Exploring Narratives of Women in Leadership in Post-Conflict Societies

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Declaration

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Abstract

In 2014 Rwanda had the highest representation levels of women in a national legislature. South Africa ranked eighth in the world. This is in the context of diverse women's representation levels around the world and regionally. As a result of this diversity there is a growing academic interest and literature on women and politics. Since attaining these relatively high representation levels Rwanda and South Africa have become the subject of a growing body of research on women and leadership in Sub-Saharan Africa. This study contributes to this area of research on women and politics.

The aim of this study was to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders. A qualitative methodology was used as it enables for a contextual and temporal analysis of social phenomena. Women political leaders from Rwanda and South Africa were interviewed about their life experiences, how they entered politics and/or government, and they were also asked about their views on instruments such as gender quotas, as well as their views on criticisms of women's leadership in their countries.

This study found that while not all women leaders benefit from gender quotas they overwhelmingly support them as a means of increasing women's representation where patriarchal gender ideologies and structural gender inequalities exist. It was also found that women leaders' personal experiences are the result of the context within which they occur. These are experiences that are a result of their social locations in the societies in which they grew up. Their social locations in specific contexts influenced them in terms of their access to education, their professions, and their entries into politics. For some of these women it led to the development of a consciousness of the different kinds of inequalities that exist in society and the need create a country in which racial, gender and class inequalities do not exist (South Africa). For other women it is a realisation of the necessity of having an efficient government and a growing economy to promote peace and maintain a stable society and the importance of using woman as a resource to achieve this objective (Rwanda).

Key terms: women's leadership, women politics, narrative enquiry, Rwanda, South Africa, women post-conflict leadership, women's political activism, Rwanda refugees

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Rwanda has the highest representation of women in a national legislature in the world. Women constitute 63% of Rwanda's national legislature. South Africa ranks eighth in the world with a figure of 44% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014). In both countries the first drastic increases in women's representation occurred with the first elections after their respective liberations; in Rwanda it was after the civil war and transitional government and in South Africa it was with the first post-Apartheid democratic elections (Bauer & Britton, 2006). Rwanda's representation of women in the national legislature increased from 15% to 48.8% in one election, and in South Africa the percentage increased from 2.7% to 25% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2005). When countries like Rwanda and South Africa drastically increase women's representation levels over one election cycle they are referred to as 'fast-track' countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2005, p.4).

Since these increases there has been a wealth of literature investigating women's representation in both countries (Bauer, 2012). This study is a contribution to this area of research. The aim of this study is to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders.

1.2 Rationale

In general, women's representation levels around the world are dismal – women constitute only 21% of national legislatures (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014). Despite this, like Rwanda and South Africa there are several countries that have comparatively high representation levels. The first countries to have significantly increased women's representation were Scandinavian countries. However, this happened slowly and steadily over several decades. In Sub-Saharan Africa where increases have occurred they have been sharp and rapid (Bauer & Britton, 2006). The regional average in Sub-Saharan Africa is as low as the world average – 22% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014). In other words, representation levels in Rwanda and South Africa are more than double the world and regional average. This difference makes Rwanda and South Africa excellent case studies for women and leadership in politics because it enables us to understand how women can enter decision-making positions in greater numbers, and also enable us to examine the nature of women's leadership, especially in terms of looking at what women leaders bring to politics.

However, the successes of country's like Rwanda and South Africa have not been always been met with support. Criticisms are that increases in women's representation are a result of a dangerous tokenism – placing unqualified and unsuitable women in positions of power. Another criticism is that women leaders are an elite class that does not really represent the interests of their constituents (Bauer, 2012).

As a result of this criticism a great portion of the literature on women and politics in these countries has mostly examined women's representation and impact (Bauer, 2012). These studies have largely looked at individual cases. Quantitative literature in the field has examined different variables as indicators of women's representation (Bauer & Britton, 2006). Indicators that are usually used to determine women's representation levels in western, developed countries include access to education, country economic status, women's labour force participation and cultural factors. Some of these indicators have been found to be negligible in the Sub-Saharan context. This difference is because the contexts are different, requiring a contextual examination of women's representation in Sub-Saharan Africa (Yoon, 2004).

There are several other reasons for the gap in the literature on women in politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. 'A few books provide us with portraits of some African women MP's and reveal a range of attributes among them, though none aggregate women MPs' characteristics across the continent or even one country,' (Bauer, 2012, pg.373). A deep knowledge of women's political representation within individual countries, as well as comparatively across countries is also needed (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007). In addition, a significant portion of research on women and politics in Sub-Saharan Africa has looked at women MPs. More research is needed on women heads of state and cabinet ministers (Bauer, 2012).

This study seeks to address some of these missing areas in the existing research. Firstly, it does not just look at women in parliament, but in a diverse range of political and government positions. Secondly, this study does not just aggregate some characteristics, it does so by looking through the lens of life experiences and how these may have shaped women leaders. Lastly, it looks at two countries, Rwanda and South Africa, constituting two case studies.

The increases in representation in these countries, and the subsequent academic interest, have not occurred in a vacuum. In Rwanda and South Africa women's increased representation seems to be a result of a series of external and internal events.

1.3 Background

Women's Experiences of Conflict

Both Rwanda and South Africa experienced violent conflict which ended in 1994.

Rwanda experienced decades of ethnic inequality and sporadic violence after its liberation from colonialism. This culminated in a civil war that began in 1990 and a genocide in 1994, after which the country was liberated by the now ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) (Mamdani, 2001; Burnet, 2008; Hogg, 2010; Dagne, 2011).

South Africa's liberation movement is older than Rwanda's, having started in the early 1900's. This movement challenged racial inequalities and hierarchies determined by the Apartheid system. The Apartheid government used violent suppression against those who challenged it, and the liberation movement included armed wings (Clark and Worger, 2004).

Women were active participants in the liberation of both countries. What sets them apart from other post-conflict countries that have not experienced increases in women's representation levels is that women in these countries mobilised to ensure their inclusion in the new governments (Bauer, 2008).

