

**CHALLENGES OF WOMEN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN RWANDA
NATIONAL PARLIAMENT**

A Thesis

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Of Masters of Public Administration

By:

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DECLARATION A

"This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree or any other academic award in any University or Institution of Learning".


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10.10.2011

Date

DECLARATION B

"I confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under my supervision".


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APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis entitled " **Challenges of Women Political Representation in Rwanda National Parliament**" prepared and submitted by Constance NYIRAMBONIMPAYE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration has been examined and approved by the panel on oral examination with a grade of PASSED.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family in appreciation, to my beloved husband Emmanuel HABIMANA and our children named Ella SUNDAY and Ivo VALDO whose advice and encouragement helped me to complete the Masters program at Kampala International University.

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It is imperative for me to thank all those who have contribute to the successful completion of my study in this institution but constraint of space and time would not allow me to mention all of them.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC:	African National Congress
CEDAW :	Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
EAC:	East African Community
EDPRS:	Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy
FAWE:	Forum of African Women Education
GoR :	Government of Rwanda
IPU:	Inter-parliamentary union
MIGEWD:	Ministry of Gender and Women Development
MINEDUC:	Ministry of Education
MINECOFIN:	Ministry of Finance and Economy Planning
NGOs:	Non-Government Organizations
NRA:	National Resistance Army
NWC:	National Women Council
NWC:	National Women Council
WACF:	Women Association of Chefs of Family

ABSTRACT

African women's fundamental contributions in their households, food production systems and national economies are increasingly acknowledged, within Africa and by the international community. This is due, in no small part, to African women's own energetic efforts to organize, articulate their concerns and make their voices heard.

The study entitled challenges of women political representation in Rwanda national parliament employed the following objectives; to evaluate the level of women political representation in parliament, examining the effectiveness of women political representation in parliament, and identifying the factors that affect women political representation in parliament.

Descriptive ex post-facto method was employed. It involved both qualitative and quantitative data collection. During data analysis, the researcher used tabulation, charts and Chi-square. Relating to evaluating the level of women political representation in parliament, the findings show that the inequality still exists between the number of women and men in parliament.

The study concluded that women are exemplary on the work because they contribute more on the government policy achievement even if they are still affected by socio-cultural, political, education, previous experiment, relevant knowledge, marital status and economic factors.

It is recommended that, the government of Rwanda should increase the increase the free seats of women (at least 40% of seats) because until now the percentage of women are still low than the one for men. MIGEWD, should ask the government to set new constitution which are more favorite to women. Rwandan women parliamentary should do the proper gender advocacy in all politics level as is the one of their mission in order to increase the number of women in all levels.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

Background of the Study

African women's fundamental contributions in their households, food production systems and national economies are increasingly acknowledged, within Africa and by the international community. This is due, in no small part, to African women's own energetic efforts to organize, articulate their concerns and make their voices heard. At both grassroots and national levels, more women's associations have been formed during the 1990s, taking advantage of the new political openings to assert their leadership roles. They are also pressing for an expansion of women's economic and social opportunities, and the advancement of women's rights. By improving their own positions, they are simultaneously strengthening African society as a whole as well as enhancing the continent's broader development prospects. But women in Africa continue to face various obstacles. The growing recognition of their contributions has not translated into significantly improved access to resources or increased decision making powers. Neither has the dynamism that women display in the economic, cultural and social lives of their communities through their associations and informal networks been channeled into creating new models of participation and leadership (Africa Recovery, 2004).

The war and genocide in Rwanda during the first half of the 1990s shattered the dense social ties upon which women, both rural and urban, had relied in the past. In particular, these conflicts had a devastating effect on women's organizations, destroying their physical infrastructure and decimating their human resources. Many members and leaders were killed, while others fled into exile. Those who survived were left destitute, fearful, and alone. Yet in the aftermath of the conflicts, women's organizations, both new and old, took a leading role in efforts to rebuild the country. Offering a range of

services, these groups helped women reconstruct their lives through emergency material assistance, counseling, vocational training, and assistance with income-earning activities. In addition, many organizations provided a space where women could reestablish social ties, seek solace, and find support. In Rwanda, the genocide of 1994 has had a lot of consequences for the lives of both men and women. During the genocide, many people died. As a result, we have many widows, widowers and orphans. Widows have had to earn their living to support themselves and their children. Women found that they were strong when they joined together (Genocide in Rwanda, 1999).

In 2003, the constitution of public of Rwanda declared that women would always be represented in national and local government. At least 30% of seats in the national assembly are reserved for women. In Rwanda women have a higher percentage of seats in the national assembly than in any other country in the world (election, 2003). This comparison does not show that the women are more represented in Rwanda but compared with the other countries; Rwanda has a big number of women in all positions of government.

Statement of the Problem

For decades, Rwandan women have been the victims of human rights abuses (Rwanda constitution, 2003). Customary practices and sexist stereotypes have firmly entrenched a patriarchal society in which Rwandan women are subordinated to men in all areas of social, political and economic life. However, Rwanda has entered the twenty first century with constitutional reforms, which promote gender equality. After emerging from a destructive and genocidal conflict, many Rwandan women view the new Constitution of 2003 as a woman's peace treaty (MIGEWD, 2005). But it was the first post-genocide parliamentary elections of October 2003 that saw women achieve nearly 50 percent representation (Powley, 2005). At that time they have eagerly embraced its potential to improve the quality of their lives. Since the coming into force of the new constitution, Rwandan women have enjoyed some important victories in the struggle for

women's equality rights. Even if the women are highly represented, they still have challenges related to descriptive representation. Many of the new parliamentarians are inexperienced legislators and have to overcome stereotypes about their (lack of) competence as leaders (plenary session,2008). There is an obvious status difference between those seats that are reserved for women and those that are gained in open competition with men, at both the local and the national levels. It is also problematic, in the long term, to consider all Rwandan women a single constituency. The women remain loyal to their constituency of women in a country where the basic development needs are so great and women still lag behind men in terms of rights, status, and access to resources and education. This research therefore attempts to explore the women effectiveness in parliament.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore the women effectiveness in the parliament of Rwanda and to identify the factors that affect women political representation in parliament.

Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- 1) To evaluate the level of women political representation in parliament.
- 2) To examine the effectiveness of women political representation in parliament.
- 3) To identify the factors that affect women political representation in parliament.

Research Questions

- 1) What is the level of women political representation parliament of Rwanda?
- 2) What is the effectiveness of women political participation in parliament?
- 3) What are the factors that affect women political representation in parliament?

Scope

The study was conducted in Rwanda. Geographically, Rwanda is located in southern hemisphere. This means that it found south of the equator. Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo lie within the same local time zone while Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania are in another time zone called East Africa. Standard time zone which is one hour behind Rwanda. Politically, Rwanda is a member of the East African community and will be part of the proposed East African federation. This study specifically was conducted in Kigali city which is the seat of government (capital city) of Rwanda. It is also a country located in the Great Lakes Region of Africa with a total area of 26,338km² and a very high population density of 400 inhabitants per km.

This country have been selected because it has a big number of women than men but the women in parliament and in all political levels are represented by few number.

In this topic, The level of women political representation indicators such as their % of seats in house of commons, in room of senate, the factors that affect women political representation indicators like economic, socio-cultural, ideological, political factors and lack of socio-capital and political capacities, dependence on International donor support and the effectiveness of women political representation indicators which are the skills, attributes, perspectives to the government, reconstruction and peace building, gender equality, resolving conflict, empowering Women, and fostering peace, in reconstruction and peace building, promoting girls ' education and in health services, trauma counseling, and HIV/AIDS awareness influence women political representation.

Significance of Study

The main significance of this study is that, it contributes to the strategies used to improve women political representation in Rwanda which woman representation is still

lagging behind compared to the one of man. The research provides information on how this can be achieved.

The research helps the government of Rwanda (GoR) which has, through its stands and actions, demonstrated its commitment to work towards the reduction of gender-based inequalities and promotion of gender equality and equity in all areas including parliament. The research helps to determine the role of woman representation in parliament.

Operational Definitions of Key Terms

Women Political representation: Political representation is one major ways of ensuring women's empowerments that increase decision making power and ability and to influence matters that affect their lives in the community and the society at large (Liyanage, 2004). Political participation is defined as:

"... Action by citizens which is aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, Ultimately taken by public representatives and officials" (Parry et al. 1992). Political participation is about participating in politics.

A **Parliament** is a legislative body, especially in those countries whose system of government is based on the Westminster system derived from that of the United kingdom. The name is derived from the French parliament, the action of parler (to speak): a parliament is a talk, a discussion, hence a meeting (an assembly, a court) where people discuss matters. While all parliaments are legislatures, not all legislatures are parliaments. Parliament as a noun is defined as an elected group of representatives who form the legislative body which votes the laws of a country (Official website of Rwanda Parliament, 2010).

Challenge: is an action of competing with somebody else in politics for an important position that the person already holds (Verba, 1972).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter covers the different ideas of different authors related on women political representation in general and shows their connection with this work.

Concepts, Ideas, Opinions from Authors/Experts

In the history of our country and society, women could not go in public with men. Where men were, women were not supposed to talk, to show their needs. Men were to talk and think for them. Nowadays, 'Women as citizens, they stand, and, give candidates, to support other women.' They have acquired a confidence of leadership. In September 2003, women in Rwanda earned 49% of seats in Parliament: 24 seats in the lower house set aside for the women's election, others elected through political parties, and still others by appointment to the upper house. Women in most parts of the world face barriers to political participation and elected office in terms of both access and capacity/education. In Rwanda, barriers to access have been largely removed, but attention must be paid to training and education for women candidates and women elected officials in order to strengthen their capacity and help consolidate these gains. After the genocide, women accounted for 70% of the population. Now 15 years later, when the ratio is 52% women to 48% men, women hold 56% of the lower House's seats, 30% of the Upper House's seats, and more than a third of the ministries (Powley, 2004).

It was noted that a lot has changed in terms of advancement of women's status in the social, economic and political situation in Rwanda. There is greater participation of women although they are still struggling for positions of high responsibility. It has

proved difficult for women to achieve these positions without compromising their solidarity for women's issues and concerns. Participants highlighted the need for capacity-building of women politicians to increase their empowerment. The issue of the number of women in political institutions was raised and linked to the issue of solidarity between women. Participants from Rwanda were not sure whether the impressive number of 49 percent of women in parliament has actually brought fundamental changes in the lives of the majority of Rwandan women (MIGEWD, 2007).

