unwinnable” constituency seats in first-past-the-post systems, where the party has little to no chance of winning (IPU, 2021). They therefore have less chance of getting a seat because they are at the bottom of the list (IPU, 2021). Additionally, numerous nations share the belief that “old is gold” (IPU, 2021). Certain nations place a higher value on experience and the wisdom of the elderly than they do on the youthful generation (IPU, 2021). According to the IPU (2021), parliamentary candidates are chosen in these nations on the grounds that “it is their turn” to hold office because of their many years of exemplary service and dedication to the party. Because of this, there are fewer young women in public office.

Kibuka-Sebitosi (2013) explored the challenges that women across Africa are facing. These issues included: the difficulty in obtaining credit; illiteracy, especially for rural women; gender-based violence, especially in SA; a lack of role models among women as there are few female role models; a lack of resources, making women more vulnerable and lacking the funds to fight elections; and a lack of affirmative action programmes in place to improve women’s participation. This is often coupled with domestic violence, and women fearing their spouses or partners’ reactions are unwilling to stand as candidates.

According to Milazzo and Goldstein (2019), men have traditionally held authority over women in traditional patriarchal social structures in which power is unequally distributed. Young women are prohibited from actively participating in politics in this patriarchal society. We consider discriminatory formal laws and informal normative systems that uphold gender inequality as examples of how the power imbalance manifests in governance arrangements (Milazzo & Goldstein, 2019). Africa Barometer (2021), Hussain and Behan (2021), Babtunde (2021), and Soyoyo (2021) all emphasise the detrimental impact of patriarchy on women’s political participation. Soyoyo (2021) highlights statements that men make, such as “it is a woman’s responsibility to take care of the children. This makes a woman to be very busy and therefore, it is better to pick a man as a leader.”

In Pakistan, social conservatism and the limitations placed on women’s agency and mobility by patriarchal social norms are generally accepted as the causes of women’s lower voting participation rates compared to men (Cheema, Khan, Mohmand & Liaqat, 2019). Cheema et al. (2019) classify Pakistan as a classic patriarchy with all the associated restrictions on women, male control over female productive and reproductive work, and the household as a key site of

control and conflict. It is uncommon for women to actively engage in politics and to leave the house unless necessary (Cheema et al., 2019). Cheema et al. (2019) claim that most women in the home need the men's consent before doing anything or interacting with anyone outside the home, and some are even prohibited from voting. A good homemaker who prioritises household duties is seen as the opposite of an "ambitious" woman (Cheema et al., 2019). Cheema et al. (2019) note that women, particularly younger women, have less political knowledge. Voting among women is discouraged by distance and transportation issues (Cheema et al., 2019). Additionally, women rarely interact directly with political figures, and most male party workers who interact with men outside the party are men who work for the party (Cheema et al., 2019). Politicians rarely spend time with constituents, and especially not with women. During election season, they move through the neighbourhood without directly addressing important issues with women (Cheema et al., 2019).

Choudhary (2018) investigated the difficulties and barriers that Indian women in politics face. According to Choudhary (2018), women face several obstacles in political participation, including illiteracy, work and family, a lack of political networks, private-public divide, a lack of financial support, and societal and cultural norms. Ogunbela and John (2019) examined the representation of women in African politics and what might be causing the unequal representation of women in politics. Ogunbela and John (2019) assert that socio-cultural factors, economic factors, and religious factors all prevent women from actively participating in politics. The advancement, progress, and involvement of women in political processes are hampered by a strong patriarchal value system that favours sexually segregated roles and by traditional cultural values (Ogunbela & John, 2019). Women's participation is hampered by several barriers, according to Ogunbela and John (2019), including societal perceptions of women's leadership potential and their lack of assertiveness. Additionally, access to employment, which gives women not only financial independence but also professional skills and greater self-confidence, is a major factor in determining how much they participate in politics (Ogunbela & John, 2019). Ogunbela and John (2019) assert that women's participation in political institutions and elected bodies is directly impacted by their social and economic status.

According to Biney and Amoateng (2019), people who participate heavily in religious organisations are more likely to vote or to be politically engaged and committed. Young women, on the other hand, have also suffered because of religion. The world's major religions differ in how conservative or patriarchal they are in their perceptions of women's roles in society and the

church hierarchy (Ogunbela & John, 2019). Ogunbela and John's (2019) study to understand the participation of women in Africa was conducted in Nigeria, Ethiopia and Egypt, all on the African continent. However, generalisation of data to all African nations is not advisable as politics differ by nation, hence the need for a study that focused on young women in SA. Furthermore, Ogunbela and John's (2019) study focused on women in general, but the current study focuses on young women.

Similar to Ogunbela and John (2019), Biney and Amoateng (2019) investigated the socio-cultural factors that limit women's participation. In their 2019 study, Biney and Amoateng looked at the influence of sociocultural elements on political participation, including age, gender, education, and religion that have a negative impact on youth participation. For example, someone who lacks education is less likely to enter politics. Politics is primarily seen as a male domain because most societies are patriarchal (Biney & Amoateng, 2019).

Additionally, Mwatha et al. (2013) examined the difficulties and experiences that young Kenyan women seeking political participation encounter. Mwatha et al. (2013) claim that the political aspirations of young women are frequently undermined by: maleness and politics' patriarchal nature; a lack of resources and support for young women seeking leadership positions; the influence of societal expectations and stereotypes; insecurity, gender-based humiliation and violence. Although these difficulties are experienced in Kenya, where the study was carried out, young women worldwide may face the same difficulties.

Akpan (2018) examined the degree of women's participation in Nigeria's 2015 general elections. Akpan (2018) discovered through the analysis of the 2015 elections that women had difficulties voting in those elections. The lack of internal democracy in almost all the country's political parties, corruption, political violence, and religious and cultural beliefs were just a few of the difficulties women faced (Akpan, 2018).

Women in Kenya face several challenges, including a violent political climate, gender discrimination, a lack of support from other women, and a lack of resources (Anyango, Alupo & Opoku, 2018; Mwatha et al., 2013). In Rwanda, Nyiransabimana (2018) investigated the enabling and limiting factors that affect women's participation in local governance, the difficulties women encounter when carrying out local governance-related tasks and making decisions, and their attempts to overcome these difficulties. Institutional obstacles may make it difficult to balance a political career and a family, claims Nyiransabimana (2018). Additionally,

Rwandan women are expected to perform a variety of domestic duties and act as the primary caregivers, particularly for the very young and the very old that affect their participation in local government and other public spheres (Nyiransabimana, 2018). Transportation to and from work is a significant barrier for female councillor participation, especially for women who are nursing, according to Nyiransabimana (2018). The primary difficulty women encounter while working in local government is relocating (Nyiransabimana, 2018). Additionally, women in positions of authority in local and national governments are more likely to clash with their spouses which lowers their participation (Nyiransabimana, 2018). Some women may not participate because their husbands prevent them working in politics.

Hamidu and Ali (2018) examined women's participation in politics in Yobe State, Nigeria. According to Hamidu and Ali (2018), discrimination, poverty, low education, the patriarchal nature of society, fear, intimidation, and biological and physiological factors are responsible for the poor representation of women in Yobe State politics. Women's involvement in Nigerian politics and leadership is hindered by a patriarchal attitude, poor informal networks and mentoring, finances, religion, and educational status (Ushe, 2019).

Uzor (2019) explored the experiences of young women struggling for political participation in Nigeria. Uzor (2019) asserts that some cultural and religious barriers prevent young women from entering politics. Likewise, Maigari, Yelwa and Aliyu (2019) acknowledge the role played by cultural, financial, and religious factors in women's low participation. Maigari et al. (2019) assert that emotional factors and a lack of identity consciousness also contribute to women's low participation. According to Uzor (2019), there are many reasons why there are so few women in politics in Nigeria, including resistance from traditional and religious leaders, gender-based inequality, deeply ingrained cultural norms, challenging political environments, money politics, godfatherism, patriarchal mindsets, and the national government's refusal to uphold its international commitment to ensure equal opportunity for all genders. The major determinants of women's political participation in Nigeria include culture and religion (Uzor, 2019). Uzor (2019) notes that a young woman needs finance to run for office, and this poses a huge barrier for her because men expect her to ask them for funding. Moreover, young women are not easily accepted in Nigerian politics unless they have a "godfather" who has a strong influence (Uzor, 2019).

According to Thirdman (2019), Ghanaian women are prevented from actively participating in local elections by high levels of illiteracy, a lack of interest in and faith in politics, cultural

barriers, inferiority complexes, religious barriers, and a lack of support from men (husbands). Additionally, with a focus on women's participation in Ghana, Akrofi (2020) outlines some obstacles to young people's involvement in decision-making. According to Akrofi (2020), the lack of quality education, unemployment and a lack of funding are the main challenges hindering the youth from engaging in politics. In Ghana, leadership positions, still seen as masculine, tend to prevent women from accessing the forefront of political decision-making (Akrofi, 2020).

Kanjere (2019) used the content analysis method to examine the public discourse in the media, other forums, and academic literature and cited a case of Patricia de Lille of the Good Party in SA. According to Kanjere (2019), women are generally portrayed in the public sphere as being incapable of making sound decisions, which makes it difficult for them to be credible public leaders. The IPU (2021) also noted that several female lawmakers had been harassed on social media, with 85.2% of female MPs reporting such incidents. Younger female MPs are more frequently the targets of psychological and sexual harassment than older female MPs (IPU, 2021). Male politicians in SA, according to Kanjere (2019), have committed more grave errors than female politicians despite receiving preferential treatment. The likelihood that women will be elected to parliament is negatively impacted by the unfavourable perceptions of women's leadership capabilities (Soyiyo, 2021). Soyiyo (2021) notes that some men made statements, such as, "women have weak intelligence while a man has critical thinking that's why a man should be a leader." Soyiyo (2021) discovered that many electorates preferred to vote for a male because women have low thinking capacity and poor decision-making skills, are "too emotional", conforming, and dependent, are mostly busy with their personal life, and are meant to be homemakers, which keeps them busy and unable to fully concentrate on a leadership position. According to Kanjere (2019), many women are hesitant to serve the public because of the negative image of female politicians. Owing to the fear of criticism from the media and public, the participation of young women in politics continues to be negatively impacted.

Politics in most African countries, particularly in SA, has continuously been a "men only" affair (Mbukanma & Strydom, 2021). Mbukanma and Strydom (2021) argue that men dominate most political parties, making it difficult for women to have political positions, thereby affecting women's inclusion and participation in decision-making positions. Additionally, there exists a lack of women orientation toward political activities and the political leadership representation does not shape their training.

From the literature above, it is evident that young women continuously face hindrances that limit

them from participating in politics. Nearly every nation faces these challenges, but they have not been able to address them or increase the participation of young women. This study is thereby relevant because it provides insight into the participation of young women in politics and makes recommendations for increasing young women's electoral participation.

2.9 Strategies that enhance young women's participation

The literature review for this study revealed strategies to increase young women's electoral participation that address obstacles that prevent young women from taking part in the political sphere and legal protections for gender equity (Mwatha et al., 2013). The UNDP (2005) notes that the legal frameworks for election processes in post-conflict countries should be gender-sensitive and should guarantee gender balance in all bodies involved in elections. When designing election systems, special measures – including quotas – can increase women's participation by ensuring that their laws adhere to international human rights standards by including women in discussions and negotiations leading to the adoption of new electoral systems and laws; review legislation and regulations to include women's participation in elections; and address laws that exclude women from politics; the adoption of election laws that guarantee women the right to full and equal participation; aid in the gender analysis of election laws to find flaws and suggest solutions; and ensure that advancing international human rights law is part of the mandate of peacekeeping missions (UNDP, 2005). To encourage full and equal participation by women in electoral processes, the UNDP (2005) recommends advocating for gender equality by presenting position papers on the subject, monitoring how the government implements peace agreements and electoral processes, and trains members of electoral management bodies on these topics. Voter education initiatives should acknowledge that there are greater obstacles for women than for men. It should also emphasise the role of women in politics and their right to vote as equal members of society (UNDP, 2017).

According to the UNDP (2017), political parties may implement voluntary quotas to ensure that a minimum number of young candidates are represented on their lists particularly in nations without legal provisions guaranteeing this. The IPU (2021) also emphasises the value of youth quotas to boost the representation of young people in Parliament and the need to carefully examine the design of these quotas to ensure their effective implementation. The IPU (2021) believes that young men and women ought to be involved in the planning, carrying out, overseeing, and evaluating of this.

Reliable information on youth registration, voter turnout, youth Electoral Management Bodies (EMB) staff, observers, candidates, and political party memberships are essential for determining the level of participation of young people in electoral processes (UNDP, 2017). According to the UNDP (2017), using this information will assist EMBs to create youth-focused strategies and put them into practice to increase the participation of young people. Moreover, the voting registration should be well organised and simplified particularly for new voters (UNDP, 2017). In SA's 2014 elections, only 41% of eligible voters between the ages of 18 and 19 were registered to vote, as opposed to 76% of eligible voters between the ages of 20 and 29 (UNDP, 2017).

Furthermore, IDEA (2015) mentions strategies to improve youth participation in electoral processes across the globe, with an emphasis on Africa. These strategies include: altering electoral law to encourage younger people to register and participate; boosting young people's self-esteem through active training in electoral politics; and creating strategies to improve access to media; and the use of social media for campaigns. The SA government must also have strong programmes that encourage young people to get involved in politics rather than engage in politics, which some young people believe to be the answer to some of their problems (Enaifoghe & Dhlamini, 2021). Enaifoghe and Dhlamini (2021) recommend that society explores pragmatic ways to involve the youth in political issues of the state because the traditional welfarist method has failed.

The IPU (2021) mentions several programmes to increase the political participation of young women. These include: implementing outreach programmes to engage with younger women who may not have considered political careers, such as young people in remote areas with diverse social and economic backgrounds and experiences; introducing quota systems for women in parliament; implementing support and empowerment programmes for young women aspirants to political office; strengthening the capacity of young women; eliminating all forms of sexism, harassment, and violence against women in the legislature; ensuring that delegations to international meetings include young women MPs; and ensuring that delegations to international meetings are gender balanced.

Political violence against women in Indonesia is more prevalent than political violence against male politicians (Abdurrachman, Majesty & Riyanti, 2020). Abdurrachman et al. (2020) acknowledge the need for initiatives that, among other things, reduce victims of the political process, develop a system that can serve the rights of victims, and make institutional changes to establish a fair and free electoral system. Political parties must establish an open cadre training

system to include the women cadres who meet the primary requirement of being verified as legitimate voters (Abdurrachman et al., 2020). According to Khelghat-Doost and Sibly (2020), the current patriarchal system needs to be challenged to increase the participation of women in political decision-making. Additionally, Biswal (2020) highlights the need for women to be encouraged and given freedom to ensure greater participation in West Odisha, India.

Varon and Mello (2020) investigated legislative power in Malawi and Colombia with the goal of understanding the shockingly low percentage of women in political representation in these countries. According to Varon and Mello (2020), the activists, policymakers, and advocates in these nations should identify the primary causes of obstacles to women's political participation. Access to education, mentorship, and empowerment serve as the foundation for the enablers of women's political participation (Varon & Mello, 2020).

Ali (2020) made recommendations in a study that was conducted in Zanzibar. They included the following: non-governmental organisations must continue to advance women's political participation, placing training as their priority; women must support one another rather than political parties when voting; removal of the special seat percentage reserved for women and replacement with the idea of equal seats, so that the percentage of male and female contestants are equal; and an increase in the number of women running for office.

According to Akrofi (2020), workshops that focus on leadership development and skill-building are essential interventions for empowering women and young people because these groups frequently lack the information and knowledge required to combat gender discrimination and take advantage of their position. To address gender inequalities currently present in party structures, civil society should be encouraged to develop gender policies, political parties ought to encourage collaboration among female assembly members in all districts and regions, and the sociocultural practices that limit women's access to public office should be re-examined (Akrofi, 2020). Although this study was conducted in Ghana, these recommendations apply to all young women. This current study is therefore crucial to understanding what the young women in SA need to improve their participation in politics.