Around the world women often become involved in politics because of a need to change existing regimes (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2000). However, women's contributions during conflict are often devalued. Women who work at the grassroots level are often viewed as volunteers or as women making charitable contributions despite their work being political in nature. In addition, women's activism is viewed as accidental and women are required to return to traditional gender roles post-conflict. Furthermore, women are not able to internalise the magnitude of their suffering and contributions during war (Meintjies, Pillay & Turshen, 2002). For example, in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission during the first five weeks of testimony 6 out of 10 people who testified were women but a majority of their testimonies were about the abuses to men. Just 17% of women's testimonies were about women, and 5% of men's testimonies were about women. Chillingly, no men testified about the abuses of their wives or sisters. As a result of women's silences about their own abuses the commission held separate hearings for women, but which were not well publicised. Many women who should have had that opportunity to speak did not know the special hearings were taking place. In addition, there were cases where women were deliberately silenced by their comrades and male leaders who did not want the country's ruling African National Congress (ANC) and government to be reflected badly by what would be revealed during testimony. Some women silenced themselves as they did not want to lose positions in the new government, and they also had to work with men who are perpetrators but now hold political government positions (Graybill, 2001).

In Rwanda, women were both perpetrators and victims of the genocide. Women participated in the genocide far less than men did. Women victims and survivors experienced rape, sexual slavery and mutilation because of their gender. One of the first victims of the genocide was the first woman Prime Minister of Rwanda, Agathe Uwiringiyimana partly because she was a moderate Hutu, and partly because she was a woman who defied the country's patriarchal gender ideology through her visible and outspoken leadership. At the end of Rwanda's civil war the remaining population was 70% women. As a country, Rwanda has acknowledged women's victimization to the extent of viewing their abuses as a form of genocide and which were tried in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) (Green, 2001-2002). Women perpetrators of genocide were also tried for their participation during the genocide (Hogg, 2010). In a post-conflict Rwanda women have been given important and roles in reconciling and rebuilding the country, partly through greater access to decision-making power (Powley, 2004). However, similarly to South Africa, the Rwandan government has refused to hold accountable members of the RPF who may have participated in abuses and human rights crimes during the war. Those crimes will remain unacknowledged and without justice (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Amongst these would include crimes against women.

Therefore, Rwanda and South Africa have taken steps to redress crimes and human rights abuses against women during the conflicts. However, the ways in which these countries have inconsistently provided justice to women indicates that women's issues are being treated as political issues, and not just as matters of women's empowerment and gender equality. Such inconsistencies require us to examine the motivations behind increasing women's representation levels in Rwanda and South Africa.

International Instruments, Electoral Systems and Gender Quotas

Many African countries have signed and ratified instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) AND THE South African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (SADSC SDGD) (Fester, 2011). These instruments call on states to take steps towards women's political, economic, social and civil rights (Graybill, 2001). The BPFA in particular comes out of the Fourth World Conference on Women that was held in Beijing in 1995. It is a call for women to have more access to positions of decision-making power and achieve gender equality in setting societal agendas (United Nations, 1997). The more recent call is from the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) which calls for 50/50 representation (Bauer & Britton, 2006). There are issues around such instruments, particularly that they have not brought significant changes for the average woman, particularly women in rural areas (Fester, 2011). However, it is outside of the scope of this study to examine these more in more depth. The one success that they have contributed towards is increasing women's representation levels and leadership (Fester, 2011).

Other similarities in Rwanda and South Africa in terms of women's increased representation levels are the internal instruments that have made it possible to rapidly increase women's representation. That in countries that have experienced liberation movements (and wars) women can be included in more formal positions of power during the transition and after. This is because the restructuring of institutions provides a space in which women can be included. An aspect of this is the drafting of new constitutions where gender equality is included. Rwanda and South Africa have both adopted post-conflict constitutions which include clauses on gender inequalities (Bauer & Britton, 2006). In addition, countries with proportional representation electoral systems tend to have higher levels of women's representation than countries that do not. This system enables the easier implementation of gender quotas (Yoon, 2004; Bauer & Britton, 2006). Rwanda and South Africa are both post-conflict countries that have implemented proportional representation electoral systems and gender quotas. Gender quotas are a form of affirmative action intended to bring more women into politics. Rwanda uses constitutional quotas and South Africa uses party-based quotas (Bauer & Britton, 2006).

However, it is not a guarantee that women's representation improves in all post-conflict countries. 'In many African countries where nationalist movements have transformed themselves into post-liberation political parties women's secondary status in the national movements has been replicated in the new political order' (Goetz & Hassim, 2003, pg. 10). Where increases have happened it is partly the result of pressures from women activists within parties, particularly within liberation organisations turned ruling political parties. In addition, these women activists have been supported by a strong women's movement that pressurises political parties to increase women's representation (Britton & Bauer, 2006).

Therefore, there are several factors that are credited as having contributed to the current representation levels in Rwanda and South Africa; pressure from the international community, pressure from women activists from within the countries and the liberation movements, and the use of instruments such as gender quotas.

1.4 Outline of this Study

This is an overview of the chapters included in this study; the Literature Review, Methodology, Analysis and Conclusion.

Literature Review

Chapter 2 of this study is the Literature Review. This chapter introduces some of the topics on women in politics. It then discusses the literature which is of most interest to this study; literature on women and leadership. This includes literature that explains women's representation levels in Rwanda and South Africa specifically. This is followed with a discussion of findings on the impact of women representatives in these countries. The last section concerns literature that investigates women leaders' backgrounds.

Methodology

This study was interested in the contextual and temporal experiences of women leaders – their life experiences prior to leadership, and their motivations subsequently. Qualitative methodologies allow for a contextual and temporal study of phenomena (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Fritz, 2008; Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010).

A narrative enquiry was used as it is looks at how people understand and interpret their experiences (Fraser, 2004). This study was not interested in merely collecting narratives, but to understand what the participants identify as defining experiences for them and how this shaped them.

A purposive and snow-ball sampling was undertaken. A purposive sampling was required as the study was interested in narratives as understood and interpreted by those who experienced them; women in positions of political leadership. To secure enough participants a snow-ball method was used whereby participants assisted in contacting other women who were potential participants. The participants were interviewed individually using semi-structured interviews.

With the narratives a data analysis was conducted to determine if there were any themes within each case study. Then a cross-case analysis was conducted to determine if there were similar themes in both case studies.

