



Women's political participation in countries emerging from conflict in the Great Lakes Region of Africa

Report of the Consultation Workshop
Hotel Africana, Kampala, Uganda

28-30 August 2007

About EASSI

The Eastern Africa Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI) is a sub-regional civil society organisation established in 1996 to facilitate systematic follow up of the Platforms for Action emanating from the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China in 1995. The development of the Beijing Platforms for Action was preceded by the African Platform of Action on Women which was developed in Dakar, Senegal in 1994. EASSI is a collaboration between individuals, NGOs, coalitions and networks committed to the advancement of women. It is registered in Uganda as a Non Governmental Organisation and currently covers eight countries in the Eastern African sub-region, namely Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania and Uganda.

About International Alert

International Alert is an independent peacebuilding organisation that has worked for over 20 years to lay the foundations for lasting peace and security in communities affected by violent conflict. Our multifaceted approach focuses both in and across various regions; aiming to shape policies and practices that affect peacebuilding; and helping build skills and capacity through training. Our regional work is based in the African Great Lakes, West Africa, the South Caucasus, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. Our thematic projects work at local, regional and international levels, focusing on cross-cutting issues critical to building sustainable peace. These include business and economy, gender, governance, aid, security and justice. We are one of the world's leading peacebuilding NGOs with an estimated income of £8.4 million in 2008 and more than 120 staff based in London and our 11 field offices. International Alert is grateful for the support of our core donors: Irish Aid (Department of Foreign Affairs Ireland); Danida (Danish International Development Agency); DFID (UK Department for International Development); The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency); and SDC (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation).

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Layout by D. R. Ink, info@d-r-ink.com

Printed by Jason Print

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How do we transit from negotiation of peace to negotiating our place in politics with key roles in the governance process? This is what the research must bring out.

Dr. Akinyi Nzioki

We are talking about power here, nothing more or less – transformative participation.

Judy El Bushra

It is crucial to look at the nature of women's participation. It is not a question of participation but a question of transformative participation. How are things going to be transformed?

Hon. Miria Matembe

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Acronyms

AU	African Union
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CAFOB	Collectif des Associations Féminines du Burundi
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CECORE	Center for Conflict Resolution
CEWIGO	Center for Women in Governance
DRB	Domestic Relations Bill (Uganda)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EASSI	Eastern African Sub-regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women
GUWOPAR	Gulu Women for Peace, Reconciliation and Resettlement
HIV and AIDS	Human Immune Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IA	Alert
ISIS-WICCE	Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
NAWOU	National Association of Women Organisations in Uganda
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NRM/NRA	National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (Uganda)
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
UWOPA	Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association
WAMM	Women's Affairs Ministers' Meeting (Uganda)

Preface

This consultation workshop, jointly organised by International Alert and the Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI) in partnership with the Women and Gender Studies Department at Makerere University, is part of a regional research project aimed at assessing the impact of women's political participation in countries emerging from conflict in the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

One of the positive outcomes of peace processes and political transitions in the Great Lakes Region has been the increased participation of women in political decision-making. This was achieved mainly through affirmative action mechanisms, especially quotas and cooptation systems. The constitutions adopted by Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during the post-conflict and transition periods, include provisions for quotas of at least 30% representation for women in the state institutions. In the DRC, the post-transitional constitution adopted by referendum in December 2005 has gone as far as to guarantee 50-50 parity between men and women.

The workshop was attended by members of civil society, parliamentarians, provincial governors, and International Alert and EASSI partners from Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC. The discussions focused amongst others, on issues such as the nature of women's participation, factors facilitating women's participation in political transition processes and hindrances and constraints to women's participation. Participants noted that although there is greater participation of women in politics throughout the region, the political and cultural environment is not always conducive for women's effective participation and presentation of issues affecting them. The question of whether conflict and peace processes create new opportunities for women was also debated as well as the issues of power, culture and tradition and their impact on women's political participation. Fundamentally, the discussions highlighted the fact that political participation is indeed a gendered process and the main challenge women in the region face is how to ensure that the gains they have made are institutionalized so as to translate into changes of women's status and position in society as well as into gender-sensitive changes in political systems and institutions.

There were further discussions on the research project which will be carried out by International Alert and EASSI, in partnership with the Women and Gender Department at Makerere University and women's organisations throughout the region. Some of the key questions to be addressed by the research are whether increased women's political participation translates into more peace and security; how can the impact of women's presence be measured? And what does the issue of conflict add to our understanding of women's political participation?

Both International Alert and EASSI work for the protection of women's rights and promotion of women's participation in decision making. EASSI is a sub-regional civil society organisation established in 1996, to facilitate systematic follow up of the Beijing Platform for Action emanating from the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China, in 1995. EASSI'S membership comprises individuals, NGOs, coalitions and networks committed to the advancement of women. EASSI's secretariat is based in Kampala, Uganda.

International Alert is an independent peacebuilding organisation based in London. It was established in 1985 by a group of human rights advocates, to build a just and lasting peace and security in communities affected by violent conflicts. It also works to ensure that gender

perspectives and practical realities inform the implementation of international, regional and national peace, security and development policies.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Grace Bantyeba Kyomuhendo and Dr. Florence Kyoheirwe Muhanguzi, both of Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender Studies who facilitated the workshop with great professionalism. We are also deeply grateful to our interpreters Fatoumata Touré and Dr. Edith Natukunda for their insights into the subject matter and their cheerfulness throughout the workshop.

Finally we thank the Norwegian Government for funding this workshop.

Ndeye Sow
Senior Adviser
International Alert



Marren Akatsa-Bukachi
Executive Director
EASSI



Session I: Introduction and Background to the Workshop

1.0 Introduction

Over the past 10 years, a number of countries in the Great Lakes Region have undergone a process of political transition following a period of conflict. In countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), there has been a significant improvement in women's participation in decision-making following the period of conflict. However, a number of challenges exist that need to be addressed. These include: translation of the political gains into changes in women's status at all levels of society; the issue of quantitative versus qualitative representation that clearly addresses the needs of women; legislative and policy reforms that support and promote women's advancement; maintaining the gains; role and position of women in multiparty politics; establishing effective links between women politicians and the women's movement and the contribution of women's political participation to peacebuilding processes in the region.

The Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI) and International Alert (Alert) have initiated a research project to assess women's participation in political transitions in the four above-mentioned countries with specific focus on the mechanisms and processes that governments have put in place to promote women's participation. The general goal of the research project is to assess the role of women in the political transition in each country to draw general lessons from issues of specific local relevance. The lessons derived from the process will be used to inform policy-makers, implementers and development partners to advance opportunities for women in the region to contribute to improvements in governance and building sustainable peace and security.

As a first step in validating the project idea, a series of preliminary consultative meetings were held in 2006 in the four countries with a sample of women's organisations to discuss the project and agree on the implementation plan.¹ Following the consultative process, it was deemed necessary to hold a regional consultative workshop from 28–30 August 2007. The main objectives of the workshop were as follows.

- Identify and discuss the main issues affecting women's participation in political transition in countries emerging from conflict.
- Map out the specific country priority areas/issues for research and documentation.
- Identify and agree on the appropriate methodologies for research and documentation.
- Discuss Terms of Reference and identify a regional research Steering Committee.

The workshop was participatory and interactive in nature, employing multiple methods including plenary discussions, paper presentations, group work and brainstorming. It attracted 28 participants from the four countries in the Great Lakes Region. The main facilitators of the workshop were Prof. Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo and Dr. Florence Kyoheirwe Muhanguzi from the Department of Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University. This report presents the workshop proceedings. The workshop comprised of six sessions with four main presentations on:

- The significance and importance of political transition in the four countries emerging out of conflict.
- Findings of the preliminary consultations.
- Feminist research methodology.
- The proposed way forward.

1.1 Official Opening of the Workshop

1.1.1 Overview of the programme

Prof. Bantebya welcomed participants to the workshop and gave an overview of the workshop programme.² She stated that for the three days, participants would engage in discussions on issues affecting women's participation in political transition in the countries emerging from conflict in the Great Lakes Region. She noted that participants would also discuss and reflect on the research project carried out by EASSI and Alert.

1.1.2 Welcome remarks by Marren Akatsa-Bukachi, Executive Director, EASSI

Ms. Akatsa-Bukachi welcomed participants to the workshop and gave a brief background of the workshop. She reported that International Alert and EASSI started talking about jointly conducting the research in 2005 when Alert organised a workshop in Nairobi, Kenya, to launch a toolkit on peace and women's participation in peace processes.³ The workshop raised important issues relating to the challenges of women's participation in politics within the context of violent conflict situations and peacebuilding processes. Furthermore, electoral violence was also highlighted as one of the areas affecting women's participation in politics.

In order to mobilise acceptance of the idea, it was decided that consultations should be made in all countries around the Great Lakes Region undergoing democratic transitions through adopting multiparty dispensation particularly Uganda, Rwanda, the DRC and Burundi. She reported that consultations were made amongst parliamentarians, members of civil society, country governors and village representatives. It was, however, observed that there was need for further consultations, hence the decision to organise this workshop to provide feedback and validate the consultations report. She stated that the workshop aimed at identifying key issues affecting women's participation in politics in the respective countries. The workshop would also provide an update of the current issues that had not been captured in the consultations research report.

1.1.3 Welcome remarks by Ms. Judy El Bushra, Programme Manager, Africa/Great Lakes Region, International Alert

Ms. El-Bushra welcomed the participants to the workshop. She expressed her appreciation for the distinguished participants, who included leaders of political institutions as well as parliamentarians and civil society members. She acknowledged the participants' wide knowledge and experience on issues of conflict and peacebuilding in the Great Lakes Region, and the inestimable resource that this knowledge and experience offers to the research project, which is the objective of the meeting.

The research project which the meeting will help design is viewed with considerable importance by International Alert. In fact, it reflects many years of work by Alert's Great Lakes programme staff and partners with the goal of promoting women's political participation in the Great Lakes. The project, further, has a wider relevance for governments of the region and for the post-conflict policy and assistance community. These have often stated their commitment to women's political participation as a critical component of recovery and of stable peace, and yet the commitment remains to be translated into practical changes for women. The project can contribute to effecting these changes by providing concrete evidence which policy-makers can use to advocate for women's effective and increased representation and participation in political transitions.

1.1.4 Opening remarks by Dr. Akinyi Nzioki, Chairperson, EASSI

In her opening remarks, Dr. Nzioki thanked the participants for having honoured the invitation to attend the workshop. She expressed concern that war and brutality affect economic productivity, and that the real experience of conflict is not the bomb shelling but rather the aftermath, i.e., the years of suffering and struggles to rebuild what has been destroyed. Women's experiences of conflict are varied and include violence, harassment and increasing burden of

family responsibilities. The pressure is even greater when they are forced to flee with their children, causing psychological suffering that can remain hidden. She expressed the hope that the research will bring out such hidden psychological effects. She advised the team not to portray women as victims, since women's experiences are not uniform the world over.

Dr. Nzioki emphasised the need to provide space for women to reveal their experiences as fighters, organisers for peace, caretakers of rehabilitation centres, mothers of the deceased, and partners beginning to rebuild their lives. She noted that women's testimonies are very powerful and varied, and that women's experiences are not uniform, hence the need to bring out more visible individual settings. She observed that while women play a key role in peacebuilding, women are sent back to the kitchen after peace has been achieved because peace is believed to be for leaders. She stated that the UN Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. She urged the women to uphold the promise. Reflecting on the workshop objectives, Dr. Nzioki pointed out that women's political participation was still largely unequal. She noted that despite the fact that governments have adopted specified quotas, a minimum of 30 percent for women representation in politics in all four countries, there is a lot of uncertainty on the realisation of these quotas.⁴

1.1.5 Key highlights of the participants' experiences, expectations, and fears

During the introductory session, participants narrated country experiences regarding women's participation in politics in post-conflict countries. The following country experiences were captured.

Rwanda

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.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Although the DRC's constitution provides for 50 percent women's representation (Article 14), this provision has not been incorporated into the electoral laws. Consequently, very few women were elected into parliament in the recently concluded elections, i.e., only 33 out of 632 (5.2 percent) and only 9 out of 60 (15 percent) of the ministers are female. It was also noted that it is difficult to continue working for women once in power, due to the numerous constraints and pressures women in political decision-making face. The division between women in decision-making positions and women from civil society, which is observed in the four countries, is a real challenge that needs to be addressed.

Burundi

Although women form over 30 percent of parliament, the current political situation is not conducive for their participation and presentation of their issues. It was noted that the women's movement in the country is very weak, and therefore women and gender issues are not brought to the forefront.