Theoretical Perspectives

A critical mass theory is one of the theories commonly employed in explaining the significance of women numbers in politics as a number of studies demonstrate (Dahlerup, 1988; Jaquette, 1997; Lovenduski, 2001; Crowley, 2004). The common understanding amongst all these writers higher numbers of women matter in political representation. In her application of this theory, Kanter realizes a critical issue regarding women distinction in groups and organizations where numerical distributions have traditionally favored men leaving them in token levels. This standpoint is persuasive and connotes a high relevance in respect to my study that examines women in political institutions who have undisputedly been habitually highly dominated by men. Although Kanter's analysis on the effect of skewed sex ratio groups was done on an industrial corporation, it proves to be of considerable significance in the scrutiny of women as tokens in political arenas. The theory appears influential in political debate regarding the global contemporary women quotas and from her theorized typologies the titled group or balanced seem more ideal for the representation purpose (Kanter's theory, 1977).

Longwe's theory are based on women access increment to resources, especially education, will lead to their increased representation in political positions; and that governments are genuinely committed to leading national programmes of action for women's advancement. All development organizations supporting women's empowerment must recognise the true obstacles women face in gaining political power,

and develop programme strategies to overcome them. The key problem is the covert and discriminatory systems of male resistance to women who dare to challenge male domination of the present political system (Longwe, 2000).

In this study, the researcher concerned with seeing Rwanda women representation in political activities and how they have been organized, what the “official” and “unofficial” process they follow to achieve goals. As well as in this process, the researcher interests in the political representation of these women.

Conceptual Framework

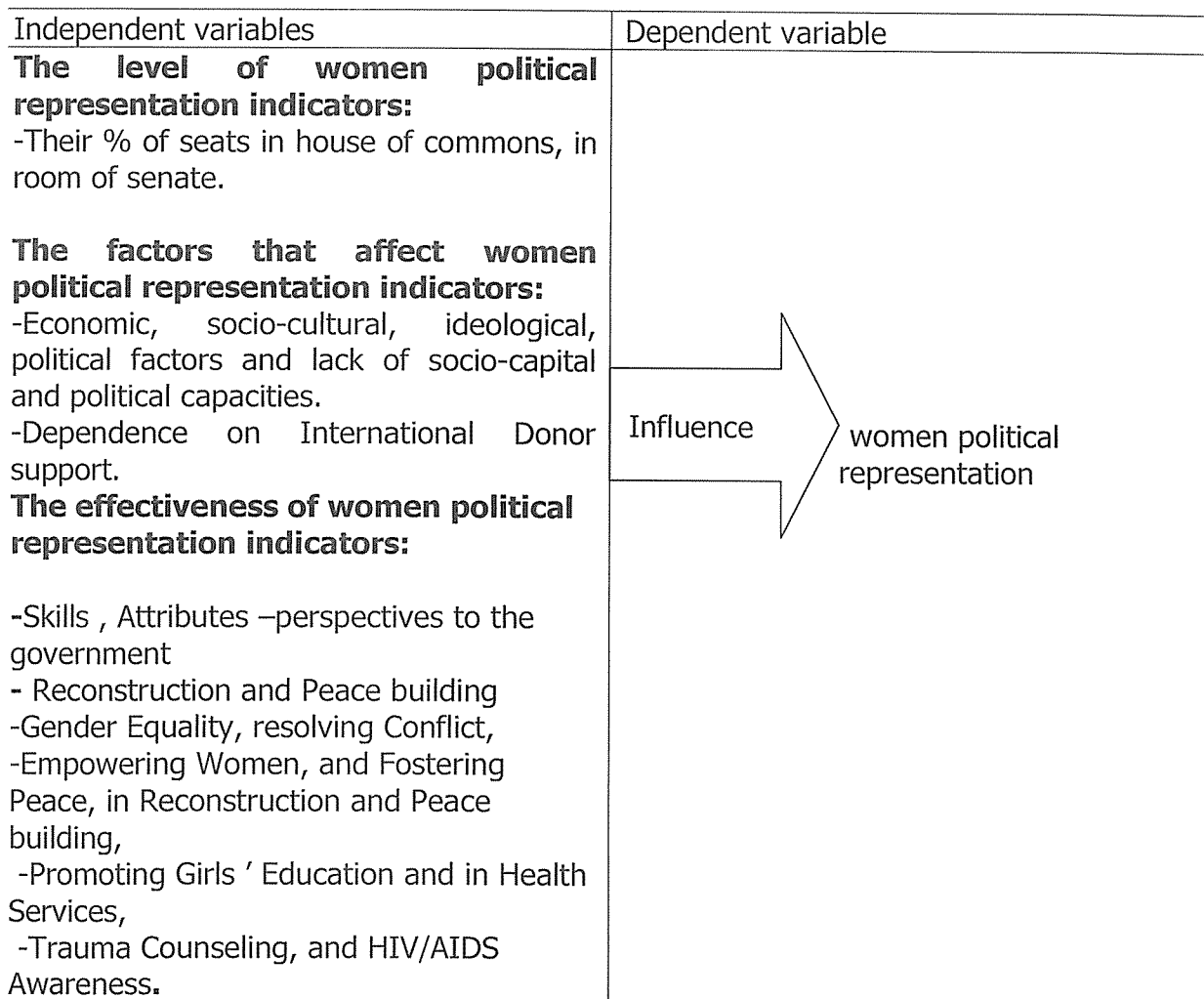


Figure: Conceptual Framework

The level of women political representation in Parliament of Rwanda

Table 1: Current situation of the representation of the women in the process of decision-making.

Year 2006/2007		Manpower		%	
		Men	Women	Men	Women
Parliament	House of Commons	41	39	51,25	48,8
	Room of the senate	17	9	65,38	34,6
Government		19	9	67,85	32,14
Supreme Court		7	5	58,33	41,7

Source: (Musoni, 2007)

This table above shows that, since 2003, the government accounts to 32, 14% women; the government thus created a ministry for the promotion of the equality of the sexes which must play a key part in the promotion of the equality of the woman to the country. The Rwandan Parliament counts to 48, 8% women, and this percentage with the senate amounts to 34, 6%.

As regards the Supreme Court, the women account for 41, 7% of the judges, including the presidency. With 48, 8% of the parliamentary seats, Rwanda and become country with the highest number of the parliamentary women in the world.

The factors that affect women political representation

According to the ideological factor, the gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as

mothers and wives and men in the public sphere. This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally. However, this ideological divide is not reflective of the reality. The boundaries between public and private are often blurred in the daily lives of women. Nonetheless, domestic domain continues to be perceived in the North as well as in the South as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men. Political Factors also are other factors where the nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics, the socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain. Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care work, they are left with little time to participate in politics. Other ones are the economic Factors where Politics is increasingly becoming commercialized. More and more money is needed to participate in politics. Women lack access to and ownership of productive resource, limiting the scope of their political work (Hannah, 2000) and lastly the dependence on International Donor Support women's organizations in Rwanda receive criticism for their heavy dependence on donors for funding. It is true that the need for donor support influences how groups set priorities, implement projects, and evaluate their activities. This dependence should be placed in context, however. Some organizations have tried to raise funds locally to support their activities. But few of the national women's organizations would be able to survive on such income alone. For most national women's organizations in Rwanda, and many at the local level as well, dependence on international funding is an unavoidable reality. The almost total dependence of women's organizations on international funding has obvious adverse consequences.

The effectiveness of women political representation in Rwandan parliament

The effective of women in Politics in parliament of Rwanda plays considerable roles in their Policy Impact on Gender Equality, resolving Conflict, Empowering Women,

and Fostering Peace, in Reconstruction and Peace building, Promoting Girls ' Education and in Health Services, Trauma Counseling, and HIV/AIDS Awareness.

Related Studies

The national Rwandan constitution of June 2003 provides for higher levels of representation to previously marginalized groups such as women, youth and disabled. This constitutional framework provides quotas for women in government, which have resulted in an unprecedented number of women being elected or appointed to decision making positions at all levels. At present, the participation of women at all levels of governance in Rwanda has yielded tremendous results and women are increasingly visible in the political area. Following the 2008 parliamentary elections, representation of women in the Parliament has increased from 48.8% to 56.25%, which is an indication showing Rwanda Government's commitment to promote gender. The ongoing legal reforms are based on the principle of equality and non discrimination, and women's rights are more and more enforced in various areas of public and private life. (East African Community Secretariat, 2009).

There is an increasing amount of work on whether a higher level of women's representation in parliament leads to a different style of parliamentary politics. To date, most studies have focused on Western cases, and the results have been mixed. Women add new dimensions to the policy agenda, but there is little evidence that increased women's representation changes policy outputs. The little work that has been conducted outside the Western context confirms the mixed nature of these findings. In sub-Saharan Africa, women have added issues such as HIV/AIDS and property rights to the policy agenda, but there is little evidence to suggest that increased women's representation has altered policy outcomes. In this article, we examine the case of Rwanda, which now has the highest level of women's representation in parliament in the world at 48.75 per cent. Based on face-to-face interviews with women representatives in the Rwandan parliament, we confirm that the Western-based work has validity in a developing world context. In Rwanda, women representatives

considered themselves to have a greater concern with grassroots politics, although there was also some divergence of views on the matter; there has been no change in the working hours or calendar of parliament. In terms of the policy agenda, women's issues are now raised more easily and more often than before, and there has been a strong advocacy of 'international feminism' by many deputies. However, increased women's representation has had little effect on policy outputs (Jina, 2010). .

Based on June 2003 Constitution, the National Women Council (NWC) was given the mandate to mobilize women and to identify their needs and their constraints to be taken into consideration in development processes. The Forum for Rwandan Women Parliamentarians is another mechanism that was established under the initiative of women's parliamentarians. It has the mission to promote gender equality, contribute in capacity building for women in decision-making. It is mostly involved in laws and budget (Rwanda Constitution, 2003).

In this research, a researcher concentrated her efforts in looking the level of women political representation in parliament, the factors that affect women political representation in parliament and the effectiveness of women political representation in Rwanda in order to see their representation in parliament.