Analysis

The Analysis chapter discusses the findings of this study. It begins with the demographics of the participants (e.g. positions, marital status, etc.). This is followed by a discussion of seven themes that were identified during data analysis.

The first theme concerns the participants' perspectives on quotas and impact in their respective countries. Impact is a significant portion of the literature on these countries as the international discourse has shifted from increasing numbers to trying to determine the quality of the representation of women in office (Bauer, 2012). This section does not attempt to measure impact, but rather discusses the participant's own experiences and views of women's impact.

The second theme is an examination of how women's parliamentary groups in both countries. It compares groups in both countries to explore motivations of women politicians in general in both countries. It finds that South Africa has a more robust opposition than Rwanda, but that this can impede co-operation in finding a shared vision for women's representation.

The third theme is their educational backgrounds. Educational levels in a country are sometimes used as an indicator of women's representation levels in those countries, but in Sub-Saharan Africa education is not an indicator as it has the lowest female enrolment rate in the world (Yoon, 2004). In this study education was not viewed as an indicator. Rather, a contextual analysis of their education levels was examined in terms of averages amongst women politicians worldwide and women's education levels within the countries.

The fourth theme looks at their professional backgrounds and entries into politics. This examines the professional fields that the participants come from, how they began careers in politics, and how they attained formal positions in politics and government.

The fifth theme looks at the role of the family in the lives and experiences of the participants. This theme looks at how the participant's families view their leadership, and what impact the family has on women's leadership.

The sixth theme examines the relationship between the roles of marriage and motherhood and leadership. Scholarship on women's experiences in the home shows that there is gender inequality in terms of the division of labour (Seager, 2006). This section then examines how the participants experience their roles in the home and the relationship with their leadership roles.

The last theme explores their worldview as leaders. It is assumed that their worldview would impact their motivations as leaders, and ultimately their impact. Here I draw a link between the participants' experiences of conflict and inequality (which are prevalent throughout the first five themes) and their visions for their countries.

In summation, the analysis chapter illustrates the ways in which women leaders' life experiences are created by their context and their social positions within their societies. These experiences are instrumental in shaping their worldview, which ultimately affects the types of leaders that they become and how they represent their countries. In addition, this chapter illustrates the challenges that women face in their leadership (both personal and political). Most of the literature on women's leadership in these countries is concerned with numbers and the impact of representation (i.e. the quality of women's representation) (Bauer, 2012). This study argues that an examination of the challenges that they face can also help us to understand their impact.

Conclusion

The final chapter is the Conclusion. This is a summary of the preceding chapters and includes the limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research based on the findings of this study.

1.5 Conclusion

Rwanda and South Africa's representation levels are a result of several external and internal factors. What is most striking is that they have ratified and implemented international instruments aimed at increasing women's representation in decision-making positions (Graybill, 2001; Fester, 2011), they have placed gender equality in their constitutions (Bauer & Britton, 2006) – but have come under scrutiny for achieving these high representation levels (Bauer, 2012). This is not to say that the quality of their representation and their impact should not be investigated. Rather, a more contextual analysis is required - an analysis that looks beyond indicators, electoral systems, quotas, etc. This study attempts to do this by looking at women political leaders' defining life experiences and their motivations in the fulfilment of their leadership roles.

Rwanda and South Africa's women politicians have made historical contributions to their countries. As indicated earlier, these are women who have ensured that gender equality is enshrined in their countries' constitutions (Bauer & Britton, 2006). As discussed in the Literature Review and Analysis Chapters, they have also made a variety of other contributions to their countries and some have represented women's interests even before taking political office. These are women who have taken great strides towards creating more equality in their societies for women (and men), and to examine their achievements (or failures) through the lens of numbers versus legislation would be an injustice to them. To classify women political leaders as either an elite class or as tokens is to simplify them in a way that homogenises them and their experiences; that is that these are women who are not complicated, diverse, and with their own stories to tell.

Lastly, it is exactly because of their historic contributions that their stories need to be told.

'Sharing like this, through this dialogue, is one of the only methods of communicating our experiences to you – you will not find these memories in any textbook.' (Malibongwe, 2007).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Much research on women and politics has been done since the 1950's, but significant interest and the level of output has increased dramatically in the last few decades. The interest has grown largely because of the varying levels of women's political participation, both internationally and regionally (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007). The literature dealing with women and politics is broad. Topics range from campaigning, voting, leadership and influence (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007). Because of the great wealth of literature it is not possible to examine everything within this Literature Review Chapter.

This chapter discusses the literature which is of most interest to this study, namely women's political leadership, as well as topics that are most relevant to the country case studies; Rwanda and South Africa.

In the Introduction Chapter of this study the women's representation figures of Rwanda and South Africa were provided. In this chapter I attempt to explain the perspectives of different literature and scholars on how these figures were attained. I also explore the impact of women's representation in these countries. The final section of this chapter explores the backgrounds of women leaders.

I explore the backgrounds of women in Rwanda and South Africa in order to contextualise the backgrounds of women leaders in particular. This section is particularly important as this study is an exploration of narratives of women leaders, and life background is a component of this. This particular discussion is important because it will help to introduce the narratives of the participants in this study, and develop a discussion of who they are within the context of their societies.

2.2 Proportional Representation, Quotas and Political Will

Previous literature dealing with determinants of women's representation mostly explored developed, industrialised democracies. Determinants in these studies include the percentage of women college graduates, women's labour force participation, and culture. Access to education is important because it increases the pool of qualified women candidates for political office. Labour force participation provides women with confidence and the skill sets necessary to be competent in political positions. Lastly, culture affects perceptions of women, thus affecting their access to positions of leadership (Yoon, 2004; Kunovich et al, 2007). These are referred to as supply-side factors (Kunovich et al, 2007).

A second dimension used to explain women's representation in politics is referred to as demand-side factors. These are the characteristics of individual countries, political parties, and electoral systems (Kunovich et al, 2007). Feminist political scientists have taken an interest in the differences between parties and political systems and how these affect women's representation and policies (Goetz & Hassim, 2003).