Uganda

Despite the fact that Uganda was seen as a model for women's political participation, the lack of government support and its reluctance towards enacting laws related to women's rights such as

the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB)⁵ shows retrogression, and is an indicator that women's participation is no longer a priority. Manipulation of women by political parties which force them to focus on party agendas is observed as a major challenge. Consequently, women's solidarity in the struggle for gender equality is at most times compromised.

Expectations

- To come up with a methodology that addresses issues of women's political participation.
- To consolidate the political gains made by women and outline solutions for challenges on women's political participation.
- To share experiences on women in politics.
- To identify challenges women leaders are facing and reflect on strategies for coping.
- To define the strategies and approaches that will be used during the research project.
- To come up with a well defined work plan that will ensure meaningful participation of women in the region.
- To have an honest and detailed discussion, to enable optimum design for methodology and content for research.
- To get reliable data to enable advocacy for the cause of gender equality.
- To remember to include women in technological advancements and language.

Fears

- Lack of good time management.
- Lack of communication amongst participants due to language barriers.
- Lack of openness in the discussions.
- Risk of producing just another document not to be acted upon.
- Absence of a solution on how to effectively link women in the higher power institutions and women at the community level.

Session II: Women's Political Participation in the Great Lakes Region: An Overview

It is crucial to get issues institutionalised and transformed into laws that are then implemented.

Hon. Miria Matembe

This session focused on the progress and achievements made by women with regards to political participation and the challenges they still face. Hon. Miria Matembe, a former Member of Parliament from Uganda, made a presentation on the significance and impact of the political transition on women's participation and peacebuilding in the four participating countries. Her speech triggered a lively discussion in the plenary where a number of questions and issues were raised. This was followed by the presentation of the findings from the consultations on women's participation in politics in countries emerging from conflict by Marren Akatsa-Bukachi, Executive Director of EASSI and Gloriosa Bazigaga, International Alert Programme Coordinator in Rwanda. This presentation enabled participants to further the discussion and give feedback on the main issues highlighted in the report.

2.1 Political Transition: Its Significance and Impact on Women's Participation in Decision-making—By Hon. Miria Matembe

Hon. Matembe started by thanking EASSI and Alert for organising the workshop, and implored them to give the research findings to women in power so that they can use the information as back up data to lobby the policy- and lawmakers to make the necessary and appropriate reforms. She however expressed disappointment over the fact that few women in active politics attended the workshop, noting that there is a likelihood of missing out on real experiences of women politicians. She noted the narrow conceptualisation of a politician, and advised that participation in politics should be looked at in a broader perspective to include local councils, executives and parliamentarians. She noted the negative attitudes towards women politicians in Africa and said that once a woman becomes a politician, she stands the risk of being isolated. Uganda, like all the other three countries, is in the process of transition from movement to multiparty politics, and this has had a number of challenges that can best be shared by the active politicians. One of the challenges relates to the



Hon Dr. Miria Matembe making her presentation and Prof. Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo

effectiveness of women in politics. Hon. Matembe pointed out that the discussion on women's political participation was timely, given the fact that women play a critical role in many African countries' economies, and that such economies will not move forward without gender equality. She noted that the lack of women's participation in decision-making hinders sustainable economic development and stressed that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly poverty eradication, cannot be achieved without women's voices. She decried the actions of state chiefs who sign international conventions and declarations on realisation of women's rights, and never implement the commitments. She underscored women's ability to bring different perspectives to the political scene, such as priority issues of welfare and family. Disempowerment of women leads to phenomena such as high rates of fertility, HIV and AIDS and mortality. Some of the key issues that came out of Hon. Matembe's presentation include:

- The need for effective women's political participation in Uganda.
- The need for states to prioritise women's political participation, as has been done in countries such as South Africa and Rwanda.
- In the DRC, the constitution provides for 50 percent representation of women. This, however, has not yet been integrated in the electoral laws.
- Affirmative action/quota system in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi has led to an increase in women's political participation.
- The quota system has been the fastest means of achieving women's political participation because it has the potential to motivate political parties to recruit women. Affirmative action through political parties has more potential to increase women's awareness. However, experience shows that the quota system can only succeed depending on the nature of implementation and the strength of the women's movement.
- How can women sustain their achievements and institutionalise their gains?

Reflecting on the challenges of affirmative action and quota system in Uganda, Hon. Matembe noted that women's political participation has been misconstrued as a privilege, forgetting women's role in the struggle for peace and security in the country (particularly during the NRM/NRA struggle). She regretted the fact that in Uganda, affirmative action has not really brought about true gains by way of representation, leading to ineffective representation of the women. She expressed her disappointment in how women have been manipulated, patronised by government and continue to be used to mobilise support for government to remain in power. Nevertheless, she commended the Government of Uganda for the institution of affirmative action and provision of a conducive environment for the participation of women in politics.

In speaking about the other countries, Hon. Matembe congratulated Rwandese women upon their achievements over the last 10 years, and warned them against possible 'betrayal by the government'. Such betrayal may lead to retrogression of their hard-earned efforts over the years. She urged them to also pursue the implementation of the laws they manage to get enacted. Burundi women were encouraged to assert themselves while they still can.

2.1.1 Issues arising out of the plenary discussions

Hon. Miria Matembe's presentation raised a number of questions and issues as highlighted below:

- It is important to strengthen the women's movement to support the women politicians.
- Governments should translate the laws and policies into concrete actions and ensure implementation. The provision of at least 30 percent representation for women in Burundi and the gender parity in institutions in the DRC, enshrined in the constitutions of the two countries, are not reflected in their electoral laws; and it was only through co-optation that women were able to obtain 30 percent participation in the Burundian National Assembly.
- There is a lack of solidarity among women; women do not give support to their fellow women, especially during campaigns.

- Concern was raised about the issue of multiparty politics dividing women, and it was noted that in such a situation, only the party issues that may not necessarily concern women are prioritised. For instance, women parliamentarians were not united during the debate on the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) in Uganda.
- The heads of states tend to choose women for power; as such, the women co-opted in the positions of decision-making are never of the anticipated quality.
- It is crucial to get issues institutionalised and transformed into laws that are then implemented.

2.2 Presentation of the Findings from the Consultations on Women's Participation in Politics in Countries Emerging from Conflict—By Marren Akatsa-Bukachi (EASSI) and Gloriosa Bazigaga (International Alert)

In her presentation, Marren Akatsa-Bukachi gave the rationale for the geographical scope included in the consultations, and said that Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda were selected based on their experiences as countries emerging from conflict. The participants in the consultations included women in parliament, government and civil society organisations such as ISIS-WICCE, UWONET in Uganda, Profemme Twese Hamwe in Rwanda, DUSHIREHAMWE and CAFOB in Burundi, and Caucus des Femmes du Sud Kivu pour la Paix in the DRC, all of which have played a big role in supporting women's participation in government. She noted that the synthesis of the consultations was made according to five main themes including:

- Affirmative action and its limitations;
- Accountability of women in political positions;
- Patriarchal nature of institutions and the political systems;
- Peace and women's political participation; and
- Security and women's political participation.

Gloriosa Bazigaga, in her presentation of the key findings, reported that affirmative action (AA) or quota system has been instituted in the four countries. Uganda is the pioneer, followed by Rwanda. This has led to increased women's participation in politics, with Rwanda having one of the highest proportions of women in parliament in the world (48.9 percent), Uganda (26.5 percent) and Burundi (35 percent). She however noted that AA was questioned by both men and women and opposed by men, especially male politicians.

In Uganda, women feel a sense of disenchantment and betrayal by government, given that some of the important laws such as the DRB had no support even from the women parliamentarians. People question the added value of having such big numbers of women in decision-making positions if they cannot influence legislative and policy directions. Bazigaga reported that women in the DRC say if AA is adopted, political parties are likely to take on women who are loyal to the party, rather than those who can advance women's causes/concerns.

On issues of accountability, Gloriosa Bazigaga pointed out that there were tensions between women politicians and women's organisations about advancing the women's movement. Women politicians hold allegiance to their own political parties, rather than to the women's movement. She noted loss of dynamism and purpose within the women's movement.

Gloriosa Bazigaga further reported that while governments have put in place institutional frameworks to advance women, the mechanisms are weak and targets have not been met. The institutions are male dominated and organised around male interests, with women often in lower ranks where they cannot influence the trend of events. She gave an example of the DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi, where the adoption of closed and zebra electoral lists system were rejected.⁶

The church, especially the Catholic Church in the DRC, was also identified as a hindrance to women's participation in politics, as it engages in 'smear campaigns' questioning the morality of female candidates.

Regarding peace and security, Gloriosa Bazigaga noted that women's critical role for the return of peace and security was clearly articulated by community members. Women have actively taken part in rebuilding destroyed neighbourhoods, dialogues, resettlement and reconstruction. She however noted that despite the pivotal role women play in peacebuilding, they are heavily excluded in formal peace negotiations and cease-fire talks.

2.2.1 Discussion on the findings from the consultations

The following comments from the participants were captured.

In Burundi, women played a big role in the politics and administration after the war as heads of zones, which was not the case before the war. However, there is no clear linkage between women in high positions of power and the grass-roots women, characterised by women's failure to give feedback to the electorate. The challenge, however, is that rarely do people raise such questions of disconnect about male politicians. Furthermore, the issue of women's accountability should be linked to the mechanisms of accessing power; and women in decision-making positions are subjected to lots of pressure that limit their ability to manoeuvre and their efficiency. Women's representation in politics in Burundi is still very low both at national and local levels (30 percent of representation of women in parliament and 12 percent at the grass-roots level). There is, therefore, a need to lay down strategies to ensure that 30 percent or more is attained at all levels.

In Rwanda, AA was met with fierce resistance in the mid-1990s, and women had to fight a long and difficult battle to finally have it adopted by the state. Women acknowledge that they would not have been able to make such significant gains in politics without AA.

Participants from the DRC stressed the importance of alliance building, as well as lobbying and advocacy. There were only 60 women out of 500 parliamentarians in the transitional parliament which in 2004 voted the adoption of the principle of parity in the constitution. The strategy adopted by women parliamentarians in these circumstances was to build alliances with selected male colleagues who were well positioned within parliament and their own political parties to push the issue of parity forward.

Other issues raised by the participants include the following:

- There is a need to mobilise men's support towards women's issues and concerns.
- AA is important despite the challenges. It has boosted women's representation in Uganda. AA demonstrates existence of political will.
- Culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation. The negative attitudes towards women's involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalisation and isolation. In the DRC and Rwanda, the Catholic Church contributed to discrediting and marginalising women's participation in politics.
- While it is important for women to compete with men for political positions, lack of education is a big hindrance in many countries.
- Questions on how knowledgeable women are on issues of politics and whether voting is based on ethnicity, religion or political capability were raised. It was reported that there was lack of civic education and consequently women do not always vote from an informed point of view. In some countries where women seem to have knowledge of the issues (i.e., the DRC), it was noted that they are always undermined and belittled when they show interest in running for political offices. Participants stressed the need for civic education for women, taking into account local languages, given their high illiteracy rate. Likewise, there is a dire need for

political knowledge/culture, particularly focusing on the electoral process and voting systems which will help women improve their nomination strategies and electoral outcomes. Many issues still need to be addressed within political parties in terms of negotiation as to women's leadership as well as their nomination and positioning for elections.

- Regular consultation and involvement of grass-roots women in planning and decision-making is critical. In Rwanda, for instance, there were wide consultations between women parliamentarians and grass-roots women to discuss the district development plans.
- Another contentious issue was whether increased participation of women in politics in Rwanda, which is attributed to the influence of gender-sensitive leaders, would be sustained when the leaders are no longer in power.
- The need to research on issues such as accountability and mechanisms for providing feedback to the grass roots, culture and tradition, and the role of the media in promoting women's interests and concerns was acknowledged. It is also important to identify the country-specific best practices in the different countries for replication.
- Consolidation of the gains was emphasised.
- It was noted that women's struggles are the same the world over. AA is not always adequate, thus there is a need to keep the fire burning.
- It was recommended that the research draw out the uniqueness of countries emerging from conflict, in terms of political participation: is there something that makes these countries unique, that other countries can also learn from?

Participants suggested that men and women should participate in the meetings, e.g., focus group discussions. Some of the key respondents identified included church leaders, because they play a key role in governance at the local level.

The last session was group work that focussed on a detailed discussion of the key issues arising from the report. The next section describes these discussions in detail.