Political parties should be more approachable to empower their youth wings by having clear constitutions, goals, and measures of success; making sure that young people who are eligible to run for office within the youth wing are empowered to do so; opening up political parties to youth, including giving them leadership positions within decision-making structures to increase

their reach to younger demographics; and deviating from the status quo (IPU, 2021).

The Inter-Parliamentary Union and United Nations Development Programme (2022) suggest a parliamentary youth charter that should be co-designed by the Parliament and young people. The charter should include: collaborating with young Civil Society Organizations (CSOs); choosing youth delegates from the public using platforms like social media; and asking MPs to nominate young people from their districts or regions (IPU & UNDP, 2022). The IPU and UNDP (2022) state that governments should support a “for youth, by youth” philosophy in which young people are given the chance to work on projects and activities, such as spreading awareness of the youth charter, and any initiatives resulting from it.

Babtunde (2021) asserts that there is a significant connection between poverty and the status of women. Omotoso, Adesina and Adewole (2022) note that, despite the numerous social policies put in place to address gender disparities in poverty and inequality in SA, their study was consistent with other studies that have shown that vulnerability and multidimensional poverty are prevalent among women. The government and all relevant parties must therefore make more efforts to improve the health and employment prospects for women to close the gender gap in poverty (Omotoso, Adesina & Adewole 2022). In this way, young women are empowered and given the self-assurance to engage in political issues.

Finally, Babtunde (2021) emphasises the necessity for African men to abolish the traditional perception of women, most of which is characterised by male dominance and chauvinism. This includes moving away from the common general practice of the authoritarian husbands or heads and subservient, fearful, wife-mother and sexual gratifier to a lasting mutual and respectful partnership of “comrades in progress” and encouraging women’s political involvement, participation, and contributions to nation building for the good of one and all.

Despite the body of research on women’s participation in elections described above, many researchers, such as Ali (2020), Tagoe and Abakah (2015), Cheema et al. (2019), and Kibuka-Sebitosi (2013), chose to focus on all women without differentiating between the young and old. While much literature has looked at the political participation of women, the participation of young women has received little or no attention because women are either treated as one group of young and old or studied alongside their male counterparts as “youth”. Furthermore, most research available does not examine all forms of women’s participation but rather selects a few, ignoring others. Therefore, a study that examines all forms of participation is necessary to

develop a more thorough understanding of the problems young women have with participation. Data from other countries or regions cannot be attributed to the SA because the results may vary depending on the region.

2.10 Theoretical framework

Theories play a crucial role in explaining observed patterns because they lay the groundwork for additional explanations and a deeper comprehension of the phenomenon (Babbie, 2013). To fill the gaps in the literature regarding the participation of young women in electoral processes, this study used Jans and De Backer's Triangle and Liberal feminist theories.

2.10.1 Jans and De Backer's Triangle

The theoretical framework of this study was the Triangle of Youth Participation developed by Jans and De Backer (2002) because this study focused on young women's involvement in SA's Pretoria East electoral processes. Therefore, the model served as a guide for research on the participation of young women in electoral processes. The triangle's three elements – challenge, capacity, and connexion – explain the trends in young women's electoral participation. The triangle of youth participation is shown in Figure 1.2.

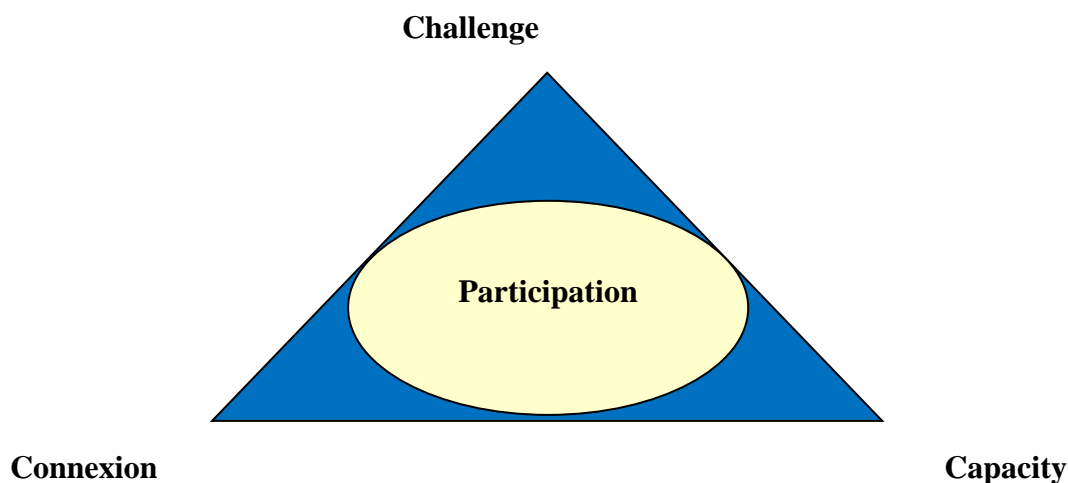


Figure 1.2: Jans and De Backer's (2002) Triangle of Youth Participation

According to Jans and De Backer's (2002) theory, young people will actively engage with society when given three specific dimensions, namely, challenge, capacity, and connexion. They argue that young people must first have a personal or social issue challenge that they are drawn to. They must be able to collaborate with others to effectively address the issue and they must

feel supported by communities, movements, and organisations (Jans & De Backer, 2002). This study applied these three dimensions when developing interview questions and questionnaires.

However, this theory is “process-based,” and does not consider the impact of results on youth participation. According to Aciene, Rauckiene-Michaelsson and Rimkus (2022), the specific result of a project can be equally stimulating for the participation of young people as the process itself. This is relevant for this study because the three connexions mentioned in the theory explain why young people do not fully participate in electoral processes and what should be done for them to participate. The theory is flexible in application, case specific and depends on the context, which gives room to identify powerful and critical challenges which may improve the youth capacity and reinforce the existing network (Mutamiri, 2019). Additionally, the theory/model focuses on the youth, which includes both men and women. There is no explanation on how gender disparities play a role in youth participation. This is why this study also used the liberal feminism theory which focuses on women.

2.10.2 Liberal feminist theory

Liberal feminism was first expressed in Europe in the 18th century (Shoma, 2019a). The central principles of liberal feminism – autonomy, universal rights, equal citizenship, and democracy – come from the liberal political philosophy of the enlightenment era (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). A sub-set of gender-reform feminism that derives from liberal thought is called liberal feminism (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). Furthermore, according to Kawahara (2017), liberalism gave rise to traditional liberal feminism. Liberal theory is a feminist theory that contends that social resources, such as education and employment, are unequally distributed and that this causes gender inequality (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). According to Enyew and Mihrete (2018), liberal feminism is primarily focused on the socially constructed patriarchal ideology that upholds gender inequality. Individualism and an emphasis on equality are its defining characteristics (Khattak, 2011). The principle of gender equality that is reflected in the UN goals and in the articulation of girls and women empowerment goal under SDG 5 is anchored in ideals of liberal feminism (Omwami, 2021). Mary Wollstonecraft (18th century), John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor (19th century), and Betty Friedan and Rebecca Walker (20th century), are among the well-known thinkers of liberal feminism (Shoma, 2019a).

According to liberal feminism, there are few differences between men and women because they are not biologically based (Lorber, 1997). According to the theorists, men and women should not

be treated differently by the law if they are not different (Lorber, 1997). Liberal feminist theorists contend that achieving gender equality depends on issues like voting, holding office in the government, education, and combating sexual harassment (Lorber, 1997). According to Lorber (1997), feminism's primary contribution has been to highlight how severely society discriminates against women.

To better understand how gender inequality affects the participation of young women in elections in South African society, the study used the liberal feminist theory. Hamidu and Ali (2018) used the theory to analyse the difficulties of women's political participation in Yobe State, Nigeria, and Bloemgren (2010) used it to study women and participation in Georgia. The underrepresentation of women in politics was a topic that the researcher highlighted using the theory.

However, this theory has limitations. Although some activist liberal feminists, such as Maria Stewart (1803-79) and Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), focused on the circumstances of black and working-class women (McKenna, 1998), the ideas of liberal feminism, in terms of class and other power relations related to race and sexuality, are more attached to white middle class women with a bourgeois background (Butt, 2011) in developed rather than in developing nations (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). The theory fails to consider the concepts of multiplicity, plurality and diversity of individuals and groups (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018). Additionally, the model ignores the gendered division of labour, both in the home and at work (Shoma, 2019b). Despite these limitations, liberal feminism has and still plays a major role in contributing to the welfare, education, and health of millions of women who now have the strength and credibility to uphold their rights and status in society (Shoma, 2019a). Additionally, the theory has led to the advancement of rights and freedom of millions of women across the globe (Shoma, 2019a). According to Shoma (2019a), liberal feminism has contributed to educating women about their rights and upholding their status in society. When guided by ideas such as liberal feminism, governments take steps to address inequalities (Shoma, 2019a). According to Shoma (2019a), the theory provides an overall structure to evaluate and coordinate reforms, making them more effective. In view of this, this study adopted this theory regardless of its limitations.

To ascertain how frequently young women vote in Pretoria East elections, the study triangulated the liberal feminist theory with Jans and De Backer's (2002) Triangle of Youth Participation. While liberal feminist theory only looked at how gender inequality affected the participation of young women in elections, Jans and De Backer's Triangle of Youth Participation examined the

difficulties that youth generally face.

2.11 Importance of the study

The United Nations (2015) stated in article 21 that every citizen has the right to participate in the government of his or her country, either directly or through representatives of their own choosing. According to the UNDP (2017), many international and regional legal documents, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), recognise the right to fully participate in a nation's political and electoral processes as a fundamental human right. Additionally, according to the United Nations (2015), everyone has the right to equal access of public services. "The will of the people shall be the foundation of the authority of government, and this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections, which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held using secret ballot or equivalent free voting procedures" (UN, 2015). This article displays the importance of ensuring that every citizen in a country fully takes part in the governance of their country, which includes selecting leaders through voting. Therefore, this study is significant because it contributes toward ensuring the active participation of young women as an important constituency in SA's electoral processes.

To ensure that both sexes fully participate in political processes, the United Nations General Assembly declared in 1979 that voting rights for men and women in all elections should be equal, and that men and women should equally participate in the creation of governmental policy and hold public office (United Nations General Assembly, 1979). Cattleya (2010) notes that if women, particularly young women, have a limited political voice, this impedes the quality of governance in any community and hinders women's realisation of their human rights and opportunities for development. Hence, the need for this research to examine the participation of young women in electoral processes. According to Cattleya (2010), having more women in Parliament means that women's issues receive more attention, which benefits their quality of life. Gender equality is a crucial development objective that is linked to economic development (Milazzo & Goldstein, 2019).

The UNDP (2017) asserts that the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development's definition was greatly influenced by young people. Through a comprehensive consultative process (UN Development Group consultations), participation in UN Major Group of Children and Youth negotiations, and the online My World Survey, in which more than seven million young people

voted for their priorities for a better world, they communicated their needs and ideas to governments and the UN (UNDP, 2017).. The UNDP (2017) added that, since young people are considered “critical agents for change”, they are prioritised across all 17 SDGs, in addition to being specifically mentioned in the 2030 Agenda. According to the UNDP (2017), the inclusion-focused SDG 16 can only be achieved if all societal groups participate in decision-making at all levels. It is obvious that without peace and effective, accountable, and inclusive political institutions, it will be impossible to eradicate poverty and hunger (SDGs 1 and 2), guarantee healthy lives (SDG 3), promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth (SDG 8) or accomplish all the other goals (UNDP, 2017). To accomplish all the SDGs by 2030, the government should prioritise involving the youth, including young women, in their decision-making. This study is crucial because it makes recommendations for raising young women’s electoral participation.

According to IDEA (2019), obtaining gender equality in political parties and other institutions of political participation and representation is crucial for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals. By 2030, SDG 5 aims to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. One of its benchmarks is that women should actively participate in all aspects of political, economic, and public life and have an equal opportunity to lead at all levels of decision-making in all nations (IDEA, 2019). Additionally, IDEA (2016) notes that, while political parties around the world have made some positive efforts to promote and implement gender equality measures, most are still hesitant or uncertain about how to systematically undertake internal reforms to further sustainable equality between women and men. Goal 3 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is gender equality and women’s empowerment. South Africa was one of the 189–192 nations that adopted the MDGs in 2000 (Statistics South Africa, 2015). The MDG goal of 50% women in political leadership has not yet been attained by South Africa (Stats SA, 2015). There is a need for improvement in the participation of young women in electoral processes so that SA achieves this goal.

Because much research on women and elections has focused on all women without differentiating between the young and old, this study is significant. Geisler (1995), Mokomane (2006) and Okoosi-Simbine (2012) focused on all women without differentiating between the young and old. These researchers studied women from the age of 18 (generally regarded as the voting-eligible age) upwards. Such a move disregards the various needs that exist between young and older women in any given society.

In youth and election studies, no demarcation is made between young women and men which again ignores the fact that these two groups are distinct, and their needs and participations are therefore bound to be diverse. Such a demarcation was not evident in the studies of Everatt and Masebe (1998), Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) and Fakir, Bhengu, and Larsen (2010). This study is therefore significant because it highlighted issues specific to the participation of young women in electoral processes.

In the SA Parliament, women still face significant obstacles that prevent them from fully participating in the country's political life (Britton, 2005). These obstacles include sexual harassment in the workplace; discrimination in their political parties; domestic violence; and rape (Britton, 2005). The existence of such challenges will continue hindering young women from participating in politics and can also culminate in the quitting of those already in office. According to Britton (2005), over one-half of the women who were interviewed chose not to run for office again because their capacities as grassroots activists did not correspond to those needed for office.

The study contributes to closing the gap between the participation of young women and their male and older women counterparts. It also contributes vastly to a paradigm shift in SA politics regarding the participation of young women. Because they make up most of the population and are both young and female, who together make up 51% of the population (Stats SA, 2016), young women have a significant impact on a country's electoral processes. The participation of young women can influence a country's policy framework because they can use their numbers to support a particular ideology.

By investigating the participation of young women, a policy that enhances their participation in electoral processes was created, which then increases the level of national participation among SA citizens. Through this study, a South Africa where young women run for political office and advance their interests is imagined. An increased voter turnout among young women would mean choosing leaders they believe will be able to hear and address their unique concerns.

As SA held elections in 2019 and 2021, it is crucial to identify areas that still need improvement to ensure equal electoral participation, particularly regarding young women. To shape both their lives and that of future generations, all citizens must participate in these processes during future elections. According to Gender Links (2019), only six (12.5%) of the 48 political parties that ran candidates in the 2019 SA national and provincial elections were led by women. The National

Council of Provinces (NCOP) only has 36% female members (Gender Links, 2019). Additionally, Stats SA (2016) reports that 36% of South Africans are aged between 15 and 34, making the country's population among the youngest in the world. Given that SA's population has increased by about 7.5% over the last five years, the percentage may have gone up by now (GroundUp, 2019).

The Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2019) discovered a 47% decrease in the number of people between the ages of 18 and 19 on the voters' roll in the 2019 national and provincial elections, although the population of young people has increased. According to PMG (2019), the number of registered voters between the ages of 20 and 29 decreased by 9% in 2019. According to Hakizimana and Masterson (2019), the 2019 election results statistics show that young South Africans are apathetic regarding politics and governance. The fact that young women from SA are represented among this group of youth highlights the need to boost young women's electoral participation.

2.12 Chapter summary

Through a discussion of current knowledge and a critique of earlier studies in the field, this chapter focused on the participation of young women in electoral processes. Furthermore, the chapter identified gaps in literature surrounding the subject of study. Discussions also included the theoretical foundation for the study's design and its rationale.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.1 Chapter introduction

The overall strategy the researcher used to carry out the study, along with the associated design and its procedures for data collection, analysis, and verification, are referred to as the research methodology (Moss, 2017). This chapter discusses the methods used in the study's research methodology. To gain a thorough understanding of whether and how young women participate in elections, the study used a qualitative method research approach. The research design, approach, and paradigm are explained in detail in this chapter, along with sample designs and methods, data collection techniques and fieldwork, data capturing and editing, data analysis, methods for ensuring validity and reliability, plans for pilot studies or the testing of data-gathering instruments, and ethical considerations. Also discussed are the limitations of this study. This study examined the extent to which young women in Pretoria East participate in elections.