The literature exploring determinants of women's legislative representation in Sub-Saharan Africa is more recent than the literature on the West. In this region it has been found that the most significant determinants of women's political representation are demand-side factors, in contrast to the West. Namely, there are three significant factors contributing to the increase in women's representation in Sub-Saharan Africa. These are; gender quotas, proportional electoral systems, and political will (Yoon, 2004).

Proportional Electoral Systems

Studies have found that proportional electoral systems are the most conducive to increasing women's political representation. In these systems political parties are more inclined to include more women on candidate lists in order to make the parties more attractive to a broader voting base (Yoon, 2004; Kunovich et al, 2007).

Gender Quotas

Gender quotas are cited as being the most effect instrument to increase women's political representation. There are different kinds of gender quotas that are used; the two most frequently used in Sub-Saharan Africa are reserved seats and party quotas (Yoon, 2004). Reserved seats are part of national legislation; only women are allowed to contest for these seats. Party quotas are quotas that are voluntarily adopted by political parties and are implemented by placing women on party lists (Kunovich et al, 2007).

Political Will

While proportional electoral systems and gender quotas are the instruments that are used to increase women's representation, they cannot work without implementation. In order for them to be implemented political will, by political parties, is required (Britton & Bauer, 2006). This is especially the case as proportional electoral systems are not adopted to increase women's representation. They are usually adopted in post-conflict countries that attempt to create democracy by establishing a political system which is inclusive of all perspectives, and a proportional electoral system allows that (Goetz & Hassim, 2003; Bauer & Britton, 2006).

Scholars have also tried to understand varying levels of quota implementation and success (Kunovich et al, 2007). While gender quotas may exist, it is ultimately up to the political parties in question to ensure that women make it on to candidate lists and support women to run for reserved seats (Yoon, 2004). Political parties are therefore referred to as the 'gatekeepers' to elected office (Goetz & Hassim, 2003, pg. 8; Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2005, p. 7; Britton & Bauer, 2006; p.8; Hunt, 2007; p. 115).

As quotas are found to be the most effective method of increasing women's representation various studies have tried to understand the reasons why political parties and governments would adopt them. It has been found that some countries have adopted quotas because of pressures from women's movements and the international community (Kunovich et al, 2007). Others have adopted quotas to present their countries as modern and democratic states – quotas then become an exercise in the legitimisation of the ruling government (Goetz & Hassim, 2003; Kunovich et al, 2007).

Rwanda and South Africa

Rwanda and South Africa both have proportional representation electoral systems (Bauer & Britton, 2006; Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2010).
Both countries also have gender quotas. Rwanda has 30% reserved seats. South Africa's ruling party, the ANC, has a 30% party quota (Quota Project website). However, both countries have surpassed the 30% quota, with representation levels higher than this figure, as indicated in the Introduction Chapter. To understand this it may be conducive to consider the third factor, political will, in both countries.

Party quotas' variation in adoption and implementation across parties depends on the leadership composition within the parties. If women are already present in leadership within the parties then there can be support for a greater number of women to receive positions (Kunovich et al, 2007). This is widely viewed as having been the case in South Africa. Through the Women's National Coalition (WNC) that was formed during the transition period there was a movement to increase women's representation in politics. The WNC consisted of many women's civil society organisations, and women from numerous political parties (Goetz & Hassim, 2003). However, women leaders within the ANC were the driving force behind the establishment of the coalition (Geisler, 2000).

It is not surprising then that the ANC has been the only political party that has consistently adhered to its gender quotas, and even placed more than 30% women on its party lists and appointed women to senior cabinet positions (Bauer & Britton, 2006, 2006). Outside of pressure from the WNC, the left-leaning ANC has made a commitment to descriptive and substantive women's representation as part of its commitment to social inclusion and equality (Goetz & Hassim, 2003).

Rwanda's narrative of women's representation is more complicated as it is shrouded in controversy. Rwanda's government, led by the RPF, has been accused of becoming an increasingly authoritarian regime guilty of human rights abuses, political assassinations and the silencing of dissent (Burnet, 2008; Hogg, 2009). If these accusations are true Rwanda would not be an anomaly in being an authoritative regime with descriptive women's representation.

Studies have found that democracy is not a determinant of women's representation; in fact some of these have found that women have less representation in democracies. The reason for this is that authoritarian regimes co-opt women and women's issues to legitimise the ruling party (Goetz & Hassim, 2007).

On the other end of the spectrum; there are some who take a moderate view on Rwanda's government. For example, Pearson & Powley (2008) cite 'democratic weaknesses' (pg.38) rather than accuse the RPF of outright authoritarianism. There are others who are more supportive of Rwanda's RPF led government. Amongst them is Linda Melvern, an investigative journalist who submitted written evidence to the United Kingdom national parliament arguing that the Rwandan government has been the victim of an international propaganda campaign by 'Hutu Power Ideologues' (Melvern, 2012). Melvern asserted that this is part of a wide, international, and well-resourced network masterminding the perception of Rwanda as an authoritarian state. The network is said to also protect genocide fugitives, and is engaged in genocide denial.

In 2014 a coalition of Rwandese opposition parties was announced in Brussels. Included in the coalition is the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) – Rwandan Hutu rebels currently operating in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The FDLR includes members of the militia that undertook the 1994 genocide in Rwanda (AFP, 2014). Another more established opposition movement, the Rwanda National Congress (RNC) is an international opposition party to the RPF. The leadership of the RNC has included the daughter and son-in-law of a 1994 genocide fugitive (Akugizibwe, 2014). Unfortunately, an attempt to do research into the RNC was unsuccessful as there is limited information available on it on the internet. This scarcity of information supports Melvern's assertion that there is a propaganda movement against the RPF. One would expect that Rwanda's opposition would be as scrutinised as its government to ascertain if there is a legitimate concern behind the government's firm stance on opposition. Indeed, an opposition movement comprised of genocide fugitive family members should attract interest even if Rwanda were not an authoritarian state. The apparent lack of international attention on the activities of the RNC seems to validate Melvern's evidence, as well as shed some light on the RPF's alleged authoritarian activities.

The assertions made that Rwanda is an authoritarian regime are important for this study. If women representatives and politicians in Rwanda are members of an authoritarian regime, then it is essential to understand their motivations, especially as they now dominate the legislature. If it is an authoritarian state then it must be understood what role the women play; to explore whether they are willing participants, and what interests they may have.