The level of women political representation

Generally, the level of women political representation in parliament in the world handicapped by the same challenges such as cultural, the same level of social and economic development between countries. In Russia, for instance, this generalization is inapplicable because of the lack of a political culture: specifically, the huge numbers of parties and blocks, their underdeveloped structure, and the lack of confidence many women face and political parties' ignorance of women's interests (IPU, 2002).

In the Relative level of Women and Men, in pre-colonial Rwanda—even as most positions of public authority were reserved for men/women enjoyed a modicum of political and economic power, as exemplified by the powerful position of queen mother. The relative position of women eroded during the colonial period and never fully recovered. Women in contemporary Rwanda hold few political positions and have limited economic power, as seen in the difficulties women have in inheriting land and property. Many women's associations have attempted to increase the level of women in recent years, with little apparent success (Vansina, 2006).

The drive to promote women in decision-making positions worldwide gained momentum during the 1980s and early 1990s through a series of international conferences. Further impetus came from the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, in 1995, which called for at least 30 per cent representation by women in national governments. In September 2000 at the UN Millennium Summit in New York, world leaders pledged to "promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable." At that meeting, world leaders adopted the goal of gender equality and seven others, known collectively as the Millennium Development Goals. Since then, the number of women in leadership positions has been rising. (MINECOFIN, 2007).

In fact, when looking at regional averages, we see that women have made the fastest gains in Sub-Saharan Africa, where women currently occupy, on average, 17.3% of seats, which also places the region very close to the global average. More to the point though, it is Rwanda, a developing country, which is leading the world now in terms of women's political participation. Rwandan women currently make up 56 % of seats in the national assembly, and a woman holds the speaker's chair. Women in Rwanda also hold a third of all cabinet positions, including foreign minister, education minister, Supreme Court chief and police commissioner general (Vansina, 2006).

According to the division of Labor by Gender, Agricultural work is divided between women and men. Men clear the land and assist women in breaking the soil, while women engage in most of the day-to-day farming activities, such as planting, weeding, and harvesting. Men bear the primary responsibility for overseeing livestock, assisted by youths who act as shepherds. Men also do heavy jobs around the house, such as construction, while women are responsible for maintaining the household, raising children, and preparing food. Formal employment in Rwanda is dominated by men, while women often participate in informal economic activities, such as market trading (Taylor, 2007).

The effectiveness of women political representation in Rwanda.

Women bring important skills, attributes, and perspectives to the governance process. Few times offer policymakers as good an opportunity to increase the number of women participating in government as those windows immediately after conflicts. Those women who have successfully entered government have tended to build governance systems that are more stable and transparent, and more often accepted as legitimate by society. They have demonstrated the ability to bridge political divides, highlight women's concerns, facilitate a consultative and participatory approach to policymaking, and press for government accountability (Powley, 2005).

Vice president of the Rwandan Senate and chair of the Women's Parliamentary Forum, says the ascent of women in politics reflects their unique characteristics: "Women have integrity. Women have particular natural qualities; they listen well; they respect others, not just other women, but all Rwandese.... There are things we are better at than men."

Among them, she says, is keeping honest. There's a widespread belief, in Rwanda and outside, that women are less corrupt than men. There's not necessarily hard evidence that this stereotype is true, says Shirley Randell, director of the Center for Gender, Culture and Society at the Kigali Institute of Education. But there is

evidence, she says, that Rwandans think it's accurate – in public and in private: "They put women on the counters as bank tellers; women handle money in the supermarket." She thinks Rwandans across the board acknowledge that women are more responsible with money. "If women earn money, and their husbands don't take it, it goes toward the family, toward education, toward health. With most men – not always, but most – it goes toward banana beer," she says. But behind their soothing image, Rwanda's female politicians are using political muscle to get things done. Women in Parliament have been credited with pushing through laws protecting women and children against domestic and gender-based violence and establishing women's rights to own land and inherit property (Jina, 2010).

The Role of Women in Reconstruction and Peace building

The 1994 genocide shook Rwandan society to its foundation. The post-genocide period was characterized by a total breakdown of basic services and widespread insecurity in rural areas. The consequences were so devastating and challenging that every surviving Rwandan adult had a responsibility to fill the vacuum. Women played a critical role. The women of Rwanda stepped forward together to begin economic and social reconstruction and restoration of security. From there they formed linkages between economic empowerment and political empowerment. In leadership the great contribution of women to national reconstruction and recovery. Women took over some of the responsibilities of looking after and providing services originally managed by men, in house construction, for example. Women were being recognized as breadwinners ably performing non- traditional functions. In the area of security, the role of women is crucial. One case in point: The cessation of the insurgency in the north of the country in 1998 was almost certainly due to the active role of women as mediators and civilian authorities. Women also play a critical role in mobilizing their displaced husbands and relatives to repatriate to Rwanda. In its advocacy role, the women parliamentarians' caucus made important contributions which impacted strongly on women's role in post-genocide reconstruction. For instance, their advocacy ensured

that a law was passed punishing sexual assaults and rapes committed during the genocide as crimes against humanity. Women parliamentarians were responsible for the adoption of a law on inheritance succession which for the first time in the country's history grants equal rights for men, women, boys and girls to inherit property (Ecoma, 2004).

Women parliamentarians played a critical role in ensuring the new constitution adopted on 4th June 2003 was highly gender responsive. The process of drafting the constitution was done in a participatory manner from the inception to the finalization phase. The composition of the constitution and judicial commissions was gender balanced, comprised of women from government and civil society as well as men with an established record of being gender sensitive. The critical role played by women leadership in championing the cause of promoting gender equity and equality cannot be underestimated. The favorable conditions created by the government through the establishment of institutions such as the Ministry in Charge of Gender Equity, coupled with an emerging women leadership in the post genocide period became an impetus for promoting unity and reconciliation. Women leadership across the spectrum, from civil society, faith based organizations, and executive and legislative arms of government, contributed to the momentum of empowering women and increase their role in national reconstruction (EGM/ELEC,/2004).

Women leaders played a key role in mobilizing rural women to be involved in mainstream political activities. Women from different political backgrounds embarked on campaigns to actively encourage women to participate in elections and policy discussions. Women's' councils have helped prepare women for positions in government at the local and national level. They learn leadership skills and develop competences necessary for their effective performance. This had a strong impact judging from the high level of involvement of women across the country in shaping new policies and legislation. Such structures represent a good model of how women participate in, and contribute to, the country's development agenda with a sense of ownership - hence the sustained spirit of voluntarism in which they serve. The role of women leaders, from the

national level through to the rural level, in mobilizing Rwanda's population, and women in particular, was of great importance in promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. Women's associations are also active at the national level, working on meeting the special needs of women survivors and returnees, empowering women politically and economically and reconstructing Rwandan society. Thirty-five women's organizations who work in women's rights, development or peace have organized themselves into a collective called Pro -Femmes Twese Hamwe (Pro-Women All Together). The Pro-Femmes Triennial Action Plan (1998) states that the organization works for "the structure I transformation of Rwandan society by putting in place the political, material, juridical, economic and moral conditions favorable to the rehabilitation of social justice and equal opportunity, to build a real, durable peace." The affirmative action plan, which calls for 30% of parliament's seats to be reserved for women, led to a majority of those seats being secured by representatives of womens' councils. These elected women work on a voluntary basis and are not funded, and yet they have contributed significantly to mobilize women for leadership. One issue that needs to be addressed in order to fully empower these structures is to address their budgetary needs (MIGEWD, 2007).

Promoting Girls' Education

Amid concern over the rising illiteracy rate among women in Rwanda since 1994, several Rwandan women's organizations have centered their efforts on educating girls. In March 1999, FAWE, Pro-Femmes, and Migeprofe organized a series of workshops and media programs to raise awareness about the importance of girl's education. In another initiative in 1999, Réseau des Femmes and FAWE, working with the newly created Association of Women Students at the National University of Rwanda, launched a research program to determine why girls drop out of school and to develop an action program to sensitize girls and their parents about the importance of girls' continuing their studies (MINEDUC,1998).

Among the 35 member organizations of Pro-Femmes, at least 18 carry out some sort of training program. Both older and newer associations engage in such activities, which vary depending on the particular concerns of each association.

Réseau des Femmes, for example, has organized gender sensitization programs for government authorities in rural areas and civic education programs and workshops on how to run viable organizations for women at the grass-roots level. Haguruka has organized workshops on women's legal rights and how to defend them. Many Rwandan organizations support vocational training, an activity that has increased substantially since 1994. This residential center, established on the outskirts of Kigali in 1985 by a Catholic prayer group, Center for Development Information and Evaluation provides year-long vocational training and psychological support to women in distress. The center staff is proud that they achieve a 70 percent success rate in finding employment for their trainees. But because it lacks adequate resources, it cannot expand to meet critical needs. Another, newer organization founded since the genocide, the Women Association of Chef of Families (WACF) has very limited resources and yet still provides useful services for women and children heads of family. To assist young women whose studies were interrupted by the conflicts, the AFCF is struggling to launch an ambitious training program in computer skills. (MIGEWD, 2005).

Health Services, Trauma Counseling, and HIV/AIDS Awareness

As in vocational training, the activities of women's organizations in the area of health have helped meet an important need. At the national level, two of the member NGOs of Pro-Femmes primarily addresses health concerns, while at least eight others give some attention to health. Such initiatives are important in a context where government programs are woefully inadequate. Moreover, while helping women with physical ailments and trauma counseling, these associations also provide spaces where women can meet to overcome loneliness and attempt to rebuild a sense of community.

Even these useful programs, however, fall short of meeting the huge need. Moreover, urban women are generally more likely than rural women to find access to assistance.

One particularly successful urban-based initiative is the Kigali-based Polyclinic of Hope, which helps widows and women victims of sexual violence. Jointly established just after the war and genocide by Rwandan women returning from outside the country and women who had been living in the country, this effort offered medical treatment and solace to women who had been brutalized in the conflicts (MIGEWD, 2007).