3.2 Research design

A research design is the outcome of several choices the researcher makes and is a blueprint for carrying out a study that includes strategies for maximising control over variables that could affect the study's validity, reliability, and dependability (Burns & Grove, 2010). A research design, according to Creswell (2009), consists of plans and procedures for the study that cover all the decisions, from broad hypotheses to specific techniques for data collection and analysis.

The study incorporated both primary and secondary data. After conducting a thorough literature review to gather secondary data, it was possible to pinpoint the concepts and pertinent characteristics that influence the participation of young women in electoral processes. The study then developed closed- and open-ended questionnaires, semi-structured interviewing methods, and focus group discussion guides.

Questionnaires were distributed on a sample of participants using systematic random sampling. Questionnaires were distributed to the Pretoria East young women who were willing to participate. Participants from the focus group discussion who felt the need to express themselves privately in the questionnaire were also given the questionnaires.

Quantitative methods were used to analyse the data, which were documented in version 22 of the

Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). Additionally, both kinds of snowball sampling were used in semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Using the CAQDAS NVivo 12 Plus, the data derived from these data were recorded, coded, and examined. The analysed data and the literature review were used to create the final report.

3.3 Research approach

Three different types of research approaches – quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method – have been identified by Creswell (2009). Although qualitative and quantitative research methods are distinct from one another in terms of their knowledge and standing, the researcher argued that they should not be viewed as opposites or dichotomies but rather as different ends of a spectrum. Out of these strategies, this study used a qualitative approach because it enabled the researcher to gather the in-depth data required for this study through semi-structured interviews and focus groups (Lichtman, 2014). This study investigated how often young women participated in SA elections. Given that participation in such a study would be challenging to quantify, a qualitative methodology was required. According to Creswell (2013), there are five types of qualitative research: case studies, ethnographies, phenomenological studies, grounded theory studies, and content analyses. Given (2008) defined a case study as a research strategy in which one or a small number of instances of a phenomenon are studied in depth. This study had a case study as its primary research method.

Pretoria East was the subject of a case study. The case study method was chosen because it allowed the researcher to study a current phenomenon in its actual setting (Simons, 2009). Additionally, a case study allowed for an in-depth understanding of this study through semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and open-ended questionnaires (Given, 2008). To fully comprehend participation, extensive information was required for the study's investigation of the participation of young women in electoral processes. A case study can also involve participants in the research process (Simons, 2009). The case study is adaptable, so it can be completed in a few days, months, or years (Simons, 2009). Digital recorders were used to capture data, and notes were also taken. The case study concentrated on leaders from the youth and women's wings of political parties, young women between the ages of 18 and 35, and civil society organisations.

3.4 Research Paradigm

A complete set of beliefs, a worldview, or a framework that directs research and practice in a particular field is known as a paradigm (Willis, 2007). A paradigm (world view), in the words of Creswell (2009), is a fundamental system of assumptions that directs behaviour.

Qualitative research approach encompasses four broad categories of research paradigms. These are: interpretivism; positivism; realism; and pragmatism. This study used interpretivism. The interpretive paradigm is aligned with the empirical paradigm of social constructionism and qualitative research methodology (Travers, 2009). The interpretivist paradigm requires small samples and in-depth investigations (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2019).

3.5 Sample design and sampling methods

According to Mason (2002), sampling refers to the guidelines and methods used to locate, pick, and gain access to pertinent data sources from which data are then produced using the selected methodologies. This study used non-probability sampling, which is a sampling method used when some population units have no chance of being chosen or when it is impossible to calculate the probability of selection (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Convenience, quota, expert, and snowball sampling are the four non-probability sampling techniques that Bhattacharjee (2012) identified. The snowball sampling technique was used in this study to collect qualitative data. A design procedure for selection known as “snowball sampling” is typically carried out using networks (Etikan & Bala, 2017). “Snowballing” is following up on leads from interviewees which involves finding more interview candidates because of the new leads (Yin, 2011). One participant who fit the study’s inclusion criteria was contacted from the ANC Women’s League. When questioned, the participants from the ANC youth league, women’s league, and civil society organisations were asked for the names of any additional potential participants (CSOs). The same was done in the focus group discussions; the participants suggested potential participants who the researcher then contacted to set up appointments and divided into groups of eight to ten participants each. Because it allowed the researcher to reach populations that were challenging to sample using other sampling techniques, this sampling technique was employed (Etikan, Alkassim & Abubakar, 2016). It was easier to reach out to other participants after mentioning that a particular participant had referred them. That made most participants more at ease. Additionally, the snowball technique is cheap, simple, and cost-efficient (Etikan et al., 2016).

A study's sample size, according to Salkind (2010), is the number of participants. Marshall (1996) notes that a qualitative study should use a sample size that fully addresses the research question. The study collected data from 553 respondents, of which 523 were questionnaire respondents; 26 were respondents from three focus groups, each of which had fewer than ten participants, and four semi-structured interviews. The sample size was determined using an online sample size calculator, which used a population size of 66 399, a confidence level of 95%, and a margin of error of 5% (Qualtrics, 2022). The formula used determined that a sample size of 382 was ideal. However, because the researcher anticipated participant resistance, they considered 382 as the minimum and targeted a much higher sample size of 523. The return on questionnaires is typically low at only 30% (Kothari, 2004) therefore the researcher decided to include more participants to lessen bias. Furthermore, the researcher used a smaller sample size for semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions because they were aware that they had reached data saturation.

3.6 Data collection methods and fieldwork

Typically, case study research uses a variety of data collection methodologies and sources (Shanks & Bekmamedova, 2018). For the case study methodology, the primary data collection techniques were focus groups, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, pertinent documents and secondary data analysis (Shanks & Bekmamedova, 2018). Questionnaires and focus group discussions targeted young women in Pretoria East Constituency and the semi-structured interviews targeted key informants from CSOs, political parties' youth and women's wings whose mandate includes promoting the participation of young women in democratic processes in SA.

3.6.1 Data collection process

The act of gathering information to address a research issue is known as data collection (Polit & Beck, 2012). Face-to-face interviews and a closed- and open-ended questionnaire were used to collect the data. Before taking part in the data collection process, each respondent was required to sign an informed consent form. The respondents who had questions about the consent form were given an explanation. One thousand (1000) questionnaires were administered. The questionnaires were hand-delivered and emailed to young women living in Pretoria East. The questionnaire was given to respondents who would have expressed discomfort in face-to-face focus groups or semi-structured interviews. The questionnaire was also emailed to respondents who were busy at the

time of meeting but had easy access to the internet.

Young women in Pretoria East participated in focus group discussions in groups of eight to ten at various locations. The Civil Society Organizations, leaders from political parties' youth and women's wings participated in semi-structured interviews. Creating a comfortable environment for the focus group is imperative to the success of the methodology (Allen, 2017). The interviews took place at the interviewees' offices and other public locations that were convenient for the respondents to make the respondents feel at ease. A moderator took accurate notes while recording the interviews on a digital recorder. The researcher, with the help of a moderator, observed the respondents' verbal and non-verbal communication.

3.6.2 My positionality statement and gaining access to subjects

3.6.2.1 My positionality statement

Positionality describes an individual's view and the position they have adopted regarding a research task and its social and political context (Holmes, 2020). It reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study (Holmes, 2020). Chilisa (2012) argues that positionality or standpoint judgements are informed by standpoint theory whose main argument is that knowledge is always referenced to some standpoint argument.

I am a 32-year-old black woman, born and raised in Zimbabwe. My home language is Shona, although I am also fluent in English and isiZulu. I identify myself as a young woman or youth because my age is within the range of 18-35, which is regarded as youth. I was born and raised in a Christian home, which contributed to my strong belief in Christianity. Additionally, I come from a family with more female than male siblings and cousins. I hold a Hon BA degree in Development Studies, and I am currently a master's student at UNISA.

I believe that my race, age, gender, and social class had an impact on the participants that I interviewed. Because I am black, I found myself only interviewing black participants, not only because I chose black participants, but because other participants only referred me to black participants. Additionally, because of my age, it was easier to establish connections with the young participants, because I could relate to their experiences; but the opposite could be said for older participants.

3.6.2.2 Gaining access to subjects

Given (2008) claims that access is the proper ethical and academic practice used to enter a particular community for the purposes of conducting formal research. The entry explores the major difficulties associated with gaining access to participants in qualitative research. Before having access to the participants, the researcher obtained official research ethics clearance from the University of South Africa. Each participant was given a consent form to read and sign, and the researcher ensured that the participants understood the form. Given (2008) claims that, because it is used to formally request participation in the study, the consent form is the first and most direct line of access to participants.

Questionnaire respondents were accessed through door-to-door canvassing. Thus, the researcher visited every 10th house in Pretoria East distributing the questionnaire. Some questionnaires were emailed to the respondents who were busy and had provided an email.

People who serve as entry points into a particular community are known as gatekeepers (Given, 2008). For the semi-structured interviews with the CSOs, the gatekeepers of political parties' youth and women's wing leaders were used to gain access to the first participants. These gatekeepers were typically secretaries at the political parties' offices who provided the researcher with participants' contact details. After that, the participants suggested other participants to the researcher.

Accessing the respondents was challenging, especially with the interviews. With the focus groups, it was difficult to get the respondents to agree on a set date, time and location that would work for everyone. Focus group respondents were typically interviewed during lunchtime at workplaces or at their homes after working hours to gain access to both the employed and unemployed, and to create a conducive environment that was convenient and welcoming for them. Some potential participants abruptly cancelled because of their "hectic" schedules, and others refused to participate because there were no incentives.

For the semi-structured interviews, getting access to the CSOs, political parties' youth and women's wing leaders took longer than anticipated. In one incident, the researcher was referred to a potential participant who kept referring the researcher back to the person who had first introduced them, until she finally consented to the interview. However, given how politically sensitive the study in question was, this was not unexpected.

The researcher had to make appointments before any interviews to gain access to the respondents. This was more challenging as some did not answer their phones, or worse, they would be transferred to various offices before gaining access to the right person to be interviewed. Gaining access became simpler after a few interviews because the respondents gave the researcher the contact details of the leaders, they had attempted to interview but were unable to do so. At some point, a respondent called another CSO leader to inform her that she had provided her contact details to the researcher.

Some political parties' youth and women's wing leaders thought that the study would expose their political party's flaws, and that the executive leaders would hold them accountable. After explaining the ethics and privacy involved with this study, and that this study had nothing to do with exposing political parties, they proceeded with the interview.

3.6.3 Data collection techniques and procedures

Four main methods of gathering data were used in the study: focus groups, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, and secondary data analysis. Young women in the Pretoria East Constituency were the focus of questionnaires and focus groups, and key informants from CSOs, political party youth and women's wings, whose mandates include promoting the participation of young women in democratic processes in SA, were the focus of semi-structured interviews.

A closed-ended and open-ended questionnaire that the researcher created was given to 1000 respondents (see Appendix A). Additionally, focus groups and semi-structured interviews with leaders from civil society organisations, political, youth, and women's wing parties were conducted using interview guides (see Appendices B to D). The interview guides were designed in English and participants were expected to answer in that language. However, the respondents could express themselves in their vernacular language if they were unable to do so in English. The moderator understood all vernacular languages spoken in this community.

A questionnaire is a collection of thoughtfully crafted questions distributed uniformly to a group of respondents to gather data (Jupp, 2006). Both closed-ended and open-ended questions were included in the questionnaires used in this study. The closed-ended questions only gathered quantitative data, whereas the open-ended questionnaires gathered qualitative data. The latter questionnaires gave respondents room to express themselves. One thousand (1000) questionnaires were administered. Young women living in Pretoria East received the

questionnaires by hand delivery and email. Focus group discussions were used to distribute the questionnaires to respondents who would have expressed discomfort in face-to-face interviews. Respondents who were busy when the researcher approached them but had easy internet access received the questionnaires via email. As some respondents did not feel comfortable answering interview questions as the research topic is politically sensitive, questionnaires were helpful. This study chose this type of data collection method because of the low cost of questionnaires (Kothari, 2004). Additionally, unlike interviews and focus group discussions, the questionnaire removes interviewer bias and permits respondents to be anonymous (Mills, Durepos & Wiebe, 2010).

The focus group research method was also used. Focus groups, according to Herman (2018), are a qualitative research methodology used to glean deep insight into attitudes and behaviour. Focus group research involves gathering a small group of people, typically six to ten, in one place and asking them to discuss a particular subject of the researcher's interest (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This study used focus groups with eight to ten participants per group because this size is more manageable than a large group of participants (Lichtman, 2014). However, if the group is insignificant, for example, with five participants, the process will be more time consuming and there may be insufficient interaction (Lichtman, 2014). More than ten participants could make it difficult for everyone to participate in the discussion (Hancock et al., 2009). The moderator took notes during the group discussion and observed the actions of the participants, as body language mattered in this study. To ensure that no details were missed, the researcher used a digital voice recorder. The research chose focus group discussions because they give the researcher an opportunity to control or influence the content and dynamics of the conversation (Given, 2008). Therefore, the researcher was able to gather the information needed for this study. Moreover, focus groups allowed the researcher access to a greater number of participants at a time (Given, 2008).

According to Miller and Brewer (2003), in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer chooses in advance the main questions to ask as well as the broad topics that will be covered. This interview format encourages conversation between the interviewer and the subjects (Parcell & Rafferty, 2017). The open-ended nature of the semi-structured interview questions used in this study gave respondents more freedom to provide thorough responses. The researcher made a list of subjects to cover in advance of the semi-structured interviews. According to Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge (2007), creating a topic guide – a list of topics the interviewer wants to cover – is an

important step in preparing for semi-structured interviews. In-depth data on the study topic can be gathered with the use of semi-structured interviews. Given (2008) asserts that, when they are carefully conducted, semi-structured interviews can give a researcher in-depth knowledge of a subject of interest.

Using previously collected data from a prior study to pursue a research topic unrelated to that of the original work is known as secondary data analysis (Miller & Brewer, 2003). This research gathered past research articles and journal articles that conformed to the objectives of the study.

3.6.4 Dates and settings of data gathering

Data collection for this study was conducted from April 2019 to June 2020 from young women in the Pretoria East Constituency. Pretoria East is an entirely urban and predominantly medium density area with a few low-density areas. An email from the Information Officer of the Department of Statistics South Africa (KW Molefe 2017, personal communication, 20 November) confirmed that there are more than 162 535 women in Pretoria East, of which about 66 399 are young women between the ages of 18 and 35. The study collected data from young women aged between 18 and 35 years, living in Pretoria East in SA, leaders from CSOs that work with young women and leaders from political parties' youth and women's wings.

3.7 Data capturing and editing

Quantitative data from the questionnaires were recorded and coded using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) NVivo 12 Plus was used to code the qualitative data from the participants. Based on the following four primary research goals of the study, the researcher developed codes and categories:

- a. To explore the forms of the participation of young women in electoral processes.
- b. To determine young women's participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East.
- c. To determine the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes.
- d. To ascertain the possible strategies or recommendations for young women to participate in electoral processes.

To understand the meaning of the responses that participants gave regarding the level of young women's participation in electoral processes in South Africa after 1994, particularly in the Pretoria East Constituency, the researcher recorded the interviews and then transcribed them verbatim. After transcribing the audios, Word documents were created for all participants and focus group discussions. To preserve the participants' names and protect their identities while providing data that addressed the main research questions, the researcher gave them pseudonyms, such as "Participant 1" and "Participant 2".

3.8 Data analysis

According to Hancock et al. (2009), analysing the data for a research project entail distilling the vast amount of data gathered and communicating the key findings through the presentation of the findings.