This is an issue I spend a great deal of time exploring in my Analysis Chapter, using the study interviews, other literature and news reports, and my personal experience of the country as reference to support the conclusions that I have reached.

Rwanda and South Africa have in common the three factors deemed to be essential for women's political representation; proportional electoral systems, gender quotas, and political will. In addition, women's representation has been spearheaded by the ruling parties in both countries (Geisler, 2000; Burnet, 2008).

South Africa's opposition parties have been less committed to women's representation than the ruling ANC. Many of the opposition parties have gender quotas, but mostly as a strategy to keep up with the ruling party, and not as a genuine commitment to gender equality (Geisler, 200). In Rwanda, opposition parties are said to not present a real opposition to the ruling RPF, but are said to act as a kind of affiliate to the RPF, not challenging its leadership (Hogg, 2009). Hogg (2009) states that those that do oppose the RPF are suppressed in some form.

A difference between Rwanda and South Africa is the period in which the political will to increase women's representation was established. In South Africa, as previously indicated, this occurred during the transition period. Prior to that women members of the ANC had waged an internal campaign to improve women's positions within the party, and framed the issue of gender equality as not just a social issue, but also an economic and political one, requiring women's liberation to have the same importance as national liberation (Geisler, 2000).

During Rwanda's liberation movement women were more readily included in senior positions and party structures in the RPF. Much of Rwanda's leadership were previously officers in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) in Uganda (Burnet, 2008). It is believed that the NRM's policy of women's inclusion has had a direct influence on the RPF. The RPF mainstreamed women's inclusion both in the armed wing and the political structures of the liberation movement (Burnet, 2008; Pearson & Powley, 2008).

To the best of my knowledge, there are no comparative studies that have as yet tried to explain why Rwanda would have a higher representation of women than South Africa. In relation to this there are several things worthy of further investigation in future studies. The differences in the ways in which women's representation and equality was included in the liberation agenda in the respective ruling parties may be an aspect to spend more time investigating. Perhaps this may present an explanation of the differing representation figures. Also, a worthwhile study would be to empirically compare women's representation levels in the opposition parties in both countries as this also impacts on representation levels on party lists.

With an understanding of how the levels of women's representation came to be in Rwanda and South Africa it is equally as important to understand how meaningful this has been. More specifically, what has been the outcome of increased representation levels in both countries?

2.3 Impact

A large body of literature dealing with women and politics has to do with women's representation, and the implications thereof. This literature explores the kinds of representation that women politicians embody, and what that means for women constituents (Barnes & Burchard, 2012; Coffe, 2012).

Scholars discuss three main types of representation. These are; descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation. Descriptive representation is simply the numbers – the percentages of women in politics. Substantive representation is related to descriptive representation in that it looks at the outcomes of descriptive representation, particularly in regards to policy outcomes. Finally, symbolic representation looks at what other gains are made outside of policy outcomes as a result of women's representation in politics (Barnes & Burchard, 2012; Coffe, 2012). The main questions guiding this body of literature are; 'Do women in politics make a difference?' and 'Do women act for women?' (Childs & Krook, 2009, pg. 126).

The premise guiding women's organisations and international bodies regarding women's representation is that a critical mass figure of 30% women's representation is required in political decision-making positions in order for there to be an impact (Kunovich et al, 2007). This is the belief that there is a positive relationship between numbers and outcomes. However, empirical evidence has not confirmed this premise (Childs & Krook, 2009). As a result of the inconclusiveness of the empirical evidence different scholars have made proposals on how to examine women's representation in different ways.

Childs & Krook (2009) argue that instead of looking at the critical mass figure, scholars must examine critical actors. That is to say that more emphasis must be placed on looking at individuals and groups of politicians as actors, and not according to the broad category of 'gender' alone. The reasoning behind this is that within a group of women there can be diversity, or they may place higher importance on party affiliation than representing the interests of women, and their gender may not necessarily be the aspect of their identity that motivates them (Childs & Krook, 2009).

An empirical example that supports Childs & Krook (2009) argument is a study conducted by Bratton (2005). Bratton (2005) analysed data from three state legislatures in the United States. Bratton's (2005) findings were that it was sufficient to have women in legislatures in order to have substantive representation; the percentage of women matters less than just having women there. It was also found that women in less gender balance legislatures were at times even more successful at passing bills they sponsored than women in more equitable legislatures. Therefore, Bratton (2005) found that descriptive representation, or a critical mass, is not necessary to achieve substantive representation.

However, as indicated, Bratton's (2005) study was conducted in the United States. This study is concerned with women politicians in two countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The political and economic contexts are not the same, nor are the representation levels, as indicated in the Introduction Chapter. In addition, Bratton examined state legislatures. This study is concerned with women involved in politics at the national level, and it is not confined to women in the legislatures only. While Childs & Krook (2009) and Bratton (2005) present interesting ways of examining and thinking about women's representation, it is necessary to consider that different contexts may require different ways of exploring women's representation.

South Africa

South Africa's women parliamentarians have made significant legislative gains since 1994. Some of the pro-women's legislation includes the Maintenance Act, the Termination of Pregnancy Act, and the Employment Equity Act. In addition, their contributions have extended beyond policy-making. They have implemented a framework and structures within the parliament, the executive and in civil society. One such structure from this framework is the Commission on Gender Equality (Britton, 2006).

Britton (2006) finds that the most gains for women were made with the first democratic women parliamentarians of different party memberships. This may indicate that in this instance, the women mostly identified with their gender, which is an instance in which the gender category was more relevant than the individual actors or party affiliation. Indeed, Britton (2006) writes that these women entered democratic politics and parliament with the clear intention of using the state to address women's issues.

Britton (2006) also found that in the 1999 elections a significant portion of the first group of women voluntarily left parliament, and a new group entered. Britton (2006) argues that the new women were less revolutionaries and more professional politicians. A consequence of this is that these women viewed politics as a career, and as a result began to tow the party line. In a proportional representation system (as South Africa has), candidates are not voted by constituents. Rather, they are placed on party lists and constituents vote for the party, not the individuals (Britton, 2006). Simply, politicians answer to their parties and not the voters. Consequently, if gender equality is not a priority for a political party it may not be addressed, especially if the party is against gender equality.