Resolving Conflict, Empowering Women, and Fostering Peace

Like many other efforts centered on women and gender in post conflict Rwanda, the Pro-Femmes Campaign for Peace was responding to and building on initiatives at the grass roots where women were coming together to help each other and work out ways of living together again. In concrete terms, the Pro-Femmes program provided encouragement and assistance to women attempting to form associations, counseling services for women and children traumatized by the conflicts, public education campaigns in the media, and training programs to promote tolerance and reduce conflict. In November 1996, UNESCO recognized these activities by honoring Pro-Femmes with the Mandajeet Singh Prize for Tolerance and Nonviolence (EAC SECRETARIAT, 2006).

Women in Politics and their Policy Impact on Gender Equality

Quota systems

Between 2000 and 2002, elections were held in 23 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with increases in women parliamentarians in 14 of them. Most of the countries that have achieved significant increases in women's participation have done so through the use of quotas - a form of affirmative action in favor of women. Worldwide, about 30 of the world's more than 190 countries apply some form of female quotas in politics. In Uganda, says Ms. Beatrice Kiraso, who was elected to parliament in 1996, quotas kick-started the process of improving women's participation in national politics. A cycle began in which "women gained confidence in women, opening up even more avenues."

Uganda's quota system evolved from the current government's origins in a guerrilla war during the 1980s, when women fought alongside men in the National Resistance Army (NRA). In South Africa too, women played a key role in the national liberation struggle and today are benefiting from a quota system adopted by the ruling African National Congress (ANC). In Africa, there are three main quota systems: Constitutional quotas: Some countries, including Burkina Faso and Uganda, have constitutional provisions reserving seats in national parliament for women. Election law quotas: Provisions are written into national legislation, as in Sudan. Political party quotas: Parties adopt internal rules to include a certain percentage of women as candidates for office. This is the case with the governing parties in South Africa and Mozambique.

However, while introducing quotas provides a means of addressing the gender imbalance in decision-making, the practice often lacks support from important political actors or meets opposition in societies that have strong patriarchal traditions. Much like the debate around affirmative action, those opposed to quota systems say they discriminate against men. The Zambia National Women's Lobby Group accuses its government of lacking political will. While the Zambian government has ratified a number of international instruments to promote women in politics, the group reports, none "have been domesticated." Cultural and traditional practices subjecting women to male dominance have also hindered women's progress in achieving gender equality in politics. Women face barriers such as "conflict, intimidation, negative attitudes, stereotypes by society and lack of support from the electorate," notes the group (Africa Recovery, 2004).

The factors affecting women political participation in central government

Ideological Factors

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein 1984). Andrienne Rich defines patriarchy as: "A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male." (Rich1977). Women have to negotiate their entry into and claim on public space according to the discursive and material opportunities available in a given culture and society. Although the gender role ideology is not static rather remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private across countries which resulted in their exclusion from politics (EGM/WPD-EE/2005/).

Political Factors

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Vicky Randall defines politics as an "articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given power structure", which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics that defines it as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens. This conception of politics restricts political activity only in public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical. This public-private dichotomy in traditional definition of politics is used to exclude women from public political sphere and even when women are brought into politics they are entered as mothers and wives. Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Often male dominated

political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that disillusions women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties. Also women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of councils or parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities. The larger democratic framework and level of democratization also impact women's political participation. Secular democracies in Europe and also in some of the developing countries have created relatively more space for women's participation in politics as compared to countries where religious orthodoxy has been shaping politics and democracy (Hannah, 2000).

Socio-Cultural Factors

The subordinate status of women vis-à-vis men is a universal phenomenon, though with a difference in the nature and extent of subordination across countries. Gender role ideology does not only create duality of femininity and masculinity, it also places them in hierarchal fashion in which female sex is generally valued less than male sex because of their socially ascribed roles in reproductive sphere. The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family. This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health, employment, ownership of productive resources and politics in all countries. Additionally gender is mediated through class, caste and ethnicity that structure access to resources and opportunities.. In some of the countries, particularly in South Asia, women also face cultural constraints on their mobility. The mechanisms of sex segregation and purdah are used to restrict their mobility. Politics requires women's exposure to interact with male and female constituents and address public meeting (EGM/WPD-EE/2005/).

Lack of Social Capital and Political Capacities

Women often lack social capital because they are often not head of communities, tribes or kinship groups, resulting in the absence of constituency base for them and means of political participation such as political skills, economic resources, education, training and access to information (Linden et al, 1977).

Dependence on International Donor Support

International donors' tendency to shift their priorities year to year makes it difficult for women's organizations to undertake long-term planning. Even Aftermath: Women's Organizations in Post conflict Rwanda when they carefully design a long-term initiative, they are under constant threat that it may abruptly close. Moreover, as the magnitude of humanitarian and development assistance declines, donors are withdrawing from funding and ongoing programs, creating problems for women's organizations. This has created a feeling of vulnerability among women leaders (Hannah, 2000).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter identifies the appropriate methodology that was undertaken in the research situation. It specifically described the research design to be chosen, the research population and area, and the method of data collection, presentation, and analysis.

Research Design

The study carried out descriptive research design which is concerned with describing the characteristics of an event, community, religious, providing data about the population or item being studied by only describing the who, what, how, when and where of a situation at a given time but does not go into finding what cause and caused it. And ex post-facto design because it is the most relevant design for studies that intended to establish the cause and effect of women political representation in parliament (Martin, 2005).

Research Population

The study was conducted amongst the Rwanda Parliamentarians. The total number of population is 106. That population is distributed in this way: 80 Members of House of Commons and 26 Members of Room of the senate.

Sample size and sampling procedures

Using purposive sampling, 83 people were sampled, distributed into 60 members of House of Commons and 23 members of room of senate. These results are given by using Slovin's formula.

The sample size is determined by slovin' formula, because the population size is known.

That formula is given and explained as:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N\alpha^2}$$

Where,

n= sample size

N = size of population

=106

α = level of significance or reliability level (usually equal to 0.05 or 0.01)

Then,

$$n = \frac{106}{1 + 106(0.05^2)}$$

=83

Research Instrument

The main research instrument that it was used in this study is questionnaire. Structured questionnaires and unstructured were used to each sample population in parliament. These questionnaires were designed and used according to the research objectives. They are structured and unstructured so as to be able to generate as much information as possible and have not a leading answer for the respondents but rather get first hand information from them without biasing them. This was preferred because it helps to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. Structured questionnaires were administered to the member of House of Commons and room of senate. This was preferred because it helps to collect both quantitative and qualitative data.

Questionnaires were composed of 3 sections. Section (A) 9 Questions about the level of women political participation in the central government of Rwanda, section (B) 7 questions about effectiveness of women political representation in parliament and section (C) 7 questions about factors that affect women political representation in parliament. Therefore a total of 23 questions were set according to the research objectives.

Validity of the Instruments

Data validity is the correctness and reasonableness of the data. To ensure the validity of research instruments, copies of the draft instruments were pilot tested in parliament. This was to help to assess the language clarity, ability to tap information needed, acceptability in terms of length and privacy of the respondents.

The validity of questionnaire relies first and foremost on reliability. If the questionnaire cannot be shown to be reliable, there is no discussion of validity. The Content Validity Index (CVI) of the questionnaire focus on the extent to which the extent of instruments corresponds to the theoretical content as is designed to measure. The results were used to compute the Content Validity Index (CVI) whose formula is:

$$CVI = \frac{R}{R + IR} = \frac{24}{24 + 3} = 0.88$$

Where CVI: Content Validity Index

R: Relevant questions(R=24)

IR: Irrelevant questions (IR=3)

R+IR=27

The Content Validity of questionnaire is 0.88 as calculated above. Therefore the questionnaire was valid to be administrated. This was acceptable as the least value (0.7) for survey studies for quality control (Martin, 2005).

Reliability of research instruments

The reliability of any questionnaire is defined as the consistency with which the same results are achieved. In order to check the reliability of questionnaire a researcher had used a test- retest reliability. A test- retest reliability is also called stability reliability. It is refers to the degree to which scores on the sames test by the same individuals are constant over time. It provides evidence that scores obtains on a test at one time (test) are the same or close to the same when the test is re- administered

some other time re-test. The reliability of a questionnaire depends on the person answering the questions.

The reliability of Rwanda parliamentarians' instruments was established through the above method. The researcher administered the test to the members of parliament at the first time. After two weeks, the same respondents in the same parliamentary members administered again the same questionnaire and they gave the same results, showing that the questionnaires had consistency in reliability, hence the instruments were reliable.

Ethical Considerations

The study primarily engaged all respondents viewed relevant to the theme under study. Accordingly, extreme confidentiality had to be promised and this was to be effected only, by promising secrecy to selected respondent's information provided.

Limitations of the Study

The researcher encountered a number of challenges and problems during the course of this study. Among these were the following:

Data collection was one constraint that the researcher faced since this involved moving from one resource or information centre to another .At the same time getting the required information was not an easy process because some resource centres only allowed registered members with them to utilize their facilities.

There was also the challenge of the translation of some concepts from English to local language. This was due to the questionnaire being written in English and hard to understand and this needs more explanation. In order to minimize the above limitations, the researcher supervised regularly the respondents and explained where more explanations were needed in the questionnaires.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Table 2: Responses from respondents on evaluation of the level of women political representation in parliament of Rwanda.

Keys: SD= Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; A= Agree and SA= Strongly Agree

Variables	RATINGS							
	S A		A		D		S D	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1)The women/men opportunities given to central government policy are the same	20	22.2	19	21.1	25	27.8	26	28.9
2)The women are more committed to the work compared to the men	27	30	25	27.8	18	20	20	22.2
3)Having a big number of women in central government helps to combat the poverty and to create the activity generating income	30	33.3	25	27.8	15	16.7	20	22.2
4) The parliamentary women realize the objectives that they promised colleagues during their election campaign.	45	50	35	38.9	8	8.9	2	2.2
5) The policy of parliamentary women is one	46	54.2	40	44.4	3	3.3	1	1.1

of better means of the changes of mentalities of the women implied in the basic authorities.								
6)The government of Rwanda enabling environment for Women's political representation empowerment in central government.	47	52.2	43	47.8	0	0	0	0
Observed frequency (O_i)	215		187		69		69	
Expected frequency (E_i)	83		83		83		83	
Residual (R)= $O_i - E_i$	132		104		-14		-14	
Degree of freedom df= k-1	df=4-1=3							
Chi square critical value χ^2_{cv}	$\chi^2_{cv}=7.82$ at df level of significance 0.05							
Chi square observed χ^2_{obs}	$\chi^2_{obs}=\sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}=209.9+130.3+2.3+2.3=344.8$							

In the above formula, Observed frequency (O_i) is the actual number of individuals from the sample and K is the number of categories. Expected frequency (E_i) is the theoretical frequency for each category.