Participants in a plenary discussion

Session III: Main Issues Affecting Women's Participation in Politics and Governance in the Great Lakes Region: Identifying Country-Specific and Cross-Cutting Regional Areas for Research

In this session, participants were divided into three working groups for further discussions of the consultation's report as well as identification of priority areas for research. The participants raised a number of important issues including, among others, the effectiveness of the national machineries for the advancement of women, the influence of patriarchy on women's political participation, the issue of multiparty dispensation and the extent to which it has benefited women, and the role of the women's movement.

Below are the results of the groups' work.

3.1 Group Work: Issues Raised in the Research Consultations Report

Groups reported back to the plenary highlighting the main issues raised in the consultative research report. The following questions were addressed by all the groups.

1. What are the main issues raised in the research consultation report?
2. Identify existing institutions/mechanisms facilitating women's political participation.
3. Identify factors facilitating women's participation in the political transition.
4. Identify factors constraining/hindering women's participation.
5. Identify issues for research.

3.1.1 The main issues raised in the research report

- Limitations of affirmative action.
- Accountability of women and co-optation to political positions.
- Patriarchal nature of institutional framework and the political system.
- Post-transitional constitutions not effectively addressing women's needs.
- Electoral laws and legal frameworks not addressing challenges of transition from conflict situation.
- Relation between women's political participation and the peace process.
- Political parties hindering independent participation of women.
- Violence against women and prevailing insecurity as hindrances to women's political participation.

3.1.2 Existing institutions/mechanisms facilitating women's participation

- Affirmative action in the form of quota systems.
- National instruments promulgated by countries, e.g., gender-sensitive constitutional provisions on participation of women by including a provision of 30 percent for a number of countries. However, though in the DRC the national constitution provides for 50 percent representation of women, the same was not specified in the electoral laws.
- International and regional legal instruments, e.g., the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on women's rights, Beijing Platform For Action (BPFA), Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), among others.
- Political parties that provide quotas for women's representation.
- Civil society organisations, which have provided women with the opportunity to come into public space.
- Establishment of national machineries for the advancement of women (e.g., ministries for women and gender) that support and advocate for women and gender concerns in government institutions and programmes.
- Gender-sensitive consultative processes.

3.1.3 Factors facilitating women's participation in the political transition process

- Existence of political parties.
- Existence of women's movements and synergies.
- Political will from government.
- Gender-sensitive donors that tag financial support to women's participation in politics and governance issues.
- Women that have contributed actively in the political campaigns or armed conflict are rewarded with positions in decision-making.
- Education of women: i.e., educated women have more chances to participate in political processes.

3.1.4 Constraints/hindrances to women's political participation

- Patriarchal institutions that tend to push women back into the private sphere.
- Cultural and religious socialisation that considers women as subordinates and men as their superiors. For instance, some religions do not allow women to go out in public and they can only communicate through the men.
- Poverty, i.e., women do not own resources; they are usually co-owners and as such property lies in the hands of men.
- Illiteracy; the few literate women are usually marginalised and isolated by society.
- Repressive nature of socialisation and lack of self esteem.
- Women's multiple roles such as reproductive, productive and community roles.
- Lack of general security that tends to affect women more.
- Sexual and gender-based violence.
- There is no universal civic education from a gender perspective.
- Lack of solidarity among women.

3.1.5 Issues for research

- A comparative study on whether women in post-conflict situations participate more in politics than those who have never been affected by conflict, and if yes, why?
- Identify best political practices from each of the participating countries and share experiences.
- Document women's political profiles.
- The relationship between women's political participation and peacebuilding.
- Mechanisms and strategies on how to link women in politics with those at the grass roots and civil society.
- Knowledge of women on power dynamics.
- Women's style of politics: do women have a different way of doing politics than men? It is often assumed that when there are more women in politics, it changes/improves the quality of the debate. Is this the case in the Great Lakes Region?
- Effective women's participation and women in frontline positions during peace talks and drafting of peace accords and constitutions.
- Culture and tradition as blockages (stereotypes/prejudices).

3.1.6 Plenary discussions

The participants raised a number of issues emerging from the different groups on the consultative research report.

The effectiveness of the national machineries for the advancement of women (ministries of women and gender). It was observed that these ministries are not adequately funded and consequently cannot effectively perform their duties. Participants suggested that governments should be pressured to provide sufficient funding to the gender ministries, to enable them to perform their role of gender mainstreaming.

The impact of women's political participation on family relations. Given that in Africa the family provides social security, it was observed that women need the support of their families if

they are to effectively engage in politics. It was argued that a woman needs to have a good partnership with her spouse before joining politics. It was observed that men always feel threatened and many times turn to domestic violence. The experience of Uganda's former Vice President, who publicly acknowledged being abused by her husband, was cited as an example. Other similar examples were cited in Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC. It was recommended that this area be prioritised for research.

Governments' good political will, vibrant women's movement and donor conditionality. These have ensured that women are out of the private sphere and are engaging in the public sphere like politics. International conventions such as CEDAW and UNSCR 1325 are also important in facilitating the participation of women in politics. However, it was noted that the respective governments have not domesticated these conventions.

The influence of patriarchy on women's political participation. It was observed that patriarchy promotes male dominance that relegates women to the private sphere, where they are expected to concentrate on reproductive work. Consequently, many women are poor, overworked and illiterate. Lack of civic education was also mentioned as a big hindrance to women's effective political participation.

The link between grass-roots women and women Members of Parliament (MP). It was noted that this problem does not affect women alone, but also male parliamentarians. The need to keep the link with grass roots was emphasised as it builds support for women at all levels. It was also observed that the position of a woman MP is very challenging, as it is tagged to many expectations that she cannot fulfil, such as providing jobs to women, financial assistance to poor women in her constituency, etc.

The issue of poverty was raised as an important factor in women's participation in politics. Women are not in a position to raise funds for campaigns that have become heavily commercialised. Thus, there is a necessity to think about ways to help women candidates come to terms with the campaign financial challenges. It was also noted that communities expect their leaders to solve all their problems of poverty, and yet the politicians are not always in the position to do so. Women MPs are said to be in a worse situation because they are expected to address all women's problems in the communities as well. It was recommended that more civic education be conducted to clarify the roles of parliamentarians in the communities.

The role of the women's movement was emphasised as an important factor. The women's movements should support the potential women leaders by giving them skills and financial support through fundraising. They should also devise mechanisms of supporting women leaders, especially the politicians. It was, however, noted that support from the women's movements has not been consistent and in some cases it is non-existent. It was recommended that women's movements create synergies with women leaders, as a strategy through which women can mobilise support in their own parties. Citing an experience in Burundi, it was stated that during the last electoral campaign, the slogan 'Women vote and get yourself elected' was used to encourage women to vote for their fellow women.

The issue of multiparty dispensation: It was noted that while all the countries are in a multiparty dispensation, the extent to which this has benefited women is not clear. In some cases, it has reduced women's participation in politics and in others, women have been co-opted and only focus on their party manifestos. This has limited the representation of women and gender concerns in their respective parliaments. It was recommended that women in different multiparty groups should always forge a united front when gender issues are being discussed.

The role of the media: Participants observed that the role of the media should not be ignored. The media has not always been friendly to women politicians and tend to portray stereotypes of women. It was urged that women need to embrace the media and use it for their benefit. The need to change the negative reporting on women politicians was emphasised. The media plays a role in terms of positive or negative presentation of women, especially during campaigns. The presidential campaign in France in 2007 was cited as an example where the female candidate was being portrayed in a sexist manner by a section of the French media, with an emphasis on her physical appearance, rather than focusing on the issues in her manifesto.

3.2 Country-Specific Research Areas and Questions

This session focused on country-specific priority issues for research. A presentation on each country was made and followed by a plenary discussion. The participants were divided into country groups and requested to address the following questions:

- Identify country specific research questions.
- Identify new areas for research.
- Discuss women's style of leadership and management.
- Does women's participation increase the visibility of minorities' issues?

The country-specific research questions were identified as followed.

3.2.1 Uganda

1. How can women work together more effectively for issues of common interest in a multiparty setting?
2. Do women in political leadership appreciate women/gender issues? Are they knowledgeable enough about women/gender issues?
3. How can women political leaders at all levels perform effectively with male counterparts regardless of their party affiliations?
4. How can women in civil society work more effectively with women in politics?
5. How can we build a strong, vibrant women's movement that can support the women political leaders?
6. How can women's priorities become political party priorities?
7. How have the women politicians cultivated a relationship with the media?
8. How does the media portrayal of women affect their effectiveness in politics?
9. How can women balance their multiple roles in society and politics?
10. There seem to be a backward movement trend in the participation of women in politics in the last 10–15 years. What has happened? What are the causes for this?

3.2.2 Burundi

1. How can we make sure that the process of accessing power does take into account the quality and competence of individuals? How can the issues of quality of women who are appointed or elected be examined to ensure efficient representation?
2. What are the mechanisms to integrate quotas defined by the constitution in the electoral code and communal law?
3. How do regional and ethnic biases sometimes guide/have an impact on the quantitative and qualitative political participation of women?
4. How does socialisation perpetuate the cultural aspects that do not favour the participation of women in politics?

3.2.3 DR Congo

1. How can we make sure that the family code is amended to incorporate women's individual rights? (For a woman to obtain power, she has to get permission from her husband).
2. What are the mechanisms to integrate gender equality in the electoral code as well as at the institutional, legislative and judicial levels?
3. How do socio-cultural obstacles, the patriarchal system, retrogressive and discriminatory customs impact on women's political participation?
4. How do religious leaders influence women's political participation?
5. How can women better position themselves in political parties?
6. How can gender analysis capacity of men and women in power be strengthened?
7. How can we bridge the gap between leaders and local populations?
8. What are the most effective ways of adopting the quota system?

3.2.4 Rwanda

1. How far will the large number of women in the political institutions help to produce gender-sensitive policies and better public accountability to women?
2. What are the mechanisms for maintaining and reinforcing the achievements or gains and best practices?
3. What are the expectations of the women in the rural communities from women politicians?
4. At which level are women in politics efficient? Is it at the community level, local government, Gacaca courts? Are they efficient at intermediary level (civil society), or national level (parliament, judiciary and executive)?
5. What are the factors influencing this efficiency—positively or negatively?
6. What are the actions/activities or strategies to strengthen/enhance women's participation in politics?
7. What are the mechanisms of synergies or links between women in politics at different levels?
8. Have the numbers of women made a difference in sustainable reconciliation? Why is it that there are only the Tutsi in public spaces and yet the Hutu are the majority?
9. What type of capacity-building do these women leaders need to influence decisions for effectiveness/efficiently?

3.2.5 Women's participation and minority issues

Participants were asked to discuss the issue of whether women's participation in politics helps to bring out minority issues. The following responses were given by the groups.

Uganda: The minority issues identified were homosexuality, disability and minority religions and ethnic groups. However, it was noted that women need to be sensitised about the issues before they can effectively raise and discuss them.

Rwanda: The group stated that it is not always correct that the participation of women improves representation of minority issues. In a number of cases, women are seen oppressing other women because of differences in ethnicity.

Burundi: The group observed that in Burundi, the policy of inclusion and participation of minorities is limited to what is defined by the constitution. Representing minorities is generally difficult. There is an urgent need to discuss the issue of inclusive politics.

DRC: The group noted that raising minority issues is a big challenge in the DRC. They noted that even laws that have been passed are not recognised and implemented. Despite the fact that defending the rights of women is considered a priority, not much has been done to protect their rights. There is a need to establish why these laws are not being implemented.

3.2.6 Women's style of management

Participants discussed the issue of whether women do politics in the same way or differently than men? Do women have a different style of management? The responses were as follows.

Uganda: It was stated that in Uganda, women have different ways of doing things in management. In politics, women tend to focus more on issues that affect society such as social services (health, education, democracy, etc.) as opposed to men, who tend to focus on keeping in power.

Rwanda: It was stated that women politicians tend to be more knowledgeable about women's problems and are likely to raise them more often than men. However, the group observed that sometimes there is no difference in management styles between men and women. As such, though the women know women's issues (HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence, economic empowerment, etc.) better, the manner in which they raise issues is not different from that of men.

Burundi: It was stated that women in Burundi have no special style because they follow a programme and orders to which they did not contribute. Women's hands are tied! As power is militarised, women are blocked from participating effectively in politics. They have to work according to the manifesto of the parties.

DRC: The group observed that management has its own demands and has little to do with gender. There is no single type of management style for men or women in public affairs.