Because the new group of women answered to the political party that places them on party lists (and thus provides them with positions) and not constituents; they are more likely to follow party policy, even if it may go against women's interests.

Moreover, the South African case does exemplify Childs & Krook's (2009) argument that diversity amongst women representatives can affect substantive representation. South African women, as part of the WNC successfully lobbied for women's representation in a democratic South Africa. However, there have been instances where women from different political parties have differed on policies. Most importantly, their political affiliations have prevented subsequent working relationships. A multi-party Women's Parliamentary Group floundered under opposition party member's distrust of ANC women's leadership in the group. This is an example of diversity in political beliefs and party loyalty affecting women's policy outcomes (Geisler, 2000).

This leads to another aspect affecting women's representation; political will. While the first group of women were able to successfully lobby for women's representation in a democratic South Africa, they were also able implement frameworks and structures for gender mainstreaming at various levels of government, and these structures were often under-resourced in terms of funding and staffing (Britton, 2006; Hassim, 2003). In addition, some opposition parties were against instruments such as gender quotas, or voted against women's legislation simply because it was sponsored by the ruling party (Geisler, 2000). In other words; political will not only affects the level of descriptive representation, but it can also enable or obstruct women's substantive representation. The South African case provides an ideal example of the complexity and nuances of political will. It shows that while there may be a will to address gender equality, there may be instances where it may not be a priority. It also indicates that it is enough to have political will in the ruling party to be able to attain descriptive representation, but if the same will is not present in the opposition parties it can pose problems when it is time to pass important women's legislation.

In this study a majority of the participants came from the first group of women politicians post-1994. As such, their narratives and experiences answer more to the group of women that made great gains for women, rather than the second group which was more career-oriented.

Rwanda

Issues of descriptive and substantive representation in Rwanda are more complicated and controversial than in the South African case. As discussed in the previous section, because Rwanda is deemed to be an authoritarian regime, scholars have questioned the impact of women leaders and how it has been affected by the regime (Burnet, 2008; Hogg, 2009).

In instances of women's high representation levels in non-democratic countries the questions becomes; how meaningful can their representation be? Some scholars say that their mere presence can be positive, whether it is a democracy or not, as some women's legislation is not a threat to the status quo (Kunovich, 2007). However, as Hogg (2009) argues, women are not just gendered beings; there are other components to their identities. Consequently, Hogg (2009) argues that Rwandan women should also have some responsibility in challenging the regime to create a truly democratic state. Bauer & Britton (2006) point out that because Rwandan women MPs owe allegiance to the ruling party, they themselves facilitate and help to pass legislation that strengthens the authoritarianism of the state.

Despite questions of the legitimacy of women's representation in Rwanda, the country has passed some legislation that advances women's interests. In answer to the question, 'do women act for women?' (Childs & Krook, 2009, pg. 125), the evidence points to 'yes'.

First there was the drafting of Rwanda's constitution in 2003. The commission that drafted the document consisted of 12 members, only three of whom were women. Despite the minority representation of women in this commission, the constitution included an affirmation of Rwanda's commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). This could be evidence of a political will. It may also substantiate Child & Krook's (2009) argument that critical actors are more important than critical mass. In addition, through the constitution there was the establishment of the Gender Monitoring Office which is responsible for monitoring the country's efforts towards gender equality (Pearson & Powley, 2008).

Prior to the 2003 constitution women in the transitional government sponsored and passed an Inheritance Law. This law was ground-breaking in that previously women and girls in Rwanda were not allowed to inherit land. This law now gives women and men equal rights to land. This law also addressed many other forms of economic and structural inequalities for Rwanda's women. Because of it women are now able to work, obtain loans, and open bank accounts without the authorisation of a male relative (Burnet, 2008; Pearson & Powley, 2008).

In addition, the first non-executive sponsored law since the 2003 constitution addresses gender-based violence. This is significant in that it was initiated by policy-makers (rather than the government) which is not commonplace. It is also significant because it was drafted and sponsored by the Rwandan Women's Parliamentary Forum (FFRP). The FFRP is a parliamentary forum that was established for and by women parliamentarians to ensure gender issues are considered and addressed in the passing of legislation (Pearson & Powley, 2008).

Rwanda's significant legislative gains for women may not necessarily challenge the accusations that Rwanda is an authoritarian regime. However, these gains for women cannot be minimised, particularly because they address and protect women from structural and cultural inequalities, particularly the Inheritance Law.

Based on the different women's legislation that has been passed it is evident that women political leaders in Rwanda and South Africa have passed legislation favourable to women, despite an inconsistent political will (South Africa) and a controversial government (Rwanda). Because of this it is clear that these women have taken their gender as seriously as they have their identities as politicians. However, previously I discussed Childs & Krook (2009) and their argument that when looking at women's legislation scholars should not only look at descriptive representation (the numbers), but should also look at individuals and groups as critical actors. I would suggest that an exploration of politicians as critical actors should also look into their backgrounds, together with the legislation that they pass, to determine if there might be a relationship.

2.4 Backgrounds

An Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) survey conducted in 1999 (published in 2000) comprised 187 survey respondents from 65 countries. All survey respondents were women in politics, including; cabinet ministers, junior executive posts in ministries, parliamentarians and officers of parliament. To the best of my knowledge this is the most comprehensive study conducted on women politicians, and it is also the most comprehensive study of women politicians outside of national legislatures.

This survey is similar to this study in that participants are from various sectors of politics and government. While the survey included participants from South Africa, no Rwandan women participated. However, the survey does uncover trends in the backgrounds of women politicians around the world, and so would still be useful when considering Rwanda as well. That being said, most of the respondents were from Europe. Sub-Saharan Africa provided the second biggest group of respondents, and the rest were from Asia, the Americas, Arab states, etc. This unequal grouping could affect the results of the study in that the largest group of respondents may slant findings in a particular way. Despite this, it helps to provide a reference point when exploring the backgrounds of women political leaders around the world.