From the table 2 Chi square observed $\chi^2_{obs}=344.8$ while Chi square critical value $\chi^2_{cv}=7.82$ at df=3, level of significance 0.05. Since Chi Square observed was greater than Chi square critical value, the results were statistically significant.

The results on women/men opportunities given to central government policy are the same, 55.7% of respondents strongly disagree or disagree on the statement and 44.3%

of respondents agree or strongly agree on the statement. This implies that the opportunity given to men or women are not the same.

On whether, the women are more committed to the work compared to the men, the high percentages of respondents agree or strongly agree on the statement. This implies that the women are committed on their work more than men.

On whether, having a big number of women in central government helps to combat the poverty and to create the activity generating income, 61.1% of respondents strongly agree and agree on the statement and 38,9% of respondents disagree and strongly disagree. This implies that the women play an important role on poverty reduction and women help the government to generate the activity which creates the income on the country. The results on the parliamentary women realization of the objectives that they promised colleagues during their election campaign, the majority of respondents strongly agree or agree with 88.9% on the statement. This implies that the women realize what they promise their colleagues while the election.

On whether, the policy of parliamentary women is one of better means of the changes of mentalities of the women implied in the basic authorities, 98.6% of respondents' agree or strongly agree on the statement. This implies that the parliamentary women are one of better means of the changes of mentalities of the women towards the government actions.

On whether, the government of Rwanda enabling environment for Women's political representation empowerment in central government, 52.2% of respondents strongly agree and 47.8 of respondents agree on the statement. This implies that the government of Rwanda enabling environment for women political representation in the central government.

Women increment in the central government

The respondents proposed the women increment in the central government with the reasons of changing other women who still have mentality of fearing to join the

political positions; they also fight counters poverty; improve the access of the woman to the social services (education, health, management of the environment, etc.); they promote peace and the fight against the violence made to the women; improve the legal statute of the woman; they promote of the woman through the media; they support with the women in the particular situations; they reinforce the mechanisms of promotion of the woman; they promotion, protect and develop of the small girl. Those all contribute on the development of Rwanda country.

The respondents suggested some paramount actions of the integration of the woman increase their representation in the central government which are the following: to reinforce the capacities of the women implied in the authorities of decision-making on all the levels by the formations on several occasions, the training courses, the camp of solidarity, the trips studies as regards civic education, leadership, gender and development; to create the environment necessary to support the education of the girls and the women; to develop the mechanisms and to multiply the formations and seminars aiming at encouraging the women able to take part in the electoral process and the other political activities and fields of the leadership; to pay an attention particular to the education of the women especially country-women, not educated; and to work out suitable laws and legislations to protect the woman from the exploitation and discrimination of which it is victim on behalf of the company and to offer a legal support to them.

The selection of women in central government

The respondents on this question said that the women have more chances of being selected in central government because of 30% of free/non competitive places of women, and after that the women have to compete with the men in the remaining places (70% places remained). The respondents also said that, during the election, the women given all possible facilities like money, transports to help them in the campaign. Those all show that the women have more chances of being selected in all posts of government.

Table 3: Responses from respondents on examination of effectiveness of women political representation in central government

Variables	RATINGS							
	S A		A		D		S D	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1) During the five last years, the women of the central authorities expressed like exemplary leaders as well at the political level Community.	30	33.3	32	35.6	15	16.7	13	14.4
2) Parliamentary women contribute to the national policies such as the vision 2020, the national policy on the gender and much of other fields of capital interest such as the new constitution.	33	36.7	37	41.1	10	11.1	10	11.1
Observed frequency (O_i)	63		69		25		23	
Expected frequency (E_i)	83		83		83		83	
Residual (R)= $O_i - E_i$	-20		-14		-58		-60	
Degree of freedom df= k-1	df= 4-1=3							
Chi square critical value χ^2_{cv}	$\chi^2_{cv}=7.82$ at df level of significance 0.05							
Chi square observed χ^2_{obs}	$\chi^2_{obs}=\sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}=4.8+2.3+40.5+43.3=90.9$							

From the table 3 Chi square observed $X^2_{obs}=90.9$ while Chi square critical value $X^2_{cv}=7.82$ at $df=3$, level of significance 0.05. Since Chi Square observed was greater than Chi square critical value, the results were statistically significant and the hypothesis that stated that, there is no effectiveness of women political participation in central government was rejected. This implies that in central government of Rwanda women political participation is needed and the effectiveness of them occurs in politics.

The results on the statement saying that during the five last years, the women of the central authorities expressed like exemplary leaders as well at the political level Community, 68.9% strongly agree or agree to the statement, 31.1% strongly disagree or disagree This implies that in central government of Rwanda women expressed like exemplary leaders as well as at political level community and contribute to the national policy.

The results on Parliamentary women contribute to the national policies such as the vision 2020, the national policy on the gender and much of other fields of capital interest such as the new constitution, 77.8%strongly agree or agree to that statement and 22.2% strongly disagree or disagree. This implies that the women in parliament contribute to the national policies in general.

The opinions of respondents on the importance of having women in central government

The majority of respondents said that the women "Know - how to do" this means that the women perform well their tasks. Today the parliamentary women affirm that the Rwandan women are omnipresent in the work of design as a practitioner the management of the small projects, marketing of the products, distribution of small appropriations, the formation of generating activities of incomes, etc. With 48%, of the women parliamentary on the level of the Parliament: to such sign that the whole world makes a blow of hat in Rwanda. The parliamentary women although they are represent their colleagues on the level of the Parliament; they plead their colleagues as they promised during their election campaign that it will raise their living condition.

This assertion primarily does not allow it to cross the arms in the seats of the Parliament without saying a word on the inequality made to the women. They rent their colleagues to manage in the abstract sectors as solution of fight against poverty in terms of trade especially in our country.

It is important that the women, they also take share with the formulation and the execution of the projects. It is thus imperative to grant a more important place to the woman in all the fields of planning and the execution as regards the development, on all the levels of the local government, regional, national and international. The respondents also said that the women play an important role by reinforcing the unit and their role within the Rwandese society in general and within Rwanda in particular, sensitizing, reinforcement of the capacity of action of the women; integration of the kind in the laws, the policies, the programs, the projects and budgets at the central level and centralizes.

In its action plan, the women in central government illustrate the strategic axes to raise the challenges of the kind whose women were traditionally victims, to surmount, the equality and equity is taken into account in the annual budgets of the Rwandans government.

Motives of becoming women politicians

The results from the respondents show the motives of becoming women politicians as the following:

The women help the government of Rwanda to analyze the progress in achieving gender equality; they present Rwanda's experience as a lesson to other countries emerging from conflict on how best to advance the participation of women in government and post-conflict

Reconstruction, they propose additional measures to be undertaken in order to make the participation of women in political decision making sustainable. They reinforce the capacities of the women implied in the authorities of decision-making on all the levels

by the formations on several occasions, the training courses, the camp of solidarity, the trips studies as regards civic education, leadership, gender and development; they create the environment necessary to support the education of the girls and the women; they increase social services related to reproductive health and they develop the mechanisms and to multiply the formations and seminars aiming at encouraging the women able to take part in the electoral process and the other political activities and fields of the leadership.

The women promote generating activities of incomes for the reinforcement of the capacities of the women from the economic point of view and the activities of fight against poverty; they organize the inclusive public awareness campaigns to support the evolution of mentalities with regard to the roles traditionally allocated with the men and the women and to fight the stereotypes, by reinforcing patriotism; they pay an attention particular to the education of the women especially country-women, not educated; and women work out suitable laws and legislations to protect the woman from the exploitation and discrimination of which it is victim on behalf of the company and to offer a legal support to them.

The higher number of women in central government or in political position

On the above statement, the majority of respondents agree on the statement by saying that in the some families mostly in the countryside, the men still have the following mentalities:

No woman can make a decision without having consults her husband, which shows "Nta inkokokazi ibika isake ihari" (no hen makes cock-a-doodle-doo in the presence of cock), Woman who wants to be released called Igishegabo (shameless woman which behaves like a man) and the man who wants to be made release with equal from his wife will be called Inganzwa (husband subjected to the authority of the woman), Nta jambo Ry'umugore (the woman does not have has to say) must be cleaned in the mentality of the men. By the way for instance, the women during the family ceremonies, themselves

seating with the corner or the withdrawn room, whereas the man took the place with the living room, in the same way the woman to lie down, to put itself more towards the side of wall and that the man puts himself just, towards the side of the door. The women in political position must be increased in order to those mentalities, which are still the causes of women inferiority. The respondents said that the few number of parliamentary women is the main causes of the above problems.

The contributions of women in the development of the country

On this statement, the respondents said that the women contribute more one economic and social reconstruction and restoration of security. The responses addresse the contributions of women in the post-genocide period. Some of their contributions are difficult to quantify, yet they were critical to the country's progress towards gender equality and good governance.

They also said that the large number of female combatants, female fighters constituted a small percentage of the former guerillas of RPF who stopped the genocide. However, the demobilized female combatants contributed greatly to the peacebuilding process. Those who were educated joined the mainstream administration of the country. One important step taken by former combatants was to form their own association to promote the well-being of their members and to be agents of peace in their communities and the country as a whole.

Women took over some of the responsibilities of looking after and providing services originally managed by men, in house construction , for example. Women were being recognized as breadwinners ably performing non- traditional functions. In the area of security, the role of women is crucial.