3.8.1 Qualitative data analysis

3.8.1.1 Data analysis processes

The data from respondents were analysed using NVivo 12 Plus, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Qualitative research with an interpretive paradigm was used in the data analysis process. Data were examined using a thematic analysis. Following Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, the participants' data were evaluated and categorised. According to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2011), thematic analysis is an inductive and thorough procedure designed to examine and categorise themes from written data in a clear and reliable way. As an alternative, thematic analysis groups several "chunks" of texts into codes, then divides those codes into different categories and, finally, themes (Guest et al., 2011). The information from the participants was organised, entered into the NVivo 12 Plus programme, and coded after the thematic analysis. The generated codes were organised into categories. Additionally, themes were developed, improved, and then finalised after the researcher used the inductive method of data analysis to let the data speak for itself. The data collected from the participants were analysed thematically to provide themes that were appropriate for the study's main research questions and objectives. For data analysis, Braun, and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis shown in Table 3.1 was used.

Table 3.1: Thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work for the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. The selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back to the analysis, the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

(Source: Braun & Clarke, 2006)

3.8.1.2 Cleaning and coding process

Cleaning and analysing qualitative data are frequently viewed as taxing and challenging tasks because they call for the researcher’s aptitude for intuition and creativity to facilitate the coding process (Basil, 2003). In this study, the verbatim transcribed transcripts of the interviews were cleaned and made into workable Word documents as part of the interview preparation for coding. The missing words and typos were ignored by the researcher. To make the process of data analysis easier, participant data were highlighted during the preliminary reading, and codes were developed (Creswell, 2013). The researcher used open coding by assigning initial codes or labels

and concentrated on themes regarding the participation of young women in electoral processes in South Africa after 1994 as units of analysis. Codes are labels or tags used to give the descriptive or inferential data gathered during a study a unit of meaning (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The primary research findings are supported by data coding, which can also be used to rework or validate existing theories or increase the body of literature (Creswell, 2013). NVivo 12 Pro was used to supplement the coding, and lexical queries, such as word frequency, word clouds, and text-search queries, were examined. The coding procedure was directed by the Saldana (2015) coding manual.

3.8.2 Quantitative data analysis

To analyse quantitative data, statistical techniques were applied. The survey questions were recorded and coded using SPSS. We used frequency and descriptive statistics to analyse the collected data. According to Creswell (2013), the last stage of data analysis entails presenting the findings in a table of figures and explaining how the statistical tests translated them. Standard deviation-filled tables and bar graphs were used in this study.

3.9 Ensuring validity and reliability

The validity and reliability of the instrument were tested before it was used to collect data, ensuring that the data would be accurate and supportive of the context for which it was being collected.

3.9.1 Validity

A valid study has properly collected and interpreted data, and the conclusions accurately reflect and represent the real world under study (Yin, 2011). Given that the study used both interviews and questionnaires, the bias that interview respondents undoubtedly encountered was supplemented by the questionnaires, and vice versa, resulting in the bias from questionnaires being supplemented by interviews.

Additionally, Webber (1990) argues that, to ensure credibility and trustworthiness in qualitative data analysis, the researcher is expected to involve a coder or multiple minds in the coding process as a way of checking the consistency and reliability of the information generated. This study had only one primary coder, which limited the flexibility of the iterative process of coding the data, especially interpretive and pattern coding. To improve the coding system, the researcher

and the coder were able to discuss the coding frame hence, adding precision and validity to the claims drawn from the developed codes, categories, and themes (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

3.9.2 Reliability

Roberts, Priest and Traynor (2006) claim that any research tool should deliver the same information regardless of who uses it or when. Research must have a reliability of 0.8 to 0.9 to be considered trustworthy (Roberts et al., 2006). These figures indicate that, if an instrument has a reliability of 0.9, 90% of the observed score variability is true, and only 10% is due to error. The alpha coefficient was used in this study to examine the research instrument.

3.10 Plans for pilot studies or testing of data-gathering instruments

The researcher developed and tested an open-ended questionnaire by asking a few young women from Pretoria East to complete the questionnaire. The questionnaire was then altered using the feedback received from this exercise. Schoeman and Puttergill (2007) pre-tested their study's questionnaire and made changes using the feedback they received. Because the questionnaire was both closed and open-ended, a pre-test on the questionnaire helped the researcher decide on questions to ask during the interviews. Before distributing a questionnaire in the field, Bhattacharjee (2012) advises conducting a pre-test to identify any ambiguities, unclearness, or biases in the question wording. The triangulation method was also used. This was accomplished by combining interviews and questionnaires. The questionnaires complemented the bias that was probably present in interviewing respondents, and vice versa.

3.11 Ethical considerations

Ethics is "the moral distinction between right and wrong" (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Moriarty (2011) asserts that "no research methodology is ethically privileged". This study was no exception as the researcher adhered to the research ethics. The researcher submitted an ethical clearance form that was fully signed and approved by their supervisor to the University of South Africa's Department of Development Studies.

3.11.1 Anonymity and confidentiality

Olivier (2009) asserts that a research project guarantees anonymity if the researcher and readers are unable to connect a particular response to a particular respondent. This research ensured the

confidentiality of the research participants as the researcher removed identifying information from coding sheets or interview transcripts (Given, 2008). Anonymity was guaranteed because participants were not asked to include their names when completing the questionnaires.

3.11.2 Voluntary participation and the right to withdraw

The study's participants gave their consent voluntarily rather than being coerced. It was made clear to participants that they could leave at any time if they did not feel comfortable for any reason. Participants understood that their participation was voluntary, that they were free to leave the study at any time without facing any negative repercussions, and that they would not suffer because of their participation or lack thereof (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

3.11.3 Informed consent

Participants signed an informed consent form provided by the researcher. To fully inform the participants of all probable or anticipated risks and/or discomfort related to participation in this study, a detailed form was created. The informed consent form also stated that participants had the option to not participate, and that the researcher may record their responses. Bhattacharjee (2012) notes that it is unethical to offer bonus points to participants and nothing for non-participants. The informed consent form should include the possibility of responses being recorded (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

3.12 Limitations of the study

When using open-ended questionnaires, some respondents may not understand, making it difficult for the researcher to draw conclusions. Hancock et al. (2009) believe that, with questionnaires, there are no opportunities to ask for clarification on certain questions where the researcher would require one. Furthermore, the results of this study may not be generalisable to all locations within or outside of SA because data from all towns and suburbs of SA were not collected.

3.13 Scope of the study

This research collected data from young women between the ages of 18 and 35 years from Pretoria East, CSOs, and leaders from political parties' youth and women's wings. Pretoria East has all socio-economic classes; thus, the area has people of the upper, middle, and lower classes.

Hence, the study could obtain the perspectives from young women of all classes, thereby reducing the bias that usually comes with collecting data from one socio-economic class. Pretoria East was also chosen because the place is convenient for the researcher and reduced the researcher's transport costs and time consumed. The total number of respondents was 553.

3.14 Chapter summary

The research methodology and ethical issues were covered in this chapter. The research design, population, sample frame, sampling methods, sample size, data collection practices, data analysis plan, methods for ensuring validity and reliability, plans for pilot studies or the testing of data collection instruments, and ethical considerations were all outlined. Additionally, this study's limitations and shortcomings were discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter contains the findings gathered from 553 respondents, of whom 523 were questionnaire respondents; 26 were the respondents from three focus groups with fewer than 10 participants each, and four semi-structured interviews. The data included: 523 usable questionnaires from 1000 questionnaires that were administered to young women; semi-structured interviews with key respondents from CSOs and women and youth wings; and three focus group discussions with young women in the Pretoria East Constituency. The data collected were qualitative, in line with the qualitative research design that was used. Only a small portion of the questionnaire collected quantitative data that buttressed the qualitative questions in the questionnaire. The findings were interpreted according to the research questions and the literature review.

4.2 Quantitative data analysis

4.2.1 Age group

The participants were asked to identify which age category they fit into. The age groups that were available to choose from were 18 to 25 years, 26 to 30 years, and 31 to 35 years because the study's primary focus was on young women. Figure 4.1 below provides a summary of the outcomes. Figure 4.1 shows that all age groups had a good representation. When using random sampling techniques, it was challenging to estimate the precise number of participants across all age groups. The study's conclusions, which will be used across all age groups of young women, can be generalised because each age group has adequate representation. The age group 26–30 years was the least represented, with 30% of the total sample for this study, followed by the age group 31–35, which made up 33% of the total sample. The most represented age group was the ages 18–25, which made up 37% of the entire sample for this study.

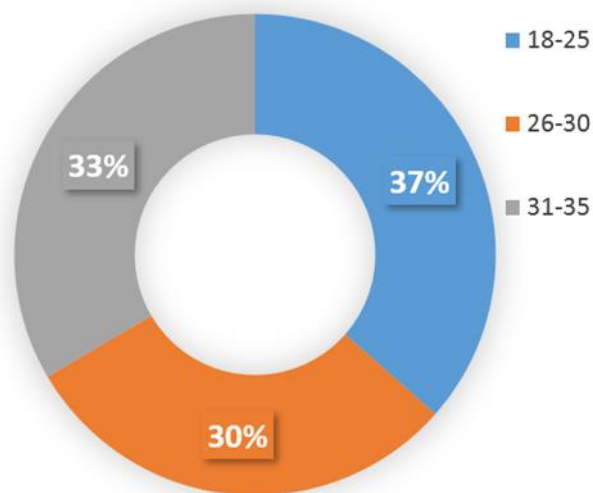


Figure 4.1: Pie chart of age groups of young women voters in Pretoria East

Additionally, the study investigated each participant's level of education; the results are shown in Figure 4.2. According to the findings, matriculation was the highest level of education held by 45% of participants, followed by tertiary education held by 20% of participants. Additionally, 17% of the participants indicated that they only completed primary education, while 18% indicated that they held other qualifications, such as informal qualifications for up-skilling. These findings demonstrate that, after completing matric, young women pursue other activities, such as seeking employment rather than pursuing their education to obtain diplomas, degrees, or postgraduate qualifications. The question that can be posed at this stage is: After matric do these women endeavour to enter politics or participate in electoral processes? Another question that one might ask is the following: Does education level influence the involvement of young women in politics or electoral processes? These questions will be answered in subsequent sections.

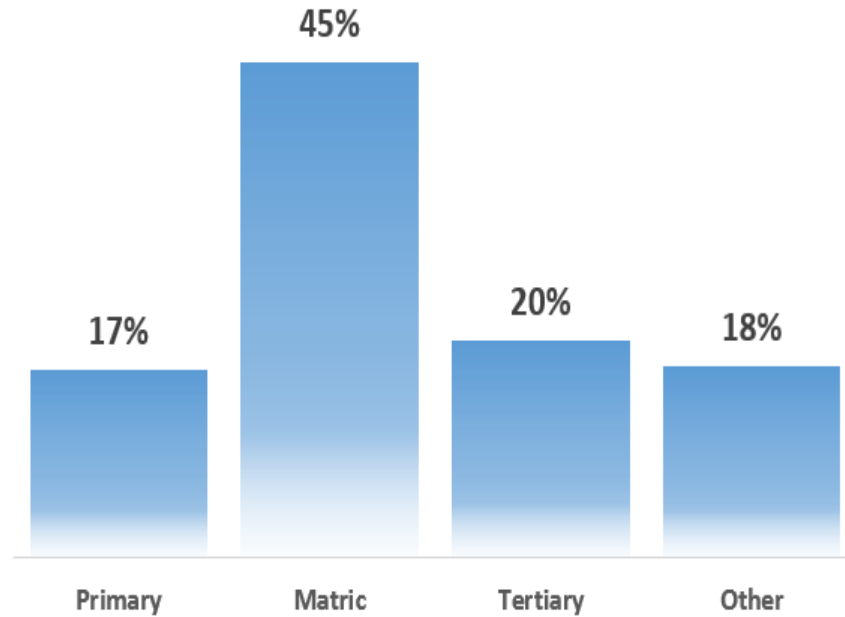


Figure 4.2: Bar chart of the education level of young women voters in Pretoria East

This study also asked the participants to indicate their employment status. The results are tabulated below. Table 4.1 shows that every employment status was almost equally represented. According to the findings, more women (28%) were self-employed as opposed to those who had formal jobs, jobs in the unorganised sector, or were unemployed. The next group of women, 25% of them, said they were currently jobless. Those who were employed in the informal sector were just 1% less than those who were unemployed. Women who were formally employed were 23% of the sample used in this study, which is 1% less than the women who were informally employed.

Table 4.1: Employment status table of young women in Pretoria East

	Formally Employed	Employed in the informal sector	Self-employed	Unemployed
N	121	124	147	131
%	23%	24%	28%	25%

The study further classified women who participated in this study as either unemployed or employed, regardless of the type of employment. Figure 4.3 shows that 75% of the young women who took part in this study were employed or at least had a job, as opposed to 25% who were

unemployed. Given SA’s progress toward gender equality, these outcomes are acceptable. But the most important query, which this study attempted to answer, was: Do these women work for political organisations or parties, or do they, at the very least, participate in elections as poll workers, observers, or monitors?

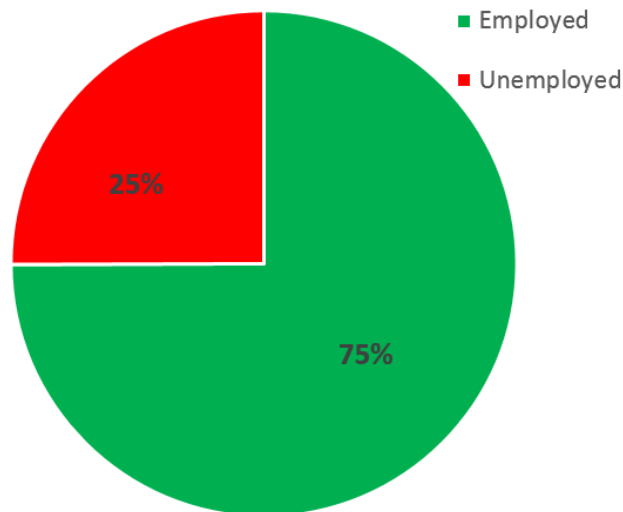


Figure 4.3: Employment status of young women in Pretoria East

To answer the primary research question on the extent to which young women participate in elections in Pretoria East, the study asked the participants to indicate whether they intended to register to vote in the 2019 South African elections. Young women should participate in the electoral processes, including voting. Figure 4.4 shows that, while most of the study’s female participants did not register to vote, 21% of them did. The participants were asked to provide an explanation for whether they planned to or did not plan to cast a ballot in the upcoming general elections in 2019. Most participants who said “no” to registering to vote had a general feeling that voting would not benefit them in any way and that they did not see the need to vote, whereas most participants who said “yes” to the registering to vote question indicated that they intended to vote because they wanted to express their feelings (either frustration or joy) toward the ruling party and believed that their vote would make a difference.

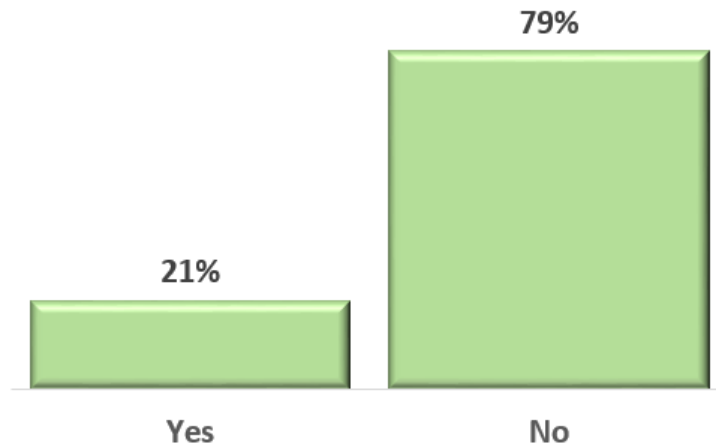


Figure 4.4: Intention to register to vote in the 2019 upcoming SA elections by young women in Pretoria East

The study asked participants if they had ever voted in local, parliamentary, or presidential elections since 1994. Figure 4.5 shows that 13.2% of young women had participated in voting. The study’s findings point to the need for additional efforts to encourage young women to participate in voting and other electoral processes. Because earlier studies focused on all women without differentiating between the young and old, no research has yet been done on the participation of young women in SA elections.