The survey findings include the age, marital status, education and professional backgrounds of the respondents.
Ages: respondents in the IPU survey were between the ages of 30 and 70.
Marital Status: a majority of the respondents were married. 73% of them had children.
Education: All respondents had some level of education, with 73% having an undergraduate degree, and just 7% only having a high school diploma. 6% had some form of tertiary training and 14% had post-graduate degrees.
Professional Backgrounds: A significant portion of the respondents, 42%, had previously worked as public or civil servants. Other professions include teaching, journalists, doctors, nurses, and social workers.

In sum, on average women political leaders are literate, educated and have participated in the formal economy as paid labour. In comparing these findings with women's general averages around the world it paints a picture of the distinctiveness of women politicians. However, if we further consider the particular contexts of Rwanda and South Africa, women political leaders' educational and professional accomplishments are exceptional. This is because countries experiencing war, declines in donor aid, and economic hardship are least likely to have girls enrolled in school. In addition, in developing countries education for girls is seen as a luxury for most families and boys are more likely to be sent to school (Seager, 2006).

In 2006, 7 years after the IPU study was conducted, 1 billion of the world's population was illiterate, with two-thirds of this being women. Women are often excluded from access to education because of poverty and gender discrimination, explaining the disproportionate levels of illiteracy amongst women. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest gaps between boy and girl primary school enrolment rates. This is largely the result of the perception of the importance of educating boys over girls, since girls end up leaving the home and marry into other families (Seager, 2006). However, Sub-Saharan Africa has also made the greatest strides in increasing girls' enrolment (Global Literacy Project, 2013).

In 2000, one year after the IPU survey, 26-50% of Rwanda's adult women population was illiterate, and 11-25% of South Africa's adult women population was illiterate. When understood in the context of the IPU 1999 survey which indicated that all women politicians surveyed had at least a high school diploma; women politicians would thus be exceptional cases, and not the norm in their countries, in terms of women's education levels, as discussed below.

Women's Education in South Africa

The Global Literacy Project (2013) states that the impact of Apartheid is still evident in literacy rates in the country. Discussing women's access to education in Apartheid in South Africa is complex because of the racial divisions in access to things such as education. Before Apartheid black children in particular were mostly educated by missionaries, and this access to education itself was limited to a small minority of children mostly from a small Black elite. As a result, in 1945 about 80% of the black population was illiterate and 70-75% of the Indian and Coloured community was illiterate (Prinsloo, 1999). Black, Indian and Coloured women faced the double-disadvantage of their race and their gender.

Once access to education was increased for black children, at best only a few years' education was required to obtain functional literacy only. Resources provided to black schools were limited, and in 1969 only 4.2% of black children received secondary education (Prinsloo, 1999). However, in 1999, 5 years after democracy, there was 95% girl's enrolment in primary school (Seager, 2006). This is because through South Africa's constitution access to education by the state is a constitutional right (South Africa Info website, 2013).

In South Africa, the generation of women who were interviewed for this study would have been of school-going age prior to and during Apartheid, hence the emphasis on understanding education and literacy levels during this period. Because South African women political leaders participated in the IPU (2000) survey, it becomes apparent that they somehow were able to circumvent the structural and institutionalised obstacles to their education. This is an important point that is developed further in the Analysis Chapter using the narratives of the participants.

Women's Education in Rwanda

In 1973 gross enrolment in schools in Rwanda was 46%, and then 65% in 1990 (Salmon, 2004). In 1970 only 0.4 million children were enrolled in school, but this figure had grown to 1.5 million in 2001. In 1980-81 there were only 1,200 students enrolled in tertiary education in Rwanda. By 2001-02 this figure had grown to 17,000 (World Bank, 2004; Salmon, 2004). Therefore, there has been an increase in access to education in Rwanda, particularly in the period after the genocide. Post-1994 increases in literacy rates and access to education in Rwanda is largely a result of the efforts of the national government which has a basic education for all program. In 1999 Rwanda had 75-94% of girls enrolled in primary schools (World Bank, 2004).

Similarly as in South Africa, the participants in this study were of school – going age prior to the genocide. While the IPU (2000) survey did not include Rwandan participants it does provide reliable averages on women political leaders' education levels, so it is probable that Rwandan women leaders would also have at least high school diplomas. If this is the case than Rwandan women political leaders would also be exceptional women in their country in terms of education levels. Again, this is a point that is developed further in the Analysis Chapter using the narratives of the participants.

Women's Labour Force Participation/Professional Backgrounds

Across the world more and more women are participating in paid work. In 1999 Rwanda had amongst the highest proportions of women working for pay, with 83% of women employed. In South Africa only 40-49% of women were employed in paid work. These figures represent employment in both the formal and informal sectors. In addition, women are normally concentrated in service sectors, what is commonly known as women's work (Seager, 2006).

During Apartheid the South African government reserved access to well-paying jobs for the white population to retain black people as a cheap labour source (South African History Online; no date). The poor access and quality of education for non-white people, discussed above, compounded this policy. Therefore, by nature of their gender and race, the majority of South African women did not have careers or well-paying jobs in the formal economy prior to 1994. The participants in this study were old enough to enter the labour force before 1994. The findings of the IPU (2000) survey require an exploration of the professional backgrounds of women political leaders in South Africa as again; they were exceptions to the narratives of South African women during that period. More specifically, how were they able to overcome the structural and institutional obstacles to formal labour force participation?

In Rwanda, women's employment is particularly striking because after the genocide they made up the majority of the population. In 1996 70% of the post-genocide population was women. As mentioned earlier, before the genocide, Rwanda's women also faced structural obstacles to employment. Women were essentially minors, requiring their husband's legal authorisation to obtain loans and to be able to participate in paid work. As a result, a majority of Rwanda's women worked in the informal economy, and largely in the agricultural sector (Center on Law and Globalization, 2014). Considering this, the 83% (Seager, 2006) employment level of women in Rwanda is astounding. The reason for this improvement is discussed in the Analysis Chapter using the narratives of the participants in this study.

Finally, marital status and children are also discussed in the Analysis Chapter with the IPU (2000) survey results as a point of reference.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the major topics within the literature on women in politics. I have discussed these in tandem with literature dealing directly with Rwanda and South Africa. This literature provided some points of interest in relation to the topic of this study.