The women of Rwanda help the country to promote gender equality as a human rights and development issue. The women and political commitment towards gender equality is linked to Rwanda vision of transforming the Rwandan society through legal, policy and administrative reforms

The women in central government are charged with the responsibility for coordinating the government's efforts regarding strengthening gender and women issues. The Ministry of Gender organized women into elected representative councils. The central government women are an efficient instrument in shaping policies and programmes that have benefited women, for example , by implementing programmes to alleviate rural poverty among women, and starting revolving credit funds , which specifically target women. The women have compiled a list of all discriminatory laws that need repealing and a list of laws to protect and equalize woman which need enacting. It has acted as a conduit for the views and voices of women to be heard and taken into account during planning and legislation. The uniting factor was the shared desire to promote peace within Rwanda and outside its borders. In its advocacy role, the women

parliamentarians' caucus made important contributions which impacted strongly on women's role in post-genocide reconstruction. For instance, their advocacy ensured that a law was passed punishing sexual assaults and rapes committed during the genocide as crimes against humanity. The perpetrators of these crimes are categorized as planners of the genocide. Women parliamentarians were responsible for the adoption of a law on inheritance succession which for the first time in the country's history grants equal rights for men, women, boys and girls to inherit property. Women parliamentarians played a critical role in ensuring the new constitution adopted on 4th June 2003 was highly gender responsive. Women leaders played a key role in mobilizing rural women to be involved in mainstream political activities. Women from different political backgrounds embarked on campaigns to actively encourage women to participate in elections and policy discussions. Women's' councils have helped prepare women for positions in government at the local and national level.

Much as there is still a gap between enacting a law and implementing it correctly, these laws mark a big achievement in the area of gender equality promotion. However, despite their great role in increasing women's visibility, they remain under funded, and so the technical capacity to maximize their positive impact remains to be developed. Such structures represent a good model of how women participate in, and contribute

to, the country's development agenda with a sense of ownership - hence the sustained spirit of voluntarism in which they serve.

Women came together in associations to address issues that affect them, creating self-help groups and cooperatives to assist survivors, widows or returned refugees, or simply to meet the everyday needs of providing for their families.

Across the country, women with the support of various institutions managed to participate in the construction of new settlements locally known as Imidugudu. They have also been used as channels for mobilisation by different agencies involved in national development. These councils are involved in skills transfer and making local women aware of their rights as in advising the generally elected bodies on issues that affect women.

Table 4: Responses from respondents on identifying the factors that affect women political participation in central government.

Variables	RATINGS							
	S A		A		D		S D	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
1) Social, political structures and institutions facilitate women political participation in central government	24	26.7	23	25.6	22	24.4	21	23.3
2) In politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures men dominate women	40	44.4	39	43.3	5	5.6	6	6.7
3) The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation	27	30	33	36.7	16	17.8	14	15.5
Observed frequency (O_i)	91		95		43		41	
Expected frequency (E_i)	83		83		83		83	
Residual (R)= $O_i - E_i$	8		12		-40		-42	
Degree of freedom df= k-1	df=4-1 =3							
Chi square critical value χ^2_{cv}	χ^2_{cv} =7.82 at df level of significance 0.05							
Chi square observed χ^2_{obs}	$\chi^2_{obs} = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i} = 0.7 + 1.7 + 19.2 + 21.2 = 42.8$							

From the table 4 Chi square observed $X^2_{obs}=42.8$ while Chi square critical value $X^2_{cv}=7.82$ at $df=3$, level of significance 0.05. Since Chi Square observed was greater than Chi square critical value, the results were statistically significant. This implies that in central government of Rwanda there are factors that affect women in politics.

On whether Social, political structures and institutions facilitate women political representation in central government 52.3% of respondents strongly agree or agree and 47.7% strongly disagree and disagree to that statement. This implies that in central government political participation of women is facilitated by social and political structures.

On whether, in politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures men dominate women, 87.7% of respondents responded strongly agree or agree, 12.3% strongly disagree or disagree to that statement. The respondent said that the percentages of men in politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures are still greater than the ones for the women. This implies that the women are less represented in the parliament.

The results on "socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation" 66.7% of respondents strongly agree or agree, 33.3% disagree or strongly disagree on statement. This implies that the women in Rwanda are depending on socio-cultural actions which show that the women still have the old mentality of being oriented by socio-cultural condition.

Table 5: Factors influencing selection of women in parliament positions

	Very important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education	40	30	15	5
Previous experience	26	28	20	16
Relevant knowledge	37	40	8	5
Religion	34	46	7	3
Financial abilities	18	12	33	27
Government laws	45	45	0	0

The table 5 shows that education, previous experience, relevant knowledge, religion and government laws are the factors that influence the selection of women in central government politics because the majority of respondents said that those factors are very important or important whereas the minority of respondents said that those ones are less or not important. These shows that the educated women who have the previous experience and relevant knowledge have the chances to participate in politics depending on the law of government and that financial abilities have no influences on selection of women in central government politics.

The reasons that limit women in central government

The respondents said that Social and Cultural Factors limits the women in the central government. The respondents justify this by giving following ideas: In the colonial period and still today, women have found it difficult to own land and property in their own right because of societal and legal constraints. Historically, a woman's knowledge and abilities in Rwanda often went unrecognized, and her access to resources was usually controlled by men—her father, brother, husband, or husband's

brothers—or, if she were a widow, by her sons. A corollary was that, in general, a woman's status derived from the status of her husband or brothers. Thus, some upper class women could still achieve public visibility and leadership. Today, though women's dependence on men persists in different ways, it is still true that proximity to powerful men is an important political asset for women who wish to exercise leadership. In the past, Rwandan women normally remained silent in the presence of men and acted as if they knew little. Yet behind the scenes, sisters, wives, and mothers often had a good deal to say, and they were sometimes listened to. Moreover, collaboration and cooperation among women in Rwanda have long historical roots. The public reticence of women was changing, with their organizational activities. These changes were spurred by the economic needs of women at the grass roots in rural areas, by educated urban women in the expanding political space opened by political liberalization, and by the changing role of women in religious organizations. Thus, Rwandan women's organizations have built on previous collaboration among women. However, while attempting to combat and redress the subordination of women in Rwandan society, some organizations still (perhaps unconsciously) reflect cultural values that tend to perpetuate social inequality and invidious distinctions among women. One such cultural value is that if a family member steals or harms another person, the family as a whole is responsible for restitution. This attitude resonates today in the treatment of women whose husbands died in the Congo or whose husbands are in prison. There sometimes is a tendency to assume that if a man was involved (or suspected of involvement) in the genocide, his wife shares blame. In rural areas, such women are sometimes shunned and marginalized by local government authorities and even by local women's organizations.

The respondents considered four political factors that affect women's organizations in contemporary Rwanda in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways. First, an important consequence of the war and genocide is that ethnicity has become more important in Rwanda, despite the announced intentions of the government to abolish ethnic distinctions.⁴⁵ Few Rwandans will talk about ethnicity openly (at least

not with outsiders). Yet in Rwandan politics today it matters what a person's (presumed) ethnic background is, where that person lived in Rwanda, and where that person came from if he or she is an exile who came home after the genocide. Understanding these distinctions can be critical to understanding the dynamics within and among women's organizations. Although Rwandan women have displayed a remarkable capacity to transcend differences and work together, distinctions based on ethnicity, class, region, place of origin, and life experiences remain salient. Second, the Rwandan state is now, as it was in the past, unusually hierarchical, with a tradition of top-down decision making and little tolerance for people or groups who challenge the hegemonic discourse of those in power. Although the people holding power in Rwanda have changed since the war and genocide, these features have not. Third, "clientelism" permeates Rwandan politics both internally and between the Rwandan government and external donors. Having a well-placed patron is often critical to political survival and to the ability of a person, agency, or group to obtain resources. This is not, of course, unique to Rwanda, but it has been an enduring (and especially powerful) element of the political landscape. There is a perception among some of the smaller (and less well-funded) NGOs that leaders of groups connected to politically well-placed individuals (often men)

are more likely to succeed in obtaining funding or other resources. Although many women's organizations are without such connections, anecdotal evidence suggests that several national women's NGOs are led by women with ties to politically important men. Finally, the nature of public discourse also influences the activities of women's organizations. The post genocide regime in Rwanda prides itself on encouraging open discussion of issues.

Women/men responsibilities and the effects on their representation in parliament

The respondents said the following on the above statement. Women played a predominantly domestic role while men monopolized the political arena. Political decision-making at the community and national levels was almost exclusively the

province of men. With the consequent unequal power relations, gender-based discrimination continued unabated. It means that women enjoying relative autonomy in managing domestic resources and playing a critical role in advising men. The respondents said also that the few number in central government is caused by women's education background. They also said that the majority of women are used to study other courses apart from political courses. These contribute on the inequality of women and men political participation. In some positions the managers are not used to recruit or vote women because of free time given to them during and after producing baby, the one who are not committed on the work.

The key measures that may enhance women competition for political opportunities in parliament

The respondents gave the following measures in order to enhance women competition for political opportunities in central government:

Integrate the gender into all the levels by various actions, Sensitizing, Reinforcement of the capacity of action of the women; Integration of the kind in the laws, the policies, the programs, the projects and budgets at the central level and centralizes, illustrate the strategic axes to raise the challenges of the kind whose women were traditionally victims, to surmount, the equality and equity is taken into account in the annual budgets of the Rwandans government.

The respondents also said that government of Rwanda should increase women's trainings or education which helps them to be competitive in their work and join political position.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter portrays a discussion of the results of the study based on the findings presented in chapter four. The discussion relates the objectives of the study to the findings earlier stated conclusions are drawn and recommendations are given.

FINDINGS

The level of women political representation in parliament of Rwanda

In 2003, the constitution of public of Rwanda declared that women would always be represented in national and local government. At least 30% of seats in the national assembly are reserved for women. In Rwanda women have a higher percentage of seats in the national assembly than in any other country in the world (election, 2003) and Women in contemporary Rwanda hold few political positions and have limited economic power, as seen in the difficulties women have in inheriting land and property. Many women's associations have attempted to increase the level of women in recent years, with little apparent success (Vansina, 2006). Taylor, 2007 said that men do heavy jobs around the house, such as construction, while women are responsible for maintaining the household, raising children, and preparing food. Formal employment in Rwanda is dominated by men, while women often participate in informal economic activities, such as market trading.

In this research, the first objective is to evaluate the level of women political participation in central government. The findings agree that the proportion of men and women in parliament is not the same. These are shown by the number of men in parliament who are greater than women.

The results on women/men opportunities given to central government policy agreed that the opportunity given to men or women are not the same. The findings agreed that the women are given more opportunities in central government than men.

On whether, the women are more committed to the work compared to the men, the findings agree on the statement. This implies that the women are committed on their work more than men.