3.2.7 New areas for research

The issues for research identified by the four country groups were as follows:

1. Processes of accessing power at the traditional/local level and national level.
2. Cultural aspects that do not favour participation of women.
3. Civil society organisations and women's participation in decision-making.
4. Challenges related to international and African legal instruments.
5. New approaches in documentation which aim at positive representation of the image of women in politics and decision-making.
6. Documenting the best practices of women's participation in politics and decision-making.
7. Orientation/perceptions of men on declarations on the rights of women.

3.2.8 Plenary discussion on feedback from specific country presentations

The issue of political will was raised as a major concern, and its sustainability questioned as in most cases, it hinges on a particular leader. The case of Rwanda and Uganda was cited. In Rwanda, the political will seems quite high and the environment is very supportive of women's participation. However, the same situation existed in the earlier years of the current government in Uganda. This has changed over the years and women's participation is no longer a major priority. The participants noted that there is a need to examine these issues carefully for the sustainability of women's participation in governance and politics in the respective countries.

Globalisation was raised by some participants as a major factor in women's participation in politics and decision-making. They agreed that there was a need to examine the effects of globalisation on women's participation in politics. Countries emerging from conflict have Truth and Reconciliation commissions, Peacebuilding commissions and others that have had a bearing on women's participation. In a number of cases, women have come on board but not in significant numbers.

Participants raised the issue of ethnicity and its impact on women's participation and noted that in a number of cases, certain groups of women have been barred from participating in politics. Such ethnic exclusion is common in countries such as Rwanda. The local community courts such as Gacaca in Rwanda, which is headed by a woman, were commended. However, participants noted the importance of examining their impact on women's visibility.

In Uganda, a number of participants expressed disappointment at the current situation in the country. The Movement System gives women freedom to talk freely but with the multiparty dispensation, it is the chief whips that control and determine what should be said in public. Participants were urged to think of a strategy that would facilitate women from all parties to caucus on women's issues. There is an assumption that women in parliament understand gender issues, which is not a fact. It should therefore become a pertinent issue for research.

The need for civil society organisations and women parliamentarians to work together was raised as an important factor. It was observed that many times, each group blames the other for either not performing or not giving enough support. It was suggested that modalities of strengthening the collaboration between the two groups should be worked out given that they are all fighting for the same cause.

Regarding the style of management, a number of participants noted that women tend to be more concerned about fulfilment of their duties as leaders. They are more interested in constituency work through which they provide direct support to the population they represent. Participants noted that a number of times women are honest and do things differently; they are a bit more careful and think through the impact of their actions.

It was noted that culture, especially patriarchal tendencies, still pose a burden to women and hence limit their participation. In Burundi, for example, despite the constitutional provision of 30 percent participation, it was not included in the electoral and communal laws. Consequently, representation of women remains very low.

3.3 Cross-Cutting Regional Issues for Research

The following issues were identified as cross-cutting issues in the region.

1. What does the issue of conflict add to our understanding of woman's political participation?
2. The impact of affirmative action on women's political participation.
3. Strategies of sustaining the gains achieved.
4. Women's inclusion at regional-level institutions of leadership and governance.
5. The best ways of utilising the media to facilitate women's participation in politics.
6. Why some countries in the region have had a successful multiparty political system with women being able to participate freely, compared to other countries in the region.
7. Patriarchal institutions/systems and women's political participation.
8. The role that regional and intergovernmental organisations play in facilitating women's political participation.
9. Strategies on how women in power can deal with issues of culture, ethnicity and identity.
10. Impact of women's participation in governance at national and local levels.
11. Why and how post-conflict reconstruction facilitates women's effective political participation.
12. Does the number of women in decision-making bodies translate into more peace and security?
If so, how do we measure the impact that women's increased presence is having?

Session IV: Feminist Research Methodology

Feminist methods in social research are applied in order to ensure that women's voices are heard and to explore other important details that never come to light.

Professor Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo

This session, facilitated by Professor Grace Bantebya, focused on introducing feminist research methodologies that could be used in the forthcoming research.

4.1 Introducing Feminist Research Methodologies—By Professor Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo, Department of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University

Professor Bantebya started by saying that methodology is determined from the nature of the problem and focus of the study. There are two important questions in methodology:

1. What are the appropriate means for discovering/producing knowledge? For example, trying to examine the patriarchal nature of the environment in which politics takes place.
2. How valid is the knowledge produced by the use of different methods? This question must be answered so that the findings do not pose a challenge to other people.

Prof. Bantebya noted that feminist methods in social research are applied in order to ensure that women's voices are heard and to explore other important details that never come to light. This approach helps to overcome the challenge of biases in research. The feminist methods include those that seek to reveal and overcome male biases in research, create social change, represent human diversity, and acknowledge the positionality of the researcher.

In terms of revealing androcentric biases, the methods should include women (not men alone) as participants and take into account women's experiences within social hierarchies. For instance, the methods should bring out women's understanding of power structures in transitional politics (for example, through the use of in-depth interviews). In terms of creating social change, the methods must involve and respect participants as agents of change. Examples of these include participatory action research and focus group discussions.

Furthermore, in relation to representing human diversity, the methods must acknowledge that not all women (and not all men) experience the social world in the same way. Examples of these include interviews and life history analyses that examine the unique life experiences of different categories of women. Acknowledging the position of the researcher, the methods must recognise that the researcher's experiences and location shape the research process.

Proposed methods included the following:

- Secondary data review
- In-depth interviews
- Case studies
- Life histories
- Key informant interviews
- Surveys
- Focus group discussions

In conclusion, it was pointed out that developing the most accurate and complete ‘knowledge’, requires the use of methods that reveal and embrace the diversity of social experience. Triangulation of methods is recommended. Methodology should take into account women’s lived realities and positions.

4.1.1 Discussions on appropriate methodology for the forthcoming research project

- **Training the selected researchers: A prerequisite**

A participant raised concerns about the complexity of understanding the research methodologies as presented. She suggested that once the researchers have been identified, they should be trained in order to have a common approach in the respective countries.

- **Appropriate timing: Is essential**

It was also noted that from experience, certain methods should consider timing. There are some periods when women may not be available, for example during planting and harvesting seasons. It was therefore suggested that for the research where participatory methods are applied, data collection should not be done in the rainy season. Participants suggested that research (data collection) be done in the afternoons. Most participants emphasised the need to ensure that timing is appropriate before engaging women in the research process in the respective countries. However, this was dismissed by some of the participants, noting that from experience women are farming all year round. It was suggested that the respondents should be engaged for interviews as and when the opportunity arises.

The issue of difference in lifestyles between the researchers and the respondents should also be considered. It was stated that many times researchers are looked at as strangers in the communities where they go to seek information; as such it is important to build rapport with the communities. In other words, the researchers should endeavour to familiarise themselves with the communities’ way of life, e.g., the communities’ eating style and dialogues over beer pots for ice-breaking and confidence building. An example was given of the situation in Iraq during the war. It was reported that the Americans engaged local Iraqi journalists to do ground work, to back up their information for better quality. In post-conflict countries, people still fear strangers and are not so free to interact with them.

- **The importance of observation**

Questions were raised about the validity of observation as a methodology. One can collect facts through observation, e.g., during meetings and workshops where one can see the extent of women’s participation. Observation is an important method, for example in Kenya, it is observed that the women MPs have to jump up for recognition by the speaker. Such practices need to be observed to understand women’s participation in that context.

In the same frame of mind, a former MP from Uganda sought to understand how the research team would address the issue of effectiveness of women politicians. She pointed out that questions relating to efficiency may not be answered objectively, ‘The respondent will just say yes’. She noted that it was important to put emphasis on observation during debates in parliament, local council meetings and party meetings/conferences to establish whether women are leading or influencing decisions.

- **The issue of diversity**

Regarding issues of diversity, it was noted that there is a link between human diversity and geographical diversity. For example, although Rwanda is small, there is diversity in terms of geography. It’s not clear whether women in the north or south behave in the same manner and have equal opportunities to participate. Therefore, the issue of geographical diversity needs to be considered.

- **Positioning the researcher**

In terms of positioning the researcher, it was observed that though positions are always there, they should not override the issues under investigation. Many times researchers impose their own ideas. This has been a problem of researchers looking for qualitative data, as they tend to be subjective.

A question was raised as to how the researcher can know that the information given is misleading. It's possible that key informants, such as people at the level of decision-making tell you what they want you to hear, for fear of jeopardising their positions. Researchers should be aware of such informants. Thus the necessity of training researchers before field work.

In a discussion on participation in the meetings, one participant cited the example of the DRC where the people who talk in committee meetings are pre-determined and the list is given to the speaker. One cannot just take the floor. Another participant raised a case where meetings are called late and women are not able to stay too late in the evening.

- **The researchers' neutrality**

Supporting triangulation of the research methods, a participant noted that researchers cannot be neutral. Sometimes women respondents tell lies just to suit the researcher's presumed needs. Hence, researchers were urged to be aware of such informants. It was recommended that the researchers be properly trained to be able to capture the key issues and that the questionnaire be pre-tested to ascertain its appropriateness and ability to capture the required information. In addition, the people who speak the same language as the respondents should be identified and used as researchers.

- **Women's operating context**

It was noted that the context under which women are operating must be taken into account, especially issues of ethnicity in some countries like Burundi and Rwanda.

- **Issues of bias and prejudices**

One of the participants from Rwanda advised the researchers to look out for issues of bias and prejudices by virtue of one's experience. She observed that almost everyone has an opinion about women's participation in governance. She cited an example of her own experience. While conducting a research on gender mainstreaming, she found that most politicians were not free to discuss issues relating to their political offices/positions. They responded with a lot of suspicion and in a defensive manner. It's only few women that can talk freely about their experience and allow it to be documented. She asked as to whether the research was going to be conducted in Rwanda during the elections and recommended that researchers should be conscious that elections are due in 2008. In comparison, it was stated that the situation is the same in Uganda. It has been 20 years since the current government took power, but it cannot take criticism of its performance. Consequently, many women are not able to raise issues that go against the position of the sitting government.

- **Mixity**

The researchers were urged to be very careful and consider the positions that women are coming from. In addition, men should be consulted to enrich the study.

Session V: The Way Forward

A presentation of the way forward or next steps to be taken after the consultation workshop was made by Marren Akatsa-Bukachi, Executive Director of EASSI and Ndeye Sow, Senior Advisor of International Alert. It was stated that there was a consensus amongst all participants at the meeting to carry out the research.

5.1 Issues To Be Addressed

1. Finalise the workshop report and disseminate it to participants.
2. Raise the funds for the research.
3. Identify researchers, i.e., the two principal researchers and national researchers from each of the four countries. It was stated that this was going to be a rigorous process.
4. Train researchers to carry out the research in each country.
5. Conduct a national validation workshop in each country.
6. Conduct a regional validation workshop to present the results by all team members.
7. Publish and disseminate the findings.

5.2 Establishment of an Advisory Committee

It was noted that there was need for appointing an advisory committee of about 7–10 people to offer broad technical support to the research team. The committee would offer their support on a voluntary basis.

5.2.1 Proposed role of the Advisory Committee

The Committee would assume the following roles:

- Offer broad technical support to the research team
- Guide the research project
- Identify gaps and remedial action
- Feed in analytical ideas
- Make suggestions about dissemination
- Ensure quality control



Participants discuss the way forward

5.2.2 Suggested criteria for selection of the Advisory Committee

The criteria for selection of members to the Advisory Committee included the following:

- Should be multidisciplinary/possess diverse skills
- Should have analytical capacity
- Should have some knowledge of research methods
- There should be at least one member from each country
- Should be familiar with the issues including feminism, political participation, and conflict and political transition
- Should be available throughout the research period

5.2.3 Proposed members of the Advisory Committee

Participants were requested to identify at least one person to represent each country. The following names were proposed and approved by the members:

1. Ms. Jessica Nkuhe–Uganda
2. Ms. Beata Busasa–Rwanda
3. Ms. Sabimbona Sabine–Burundi
4. Ms. Aurélie Mulungula Bitondo–the DRC

The regional and international members of the Advisory Committee will be identified at a later stage.

5.3 Key Steps in the Research Process

The following suggestions were made as the key steps to be taken in the research process:

- The Advisory Committee is to adopt a protocol to be followed in terms of ethics, security, orientation and principles.
- Research permission is to be obtained from the local authorities.
- More members to the Advisory Committee are to be identified.
- Researchers are to be identified.