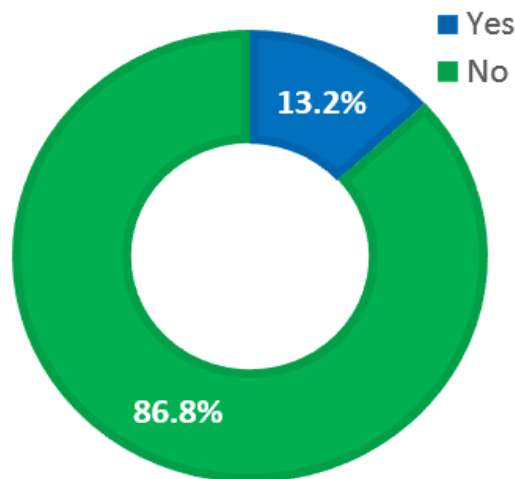


Figure 4.5: History of voting since 1994 in South Africa

Question 6 was intended to investigate the reasons why the participants had or had not voted since 1994. Most responses fell under the following themes: those who said they had never voted for the following reasons: age (too young to vote in previous elections); did not bother; it is not

beneficial and helpful; did not know the voting procedure; uninterested in politics; there were no Pan-African parties to vote for; and peer-pressure from family and friends. Those who indicated that they had voted before cited the reasons that motivated them to vote: the zeal to influence the political landscape; the desire to avoid being voiceless; trusting the political party to represent them; and the need to take part in any positive change for the country.

The study further investigated whether the participants had ever contested as candidates. According to the study's findings, only a small percentage of young women had contested as candidates (3.6%), while 96.4% had never done so. These results suggest that SA young women are not motivated to hold positions in the political sphere. This supports the gap that this study covered, which is investigating the extent to which young women participate in elections.

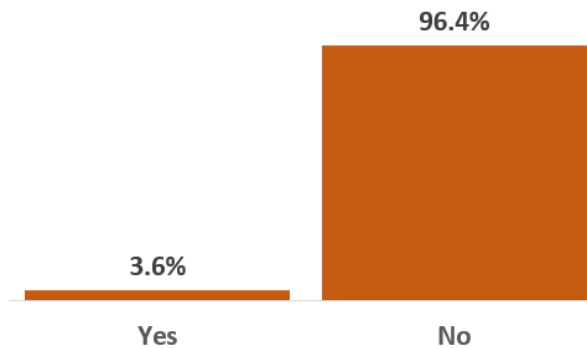


Figure 4.6: Contested as a candidate in SA by young women in Pretoria East

Participants were asked to indicate how they had participated in elections since 1994 in South Africa to gauge the participation of young women in Pretoria East. The options available were election candidate; voter; election monitor; polling agent; election observer; polling officer; and none. The findings showed that most participants (72.3%) did not participate in any electoral processes since the 1994 elections. These results match those found earlier for participants who had not voted since 1994.

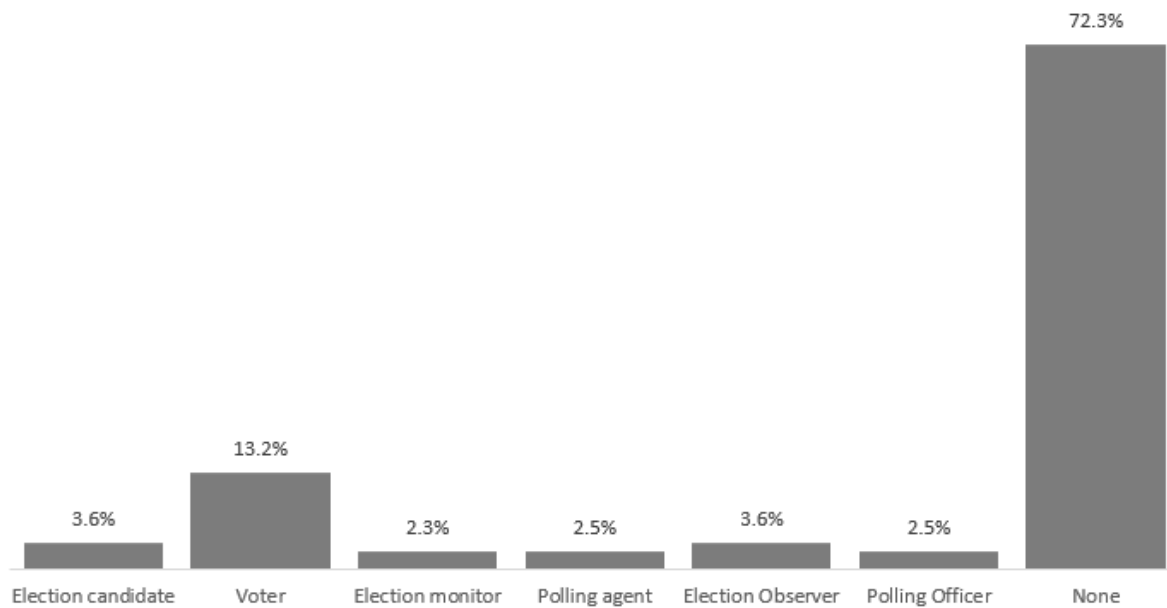


Figure 4.7: The participation of young women in the electoral process since 1994 in South Africa

4.3 Qualitative data analysis

This section discusses the qualitative findings obtained from the four face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews, three focus groups discussions, and 53 semi-structured questionnaires after reviewing pertinent literature and validating the methodology employed in this study. Finding evidence to support the degree to which young women participate in electoral processes in South Africa after 1994 was the main objective, specifically in the case of the Pretoria East Constituency. All the participant-provided data were analysed and coded using NVivo 12 Plus, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). Based on the study's four primary research objectives, which are listed below, the researcher developed codes and categories:

- To explore the forms of young women's participation in electoral processes.
- To determine young women's participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East.
- To determine the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes.
- To ascertain the possible recommendations for young women to participate in electoral processes.

The report also evaluated the importance of the participant-provided data considering the literature, the research questions, and the conceptual model that served as the foundation for the investigation.

4.3.1 A brief analysis and interpretation of the themes generated from the study

The main themes that emerged from the data analysis process of the study are shown in Table 4.2. Figure 4.8 shows the number of sources and quotations contributing to each theme. The next step was to interpret the significance of the created codes and themes after they had been identified. This process of sense-making of the analysed data formed the essence of the research. The study’s overall research objectives, which are listed in Chapter One, were considered. The researcher’s personal interpretations, which are influenced by their worldview and experiences, often shape the lessons learned from the analysed data (Creswell 2009), thus, such learning is not solely the result of the data analysis stage. The framework or lens that the researcher used to view social reality and the theoretical lens they selected to use as a guiding framework for the investigation, which influences the interpretations that emerge, are used to explain the data.

Table 4.2: Main themes generated

Name	Files	References
Challenges for participating	48	83
Forms of participation in electoral processes	6	44
Levels of young woman participation	5	20
Suggested recommendations	46	89

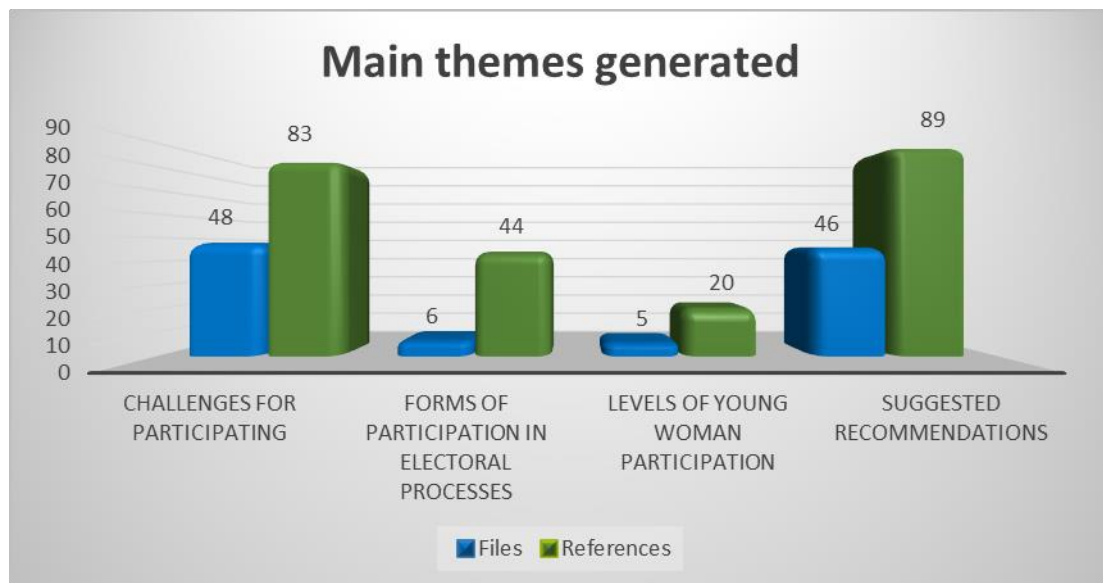


Figure 4.8: Main themes generated

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.8 show that “suggestions for young women to actively participate in elections” was the most discussed theme in the data, with 89 references; the second-most references, “challenges faced by young women to participate in elections” was second with 83 references covered by all participants who participated in the study; “forms of participation in electoral processes” was third with 44 quotations extracted from the participants; and “levels of young women participation” was fourth with 20 references supporting the code created.

4.3.2 Summary of the main themes

According to the three major themes or categories and the subthemes that emerged during the coding processes, the study’s findings are discussed in this section. The information obtained from the quantitative research is supplemented by the findings of the inductive method of data analysis.

4.3.2.1 Research objective 1: To explore the forms of young women’s participation electoral processes

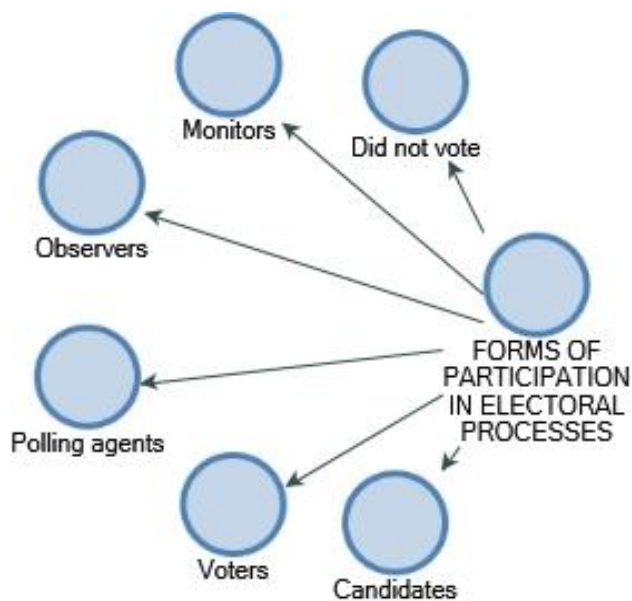


Figure 4.9: Forms of participation in electoral processes

Table 4.3: Forms of participation in electoral processes

FORMS OF PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES		
	Sources	Quotations
Candidates	6	12
Did not vote	4	13
Monitors	3	3
Observers	2	3
Polling agents	1	1
Voters	5	12

The information obtained from the participants during the data analysis process demonstrated

that young women did not just participate in the electoral process as candidates, but as voters, polling agents, observers, and monitors. Participants indicated that there is still a gender gap in electoral participation despite the measures proposed; therefore, some participants did not participate in the electoral processes, as discussed below.

4.3.2.1.1 Candidates

Data show that young women in the Pretoria East Constituency were encouraged to run for office because of their capabilities and competencies in their wards. Additionally, from the information provided, they were encouraged to be independent candidates and not necessarily part of any ruling or known political parties. The following quotes from the participants lend credence to the argument made above: **Participant 1** argued that *“yeah yes, we do, we do and encourage them to be candidates. It depends if it’s a local, we do have now but the process of South Africa, the independent candidates, you don’t have to come from any political party. But then, in South Africa now, since it’s a democratic country, eh, you can actually be a candidate.”* **Participant 2** reinforced this notion by stating that *“we are pushing for them to participate more as candidates so that they will represent other fellow women.”* Furthermore, **Participant 3** indicated, *“Now we take any young women, we don’t specify, as long as you are in the branch and then we know that you are in a good standing to be a candidate or a voter and also for those who are not in good standing because we do have those people who come to court but they lie about themselves but they didn’t join. Then we encourage them to join but we start from the young women. Yes, they do, they have a chance to be there as the candidates.”* However, information provided by some participants suggested that some of these young women stopped participating as candidates because they did not receive adequate support for available positions. However, **Participant 4** said, *“Recently they are only participating if they want to be nominated to become candidates.”* This information was supported through a participant from **Focus group 2** who emphasised that, as a woman, her journey started as a candidate. The participant said, *“I did yah, but it all started at COPE when I was starting, and I was very strong, and I was a candidate there. I also worked at COPE.”* Summing up, a participant from **Focus group 3** highlighted that young women should participate as candidates in the electoral process if they believe they have a connection with people within their ward or constituency.

4.3.2.1.2 Voters

Information from some participants shows that young women should participate in the electoral

process as voters. According to the data, young women should at least belong to a political organisation as voters so that their voices can be heard on issues that concern them, such as gender-based violence issues present throughout SA.

This information is supported through **Participant 1**, who contended that *“not as such, but what I would like is to ensure that eh all South Africans that the message that I will give that all South Africans, young people, especially women, to say that they must take an initiative and try to join and try to belong to any structure or any organisation and they can do this as voters.”*

Participant 2 reinforced the idea by asserting that *“it becomes easy to mentor them. But remember, they cannot all be candidates meaning most [of] us need to be voters so that we vote for that other woman to be our leader.”* Reinforcing the above quotations, a participant from

Focus group 2 mentioned: *“You know, unfortunately, you literally have no choice when it comes that because, when its election period, its everywhere people call you from everywhere, so as a woman, I participate as a voter and most women are encouraged to follow suit.”* Additionally,

some focus group discussion participants echoed the same sentiments by saying, *“I think three times, I have been a voter”*; *“We just vote as women”*; *“I was a voter, and I voted once”*; *“We are encouraged to vote and those who do actually go vote it’s more for the social credibility.”*

Supporting the above quotations, **Participant 3** argued that *“no, we take any young women, we don’t specify, as long as you are in the branch and then we know that you are in a good standing to be a candidate or a voter and also for those who are not in good standing because we do have those people who come to court but they lie about themselves but they didn’t join then we encourage them to join but we start from the young women.”*

4.3.2.1.3 Monitors

Some participants claimed that young women were encouraged to participate in the election process as monitors. This information was supported by **Participant 3**, who contended that *“we also encourage these young women to take part in politics even as monitors because they are fresh from colleges and some, they understand what needs to be done.”* Echoing this notion was

Participant 2, who asserted that, *“... and start learning from them, you see. Mentorship ... at the same time, women who have made it must not close doors to others, or at least they should not go down in histories. They should be monitors.”* One participant from the **Focus group 1** discussion reinforced this idea by stating that *“you will find them, most of them as election monitors, you will find them there.”*

4.3.2.1.4 Observers

According to data gathered from some participants, young women should participate in elections as observers. Data suggest that young women should at least participate as electoral officers because they are young, and still have the energy to count the ballots. **Participant 3** said, *“Oh, okay I can say eh we also put them as electoral officers or they call them observers right as well, they participate on that one and also on the counting one because they are still young because they are still energetic.”* A participant from the **Focus group 2** supported this idea and argued *“Because I think really told my mom that until I could see or observe.”*

4.3.2.1.5 Polling agents

Finally, one participant mentioned that young women can be encouraged to participate as polling agents. **Participant 1** indicated that *“... not as such, but what I would like is to ensure that eh all South Africans that the message that I will give that all south Africans young people to say that they must take an initiative and try to join and try to belong to any structure or any organisation and they can do this as polling agents to start with.”*