The results on the parliamentary women realization of the objectives that they promised colleagues during their election campaign, agree on the statement. This implies that the women realize what they promise their colleagues while the election.

The means of using parliamentary women in order to change women mentalities, the findings agree on the statement. This implies that the parliamentary women are one of better means of the changes of mentalities of the women towards the government actions.

On whether, the government of Rwanda enabling environment for Women's political participation empowerment in central government, the findings confirmed on the statement. This implies that the government of Rwanda enabling environment for women political participation in the central government.

On the Women increment in the central government, the findings gave the reasons of changing other women who still have mentality of fearing to join the political positions; they also fight counters poverty; improve the access of the woman to the social services (education, health, management of the environment, etc.); they promote peace and the fight against the violence made to the women; improve the legal statute of the woman; they promote of the woman through the media; they support with the women in the particular situations; they reinforce the mechanisms of promotion of the woman; they promotion, protect and develop of the small girl. Those all contribute on the development of Rwanda country.

In this research, the finding suggested some paramount actions of the integration of the woman increase their participation in the central government which are the following: to reinforce the capacities of the women implied in the authorities of

decision-making on all the levels by the formations on several occasions, the training courses, the camp of solidarity, the trips studies as regards civic education, leadership, gender and development; to create the environment necessary to support the education of the girls and the women; to develop the mechanisms and to multiply the formations and seminars aiming at encouraging the women able to take part in the electoral process and the other political activities and fields of the leadership; to pay an attention particular to the education of the women especially country-women, not educated; and to work out suitable laws and legislations to protect the woman from the exploitation and discrimination of which it is victim on behalf of the company and to offer a legal support to them.

On the selection of women in central government, the findings shows that, during the election, the women given all possible facilities like money, transports to help them in the campaign. Those all show that the women have more chances of being selected in all posts of government.

The effectiveness of women political representation in central government

Jina (2010) said that, there's a widespread belief, in Rwanda and outside, that women are less corrupt than men. "If women earn money, and their husbands don't take it, it goes toward the family, toward education, toward health. With most men – not always, but most – it goes toward banana beer.

Women's associations are also active at the national level, working on meeting the special needs of women survivors and returnees, empowering women politically and economically and reconstructing Rwandan society (MIGEPROF, 2007) and EAC SECRETARIAT (2006) saying that the women in central government play an important role in Resolving Conflict, Empowering Women, and Fostering Peace.

On the above objective, the findings agreed that in central government of Rwanda women expressed like exemplary leaders as well as at political level community and contribute to the national policy such as the vision 2020, the national policy on the gender and much of other fields of capital interest such as the new constitution.

The findings show that the women "Know - how to do" this means that the women perform well their tasks. Today the parliamentary women affirm that the Rwandan women are omnipresent in the work of design as a practitioner the management of the small projects, marketing of the products, distribution of small appropriations, the formation of generating activities of incomes, etc.

The findings show that the women play an important role by reinforcing the unit and their role within the Rwandese society in general and within Rwanda in particular, sensitizing, reinforcement of the capacity of action of the women; integration of the kind in the laws, the policies, the programs, the projects and budgets at the central level and centralizes.

The results on motives of becoming women politicians, the results agreed that the women promote generating activities of incomes for the reinforcement of the capacities of the women from the economic point of view and the activities of fight against poverty; they organize the inclusive public awareness campaigns to support the evolution of mentalities with regard to the roles traditionally allocated with the men and the women and to fight the stereotypes, by reinforcing patriotism; they pay an attention particular to the education of the women especially country-women, not educated; and women work out suitable laws and legislations to protect the woman from the exploitation and discrimination of which it is victim on behalf of the company and to offer a legal support to them.

The findings on number of women in central government or in political position, the findings enumerate the different mentalities which causes the minority of women like: No woman can make a decision without having consults her husband, which shows "Nta

nkokokazi ibika isake ihari" (no hen makes cock-a-doodle-doo in the presence of cock), Woman who wants to be released called Igishegabo (shameless woman which behaves like a man) and the man who wants to be made release with equal from his wife will be called Inganzwa (husband subjected to the authority of the woman), Nta jambo Ry' umugore (the woman does not have to say) must be cleaned in the mentality of the men. The women in political position must be increased in order to combat those mentalities, which are still the causes of women inferiority. The findings show that the few number of parliamentary women is the main causes of the above problems. Much as there is still a gap between enacting a law and implementing it correctly, these laws mark a big achievement in the area of gender equality promotion. However, despite their great role in increasing women's visibility, they remain under funded, and so the technical capacity to maximize their positive impact remains to be developed. Such structures represent a good model of how women participate in, and contribute to, the country's development agenda with a sense of ownership - hence the sustained spirit of voluntarism in which they serve.

The factors affecting women political representation in central government

Patriarchy as a system of male domination shapes women's relationship in politics. It transforms male and females into men and women and construct the hierarchy of gender relations where men are privileged (Eisenstein 1984).

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Vicky Randall defines politics as an "articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given power structure", which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics that defines it as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens (Hannah , 2000).

The gender status quo is maintained through low resource allocation to women's human development by the state, society and the family. This is reflected in the social indicators which reflect varying degrees of gender disparities in education, health,

employment, ownership of productive resources and politics in all countries. (EGM/WPD-EE/2005/EP.12).

Politics is increasingly becoming commercialized. More and more money is needed to participate in politics. Women lack access to and ownership of productive resource, limiting the scope of their political work (Hannah, 2000).

The findings on Social, political structures and institutions facilities given to the women in central, the findings agree to the statement. This implies that in central government political participation of women is facilitated by social and political structures

On whether, in politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures men dominate women,. The findings show that the percentages of men in politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures are still greater than the ones for the women. This implies that the women are less represented in the parliament.

The results on "socio-cultural dependence of women, the findings agree that the women in Rwanda are depending on socio-cultural actions which show that the women still have the old mentality of being oriented by socio-cultural condition.

The findings on the factors influencing selection of women in central government positions show that the education, previous experience, relevant knowledge, religion and government laws are the factors that influence the selection of women in central government politics.

The reasons that limit women in central government

The respondents said that Social and Cultural Factors limits the women in the central government. The respondents justify this by giving following ideas: In the colonial period and still today, women have found it difficult to own land and property in their own right because of societal and legal constraints. Historically, a woman's knowledge and abilities in Rwanda often went unrecognized, and her access to resources was usually controlled by men—her father, brother, husband, or husband's brothers—or, if she were a widow, by her sons. A corollary was that, in general, a

woman's status derived from the status of her husband or brothers. Thus, some upper class women could still achieve public visibility and leadership. Today, though women's dependence on men persists in different ways, it is still true that proximity to powerful men is an important political asset for women who wish to exercise leadership. In the past, Rwandan women normally remained silent in the presence of men and acted as if they knew little. Yet behind the scenes, sisters, wives, and mothers often had a good deal to say, and they were sometimes listened to. Moreover, collaboration and cooperation among women in Rwanda have long historical roots. The public reticence of women was changing, with their organizational activities. These changes, were spurred by the economic needs of women at the grass roots in rural areas, by educated urban women in the expanding political space opened by political liberalization, and by the changing role of women in religious organizations. Thus, Rwandan women's organizations have built on previous collaboration among women. However, while attempting to combat and redress the subordination of women in Rwandan society, some organizations still (perhaps unconsciously) reflect cultural values that tend to perpetuate social inequality and invidious distinctions among women. One such cultural value is that if a family member steals or harms another person, the family as a whole is responsible for restitution. This attitude resonates today in the treatment of women whose husbands died in the Congo or whose husbands are in prison. There sometimes is a tendency to assume that if a man was involved (or suspected of involvement) in the genocide, his wife shares blame. In rural areas, such women are sometimes shunned and marginalized by local government authorities and even by local women's organizations.

The respondents considered four political factors that affect women's organizations in contemporary Rwanda in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways. First, an important consequence of the war and genocide is that ethnicity has become more important in Rwanda, despite the announced intentions of the government to abolish ethnic distinctions.⁴⁵ Few Rwandans will talk about ethnicity openly (at least not with outsiders). Yet in Rwandan politics today it matters what a person's

(presumed) ethnic background is, where that person lived in Rwanda, and where that person came from if he or she is an exile who came home after the genocide. Understanding these distinctions can be critical to understanding the dynamics within and among women's organizations. Although Rwandan women have displayed a remarkable capacity to transcend differences and work together, distinctions based on ethnicity, class, region, place of origin, and life experiences remain salient. Second, the Rwandan state is now, as it was in the past, unusually hierarchical, with a tradition of top-down decision making and little tolerance for people or groups who challenge the hegemonic discourse of those in power. Although the people holding power in Rwanda have changed since the war and genocide, these features have not. Third, "clientelism" permeates Rwandan politics both internally and between the Rwandan government and external donors. Having a well-placed patron is often critical to political survival and to the ability of a person, agency, or group to obtain resources. This is not, of course, unique to Rwanda, but it has been an enduring (and especially powerful) element of the political landscape. There is a perception among some of the smaller (and less well-funded) NGOs that leaders of groups connected to politically well-placed individuals (often men) are more likely to succeed in obtaining funding or other resources. Although many women's organizations are without such connections, anecdotal evidence suggests that several national women's NGOs are led by women with ties to politically important men. Finally, the nature of public discourse also influences the activities of women's organizations. The post genocide regime in Rwanda prides itself on encouraging open discussion of issues. Concerning the women/men responsibilities and the effects on their participation in central government, the findings shows that the women played a predominantly domestic role while men monopolized the political area.

The findings shows that integrate the gender into all the levels by various actions, Sensitizing, reinforcement of the capacity of action of the women; integration of the kind in the laws, the policies, the programs, the projects and budgets at the central level and centralizes, illustrate the strategic axes to raise the challenges of the kind whose women were traditionally victims, to surmount, the equality and equity is

taken into account in the annual budgets of the Rwandans government. The findings also show that government of Rwanda should increase women's trainings or education which helps them to be competitive in their work and join political position.

CONCLUSIONS

Following results obtained from the analysis and interpretations of data conclude that:

The inequality still exists between the number of women and men in central government. This is the same even in all political positions. According to the women/men opportunities given to central government policy, the researcher concludes that the women are given more opportunities than men. This is shown by 30% of free seats of women and after that the women compete with the men in the remain seats but with these opportunities given to them, they are still represented by the lower number in parliamentary positions.