5.4 Role of Participants

Participants were urged to play the following roles:

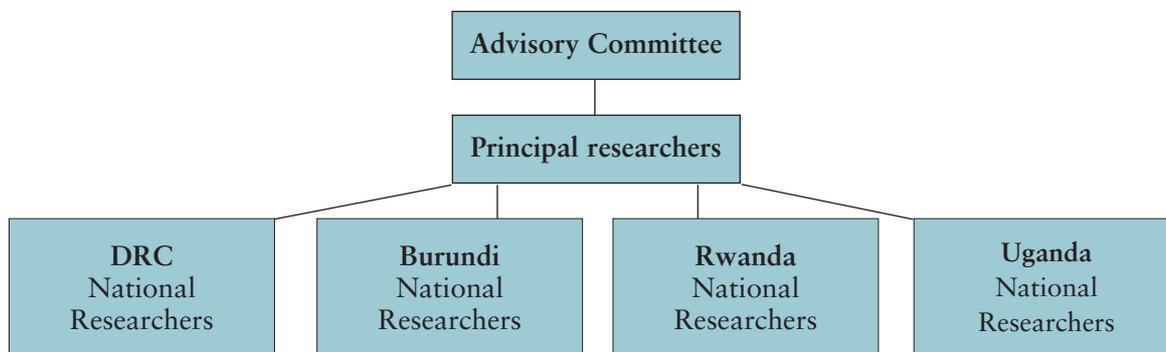
- National resource persons
- Key respondents
- Mobilisers of the community and other respondents
- Local contacts
- Participants in validation workshops
- Can be members of Advisory Committee based on the above criteria

5.5 Researchers

It was noted that researchers will be identified from the region and beyond. The principal researchers should preferably be bilingual and could be two, one Anglophone and Francophone. The principal researchers will be assisted by national researchers.

5.6 Organisational Chart

The operation of the research project was summarised into an organisational chart as presented below:



It was estimated that the projected time for the entire research process was 24 months, ending in 2009.

It was suggested that before the regional validation workshop, national validation workshops should be held in the different countries to validate information obtained. Members were informed that the research will be carried out at the national level involving all the participants. It was suggested that the research should be enriched with discussions with people who have done similar work before.

The issue of funding was raised. It was reported that funds for the first phase, that is the consultation process (consultation meetings and the workshop), had been obtained. However, supplementary funds are required to undertake the actual research and follow-up activities. The process of fundraising was under way and potential donors had been contacted. The need for developing a detailed project proposal was noted.

Another concern was about the role of EASSI and International Alert on the Advisory Committee as initiators of the project. Participants were informed that EASSI and International Alert would support the Committee and coordinate the research activities, i.e., administration, facilitating the research process and working closely with the Advisory Committee. It was suggested that online discussion could be used to communicate and provide information on progress to members of the Advisory Committee. However, discussion online was considered unviable and difficult in cases where people are not bilingual. The participants were informed that online discussions would not be necessary but used where necessary and practical.

The participants requested to be availed of the Terms of Reference for the researchers, e.g., categories of target groups so that they could identify ways of supporting the process in their countries.

Session VI: Closing Remarks

Judy El Bushra made the closing remarks. She expressed appreciation for the wide knowledge of participants on the issue of women's political participation, and briefly summarised the issues covered over the three days. The issues were categorised under five major themes including: the factors affecting women's political participation; strategies for increasing it; some open questions; the research process; and conclusions.

The factors affecting women's political participation were categorised under political, social and personal factors as follows:

Political context

- Selection of representatives (voting, co-opting, nomination)
- Party system
- Governance (accountability of authority structures)
- Legal instruments (international, regional and national)
- Formal political mechanisms and institutions providing spaces for women

Social context

- Culture, traditions, patriarchy
- Attitudes to women in decision-making
- Role of media
- Role of religious institutions
- Poverty, poor levels of health and education

Personal factors

- Quality: transparency, continuing commitment to women's interests, connection with constituents
- Effectiveness: skills and knowledge, capacity to deal with power, strategic positioning
- Professional and personal pressures of parliamentary and institutional life (political manipulation, sexual exploitation)
- Capacity to balance work and family pressures

Strategies for increasing women's participation in politics

- Establish institutional framework first
- External vigilance
- Synergy between different elements
- Solidarity with and between women in decision-making positions
- Provide civic education and gender training for all
- Train women for politics
- Draw on experience of pioneers

Judy El Bushra posed some open questions including the following:

- Does conflict create new opportunities for women? Under what circumstances?
- Does women's track record in violent conflict change attitudes towards them?
- Impact – how does women's participation contribute to peace?
- Transition periods – does policy and investment help? Does political participation mean participation in parliament?
- What do we expect of women in powerful positions – that they represent other women? To promote inclusivity?
- Are numbers important?
- Are there other levels of women's participation – the household for example?
- Where do men fit in?

Judy El Bushra stressed the importance of commitment to feminist research, and noted that the methods selected need to create conditions in which researchers can bring out real situations in women's lives without compromising respondents or the research goals.

In her concluding remarks, Judy El Bushra stated, 'We are talking about power here, nothing more or less—transformative participation'. She thanked the facilitators and the participants for their extensive and in-depth discussions on the issue of women's political participation. She expressed her eagerness to conduct the research in the four countries and noted that, on the whole, the workshop objectives were achieved.

Appendix I: Official Opening Speech by Dr. Akinyi Nzioki, Chairperson, EASSI

The staff of International Alert led by the Director of Great Lakes Programme Ms Judy El Bushra, Hon. Members of Parliament, Hon. Governor from Burundi, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. I would like to take this opportunity to welcome you to this meeting, which is very important to this Great Lakes Region.

This consultation is very timely as women's participation and representation in the frontline of democracy and peace processes is crucial. Conflict is a priority area for EASSI, out of the eight countries in which we operate, six of them have experienced armed conflict, i.e., Rwanda had the genocide, Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda; Kenya and Tanzania too are having bad signs. Conflict in countries surrounding the region, e.g., Congo and Southern Sudan also affect our activities, although EASSI is not operating in these countries.

War brutalises society. It destroys infrastructure, development prospects, and families' ability to be economically productive. The real experience of war is not the shelling and so on, although this is what is publicised. War is what happens afterwards; years of suffering hopelessly or struggling to rebuild what has been destroyed. Women hold families and communities together, often playing a key role in food production and other economic activities. War distorts and disrupts these patterns of responsibilities, making them infinitely more difficult to fulfil.

For women to be able to influence decisions that affect their lives and those of their families, their political, social and economic empowerment must form part of the democratic ideal that contributes to sustainable development. In fact, since women constitute more than half of the population, sustainable development cannot be achieved without them. Democracy, peace and development thus need to be seen as reinforcing goals essential to the achievement of gender equality.

Globally and in the Great Lakes Region, armed conflicts within and between states, sharpened by growing threats to human security and assisted by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, are on the increase. Unequal power relations, lack of access to resources, intolerance and lack of respect for individual rights and freedoms fuel armed and other forms of conflict.

In 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action identified the effects of conflict on women as one of its 12 critical areas of concern. It affirmed the need to increase women's participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding at decision-making levels. It also recommended strategic actions to be taken by governments, the international community, the private sector and NGOs urging adequate protection of women and children during armed conflict. These recommendations arose principally from the view of women as 'victims' of armed conflict. However, women's active and positive contributions towards peace and conflict resolution have more recently also been recognised. Consequently the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 of 2000 made an urgent call for the 'equal' participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and emphasised the need for women's role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.

When it comes to women's participation in politics, one of the most decisive but controversial ways to ensure that women are represented among elected officials is the adoption of quotas that set aside or reserve seats for women. The four countries in the study area all have put in place affirmative action as one of the principles of ensuring at least a minimum of 30 percent

participation of women in decision-making. Countries like the DRC have surpassed that and gone to 50-50 gender parity. Whether this is desirable or not will form part of the deliberations of this consultation. I read the mission report undertaken by EASSI and International Alert with keen interest and observed that in the four countries, issues around affirmative action were not seen as the panacea for women's political participation. In fact, in some cases it was seen as a demotivator that prevented women from participating in competitive political seats just because government had allocated space for women under affirmative action.

In these four countries, Rwanda is leading with 48.8 percent, followed by Burundi at 30.5 percent, and Uganda at 29.8 percent. Kenya, even though not in the study area, ranks low with 7.3 percent, and there are no statistics for the DRC as yet on the percentage of women in politics. This is already a gap analysis that needs to be further developed through research to find out why despite the constitutional requirement women's participation is so invisible that it is not even documented.

Even as we speak, the peace that we enjoy in the region is increasingly under threat. We are surrounded by hostilities that break out intermittently. Hardly has one hostility subsided than another one erupts. The victims are women and children whose lives can never be settled unless there is peace. The pressure on women is even greater when they are forced to flee with their dependants; more than 80 percent of the displaced are women and children. Women are also vulnerable to rape and sexual exploitation which are common features of war. These types of suffering leave deep psychological wounds which may remain hidden, and severely undermine the capacity of both women and their communities to recover. However, women are not the only victims.

Women have often been key players in negotiating peace. For generations they have served as peace educators. They have been crucial in preserving social order when communities collapse. However, once peace is attained, they are relegated to the kitchen. This is because peace is seen as a preserve of leaders and heads of states. None of the heads of states in the four countries is a woman. Even in the ongoing Juba peace talks, women had to fight their way to Juba and into the peace talks. They are there as observers and lobbyists and do not sit in around the peace negotiating tables. Because negotiating peace is a very political move, women are a crucial resource in this process. Peace agreements, early recovery and post-conflict governance do better when women are involved. Women make a difference in part because they adopt a more inclusive approach to peace and security and address key social and economic issues that provide the foundations of sustainable peace that would otherwise be ignored. The question is not only what women can bring to peace consolidation, but also what peacebuilding can do to promote women's human rights and gender equality—transforming social structures so they do not reproduce the exclusion and marginalisation that underlie conflict.

Women know the costs of war: what it means to be subject to sexual violence designed to destroy communities, what it means to be displaced, to flee their homes and property, to be excluded from public life and regarded as less than full citizens. Peace consolidation must include ending impunity for sexual violence and raising the political and economic costs to those who engage in it, making sure they are not rewarded with state power and high profile jobs as a result of negotiated peace agreements.

While the impacts of armed conflict the world over have a shocking similarity characterised by death, disability, rape, displacement, family separation and economic destruction, women's experiences are not uniform. There is need to bring out more visible individual settings. The testimonies reveal the views of women as fighters, participants, refugees, victims caught between warring factions, organisers for peace, rehabilitation carers, mothers, relatives and partners of the deceased. Long after the conflict has ended its impact continues, with women taking on new

roles and extra responsibilities as well as coping with traumatised children, finding ways to break a cycle of violence and revenge.

This is what the research must bring out. How do we transit from negotiation of peace to negotiating our place in politics with key roles in the governance processes?

Resolution 1325 (2000) holds out a promise to women across the globe that their rights will be protected and that barriers to their equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of sustainable peace will be removed. That promise must be upheld. To achieve the goals set out in the resolution, political will, concerted action and accountability on the part of the entire international community are required.

I wish you good deliberations and declare this consultation officially opened.

Appendix II: Women's Participation in Political Transition in the Great Lakes Region of Africa

Report on the Consultations carried out in Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, DRC (August–September 2006)

By Marren Akatsa-Bukachi (EASSI)
Gloriosa Bazigaga (International Alert)
Ndeye Sow (International Alert)

I. Introduction

The East African Sub-Regional Initiative of the Advancement of Women (EASSI) and International Alert (Alert) held a series of preliminary consultations with a sample of women's organisations in Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC in August and September 2006. These consultations were the first steps in a broader regional research project, aimed at assessing women's participation in political transition in each of these four core Great Lakes countries, looking specifically at the mechanisms and processes that were put in place by governments to promote women's political participation and representation.

The four core countries in the Great Lakes Region, namely Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC have all been or are going through a process of political transition. Uganda was the first country in the region to experience political transition in 1986, following the military victory of the National Resistance Army which led to the coming to power of the National Resistance Movement (NRM). Rwanda's political transition began on July 1994, with the overthrow of the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND) by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), and ended in July 2003, with the presidential and parliamentary elections and the referendum on the draft constitution. The signing of the Arusha and Sun City Peace Accords in 2000 and 2003 mark the beginning of the transition in Burundi and in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), respectively. Both countries have adopted a new constitution and organised general elections in September 2005 for Burundi and July 2006 for the DRC.

Women have benefited from these political changes. One of the significant developments for them has been their increased participation in political decision making in transitional and post-conflict governments in the region. This was achieved mainly through affirmative action mechanisms, especially quotas and co-optation systems. The constitutions adopted by the four countries during the post-conflict and transition periods include provisions for quotas of at least 30 percent representation for women in the state institutions. In the DRC, the post-transitional constitution adopted by referendum in December 2005 has gone as far as to guarantee 50-50 parity between men and women.