4.3.2.1.6 Did not vote

According to data from focus groups and interviews, young women may not vote because they do not value the importance of doing so. Hence, they could not mention any form of participation in which they had engaged. The following are excerpts from the participants: **Woman 1** said, *“I was at work and I don’t see the point of it actually me voting, not voting, no difference.”* **Woman 2** contended that *“yah, there is no change in South Africa, so I don’t see any need for me to vote; it’s unnecessary for me to vote. I have never voted.”* **Woman 3** said, *“I am not voting same; I am not wasting my time.”* **Woman 4** echoed, *“I believe most of the young people, especially in South Africa, we don’t really care and we do not vote because there is no need.”* **Woman 5** asserted, *“Me, I didn’t vote because I was sick and besides, I didn’t see any progress in this voting thing.”* **Woman 6** said: *“I didn’t vote. It’s because I don’t see the progress, even if, all the years I have never voted. I thought there was going to be a change once but realised I am not going to vote; change will never come.”*

4.3.2.2 Research Objective 2: To determine young women’s participation in electoral processes in Pretoria East

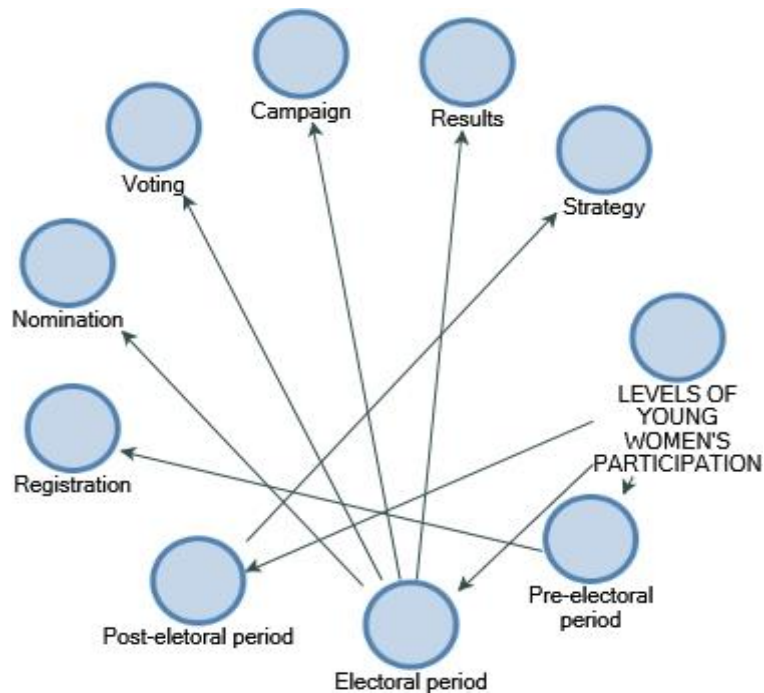


Figure 4.10: Levels of young women’s participation

Table 4.4: Levels of young women’s participation

Levels of young women’s participation		
	Sources	Quotations
Electoral period	5	18
Post-electoral period	1	1
Pre-electoral period	1	1

According to the data gathered, young women did participate in the electoral processes at the three above mentioned levels – the pre-election, election, and post-election – in the Pretoria East constituency.

4.3.2.2.1 Pre-electoral period – Registration

The data show that some young women did participate in the electoral process during the registration stage. A participant in the **Focus group 2** discussions provided this information: *“Yah I normally help out with registrations of voters of voters.”*

4.3.2.2.2 Electoral period

Information from some participants demonstrated that, after the pre-electoral period, most women participated during the electoral period where they were either involved in the campaign, nomination, voting and results processes. The following data from the participants supported the above argument.

4.3.2.2.2.1 Campaign stage

Data show that some young women in the Pretoria East Constituency were involved during campaigning, increasing their likelihood of being elected for different positions available in their different wards. **Participant 3** argued, *“Therefore we actually encourage people to participate, to belong in their structures within the ward during the campaign periods. And ensure that that one, which is there, even if he gets the position, we have to support and assist that person through campaigning.”*

4.3.2.2.2.2 Nomination period

Some participants claimed that women were encouraged to participate during the nomination periods so that people will vote for them during the elections. **Participant 1** said, *“Umm, remember it depends, to be a candidate I cannot say, you cannot say you want to be a candidate, a ward counsellor, for example. It all started through nominations or being elected by the people in the ward. So at time we want them to be nominated to participate.”* Reinforcing the quotation above was one participant from the **Focus group 3** discussion who asserted: *“It’s being nominated or being elected by the people in the ward that is important. So, women need to be elected first and as women, we need to make sure we nominate them to be our candidates.”* The participant from **Focus group 2** also highlighted that young women participate during the nomination phase if they want to be part of any position that might arise in their wards or constituencies. The participant said, *“And you are eligible for nomination for a position. Remembering that we respect the Constitution of South Africa.”*

4.3.2.2.3 Voting Period

This study's data demonstrate that most young women in the Pretoria East Constituency were active during the voting period. Some participants emphasised that young women were encouraged to vote because there are many of them; hence, they boost the chances of fellow women to win. Participants indicated that, by voting, they were supporting a fellow elected woman. **Participant 1** argued that *"... therefore we actually encourage people to participate, to belong in their structures within the ward during the campaign periods. And ensure that that one, which is there, even if he gets the position, we have to support and assist that person through campaigning."* A participant from the **Focus group 2** indicated: *"No, but you need to you know, it's your voice to be listened. It's your voice, you chose the party that you want but there remember look we make a difference, like even if you know that ANC is the one that is supposed to win but you could see the numbers they have changed because of what people are changing from this party to another party because it's people who say 'no we want different'. So, if you vote every, like each and every election, if the number of ANC is going down, even if they are not changing, it will still go down until another party."*

Furthermore, **Participant 3** reinforced, *"So, we are encouraging that spirit of voting so that we can all, can support the one which is there to become our leader."* Reinforcing the two quotations above was **Participant 2** who argued that *"yes, yes they do, but on the voting one you need to encourage them, you know, these young, the younger ones that if you don't tell them, you don't teach them, they won't do it. You have to motivate them you have to so that they must know what is expected why they need to vote. So, voting is important and young women are voting because they want to be heard."*

4.3.2.2.3 Post-electoral stage-strategy

According to data from participants, some of the young women in the Pretoria East Constituency participated in the final post-electoral stage. Based on the information provided, participants only mentioned that some young women were involved in the strategy stage. This was evidenced by **Participant 1**, who argued that *"therefore, if you want to win, you must have a winnable team and an informed team. This is done when women participate in the strategy, and we discuss on how best to make this work."* This information was supported by a participant from the **Focus group 1** who said, *"We are involved in strategy implementation; however, it's difficult because there are more men involved and our voices are sometimes not heard."*

4.3.2.3 Research Objective 3: To determine the barriers to participating for young women in the electoral process

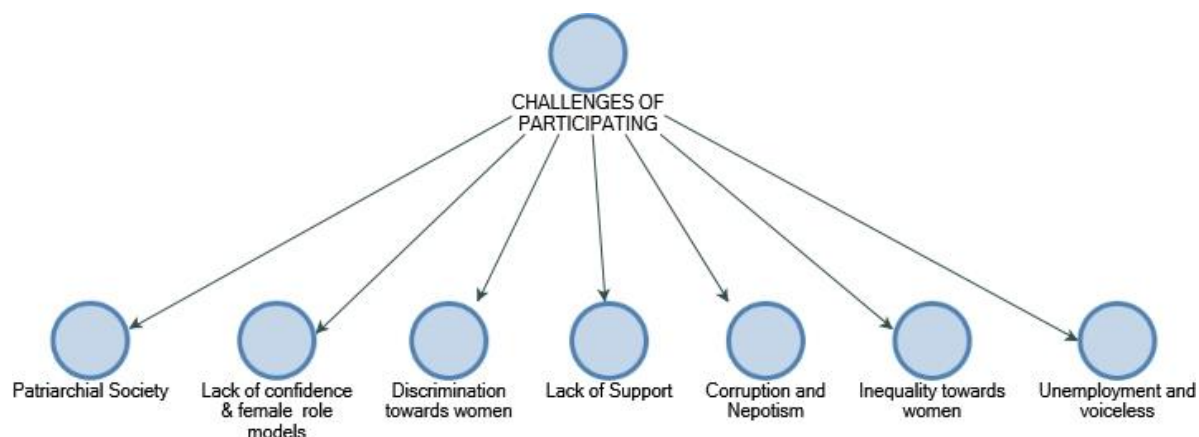


Figure 4.11: Challenges of participation

Table 4.5: Challenges hindering women from participating in elections

Challenges hindering women from participating		
	Sources	Quotations
Corruption and nepotism	4	6
Lack of confidence and female role models	3	5
Lack of support	12	13
Patriarchal society	9	13
Unemployment and the voiceless	4	4
Inequality toward women	6	6
Discrimination against women	25	36

Participants debated the levels of young women’s involvement and representation in the Pretoria East Constituency election process. Participants brought up several issues, such as gender inequality, support-based political culture, and sexism that contribute to the challenges women face. The inability to embed democratic values in a society was hampered by the underrepresentation of women in decision-making bodies, such as electoral processes. It also

impeded economic growth and undermined efforts to achieve gender equality. The barriers that the study participants mentioned are outlined below:

4.3.2.3.1 Lack of support

The findings demonstrated that one of the major barriers to young women's participation in politics in SA was the lack of support. From the data, **Participant 2** mentioned that *"because you ask them in a political concept that eh, eh when we talk about this pitch youth and women are against each other. They do not support each other. They are jealous, I think, because they are used to men leaders."* **Participant 3** supported the above information and asserted that *"they stop participating because we need, we do not support them, we do not give them a chance, for example, if there is a secretary at their branch, chairperson elections, which is chairperson and the secretary, we need to give them a chance, for example, to be led by the younger ones because they are still active and also with the information in terms of the cycle if you tell them to go and do something, they are not lazy, those people."* Participants in the focus groups also mentioned a lack of support as a deterrent to young women getting involved in politics. A **Focus group 1** participant indicated that *"it's just different levels of criminality and women are not supported."* Reinforcing the idea, a **Focus group 2** participant said, *"For me, it was lack of knowledge and support from fellow women."*

4.3.2.3.2 Patriarchal society

Participants argued that the patriarchal society was a significant barrier preventing most women from participating in elections. Because of the patriarchal nature of SA society, it is culturally assumed that women must seek their men's or husbands' permission before engaging in politics. However, these women are compelled to give up their political aspirations if such permission is not given. Data indicate that the cultural assumptions about women in our traditional society can have an impact on women's levels of participation in the political process. As a result, women face prejudice as leaders because people frequently believe that leadership is a masculine trait. Participants emphasised that the patriarchal society was a significant obstacle affecting their involvement in local politics. Participants' survey data indicated that the few successful female politicians are viewed as "un-feminine". Owing to their lack of interest in politics, most women give up a political career very early. The participant quotes that follow provide evidence for the aforementioned statement.

From the data, **Participant 2** commented that *“it’s still men who are pushing it, and it is difficult for these younger women to challenge them on things that are deeply rooted in patriarchy.”* Supporting the above argument, **Participant 1**, contended, *“Yes, so it’s a system it’s a way our ... we were discussing it that this is a system, its structural, it needs to protect itself. So how do they do away with women who are heavy on them? The chances of getting a president woman out of the matured older generation are not very high so what do they do? We need new blood.”* **Participant 3** added, *“I think the problem is, is that our elder people, they act like women’s life don’t matter, they just believe that like everything is like ‘we want a man president we want to have the man president’. Even our parents, they have got that mentality, you know, that it’s about me.”* From the data gathered, some participants indicated that because tradition favours men, women are marginalised and do not have the same opportunities to participate in politics. One of the **Focus group 2** participants said, *“The problem is tradition that favours men and does not support women empowerment into politics.”* Reinforcing the above point, a participant from **Focus group 3** said, *“I didn’t know which channels to take because of lack of knowledge, remember politics is said to be for men and not women.”*

4.3.2.3.3 Discrimination of women

The analysed data show that women are marginalised, particularly in environments where men predominate; therefore, young women find it challenging to participate in electoral processes. To support this argument, **Participant 1** contended that *“the challenges are coming from the ward hence we are keeping a close eye to the ward because challenges are starting from the ground level. They do not recognise women, which is painful.”* To reinforce the idea that women are being marginalised in their wards, **Participant 2** said, *“Women and youth and disability, we are falling under the most disadvantaged, I mean, most marginalised and we are vulnerable groups according to legislation regulations in South Africa and nothing is being done. We will never be in these political circles.”* From the information provided, some participants mentioned that young women are being ignored by their male counterparts and it becomes very difficult for them to take part in political processes. **Participant 3** said, *“What I may say the challenges that they are facing young women at the moment, it’s starting from a branch level. A branch level where women are being ignored and side-lined in everything.”*

4.3.2.3.4 Lack of confidence and female role models

According to participant data, the main barrier for most young women who want to participate in electoral processes is a lack of confidence and female role models. Participants said that throughout history, women have been portrayed as being only capable of menial tasks, constantly involved in hearsay and gossip, completely incompetent, and less intelligent. It is challenging for women to pursue their political rights as active participants when there is such constant reinforcement of the idea that women are inferior in every way. For this reason, the absence of female role models was cited as a barrier. To entice aspiring women to get involved in local politics, participants asserted that there were no visible women politicians. The following participant quotes provide evidence in support of this claim: **Participant 2** mentioned that “*we need mentors, we need this, we don’t have women leaders who embrace us so that we can follow suit, do you see what I am saying?*” **Participant 1** reinforced this by stating that “*... and we do not have enough role models to mentor young women in our wards and branches.*” **Questionnaire Respondent 35** also supported the two quotations by stating that “*lack of confidence to lead. We have the mentality that men are superior to us.*”

4.3.2.3.5 Corruption and nepotism

Some of the study’s young participants made the point that excessive levels of corruption and nepotism prevent most young women from entering politics. They argued that there is a great deal of corruption in their branches and that some people receive seats and positions they do not deserve. **Participant 1** said, “*Too much nepotism here and corruption here, they don’t want anyone who is clever, they take people that they can control, and they know nothing.*” One participant from **Focus group 2** echoed the above argument by stating that “*you know, honestly if the government come and say women and children’s rights are taken seriously, then maybe we might really vote but there is too much corruption.*” This was reinforced through **Questionnaire Respondent 7**, who contended that “*not a lot of women are chosen in top positions. It is always men who take over. It’s all about corruption.*”

4.3.2.3.6 Inequality toward women

Some participants argued that women do not fully participate in politics owing to issues of discrimination against them. This information was echoed through **Questionnaire Respondent 14**, who said, “*Inequality towards female candidates is a big problem women are facing.*”

Supporting this argument was **Questionnaire Respondent 16**, who said, “*Judging from this political party history, women were never given a chance to lead.*” Most of the participants mentioned that women are underestimated, and they are not given a chance to prove that they can lead or participate in politics. Data show that men are mostly preferred regarding politics and participation.

4.3.2.3.7 Unemployment and the voiceless

According to some study participants, being voiceless and unemployed were significant barriers preventing many women from getting involved in politics. Data from the participants show that most women are voiceless regarding politics. **Questionnaire Respondent 33** argued that “*not being heard and recognised is one of the challenges women are facing at the moment.*” Supporting the above notion was **Questionnaire Respondent 15**, who also said, “*The problem is most women are unemployed and they are voiceless.*” Through the information provided, unemployment and being voiceless, indeed, are major deterrents for women to be part of politics.