The findings on the women commitment on their work help a researcher to conclude that the women are good on work and contribute on poverty reduction by creating the activities which generating income to other women who elected them and the country as whole.

It is concluded that the government of Rwanda enabling environment for Women's political participation empowerment in central government which is the cause of mentality changing towards the women in basic authorities.

According to the results on the women percentage in the central government, the researcher concluded that the women have to be increased because they realized well what they are asked to complete in their work place.

Concerning the effectiveness of women political participation in central government, a researcher concluded that women are exemplary on the work because they contribute more on the government policy achievement like vision 2020, the national policy on the gender and much of other fields of capital interest such as the new constitution. Concerning the factors that affect women political participation in

central government, it concludes that still the women are affected by socio-cultural, political, education, previous experiment, relevant knowledge, marital status and economic factors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The government of Rwanda should increase the increase the free seats of women (at least 40% of seats) because until now the percentage of women are still low than the one for men.

MIGEPROF should combat against their inequality in order to eliminate all obstacles, by asking the government to set new constitution which are more favorite to women.

Rwandan women parliamentary should do the proper gender advocacy in all politics level as is the one of their mission in order to increase the number of women in all levels.

For gender equality to be attained and sustained, it is important to have a strong training program to provide necessary expertise in gender.

For gender program to be effectively managed, it is recommended to establish coordination systems which are good to increase women political participation in central government.

It is recommended to identify all traditional values that affect women political participation and establish their solutions in order to increase the women in central government.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

TRANSMITTAL LETTER



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OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIAT DEAN, SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH (SPGSR)

Dear Sir/Madam,

January 29, 2011

RE: REQUEST FOR NYIRAMBO NIMPAYE CONSTANCE MPA/10014/82/DF
TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR ORGANIZATION

The above mentioned is a bonafide student of Kampala International University pursuing a Masters of Arts in Public Administration.

She is currently conducting a field research of which the title is **"Challenges of women political representation in Rwanda National Parliament"** as part of her research work; she has to collect relevant information through questionnaires, interviews and other relevant reading materials.

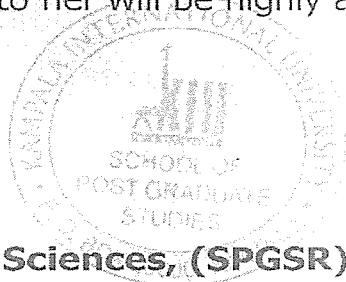
Your organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to her research project. The purpose of this letter is to request you to avail her with the pertinent information she may need.

Any information shared with her in your organization, rest assured the data you provide shall be treated with utmost confidentiality..

Any assistance rendered to her will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Dr. Roseann Mwaniki
Associate Dean Social Sciences, (SPGSR)



"Exploring the Heights"

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaires for challenges of women political representation in parliament of Rwanda

Dear Respondent,

This questionnaire is for the purpose of helping Constance NYIRAMBONIMPAYE who is a student at Kampala International University post graduate school, to obtain information that will assist him fulfill a partial requirement for masters degree at this university, it is not meant for other purpose. All information will be kept confidentially. The topic of the study is; CHALLENGES OF WOMEN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN RWANDA NATIONAL PARLIAMENT. Your cooperation in answering the questions honestly to provide the required information will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Name of the respondent

Age.....

Sex.....

Marital status.....

Occupation

Section A: Questionnaire about the level of women political participation
In the central government of Rwanda.

Statements		SA	A	D	SD
1	The women/men opportunities given to central government policy are the same				
2	The women are more committed to the work compared to the men				
3	Having a big number of women in central government helps to combat the poverty and to create the activity generating income				
4	The parliamentary women realize the objectives that they promised colleagues during their election campaign.				
5	The policy of parliamentary women is one of better means of the changes of mentalities of the mentalities of the women implied in the basic authorities.				
6	The government of Rwanda enabling environment for women’s political participation empowerment in central government;				

7) Would you propose that the current women percentage in the central government be?

(a) Increased (b) Decreased (c) Maintained the way they are.

In case of (a) and (b) in which ways can women numbers is increased or decreased?

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8) How are women candidates selected in Rwanda central government?

.....

.....

9) As a women politicians, do you think women have more or less chances for being elected in local government?

.....

.....

Section B: Questionnaires about effectiveness of women political participation in central government

Statements		SA	A	D	SD
1	During the five last years, the women of the basic authorities expressed like exemplary leaders as well at the political level Community.				
2	Parliamentary women contribute to the national policies such as the vision 2020, the national policy on the gender and much of other fields of capital interest such as the new constitution.				

3)In your opinion, how important is it to have women in central government?

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.....

4) What are the motives of becoming women politicians?

.....

.....

5) Do you have a wish of having a higher number of women in central government?
Why?

.....
.....

5) What are the contributions of women in the development of the country?

.....
.....

7) Do you have any wish to take on a higher political position? (Say becoming a
parliamentarian? Why).

.....
.....

Section C: Questionnaire about factors that affect women political participation in central government.

Statements		SA	A	D	SD
1	Social, political structures and institutions facilitate women political participation in central government				
2	In politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures men dominate women				
3	The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain.				

4) How would you rate factors influencing selection of women in central government positions?

	Very important	Important	Less important	Not important
Education				
Previous experience				
Relevant knowledge				
Religion				
Financial abilities				
Marital status				
Government laws				

5) Women involvement has always been known to be few in politics. What could be some of the reasons that limit women in central government?

.....

.....

6) In homes (a) the women have a lot of responsibilities (b) the men have lot of responsibilities. How those responsibilities affect women participation in central government?

.....

.....

7) What could key measures that may enhance women competition for political opportunities in central government?

.....

.....

APPENDIX 3

CULLICULUM VITAE

I. Personal Profile

Last name:	Constance
First name:	NYIRAMBONIMPAYE
Father's name:	SERWEVU Etienne
Mother's name:	KAMUGWERA Prisca
Date of birth:	25/08/1980
Place of birth:	Sector: Mugano District: Nyamagabe Province: Southern
Marital status:	Married
Nationality :	Rwandese

II. Educational Background

- Year 2009 to date: A Master's student at Kampala International University (KIU)
- Year 2002-2007: University Education at Kigali Institute of Education
- Year 1995-2001: Secondary Education at Groupe Scolaire Official de Butare
- Year 1989-1995: Primary Education at Maso Primary School

III. WORK EXPERIENCE

- From 2007-2011: Secondary School Teacher at Musave School

Other Relevant Data

- **Language spoken:** -Kinyarwanda
 - English
 - French

- **Computer Skills:** -MS WORD
 - MS EXCEL
 - MS ACCESS
 - MS POWERPOINT and INTERNET

[certify that the above information is accurate.

Constance NYIRAMBONIMPAYE

INTRODUCTION

Before discussing the factors that may lead to a commercial relationship exit, it's important to understand what is meant by the term commercial relationship.

By definition A Commercial Relationship is an interaction between two or more parties for the exchange of goods and services or works in exchange for value.

Like in any other relationship, conflict is inherent in all relationships, if its not well managed.

By definition, a conflict is a state of disagreement, between two or more parties of a relationship and it can either be good or bad.

Its important to look at the same of the causes of conflicts in purchasing supply relationships.

These include:

1. Failure of the supplier and the buyer to service or perform obligation.

Failure to perform a service by either a buyer or supplier may lead to a conflict between the two parties.

2. Scarcity of Resources.

Scarcity of the resources like raw materials labour, finance e.t.c may lead to conflicts e.g. due to longer lead-times some of which create shortages of stocks in organizations.

3. Poor privatization of expenditure i.e. investing for growth other than paying for crude liabilities.

4. Lack of trust in the leadership of the relationship.

5. Poor system and procedures for managing of relationship e.g. lack of supplier performance review meetings.

6. Environmental reasons e.g. political instability, earthquakes, floods due to heavy rains some of which affect delivery. All these are beyond human control and may result into conflicts.

7. Rivalry between two groups/ parties i.e. when relating parties manage a relationship with a win-lose mentality instead of win-win mentality.

8. Unbalanced power which may cause one of the parties to seek dominance over the other.

9. Poor interpersonal skills of the relationship representatives e.g. communication

10. Lack of team building skills e.t.c.

11. Unclear goals and objectives.

12. Also unclear roles and responsibilities of the relating parties. In case the roles and responsibilities are not clear to the relating parties, a conflict is likely to occur.

13. B. It is important to note that conflicts can either have a positive or a negative impact in a relationship.

The positive impacts of conflicts in a relationship may include:

1. New idea may avert out of the conflicts which help to support innovation cycle that may bring forth new products to customers.

2. It allows problems to surface, a situation that may attract problems solving solution to cater for problems before it goes out of hand.

3. It provides an opportunity or clarification of roles and responsibilities of each party in a relationship.

4. It arreges leaders, when conflicts arreges some relationship representatives may start blame shift however, some will manifest as leaders trying to look for a solution other than blame shifting.

5. It provides a new outlook.

When conflicts emerge there is a new look at the ideas, situations and all other issues at hand changes.

5. It provides an opportunity to test the capacity of individual's i.e. crisis management potential
e.t.c

If a conflict is not managed at moderate levels it creates problems or negative impact on the organization.

Let's look at the negative impacts of conflicts in an organization. These may include;

- 1) Mistrust and tension may develop among relating parties.
- 2) There might be a stoppage in delivering of goods and services or works which may consequently lead to idle time and related costs.
- 3) There is also delayed delivery or longer lead time which may lead to customer dissatisfaction or their migration to the organization's competitors.
- 4) It may breed reputational risk if the conflict emerges in the media.
- 5) There might be demotivation among staff that played a role of representatives.
- 6) It may breed switching costs that are high to bare.
- 7) It may lead to legal suits, fines and damages.

Below are some of the resolutions that buyers can undertake in sustain the relationship with the buying organization.

Use of win-win situation in relationship development and maintenance relationship.

Clarification of goals and objectives.

Improving the interpersonal skills e.g. communication.

Compromising i.e. providing concessions

Mutual goals and objectives

Mutual goals and objective setting for example being sensitive to others needs this helps to create unity and hence continuity of the relationship