Despite these significant gains, the challenges women are facing are still enormous. For example, how to translate these gains into changes in women's status at all levels of society? How to ensure that the increasing number of women in political institutions is going to advance women's interests in legislative and policy changes? What is the role and position of women in political parties and party systems? What are the connections between women politicians and the women's movement, and the overall civil society? How to strengthen these connections? How can these women become change agents for their fellow women, so that their political participation translates into a broader victory for all women? How to maintain these gains, bearing in mind that genuine policies for gender equality are sustainable only if they are developed and implemented in a broader context of democratic reforms? And, most importantly, how will the increased participation of women in political decision making contribute to the return of peace and security in the region?

These questions were used as a basis for discussions during the consultations.

II. Outcome of the Consultations

The organisations that we consulted identified a broad range of issues. While some of the issues were unique and distinctive to each country, a number were also cross cutting. These cross-cutting issues are highlighted below as the issues that have been identified to form the core of the research. The cross-cutting issues are contextualised according to the countries' varying points of view.

1. The Limits of Affirmative Action

The discussions around affirmative action with regard to women's political participation came out strongly with every group, be it the rural women whom we interacted with, women politicians, government officials, researchers, academia, leaders of NGOs, and members of civil society organisations.

Uganda has the greatest duration in affirmative action, promulgated after the 1995 Constitution that gave women a share of nearly 25 percent in parliament and 30 percent in local government. This example was subsequently followed by Rwanda, which now boasts one of the highest proportions of women parliamentarians in the world at 48.9 percent, and is ranked as the most successful country with regards to women's political participation.

Affirmative action for women was also introduced in Burundi and the DRC. A quota of 30 percent representation for women was included in the Burundian constitution adopted by referendum in July 2005. Following the September 2005 elections, 35 percent and 31 percent of the seats in the Senate and National Assembly, respectively, were taken by women candidates, while 7 of the 20 ministerial appointments went to women politicians. In the DRC, where affirmative action for women through quotas and co-optation systems was not adopted, the post-transitional constitution is nevertheless a major breakthrough in that it guarantees parity between men and women in the state institutions.

Given the range in duration of what can be considered as political stability in the countries we visited, we observed that women interrogate strongly the concept of affirmative action, regardless of how long it has been in practice in their countries. Furthermore, an increasing number of male politicians as well as ordinary men are questioning and opposing the principle of affirmative action for women.

In Uganda, for instance, disenchantment is beginning to set in. The women wonder whether affirmative action is just window dressing and something used to lure them into some sense of security. They feel that affirmative action has not really benefited Ugandan woman, especially when measured against the fact that the Domestic Relations Bill, which is a crucial piece of legislation for Ugandan women, has failed to go through parliament, and the discussions and lobbying around it have not evidenced massive support from women parliamentarians.⁷ Some women say that quality has been sacrificed on the altar of quantity, as women politicians become more and more competitive in trying to retain the affirmative action seats and avoid moving to the area of open seats to compete with men. In the process, some choose political survival rather than risk losing their seat. In the 10 years since the promulgation of affirmative action, the faces in parliament have not changed very much. Thus some feel that there is a need to challenge tokenism.

In Rwanda, which now boasts one of the highest proportions of women parliamentarians in the world at 49 percent, an increasing number of women and men are questioning the added value of having such a large percentage of women in the institutions. Many are of the view that promoting women's political participation through affirmative action should only be a short-term strategy and

that alternative mechanisms should be put into place to help women progressively move beyond affirmative action.

There is a similar feeling in the DRC, where women are not supportive of affirmative action and especially the quota system. Congolese women are highly distrustful of their politicians and fear that if affirmative action is adopted, then political parties will appoint women who are only loyal to the parties and not sympathetic to women's issues. For them, affirmative action in the current political context in the DRC would be akin to clientelism, a practice that was widely used by former President Mobutu to appoint men and women from his own party or family to key political positions.

2. Accountability of Women Who Are Co-opted Into Political Positions

The issue of the accountability of women who are co-opted into political positions came out very strongly especially in Burundi, where a significant number of highly experienced and qualified women who initiated the women's movement have been co-opted in the political institutions. This has not only contributed to the weakening of the women's movement, which lost some of its strongest and most powerful advocates, but also has created tensions between women's organisations and women in the institutions. The very high expectation from women on the outside puts a lot of pressure on women politicians. Women from both sides felt that they were able to join forces and work very closely together during the peace negotiations and the transition period, to push women's agenda forward and ensure their participation. However, they were not able to maintain this united front after the 2005 elections. Many women from civil society are now accusing women politicians of being closer to their own political parties than to the women's movement. As it was said to us during a meeting in Burundi, 'The two groups do not share the same vision and interests any longer. Women who were co-opted or elected in the political institutions view themselves first and foremost as politicians. Their allegiance is to their political parties and not to the women's movement where most of them originated from'.⁸

Similar tensions were found in the three other countries. These divisions partly explain the noticeable decline of the women's movement in the region, which has lost some of its dynamism and purpose in the post-transition period. These could also be imputed to the nature of the institutions and political systems within which women have to operate. Reforms to promote women's political participation have not been accompanied by mechanisms and measures to equally transform the nature of the political and institutional framework, which remains male-dominated and patronage-based. Women feel that they are constantly put to the test within parliament or government and have very little room for maneuvering, contrary to their male counterparts, who can exercise their duties without encountering and having to deal with gender prejudices and stereotypes.

3. Patriarchal Nature of Institutional Framework and Political Systems

Throughout the visits, it was obvious that the political systems and institutional frameworks needed to be questioned. It can be seen that the governments have put in place the necessary frameworks for women's political participation. However, what is still lacking are the mechanisms to implement these frameworks. In all the countries, it was observed that despite the substantial progress made, targets set for women in decision making have not been met.

It was cited in Uganda that the country seems to be recycling women leaders who go into parliament under affirmative action. The institution of multiparty apparently did not change this state of affairs. In the DRC, the 50-50 gender parity in the constitution ended up being used to taunt the women, rather than being an instrument to enhance their political participation. No mechanism has been put in place to implement it. In Burundi, the turf war has been carried to parliament. It is not clear what mechanisms have been put in place to ensure that affirmative action actually serves the purpose for which it was established, that of ensuring that women's issues are given a hearing in parliament and gender policies are enacted and acted upon.

There are many obstacles to women's participation in electoral processes. The provision of at least 30 percent representation for women enshrined in the constitutions of the four countries, and in particular the gender parity in the DRC, are not reflected in their electoral laws. Political parties are male-dominated and organised around male interests, and women often find themselves at the lower ranks of the parties. In the DRC, political parties and the National Assembly rejected the adoption of closed and zebra electoral lists, which are more conducive to the elections of women candidates than open lists. The system of closed and zebra lists was also rejected in Rwanda and Burundi. However, in Rwanda, political parties are required by law to take women into account, and provide financial and logistical support to female candidates during elections. This is not the case in the other countries visited.

In the DRC, only a small proportion of women were elected at the national and provincial parliamentary elections that took place in the second half of 2006. Women only constitute 8.4 percent of the new National Assembly, which is a setback in comparison with the previous transitional assembly that had a percentage of 12 percent. The women cited lack of money to stand as candidates and to run a proper campaign as a serious drawback. For instance, the deposit required for presidential candidates was US\$ 50,000. Low involvement of women in political parties further exacerbates the problem. Many women ran as independent candidates, thus reducing their chances to be elected, as the electoral code is more favourable to political parties' candidates. Women also were disadvantaged in that they had a lower level of literacy and could not compete against the more educated men. Likewise, the number of aspirants worked against them. In Uvira, in the east of the country, there were 117 aspiring parliamentary candidates for one position, of which only nine were women. Many women candidates suffered from their lack of connection with grass-roots women and community-based women's organisations. Women formed 64 percent of the electorate during the legislative elections, but they did not vote for their fellow women. Indeed, 78 percent of the women's vote throughout the country went to male candidates. In South Kivu, the percentage was 82 percent. Women delivered an ethnic vote, as instructions on how to vote came from male members from the ethnic group, clan, community and family.

Another notable threat that should be discussed is the role of the church that was used in the DRC particularly to discredit women's participation. In Bukavu, there were vicious smear campaigns against certain women candidates, with their morality being called into question. The smear campaigns were orchestrated by rival male candidates, with the full backing and participation of the Catholic Church. Likewise in Rwanda, the Catholic Church strongly opposed women's participation in politics and sent an open letter to the government requesting the removal of the provision of 30 percent representation for women from the post-transition constitution.

There is a direct link between women's low status in society in the four countries and their continuous marginalisation in political processes. Customary law continues to govern the everyday lives of women in the region. Gender and sexual violence is escalating and has taken new forms especially in the conflict zones; and HIV and AIDS has reversed many of the fragile gains that had been made.

4. Peace and Women's Political Participation

The question of the co-relation between women's political participation and the peace process was presented as necessary for discussion. Indeed one of the questions at the heart of this research is whether the increase in the number of women in decision-making bodies actually translates into more peace and security in the Great Lakes Region; and if so, how to measure the impact that women's increased presence is having?

It was recognised that it is really too early to accurately answer these questions, particularly in Burundi, the DRC and even Rwanda, where policies to promote women's participation were only

adopted recently. In Uganda, however, where women have been participating in formal politics for much longer, this question is crucial, given that the northern part of the country has been under conflict for the past 20 years, resulting in the abduction of young girls to be made into 'wives' for the Lords Resistance Army commanders, whilst those remaining behind are mutilated by cutting off of limbs, lips, and ears.

The women we met felt that women have played a key role in the return of peace and security in their communities. In many cases, women have been the first ones to cross the ethnic and political divide, and to persuade different sides to dialogue with one another. In Burundi for instance, women from ABANIKI played a key role in rebuilding the destroyed neighborhood of Kinama in Bujumbura Mairie.⁹ A predominantly Tutsi neighborhood, Kinama was particularly hit by the war and many of its residents fled when fighting broke out. Women were among the first ones to return and they encouraged other residents to do so. They made appeals, through radio broadcasts, for the return of residents of not only Kinama but also adjacent neighborhoods, in particular Kamenge, a predominantly Hutu area. The women were instrumental in rebuilding the local administration, which had been totally destroyed when local administrative agents, most of them men, left Kinama. They initiated the first meetings which discussed mechanisms to be put in place in order to guarantee a smooth return of order and security in the community. Today, women continue to play a substantial role, especially in the local administrative and judicial systems. Some of them have been appointed 'chef de quartier' and 'chef de cellule' positions that were not held by women in the community before the war.

In Rwanda, we were reminded of the pivotal role women played in the reconstruction of the country after the genocide in 1994. Nevertheless, women noted that they are still widely excluded from formal peace negotiations and cease-fire talks. Decisions at peace talks are usually made at the level of heads of states. There is currently no woman head of state in the four countries, so when agreements are being made, they do not sit at the table to contribute their ideas or challenge decisions unfavourable to women. Furthermore, Resolution 1325, which promotes women's participation in peace negotiations, post-conflict reconstruction and political process, is not high on the agenda of the governments we visited, nor is it on the agenda of the women who are currently in the parliaments of the four countries. Women's organisations themselves are not aware of Resolution 1325 and how they can make use of it.

This raises the challenging issue of how women are going to maintain the political gains that they have made. Indeed, even in Rwanda, which is currently ranked as the most successful country in the world with regard to women's political participation, there appears to be a serious setback. Part of the machinery that was put in place for the advancement of women had been downgraded. We learnt that the Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion had been downsized in 2005 from 70 to five persons, and is now a small unit housed in the Office of the President. We were informed that this was part of the reform of the central administration imposed on the Rwandan Government by the World Bank. Secondly, the International Women's Day, a national level celebration bringing together women and women's groups every year, was downgraded to be celebrated at individual institutions and behind closed doors.

We discussed the use of regional instruments such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa,¹⁰ as well as the Solemn Declaration on Equality between Men and Women in Africa,¹¹ that can add value to the arguments for women's participation. However, Rwanda is the only country out of the four that has ratified the Protocol on Women's Rights. During the transition period in Burundi, women parliamentarians lobbied their government to ratify the protocol, but without success.

Women identified weaknesses and shortcomings within their own ranks. In the DRC, they mentioned their lack of clear strategies, of expertise, professionalism and self confidence. They

found that the authoritarian environment within which they have to operate is not conducive to the emergence of a strong and independent women's leadership and is preventing solidarity amongst women. They told us, 'The word democracy is not easy for us to use'.¹²

There is thus no visible effort currently by the governments in the region to link women's political participation and the peace processes, or for women to play a more long-term role in the peace processes in the Great Lakes Region.