4.3.2.4 Research Objective 4: To ascertain the possible recommendations for young women to participate in electoral processes

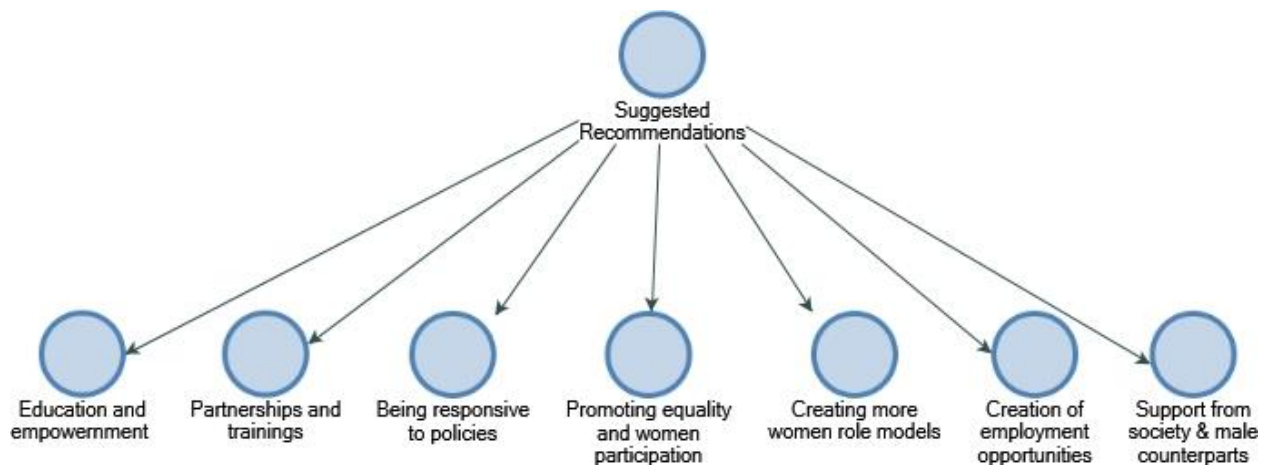


Figure 4.12: Suggested recommendations

Table 4.6: Recommendations to participation

Recommendations to participation		
	Sources	Quotations

Being responsive to policies	2	7
Education and empowerment	22	24
Creation of employment opportunities	10	18
Promoting equality and women participation	23	30
Support from society and male counterparts	21	26
Creating more women role models	8	8
Partnerships and training	9	11

Through the data analysis process, most study participants argued the significance of taking special measures to change the status quo that many young women are not actively participating in the electoral process and decision-making. Most participants expressed a desire to develop gender-balanced representation as a step toward eliminating discrimination in these public and economic spheres of life.

4.3.2.4.1 Educating and empowering of young women

To encourage women to actively participate in politics, data collected from the participants' responses revealed several recommendations to reduce gender barriers in their wards and branches. Many participants spoke of encouraging and educating Pretoria East's young women to take part in political processes. The participants mentioned that educating girls about politics at a young age helps to dispel the stereotypical belief in our society that women should stay at home with their children and avoid politics. The following justifications from study participants back up these opinions:

Participant 1 mentioned that *“what we can do is to come together and try to be eh literate. I would say I am encouraging young women to be literate as far as possible so that you will be acknowledged. Education is the key.”* **Participant 3** supported the above idea and contended that *“especially if I can point to this one for gender-based violence. The one for gender-based violence, we encourage them like it will go out, it will do such programmes, it will go out to the school, it will go out of the community, to attend court cases so that they can understand and*

then when they are going to attend all such programmes, they can't just go alone, they must be someone from the ANC Women's league or from the ANC, from the side of the mother board. Someone who understands better than them so that they can be educated through that person."

Participant 2 echoed the two participants above by arguing that *"they use the very same thing ... empowering young women to make her strong or to replace this mother to replace this mother, what because now those women have reached a stage whereby 'we are equals here and if you do something wrong, I call it out'. It's not about how much I know technology, or I can Google, I can Instagram, it's a system so it's very tricky."*

4.3.2.4.2 Partnerships and training

Participants mentioned the significance of conducting partnerships and trainings for young women to fully participate in electoral processes. **Participant 3** said, *"... But we are not saying that we are ignoring the older people and then the younger one they are still active, but we give all equal opportunities, a fair chance through partnerships so that they will have more knowledge."* A participant from **Focus group 1** supported the information above and commented, *"Yes, the only thing that can assist is the kind of trainings because some of us, if you become a member of the Women's Wing, they don't train you like not all of us, then we don't know what is expected from you, if you are holding the position of a chairperson or secretary, you think that position, you own the position, you are there for good and also if your time has expired, you still want to stay, we don't give the other people a chance. We need to hold such trainings because the women's league needs to know what is expected like per guidelines that ... and also, as per Constitution, we need to abide from the Constitution, but training is very important so that you will know what is expected from us."* Another focus group participant reinforced that *"we need to give the other people a chance. Yes, the training is very important. I can say training is very important and then how often can we get that training? I can say two months instead maybe for three years we re-team."*

4.3.2.4.3 Being responsive to policies

Finally, some participants emphasised the need for people to be responsive to policies so that young women will participate in the electoral process: *"We do have those policies but also on the Constitutions. Yes, we do have all these things and those in leaderships should align to the policies that talk about women participation."* A participant from **Focus group 3** emphasised

that women need to be encouraged to participate, however they must also follow policies and procedures. The participant said, *“They’re not following the policies of the women’s league, but policy related to them.”* From the information from some participants, being responsive to policies might help young women to participate in politics.

4.3.2.4.4 Creation of employment opportunities

Data show that the creation of more employment opportunities for young women might be one way for them to be encouraged to fully participate in politics. This was supported through **Questionnaire Respondent 15**, who said, *“Creation of more jobs for women is the solution.”* Reinforcing the above point, **Participant 2** said, *“Government should make sure that women are employed, and confidence will grow when they are in the working environment than at home.”* From the information provided, job creation is rife in the political participation of young women.

4.3.2.4.5 Promoting equality and women participation

As a solution to the participation of young women in politics, some participants proposed the promotion of gender equality and women’s participation in political spheres. Most participants argued that the SA Constitution should recognise women’s equal rights with men in the political, social, economic, and cultural spheres to increase women’s participation. They emphasised that, by achieving gender equality, young women would have the freedom to vote, run for office at any level of government, and join any political organisation. Data indicate that this will result in a significant increase in the proportion of young women in positions of leadership. This information was supported by **Questionnaire Respondent 11**, who contended that *“they should start taking into consideration the opinion of women and should treat them equally as men. Gender equality is important.”* Reinforcing the above information, **Questionnaire Respondent 14** said, *“Push a campaign that more women should campaign in electoral processes.”* **Questionnaire Respondent 29** agreed that *“Government should advocate more on gender equality.”*

4.3.2.4.6 Support from society and male counterparts

Data from the participants revealed that, for most young women to participate in politics, support from the community and their male peers is crucial. Data from the participants showed that women gain confidence to participate in politics when support is provided. This was conveyed by **Questionnaire Respondent 21**, who said, *“Creating male allies for the feminist movement to*

create an environment where all contribution is taken on merit rather than whether a man or woman brought it up.” **Questionnaire Respondent 5** also argued that “... *also, as women, we should continue with the march of equality, continue fighting for our voice to be heard and one day our cry won’t fall on deaf ears. Hoping that men will also come together to support us in this fight.*”

4.3.2.4.7 Creating more women role models

Participants in the data analysis process recommended that there be more female role models who are actively involved in politics. According to data, by developing these role models, other females will be able to participate in politics. The following participant excerpts support this notion: “*I believe that, as women, we need to support one another and also build the confidence of the younger generation of women through mentoring young girls and young women and encouraging them to lead in schools, churches and the community*” and **Questionnaire Respondent 53** indicated that “*teaching young women about leadership and more female role models.*”

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Chapter introduction

This chapter provides a summary, analysis, and interpretation of these results. Brief summaries of each chapter's timeline are provided in the overview. This chapter also discusses how the findings were interpreted considering the research questions. The results of the tested hypotheses are discussed in relation to theory and practice. The research questions are examined, and in each instance, the chapter provides an assessment of whether each question was answered and how this was done. The chapter concludes by evaluating the study in terms of its scope coverage and pointing out any constraints that might have prevented it from covering the entire expected scope or filling in the identified gaps in the literature. It also discusses the contribution this study makes to theory, practice, and methods based on the scope coverage and gaps filled. The limitations that have been highlighted are used to identify and present recommendations for additional research.

5.2 Summary and discussion

5.2.1 Discussion of the main findings based on the results from the previous chapters

Investigating the participation of young women in Pretoria East's post 1994 electoral processes was the main goal of this study. Generally, young women were not keen/willing/motivated to fully participate in the electoral processes. However, those who did participate, mostly did so as voters rather than as electoral staff (observers, polling agents, monitors), and candidates. Corruption and nepotism, a lack of female role models, a patriarchal society, unemployment and voicelessness, inequality toward women, peer pressure from family and friends, a lack of trust in the competing political parties, and discrimination against women were some causes of low participation. However, given that the employment rate is high; partnerships and training are implemented; there is responsive to policies; education and empowerment is implemented; equality and women participation is promoted; young women receive support from society and male counterparts; and that there is a creation of more women role models, the participation of young women in electoral processes is probably improved. These results mean that the SA government still has work to do to ensure that young women participate fully in electoral processes.

5.2.2 Overview of the research

This section provides an overview of the entire study by recapping the data presented in the chapters in the order they are presented in this dissertation.

By providing a detailed view of electoral processes in South Africa after 1994 and the participation of young women, Chapter One introduced the field of the study. This chapter provided background information on the research issue that this study attempted to solve. The study's research goals were further organised around the highlighted issue, with the primary goal being "to investigate the participation of young women in electoral processes in post 1994 South Africa". The main research question, "To what extent do young women participate in elections?" was furthermore derived from the established objectives. This chapter formed the backbone of the research as it shaped the rest of the chapters in the study.

Through a discussion of current knowledge and a critique of the field's earlier research, Chapter Two examined the participation of young women in electoral processes. Additionally, this chapter's literature review helped to develop the conceptual model that underlay this study. This chapter identified gaps in the body of research on this subject. The theoretical frameworks that served as this study's guiding principles were also covered in Chapter Two. These theoretical frameworks include the Jans and De Backer's Triangle of Youth Participation, which uses the three elements of the triangle – challenge, capacity, and connection – to explain youth participation, and the liberal feminist theory, which promotes gender equality. The chapter concluded by defending the significance and purpose of this investigation.

The third chapter discussed the study's methodology and pertinent research design. It focused on the techniques used in research participants' selection, data analysis, and the methods and strategies used for data collection. The research methods' justifications were also discussed. The validity and reliability of the measurement tool, the construct, and the data collected were also discussed. The plans for pilot studies or the testing of data-gathering tools were also covered in detail in this chapter. This chapter also described the procedures that were considered when data were gathered, analysed, and reported. The study's scope and limitations were then discussed.

The study's findings were presented in Chapter Four. First, some quantitative data that were gathered by using closed-ended surveys was shown. The second section presented the qualitative findings from 53 open-ended questionnaires, three focus groups with 26 female participants from the Pretoria East Constituency, and four face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews.

The results of the study were discussed in relation to its goals and objectives in the current chapter. The findings in relation to the stated objectives were also covered in this chapter. The chapter concluded by rating the study's importance, contribution, and accomplishment of the predetermined goals. The study's shortcomings and coverage limitations were noted in the evaluation of the study. The limitations that were highlighted led to recommendations for additional research.

5.3 Interpretation and implications of findings

5.3.1 Evaluation and interpretation of data and formulation of conclusions

Here, the research questions for the study are reviewed. The aim is to check each question's accuracy and completion of its intended purpose. The main research question for the study was: To what extent do young women participate in elections?

As stated in section 1.7, four subordinate questions were posed to address this main research question:

- 1) What are the forms of young women's participation in electoral processes?
- 2) What are the levels of young women's participation in electoral processes?
- 3) What are the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes?
- 4) What strategies can ultimately be developed to enhance young women's participation in electoral processes?

5.3.1.1 Research question one

What are the forms of the young women's participation in the electoral processes?

This study had to review the available research on the participation of young women in electoral processes to respond to the above question. Journal articles and books were part of the reviewed literature. The literature review showed that there are various forms of participation in electoral processes for young women. These forms mentioned were candidates, monitors, observers, polling agents and voters (Cheema et al., 2019; Murray & Senac, 2018; Yoon, 2010). These

forms of participation were used to structure the questions that the young women respondents were asked to answer. Through the data analysis process, data from the participants showed that young women do not just participate in the electoral process as candidates, but as voters, polling agents, observers, and monitors, despite their low participation.

5.3.1.2 Research question two

What are the levels of young women's participation in electoral processes? The study's results showed that young women take part in all types of electoral processes, though their participation is much lower than that of their older or male counterparts. The results of this study showed that young women participate more in voting than in other electoral processes like running for office, watching elections, working as poll workers, or observing elections. Gender disparities in other forms of political participation, according to Lekalake and Gyimah-Boadi (2016), are generally smaller for voting (2% points on average). But rather than young women, they were referring to all women. This study discovered that, although young women participate more at the voting stage, their participation level is still significantly low because most participants showed no interest in voting. Many young people failed to register to vote for the 2021 SA municipal elections (Bekker & Runciman, 2022). Additionally, the IEC (2021) report shows that few young women registered to vote, and the numbers were significantly low on the election day. According to Mwata et al. (2013), Tagoe and Abaka (2015), and Salim Ali (2020), young women are more politically engaged and informed as voters than as political leaders. Additionally, while this study found that few young women participate as monitors, polling agents and observers, the IEC (2019, 2021) reported that many young women were employed as electoral staff compared to their older and male counterparts.

5.3.1.3 Research question three

What are the barriers to participation for young women in electoral processes?

This study reviewed the literature on young women's participation in electoral processes around the world to provide an answer to this question. By gathering and examining data from the respondents, the study also provided an answer to the research question. The results of the study showed that young women in the Pretoria East Constituency faced a variety of obstacles when trying to vote. These barriers included: inequality toward women; peer pressure from family and

friends; a lack of trust in the competing political parties; nepotism; a lack of confidence and female role models; a lack of support; patriarchal society; unemployment; and voicelessness.

Some of this study's findings corroborated the findings of other studies, although most prior studies either focused on all women (without differentiating between the young and old) or on youth in general. Milazzo and Goldstein (2019), Cheema et al. (2019), Choudhary (2018), Mwatha et al. (2013) and Uzor (2019) assert that patriarchy negatively impacts the active participation of young women in politics. According to Choudhary (2018), Ogunbela and John (2019), Biney and Amoateng (2019), Kibuka-Sebitosi (2013), Hamidu and Ali (2018), Ushe (2019), Thirdman (2019), and Akrofi (2020), among the obstacles young women face in entering politics are illiteracy, unemployment, a lack of confidence and female role models, a lack of support from men and other women, being voiceless, and discrimination against women.

There are some barriers that earlier studies mentioned that were not found in this study such as a lack of funds needed for candidate nomination and campaign, limited data on youth political participation, sexually segregated roles, gender-based violence, harassment, and religion. Although these challenges were not found in this study, some are relevant because they are related to the findings of this study. For example, the sexually segregated roles and gender-based violence are typically a result of a patriarchal society and the limited data on youth political participation is evident in this study's literature review, where most studies focused on all women without differentiating between the young and old; hence lacking enough data to help young women participate in politics. However, some of these findings are not a true reflection of what young women in Pretoria East went through as this study's respondents did not mention them; hence, they did not support them.

5.3.1.4 Research question four

What strategies can ultimately be developed to enhance young women's participation in electoral processes? The literature review (Varon & Mello, 2020; Ali, 2020; IPU, 2021, 2022) and findings from the interviews and questionnaires were used to answer research question four. The selection of the conceptual framework for the study, which also aided in addressing this research question, was influenced by the review of the literature. The study showed that, to increase the participation of young women, the following needs to be done: educating and empowering of young women; creation of job opportunities for young women; promoting

equality and women participation; support from society and male counterparts; creation of more women role models; and partnerships and trainings.

5.3.2 The connections/relationship between the results and the literature reviewed

The results of this study demonstrated the different ways that young women participate in electoral processes. These included: voters; candidates; observers; monitors; and polling agents. Amoateng et al. (2014) supported this by mentioning the gender gap in voting. Ibrahim and Mussarat (2014) provided additional support for this study's findings as they examined the structural causes and social norms that prevent women from choosing to run for elected office. Thus, they focused on candidanship, which is a form of an electoral process.