5. Security and Women's Political Participation

The issues of security were discussed along the lines of the conflict environment. The question is whether the prevailing insecurity in the region is a hindrance to women's political participation. In our discussion, we noted that this is an area that has not been deeply discussed.

Despite the fact that the region is experiencing an increasing level of security, violence continues to be part of women's daily life, particularly in Eastern DRC, Northern Uganda, and certain parts of Burundi. The wide circulation of weapons and civilian possession of small arms and light weapons is a major threat to women's security. In Burundi and the DRC, the presence of small arms has been linked to the increase in domestic violence in rural communities. It was clear from our discussions that the war and continuous violence have affected women's participation in politics, as women expressed the fear of going into politics due to insecurity. The lack of security also has affected women's mobility, and women's leaders talked about the difficulty of reaching out to women in local communities. Women mentioned that they had acted at great personal risk to create dialogue between warring factions at their own national levels. In the DRC, women peace activists were physically threatened by Mai Mai militias when they were seen lobbying militaries from the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) to put an end to violence and abuses against women. They received similar threats from the RCD when they tried to enter into contact with Mai Mai warlords. Women also spoke of political activities taking place at odd hours, like very late in the evening when they are not able to participate because it is not safe for women to be outside.

Some women engaged in politics were subjected to violence from male members in their own family. In the DRC, we were told about women who had been beaten up or repudiated by their husbands because they had attended political meetings or related activities. In Burundi, a woman elected in the local administration was forced to undergo a divorce.

III. Discussions on the Content and Methodology of the Research

The women we met found that the research was relevant and timely. Research on women's political participation, and especially in electoral processes, has been carried out by individual researchers or institutions in the past in Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. But it was recognised that this specific research will bring added value for the following reasons:

- The specific link that is made between women's political participation and conflict transformation and peacebuilding;
- The regional dimension: this is a comparative study of women's political participation in four countries that share common borders and a history of intertwined conflicts. This creates a space for sharing experiences and cooperating for stability in the region; and
- The analysis of women's participation at various levels of power and decision making: in government and formal political institutions, at local and community levels.

Some recommendations and suggestions were made on the content and the methodology of the research. Recommendations for the content are as follows:

- To do a mapping of women's organisations and the women's movements in each country;
- To identify the various mechanisms and instruments that facilitate women's participation in each country and the way they are being implemented; and
- To do an assessment of women's participation in the peace process.

Recommendations for the methodology are as follows:

- To be mindful of specificities and draw specific terms of reference for each country; and
- To use data collection tools such as focus groups as well as formal and structured interviews.

Organisations and Institutions Interviewed for the Study

I. Civil Society Women's Organisations

I.1. Uganda

- *ISIS-Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange (ISIS-WICCE)*: A global action-oriented women's centre focusing on building women's capacity in documentation, peacebuilding and conflict resolution.
- *Ugandan Women's Network (UWONET)*: An advocacy and lobbying coalition of national women's organisations and individuals.

I.2 Burundi

- *Collectif des Associations Féminines du Burundi (CAFOB)*: The main umbrella organisation of women's associations in Burundi with over 64 member associations, and whose objective is to support the role of women in peacebuilding, national reconciliation and development.
- *Association of Women for the Development of the Zone of Kinama (ABANIKI)*: An ethnically mixed women's grouping, whose aim is to establish links across ethnic divisions.

I.3. Rwanda

- *ProFemmes Twesehamwe*: Main collective of women's association in Rwanda, with 43 member associations, whose aim is to promote gender equality, peace and development in Rwanda.
- *Rwandan Women Parliamentary Forum (RWFP)*: A consultative mechanism for facilitating gender integration within parliament and advocating for greater participation of women in leadership.
- *Institute for Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDPP)*: A forum for dialogue and research for peace and reconciliation in Rwanda.

I.4. Democratic Republic of Congo

I.4.1. South Kivu

- *Réseau des Femmes pour un Développement Alternatif (RFDA)*: A network of 50 women's organisations working for the promotion of women's human rights, peace and development.
- *Comité de Paix (CAP)/ Walungu*: An ethnically mixed rural women's grouping, whose work is geared towards building bridges between divided communities.
- *Caucus des Femmes du Sud Kivu pour la Paix*: A forum of Congolese women from eastern DRC coming from women's associations, the media, the local administration, and from religious movements.

I.4.2. North Kivu

- *Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Féminines (PAIF)*: A network of women's organisations that offers financial support to women through resource-sharing groups and micro-enterprise projects.

- *ESSAIM*: A network of 40 women's organisations promoting dialogue and action for the defense of women's rights.
- *Plate-forme des Femmes du Nord Kivu pour un Développement Endogène (PENDE)*: A network of 33 women's associations working with women at the community level.
- *Collectif des Associations Féminines pour le Développement (CAFED)*: A network of 13 women's organisations promoting the rights of women and children.

II. Academic Institutions

Uganda

- Department of Women and Gender Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Makerere University: A multidisciplinary academic department that addresses gender and development issues from an African perspective.

III. Administrative Authorities

Democratic Republic of Congo

- *Vice-Governor of South Kivu*: Mrs. Aurélie Bitondo
- *Chief of Division Femme et Famille*: Mrs. Marie Josée Kambaji

IV. United Nations Missions and Agencies

Democratic Republic of Congo

IV.1. South Kivu/Bukavu

- *UN Mission in DR Congo (MONUC) / Head of Gender section*: Mrs. Asseta Ouédraogo

IV.2. Kinshasa

- United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) / Gender and Elections in the DRC Project : Professor Gaby Mangu, Consultant

Appendix III: Feminist Research Methodology

Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo
Department of Women and Gender Studies
Makerere University

I. METHODOLOGY

Methodology is determined from the nature OF THE PROBLEM and focus of the study.

Methods are Informed by Methodology

There are two issues in methodology.

- **What are the appropriate means for discovering / producing knowledge?**
- **How valid is the knowledge produced by the use of different methods?**

II. FEMINIST METHODS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH

Feminist methods are informed by feminist methodologies.

Feminist Methods:

- Seek to reveal and overcome **male biases** in research.
- Seek to create **social change**.
- Seek to represent **human diversity**.
- Acknowledge the **positionality** of the researcher.

Revealing Androcentric Biases

Methods must involve:

- Women (not men alone) as participants.
- Women's experiences within social hierarchies.

Example:

- **In depth interviews** with women that reveal women's understanding of power structures in transitional politics.

Creating social change

- Methods must involve and respect participants as agents of change.

Examples:

- **Participatory action research**.
- **Focus groups**.

Representing Human Diversity

Methods must acknowledge that:

- Not all women (and not all men) experience social world in the same way.

Examples:

- Interviews (data collection) and **life history analyses** that examine unique life experiences of different (categories) women's participation in politics.

Acknowledging Positionality of Researcher

Methods must acknowledge that the researcher's positionality shapes the research process.

Researchers' experiences shape:

- What she or he views as important topics for study.
- How participants respond (e.g., in face to face interviews).
- How she or he interprets data.

Proposed methods

- Secondary data review
- In-depth interviews
- Case studies
- Life histories
- Key informant interviews
- Survey

Conclusions

- Developing the most accurate and complete 'knowledge' requires use of methods that reveal and embrace diversity of social experience.
- Triangulation of methods is recommended.

III. CONCLUSION

- Methodology should take into account women's realities, positions.

Appendix IV: Feedback from Group Work

Group Work I : Issues raised in the research consultations report

The following questions were addressed by all the groups:

1. What are the main issues raised in the research consultations report?
2. Identify existing institutions/mechanisms facilitating women's political participation.
3. Identify factors facilitating women's participation in the political transition.
4. Identify factors constraining/hindering women's participation.
5. Identify issues for research.

Group I

1.1. The main issues raised in the research report

- Limitations of affirmative action
- Accountability of women co-opted to political positions
- Patriarchal nature of institutional frameworks and political systems
- Peace and women's political participation
- Post-transitional constitution
- Electoral laws and legal frameworks
- Violence against women

1.2. Existing institutions/mechanisms facilitating women's participation

- Affirmative action
- Quota system
- National constitutions
- International and regional legal instruments, e.g., UNSCR 1325 , BPFA, CEDAW
- Role of political parties
- Civil society organisations' role: they give women the opportunity to come into public space
- Peace negotiation/accord and transitional processes

1.3. Factors facilitating the women's participation in the political transition process

- Role of the political parties
- Existence of women's movements and synergies
- Political will
- Engendering of the constitution's consultation process

1.4. Constraints/hindrances to women's participation in politics

- Patriarchal institutions that tend to push women back in the private spheres.
- Cultural and religious socialisation policies that consider women as subordinates and men superiors. For instance, some religions do not allow women to come out in public and communication is done through the men.
- Poverty, i.e., women do not own resources, they are usually co-owners and as such property lies in hands of men.
- Illiteracy, and the few literates are usually marginalised and isolated by society.
- Repressive nature of socialisation and lack of self esteem.
- Women's multiple roles, e.g., reproductive roles, productive roles and community roles.
- Insecurity that tends to affect women more, e.g., they face rape, violence.

- Lack of solidarity amongst women. Women do not always support fellow women during campaigns, but sometimes tend to pull them down.

1.5. News issues to research on

- A comparative study on why women in post-conflict areas participate more in politics than those who have never been affected by conflict.
- Identify best political practices from each of the participating countries and share experiences.
- Document women's political profiles because currently there are publications on best male leaders but none on good women leaders.
- Examine the co-relation between women's political participation and peacebuilding.
- Identify mechanisms and strategies on how to link women in politics with those in the grass-roots and civil society.
- Identify means of effective participation and women in frontline positions during peace talks and drafting of peace accords and constitutions.

Group II

2.1. Main issues identified from the report

- Limitations of affirmative action.
- The patriarchal nature of institutional framework and political systems.
- The report itself has limitations because it does not bring out the constraints facing women in decision making; the stereotypes and prejudices in each country.
- The report should also have looked out for challenges faced by the women in higher positions of power, in order to dispel the difference about their relationship with the grass-roots women.

2.2. Existing institutions/mechanisms facilitating women's participation

- International instruments that have been ratified by the home countries such as BPFA, UNSCR 1325 on gender equality, and CEDAW.
- African instruments ratified by countries on the rights of women, e.g., the AU Solemn Declaration on Equality between Men and Women in Africa; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights relating to the Rights of Women.
- National instruments promulgated by countries, e.g., constitutional provisions on equal participation of 30 percent in some countries, and electoral codes providing for the quota system. However, in the DRC, 50 percent representation of women was provided for in the national constitution but not specified in the electoral laws.

2.3. Factors facilitating the participation of women

- Political goodwill of the leaders
- Support from civil society
- Active women's movement
- Involvement of women in the political parties
- Gender-sensitive donors that tag financial support to recognition of support to women participation by benefiting countries

2.4. Factors constraining/hindrances to women's participation in politics

- Cultural constraints (prejudices and stereotypes)
- Economic dependency, for instance during campaigns: men have more access to economic resources and so are able to fund their campaigns better than women
- Lack of solidarity amongst women
- Women's triple role as bread-winner, spouse and mother
- Religious beliefs and institutions that discourage women's participation

2.5. New issues to research

- The effect of culture and tradition on women's participation
- The aspects that affect participation in each country
- The use of texts and conventions ratified by the participating countries
- Integration of provisions in international conventions into the national legislations
- Local governance on ascendant participation, so that women can participate right from the local level committees

Group III

3.1. Issues raised from the research consultations report

- Post-conflict period that gives many opportunities to women's political participation
- Affirmative action has limitations, e.g., manipulation by political parties
- Patriarchal nature of public or private institutions
- There is a gap between the grass-roots women and women in decision making
- During the conflict, men need women but after the conflict, the situation changes and they are discarded

3.2. Factors facilitating women's participation

- Quotas in the constitutions and electoral laws in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, except the DRC where equal participation is not explicitly mentioned in the electoral laws.
- In Burundi there is a Peacebuilding Commission and it is insisted by women's organisations that women should be part of it.
- Associations of women, i.e., women's movements which play a great role in the mobilisation and sensitisation of women. During the last electoral campaign in Burundi, a platform called Synergie des Femmes was established where women were mobilised to vote and stand.
- The existence of a Ministry for Gender, which contributes to the integration of gender issues in all aspects of the countries' processes.
- International and regional conventions, CEDAW, African Charter on the Rights of Women, 1325 UNSCR.
- Women's organisations' partnerships with the international and local community, e.g., donors helping with financial support to mobilise women for participation.
- Women who have contributed actively in the political campaigns or armed conflict are rewarded with positions in decision making.
- Education of women, i.e., educated women have more chances to participate in political processes.