Additionally, the results of this study showed that young women in Pretoria East did not participate much in the 2019 South African presidential election. The study also found that although young women mostly participated as voters, their participation in electoral processes was typically low. In support of these findings, Akpan (2018) argues that, despite years of struggle for gender equity and women's empowerment, female political participation in the 2015 Nigerian election was very low. According to Bekker and Runciman (2022), the 2021 SA municipal elections saw a low and declining turnout among young and first-time voters. Both Nigerian and South African young women are demotivated to participate in electoral processes, thus they face the same political issues. However, this study focused on young women, whilst Akpan (2018) researched women of all age groups.

Furthermore, Biswal (2020) highlighted that Odisha has a low level of female political participation; as a result, more encouragement and freedom must be given to women to ensure greater participation. To ensure meaningful participation and representation for women in politics in some of the region's countries, political will and concerted action are required (Maphunye, 2013). The results of this study were also supported by Maphunye (2013). This demonstrates that young women in most African countries face the same challenges regarding political participation. However, whilst other studies collected data from different age groups, this study focused only on young women.

The results of this study showed that young women encounter obstacles when trying to take part in political processes. These obstacles include: the lack of support from other women, men, and the South African government; and the patriarchal nature of the society in the country, which

gives men the upper hand over women. The following researchers contributed to the above conclusions: Mwatha et al. (2013); Milazzo and Goldstein (2019); Soyibo (2021); Choudhary (2018); Uzor (2019); Mbukanma and Strydom (2021); and IPU (2021). According to Mwatha et al. (2013), barriers to young women's political ambitions include: masculinity; politics' patriarchal nature; and a lack of support for those who want to be in leadership positions. A challenge to women's political participation in Nigeria, according to Akpan (2018), is patriarchy. Choudhary (2018) also discovered patriarchy to be a barrier that prevents women from participating in politics: "A society where politics is said to be for men and not women, a society that favors men ... And so they should be restricted inside the four walls to perform household chores" (Choudhary 2018). Additionally, Choudhary (2018) notes that some facets of patriarchy that play a major role are: the public-private divide; the lack of family support, especially from husbands; the belief that politics is man's arena; and that political parties believe that women lack winning characteristics. Traditional patriarchal social structures, in which power is inequitably distributed, with men traditionally holding authority over women, are at the root of today's gender inequalities (Milazzo & Goldstein, 2019). Mbukanma and Strydom (2021) observed that politics in most African countries, particularly in SA, has continuously been a men-only affair. There is evidence that young women in SA and other nations share almost the same difficulties with political inclusion. This suggests that there is a need for strategies to encourage young women to engage in politics. Mwatha et al. (2013), IPU (2021), and this study focused on young women. However, other studies have focused on all women without differentiating between the young and old.

The results of this study also revealed that discrimination against women, a lack of support from other women and gender-based discrimination are obstacles to women's effective political participation (Anyango, Alupo & Opoku 2018). According to Thirdman (2019), a barrier to women voting in local elections is the lack of support from men. IPU (2021) claims that younger candidates may have less support from the party and consequently tend to rank lower on the list, lowering their chances of winning. These studies support this study's findings. The results demonstrate that young women throughout the world and those in Pretoria East in South Africa face similar hindrances to participation in elections. However, most of these studies focused on both young and old women except for IPU, whereas this study's focus was on young women.

This study found that one obstacle to young women voting is a lack of confidence. Thirdman (2019) identified the inferiority complex as a barrier preventing women from voting in local

elections. This demonstrates that, even though these studies were carried out in two different nations, the difficulties faced by women are generally similar.

According to Tagoe and Abakah (2015), more focus should be placed on training at the community level using women's volunteer associations to increase women's agency in running for office and taking part in elections for local government. This study also recommends the training of young women to increase their zeal to participate in electoral processes. Although the Tagoe and Abakah (2015) study was conducted in Ghana, their findings are similar to this study's findings, demonstrating that young women in Africa face nearly the same challenges. Additionally, this study recommends educating and empowering young women to increase their participation in elections. Kanjere (2019) asserts that public education is crucial for influencing favourable perceptions of female politicians. To promote women's political participation, Ali (2020) argues that non-governmental organisations must prioritise training. Their recommendation is the same as one made in this study. Both this study and Kanjere's were conducted in SA, showing the gaps that must be filled there to improve the participation of young women. However, these studies generalised women, whereas this study focused on young women.

Furthermore, Mwatha et al. (2013), like this study, also recommended the promotion of leadership training programmes for young women. There is evidence that young women in Kenya and SA face many of the same obstacles when it comes to being included in politics, indicating the need for strategies to promote young women's political participation, although their study was conducted in Kenya. Both studies focused on young women.

According to Akrofi (2020), empowering women is a requirement for participation and decision-making. This is consistent with the study's findings, which showed that the participation of young women in electoral processes depends on empowerment and education. Women's participation in politics is made possible by access to education, mentoring, and empowerment (Varon & Mello, 2020). Their conclusions agreed with those of this investigation. This demonstrates how the barriers that women must overcome to participate in politics are very similar, necessitating very similar recommendations.

5.3.3 Implications of the findings for revising the existing body of knowledge

The results of this study support the conclusions of the theoretical frameworks it used, namely, the liberal feminist theory and Jans and De Backer's Triangle of Youth Participation. The main contribution of feminism, according to Lorber (1997), is demonstrating how severely contemporary society discriminates against women. This study discovered that young women in Pretoria East experience gender inequalities daily and are therefore not participating in electoral processes. The study discovered that young women believe that they are treated unfairly compared with their older and male counterparts. They believe that society favours men over women. Additionally, this study suggested that promoting gender equality will improve the participation of young women in elections. The results of the liberal feminist theory, which promotes gender equality, are supported by these findings. The liberal feminist theory promotes gender equality in all spheres of life, including politics. According to the theorists, women and men should not be treated differently by the law (Lorber, 1997).

Additionally, this study discovered that young women are not motivated to participate as voters because they do not see the need to do so. The study also found that another factor preventing young women in SA from participating in politics is unemployment, and that creating jobs will remove that obstacle. The Triangle of Youth Participation proposed by Jans and De Backer, which states that participation must first be sparked by a "challenge", is supported by these findings (Jans & De Backer, 2002). According to Jans and De Backer (2002), young people must first have a challenge that they can commit to. This challenge can be a personal or social issue that appeals to the young person. This study discovered that some young women did not participate as voters in previous elections because of the lack of information or knowledge about the voting process. According to this study, educating and empowering young women with partnerships and trainings will encourage young women of Pretoria East to participate in electoral processes. The Triangle of Youth Participation by Jans and De Backer (2002) is consistent with these findings. Young people can only benefit from a "challenge" when they can put their skills to use, which means that after the "challenge", they must feel as if they have the power to make a difference (Jans & De Backer, 2002). This can be achieved using information and challenges (Jans & De Backer, 2002).

This study also discovered that young women lack support from other women and their male counterparts, which has hindered their efforts to participate in elections. Support from the community and male peers can increase young women's political participation. Women gain the

confidence to engage in politics when support is provided. Results from Jans and De Backer's Triangle of Youth Participation support these conclusions. To collaborate on a challenge, young people, according to Jans and De Backer (2002), must feel "connected" to and supported by people, communities, ideas, movements, thoughts, and organisations.

5.4 Research contributions

This section discusses how the investigation and results of this study have impacted theory, practice, and the body of knowledge.

5.4.1 Theoretical contributions

The literature review clarifies that there is a dearth of research available on young women and politics. Much of the reviewed literature tends to be youth-oriented or to focus on all women without differentiating between the young and old. By obtaining literature that is specifically about the young women in Pretoria East, South Africa, the application of this literature through scientific empirical surveys has added to the body of knowledge. This study, which focused specifically on young women in Pretoria East, South Africa, may serve as a starting point for research in other nations on the African continent and elsewhere. Consequently, this study substantially contributes to the body of literature on the subject.

5.4.2 Contribution to practice and management

The findings of this study are expected to be put into practice by the SA government officials in charge of the Pretoria East Constituency because it was conducted in that area. The same findings will be helpful to SA government representatives from other areas in Pretoria as they can adopt the study's recommendations to increase the participation of young women in electoral processes there.

5.5 Limitations of the study

This study focused on a specific demographic area, which was Pretoria East Constituency. Therefore, conducting research on Pretoria East alone may be non-representative of other areas in Tshwane Municipality or of other municipalities in general. More comprehensive data on young women's election participation might be obtained from a survey of SA's other towns or regions. Additionally, our original intention was not to include women in higher leadership

positions, such as parliament or provincial legislatures because we anticipated these will be difficult to reach for data collection. Therefore, it is important to use caution when extrapolating the results.

5.6 Recommendations and Future Work

This study's findings suggest that the implementation of policies, such as education and empowerment of young women, partnerships and trainings, job creation, promoting equality and women participation, and the development of more female role models, will encourage young women to participate in electoral processes, not just as voters, agents, and monitors, but as contenders.

Educating girls about politics at a young age will dispel the stereotypical belief in our society that women should stay at home with their children and avoid politics. It will also empower them with the necessary skills and instil confidence to take up any position in politics, which includes candidanship. This aligns with what Varon and Mello, (2020) discovered that access to education is the foundation for the enablers of women's political participation.

The partnerships and training will give young women a support system and equip them with political knowledge. This study found that some women enter politics without enough training, leading them to withdraw from politics because they do not know what is expected of them. If young women come together and create their own platforms, where they receive all necessary training, they will be encouraged to get into politics knowing how they should conduct themselves to take or stay in political office. Partnerships will also build their confidence, which is crucial for participation. UNDP (2005), IDEA (2015), Ali (2020), and Abdurrachman et al. (2020) had the same findings. They recommend training as a solution to the lack of women's political participation.

Unemployment prevents and frustrates young women from participating in politics. This study's findings show that the creation of employment opportunities for young women is crucial in encouraging them to be in politics. When a young woman is employed, she gains confidence which, in turn, encourages her to take up political positions. According to Omotoso et al. (2022), the government and all relevant parties must make more efforts to improve the health and employment prospects for women to further close the gender gap in poverty.

Promoting equality and women participation provides young women with the freedom to vote, run for office at any level of government, and join any political organisation. When young women are treated the same as young men, they will be motivated to participate in politics, even as contenders. This aligns with the findings of Khelghat-Doost and Sibly (2020), and the UNDP (2005). The current patriarchal system needs to be challenged to increase the participation of women in political decision-making (Khelghat-Doost & Sibly, 2020).

The development of more female role models will encourage young women to run for office. Seeing and getting encouragement from female counterparts who are in office, will increase political participation. Ali (2020) recommends that women must support one another rather than political parties when voting. This creates more female role models who will encourage young women to take part in politics.

Additionally, based on the observations and limitations cited, this study recommends that an investigation of this nature be conducted in other SA towns because of the possibility that the challenges faced by young women in Pretoria East may be distinct from those faced by those in other SA regions. The study also suggests that future research collect data from SA men to investigate whether they are encouraging the participation of young women in electoral processes. Additionally, this study treated women as a homogeneous group; so, it will be interesting to investigate the impact of heterogeneity on young women's participation in electoral processes. Lastly, because this study did not reach young women in leadership positions, in parliament or provincial legislatures in SA, our future research intends to conduct a longitudinal study to investigate the views and perceptions of these young women.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter summarises the main conclusions and suggestions based on the study's empirical data, which examined the participation of young women in Pretoria East's post 1994 electoral processes. The study conducted a literature review on young women's political participation to meet this goal. The elements found in the literature review were used to create a conceptual framework and a methodology that made it possible to collect qualitative data from young women in Pretoria East. The quantitative information gathered was recorded and coded in SPSS for evaluation. Data analysis software (CAQDAS) NVivo 12 Plus was used to code and analyse all the participant-provided qualitative data.

The primary study results showed that young women did not participate fully in electoral processes. In contrast to other electoral processes, like candidacy, most of them did participate as voters. Additionally, barriers, such as gender inequality, nepotism and corruption, patriarchal society, and a lack of support, prevent young women from entering politics.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE-

Questionnaire guide

Good day. My name is Brenda Duma, and I am studying for a Masters Degree in Development Studies with the University of South Africa (UNISA). I am conducting research on the participation of young women in electoral processes in Pretoria East. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Please note that all information will be treated with confidentiality.

Instructions

- a. Please do not write your name.
- b. Tick where appropriate.
- c. Write in the provided spaces where applicable.
- d. Please kindly answer all questions.

1. Age (Tick appropriate box)

18-25 years

26- 30 years

31- 35 years

2. Level of Education

Primary School

Matric Level

Tertiary Level

Other (Specify) _____

3. Employment Status

Formally Employed

Employed in the informal sector

Self employed

Unemployed

4. Are you intending to register as a voter in 2019?

Yes

No

Explain your answer

5. Have you ever voted in any local, parliamentary or presidential elections since 1994?

Yes

No

6. If yes to 5 above, what has been your motivation for voting?

If no to 5 above what are the reasons?

7. Have you ever contested as a candidate?

Yes (specify Political Party) _____

No

If no to 7 above why have you never done so?

If yes to 7 above, did you face any challenges and what were they?

8. From the list below, select how you have participated in elections since 1994

Election candidate

Voter

Election monitor

- Polling agent
- Election observer
- Polling officer
- None of the above

Other (Specify) _____

9. Have you ever attended a political party rally?

Yes

No

If no to 9 above, why not?

If yes to 9 above, how has the experience been like?

10. What are some of the challenges that you think young women face in their quest to participate in electoral processes?

11. How best do you think these can be addressed?

12. Any other comments

Thank You for Your Time

APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Focus group discussion guide

1. How many of you voted in 2019 elections?
2. For those who did not, what are your reasons for not voting?
3. For those who have voted before, what were your experiences in the voter registration process? (Did you face any challenges? What were they?)

4. How many have voted in local and or national elections?
5. For those who have not voted, what have been the reasons for not doing so?
6. For those who have voted, what has inspired you to go and vote?
7. As young women, how have we been involved in the pre- election period, (have you been involved in campaigning for candidates? Have you attended political rallies? Have you been involved in voter education?)
8. Have any of you stood as a candidate in local or national elections?
9. If any, what challenges did you face?
10. If none, what have been the reasons for not standing as candidates?
11. How many of you aspire to stand for political office? Why would you consider standing for political office?
12. In your opinion, is there enough young women representation in parliament and Municipal councils in South Africa?
13. What do you think are the reasons for the answer to 12 above?
14. On voting day, how have young women participated mostly? (e.g. as voters, polling agents, election monitors, polling officers)
15. In the post voting period, what have been the activities of young women?
16. What challenges do you think young women face in their quest to participate in electoral processes?
17. How can these challenges be addressed?

APPENDIX C: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (CSOs)

Civil Society Organizations

1. Does your work deliberately address issues of young women's participation in electoral processes?
2. If yes, how?
3. In your work with young women, what are some of the challenges that they raise that hinder their participation in electoral processes?
4. How best do you think these challenges can be addressed?
5. As an organization, what measures have you put in place to try and address some of these challenges?
6. From your experience in your work, what have been the trends of young women's participation in electoral processes? At what stage (s) of the electoral cycle do they participate most and in what ways?
7. Any other comments?

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (POLITICAL PARTIES' WOMEN AND YOUTH WINGS)

Political Parties' Women and Youth Wings

1. As a Women's/ Youth wing do you have policies that promote the participation of young women in electoral processes?
2. If yes, what do the policies say and if no why not and is something being done about it?
3. At what age does your party give women a chance to be fielded as election candidates?
4. When selecting candidates for electoral posts, what chances are there that young women will be fielded in as candidates?
5. At what stages in the electoral cycle do you think young women mostly participate and in your opinion why do they participate therein?
6. What do you think are some of the challenges that are faced by young women that hinder their full participation in electoral processes?
7. As a youth/women's wing in your political party, what do you think can be done to address these challenges?
8. Any other comments?