3.3. Factors constraining women's participation

- General and political illiteracy.
- Lack of time due to women's multiple roles.
- Problem of personal security issues: not only during times of insecurity but even during political campaigns, women are faced with acts of violence, especially at night. Women leaders in villages cannot supervise activities effectively.
- Dependency on spouse and other male figures: some men block their wives from participation or abandon them when they are elected into power.
- Lack of democratic exposure.
- There is no universal civic education with gender perspective for all, and accessible language for all.
- Patriarchal system: political parties, churches, traditional leaders, retrogressive customs.
- Voting system is constraining. When the electoral list is constituted, women are not placed high enough up on the list to be elected.
- Poverty: women do not have enough financial resources to give to political parties financially, thus affecting their position in the electoral list of the party.
- Lack of strategies in terms of electoral position: sometimes women are candidates in positions where they don't have the appropriate profiles, or in constituencies where their party has no chance

to win. The women's movement should help them understand the positions. This contributes to creating the gap between the grass-roots women and those elected into power.

3.4. New issues for research

- How can we deal with the issue of lack of strategies for positioning of women for electoral process?
- How can we link women in power and those at the grass roots?
- Knowledge of women in terms of exercise of power: do they know what power is and what to do once elected?
- Necessity of a gender agenda for elected women

Group Work II : Country-specific research areas and questions

The country groups addressed the following questions:

- 1) Identify country-specific research questions
- 2) Identify new areas for research
- 3) Discuss women's style of leadership and management
- 4) Does women's participation increase the visibility of the minorities' issues?

The country-specific research questions were identified as follows:

Uganda

- How can women work together more effectively for issues of common interest in a multiparty setting?
- Do women in political leadership appreciate women/gender issues? Are they knowledgeable enough about women/gender issues?
- How can women political leaders at all levels perform effectively with male counterparts regardless of their party affiliations?
- How can women in civil society work more effectively with women in politics?
- How can we build a strong, vibrant women's movement that can support the women political leaders?
- How can women's priorities become political party priorities?
- How have the women politicians cultivated a relationship with the media?
- How does the media portrayal of women affect their effectiveness in politics?
- How can women balance their multiple roles in society and politics?
- There seem to be a backward movement trend in the participation of women in politics in the last 10–15 years. What has happened? What are the causes for this?

Burundi

- How can we make sure that the process of accessing power does take into account the quality and competence of individuals? How could the issues of quality of women who are appointed or elected be examined to ensure efficient representation?
- What are the mechanisms to integrate quotas defined by the constitution, in the electoral code and communal law?
- How do regional and ethnic biases sometimes guide/have an impact on the quantitative and qualitative political participation of women?
- How does socialisation perpetuate the cultural aspects that do not favour the participation of women in politics?

DR Congo

- How can we make sure that the family code is amended? For a women to obtain power, she has to get permission from her husband.
- What are the mechanisms to integrate gender equality in the electoral code as well as at the institutional, legislative and judicial levels?
- How do social cultural obstacles, the patriarchal system, retrogressive and discriminatory customs impact on women's political participation?
- How do religious leaders influence women's political participation?
- How can women better position themselves in political parties?
- How can gender analysis capacity of men and women in power be strengthened?
- How can we bridge the gap between leaders and local populations?
- What are the most effective ways of adopting the quota system?

Rwanda

- How far will the large number of women in the political institutions help to produce gender-sensitive policies and better accountability to women?
- What are the mechanisms for maintaining and reinforcing the achievements or gains and best practices?
- What are the expectations of the grass-roots women from women politicians?
- At what level are women in politics efficient? Is it at community level, local government, the Gacaca courts? Are they efficient at intermediary level (civil society), or national level (parliament, judiciary and executive)?
- What are the factors influencing this efficiency—positively/negatively?
- What are the actions/activities or strategies to strengthen/enhance women's participation in politics?
- What are the mechanisms of synergies or links between women in politics at different levels?
- Have the numbers of women have made a difference in sustainable reconciliation? Why is it that only the Tutsi are in public spaces and yet the Hutu are the majority?
- What type of capacity-building do these women leaders need to influence decisions for effectiveness/efficiently?

Group Work III: New areas for research identified by the four countries

- Processes of accessing power at traditional/local level and national level.
- Cultural aspects that do not favour participation of women.
- Civil society organisations and women's participation in decision making.
- Challenges related to international and African legal instruments.
- New approaches of documentation which aim at positive representation of the image of women in politics and decision making.
- Documenting the good examples/practices of women's participation in politics and decision making.
- Orientation/perceptions of men on declarations on the rights of women.

Group Work IV: Cross-cutting regional issues for research

- Effective political participation of women and the impact of affirmative action.
- Leadership programs to strengthen the capacity of women in leadership.
- Strategies of sustaining the gains achieved.
- Women's inclusion at regional-level institutions of leadership and governance.
- The best ways of utilising the media to facilitate women's participation in politics.
- Why some countries in the region have had a successful multiparty political system with women being able to participate freely, compared to other countries in the region.

- Patriarchal institutions/systems and women's political participation.
- The role that regional and intergovernmental organisations play in facilitating women's political participation.
- Strategies of how women in power can deal with issues of culture, ethnicity and identity.
- Impact of women's participation in governance at national and local levels.
- Language barriers.
- Why and how post-conflict reconstruction facilitates women's effective political participation.

Appendix V: End of Workshop Evaluation

An evaluation on what was most beneficial and least beneficial to participants was made. Participants were also asked to indicate what they thought should be done differently in the next workshop. Opinions and thoughts obtained are presented below.

1. What was most beneficial?

- Quality of facilitators, who are knowledgeable, competent and committed.
- Identification of country regional priority areas.
- Identification of the key issues for research.
- Quality of participants with focused, high level women who knew about their contexts and women's issues.
- The fact that women from all four countries have shown a particular interest in the effective participation of women in decision making.
- The maturity of the participants and their level of participation showed that they each owned the idea of the workshop.
- Motivation of the participants to get involved in politics.
- The methodology which ensured maximum participation of all members.
- Knowledge of the private experiences of women in politics and their difficulties such as the challenge of sexism by men which hinders them from pursuing the agenda of women.

2. What was least beneficial?

- The discussion did not deal clearly enough with the issue of transition and its relevance to women's political participation in the four countries.
- There was no free time to see Kampala.

3. What should have been done differently?

- Broader representation of women parliamentarians as well as former or other practicing politicians from the region so that more discussion is generated on their experiences.
- More discussion on participation of women in politics at the local level.
- More time is needed for group work and discussions.
- A translator should be available during the group work to give group guidelines.
- The discussion should have integrated the impact of men who understand the women's cause in the process of consultation for the way forward.
- A report of the workshop should have been made available daily.
- The workshop should have planned some time for the participants to see Kampala.
- Some men should have been invited in order to enrich the workshop debates.

Appendix VI: Objectives and Programme of the Workshop

Consultation on Women's Participation in Political Transition in Countries Emerging from Conflict in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: Experiences of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

Hotel Africana
Kampala, Uganda, 28–30 August 2007

Objectives of the Consultation:

1. Identify and discuss the main issues affecting women's participation in political transition in countries emerging from conflict.
2. Map out the specific country priority areas/issues for research and documentation.
3. Identify and agree on the appropriate methodologies for research and documentation.
4. Discuss Terms of Reference and identify a regional research Steering Committee.

Main Facilitators:

- **Prof. Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo**
Department of Women and Gender Studies
Makerere University
- **Dr. Florence Kyoheirwe Muhanguzi**
Department of Women and Gender Studies
Makerere University
Programme of the Consultation Workshop

TIME	ACTIVITY	PERSON RESPONSIBLE
28 August 2007		
Morning		
Session I: Introduction and Background to the Workshop		
Facilitator: Florence Muhanguzi		
8.30 – 9.00 am	Registration	EASSI
9.00 – 9.30 am	Official opening remarks	Judy El Bushra Manager, Great Lakes Programme International Alert Dr Akinyi Nzioki Chairperson, EASSI Marren Akatsa-Bukachi Executive Director, EASSI
9.30 – 10.00 am	Introduction of participants	Marren Akatsa-Bukachi
10.00 – 11.00 am	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Background to the workshop and presentation of the research project •Objectives of the workshop and expectations 	
11.00 – 11.30 am	Tea Break	
Session II: Women's Political Participation in the Great Lakes Region: An Overview		
Facilitator: Grace Bantebya		
11.30 – 1.00 pm	Political transition: Its significance and impact on women's participation in decision making in the four countries	Hon. Miria Matembe
	Plenary discussions	
1.00 – 2.00 pm	Lunch Break	
Afternoon		
Facilitator: Grace Bantebya		
2.00 – 3.30pm	Presentation of main findings/issues from the consultations carried out by EASSI and International Alert and discussion	Marren Akatsa-Bukachi Gloriosa Bazigaga
3.30 – 4.00 pm	Tea Break	
4.00 – 5.00 pm	Working groups: Discussions on the findings/ issues and on emerging issues	
29 August 2007		
Morning		
Session III: Main Issues Affecting Women's Participation in Politics and Governance in the Great Lakes Region: Identifying Country-Specific and Cross-Cutting Regional Areas for Research		
Facilitator: Florence Muhanguzi		
8.30 – 8.45 am	Recap of the previous day's work	

8.45 – 10.00 am	Report back working groups and discussion
10.00 – 10.30 am	Presentation and discussion of country-specific issues
10.30 – 11.00 am	Tea Break
Facilitator:	Florence Muhanguzi
11.00 – 12.00 pm	Working groups: Identification of country priority areas for research
12.00 – 1.00 pm	Report back and discussion
1.00 – 2.00 pm	Lunch Break

Afternoon

Facilitator: Grace Bantebya

2.00 – 2.30 pm	Plenary discussion on cross-cutting regional issues
2.30 – 3.30 pm	Working groups: Identification and prioritisation of cross-cutting regional issues for research
3.30 – 4.00 pm	Tea Break
4.00 – 5.00 pm	Report back and discussion

30 August 2007

Morning

Session IV: Introducing Feminist Research Methodology

Facilitator: Grace Bantebya

8.30 – 8.45 am	Recap of the previous day's work	Florence Muhanguzi
8.45 – 10.30 am	Introducing feminist research methodologies Discussion	Grace Bantebya
10.30 – 11.00 am	Tea Break	
11.00 – 1.00 pm	Identification and discussion of appropriate methodology for the research	
1.00 – 2.00 pm	Lunch Break	

Session V: The Way Forward

Facilitator: Florence Muhanguzi

2.00 – 3.30 pm	Workplan	Marren Akatsa-Bukachi Ndeye Sow
3.30 – 4.00 pm	Tea Break	
4.00 – 5.00 pm	TOR for the Steering Committee	Marren Akatsa-Bukachi Ndeye Sow

Session VI: Wrap Up and Closing

5.00 – 6.00 pm	Closing remarks	Judy El Bushra
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Appendix VII: List of Participants

Name	Address & Country	Organisation & Designation	Phone/Email Address
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Endnotes

1. A report on these consultations entitled “Women’s political participation in political transition in the Great Lakes Region of Africa” was produced. See Appendix II.
2. The full programme is given in Appendix I.
3. Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action, International Alert, Woman Waging Peace, November 2004.
4. See Dr. Nzioki’s full speech in Appendix I.
5. The Domestic Relations Bill addresses women’s property rights in marriage and women’s rights to negotiate sex on the grounds of health, sets the minimum age of marriage at eighteen, prohibits female genital mutilation (FGM) and criminalizes widow inheritance.
6. The closed and zebra electoral list system is a type of proportional representation where women voters select one party and its slate of candidates to represent them. Closed lists are especially effective for women, if political parties place them either high enough up on the party lists or alternate with men in a zebra list style (i.e. every other stripe is a woman).
7. The Domestic Relations Bill addresses women’s property rights in marriage and women’s rights to negotiate sex on the grounds of health, sets the minimum age of marriage at 18, prohibits female genital mutilation (FGM), and criminalises widow inheritance.
8. Meeting with CAFOB in Bujumbura, Burundi, 14 August 2006.
9. Association of Women for the Development of the Zone of Kinama.
10. Adopted by the African Heads of State in Maputo in July 2003.
11. Adopted by the African Heads of State in July 2004.
12. Meeting with women’s groups in Eastern DRC.

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ISBN: 978-1-898702-94-8