That is that women leaders in Rwanda and South Africa are predominantly from the ruling parties in the respective countries. These ruling parties were instrumental in the liberation of the countries that they now lead, but were also responsible for the levels of women's representation in these countries. As I will attempt to show in the Analysis Chapter of this study, the participants in this study, being from this generation of women leaders, come from a strong liberation background. They were not only active in the liberation of their countries, but were also instrumental in the realization of women's representation in the post-conflict governments. In the Analysis Chapter, I discuss their perspectives on these achievements, and their perspectives on their roles in the liberation of the countries and the participation of women in politics.

In the discussion of the impact of women's representation I provided examples of women politicians' legislative accomplishments. In the Analysis Chapter of this study I also develop these points further from the perspectives of the participants, particularly their experiences of participating in politics and working in government as women.

I begin the Analysis Chapter with a discussion of the participants' backgrounds. The main interest of this study has been to explore women political leaders' life paths and their motivations as leaders. An exploration of their backgrounds not only helps to contextualise who they are within their societies, but may also enable an understanding of how they came to be involved in politics, and ultimately how their participation has benefited (or not) benefited their countries.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to explain the methodology that was used to explore women political leaders' life experiences and their motivations in leadership. The chapter first outlines the aims, objectives and research questions that informed this study. The methodology and research methods are then discussed. The research method includes the sample and participants, data collection, data analysis, the ethical considerations and reflexivity, and the limitations of the study.

3.2 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study is to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders. Thus, the objectives of this study are;

1. To identify from women leaders' narratives the defining experiences that led to their leadership.
2. To evaluate if and why they as women leaders have been able to implement/pass/support women friendly policies and programmes.
3. To explore their views on women's leadership in politics and whether there has been a difference in having more women political leaders in their countries.

Research Questions

- What are the experiences of women leaders prior to and during their tenure as formal leaders?
- Have their experiences informed the positions they take and choices they make when fulfilling their responsibilities as leaders?
- What are their experiences of having many women represented in politics?

3.3 Qualitative Methodology

In selecting a methodology for this study I came across two categories of methodology; quantitative and qualitative (Patton & Cochran, 2002; Mack et all, 2005; Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). This study was not concerned with any form of measurement – so a quantitative methodology would have been inappropriate (Patton & Cochran, 2002; Mack et all, 2005). Qualitative methodology is concerned with the depth of rich information (Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). This study required in-depth data about life experiences, and so a qualitative methodology was used.

Qualitative methodology enables researchers to explore specific phenomena in a flexible, unrestricted approach (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Mack et al, 2005; Fritz, 2008). In other words, the researcher is enabled to engage with the research participants to develop ideas or topics as and when they occur (Mack et al, 2005; Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). This is beneficial in that it enables the researcher to pick up on things that they may not have previously been aware of, or to shift the interview to the things that the participant wants to discuss.

This level of flexibility makes qualitative methodology ideal for exploring specific social phenomena that are situated in cultural/social and temporal contexts (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Mack et al, 2005; Fritz, 2008; Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). A contextual and temporal exploration is possible because ‘qualitative research…aims to uncover reality, as seen from the eyes of the research participants themselves’ (Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). The reality of participants is important when conducting a contextual and temporal study because people view their world and their roles in it through a cultural prism (Fraser, 2004). This study is both contextual and temporal. The participants are situated in a post-conflict context and the study is interested in their life experiences as far back as their childhoods.

For these reasons I determined that a qualitative methodology would be the most appropriate for this study. In recent years qualitative methodology has grown in use, and as a legitimate scientific research methodology (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Qualitative research is a broad field comprising many research methods (Sandelowski, 2000). For this study I have used one qualitative method; narrative inquiry.

3.4 Narrative Inquiry

It is through the stories that people tell themselves and others that they are able to interpret and make meaning of their experiences. Through these stories they are able to describe who they are, and the world they live in (Clandinin & Huber, in press; Fraser, 2004). Narrative and story are not synonymous. Narrative is not just a story; it is a story about an experience (Clandinin & Huber, in press). Simply put, 'narrative inquiry is a way of understanding and inquiring into experience' (Clandinin & Huber, in press, pg. 3).

Through narratives, people tell the story of themselves and their identities through a cultural and social prism (Fraser, 2004). However, 'at the same time…culture is made by people who do not always do as they are told. Whether it is by accident or design, individuals do not always take up the types of narratives that they are "meant to"' (Fraser, 2004, pg. 180). This statement implies that while people create their own narratives there are already existing narratives for who they are supposed to be and their roles in society. However, narratives can also be used to oppose the dominant social and cultural narrative (Fraser, 2004). Here, Fraser (2004) also implies that narrative is not only constructed through assigning meanings to experiences that have already happened. Rather, narrative can be constructed through decision-making practices that then create experience.

It is exactly this deviation from the prescribed narrative that attracted me to the subject area of this study. The participants in this study have created their own narratives, which have deviated from the dominant cultural and social narrative that women cannot be leaders and/or politicians. That women are still poorly represented in politics around the world (as indicated in the Introduction Chapter), is evidence that these women have created their own narratives, outside of the dominant cultural and social narratives of women.

Therefore, a narrative enquiry was best suited to this study because it enabled me to explore the ways in which the participants' life experiences are socially and culturally situated, but also the ways in which they have created narratives outside of the prescribed social and cultural narratives.

3.5 Sampling & Participants

When first securing participants for this study my supervisor and I undertook a purposive sampling method. The purposive sampling method is whereby selection of participants is determined by the likelihood of their useful contribution of data, based on selection criteria (Patton & Cochran, 2002; Mack et al, 2005).We tried to identify women in Rwanda and South Africa who have or have had positions of leadership in politics in their respective countries. In addition, as this study is concerned with post-conflict leadership we sought women who held political positions in or after 1994.

As none of the participants reside in Bloemfontein, South Africa, where I live, a purposive sampling was required to attempt to reduce the costs of travel and stay in Johannesburg and Kigali (where the interviews took place). Without first having confirmed interviews upon arrival in these cities there was the risk that the costs could escalate due to the amount of time it would take to secure participants. Hence our focus on securing interviews prior to my departure to the respective cities. With each country the strategy varied. However, during the data collection period, a snowball sampling was also undertaken. Snowball sampling is whereby participants introduce or connect the researcher with other people who could be potential participants (Mack et al, 2005)

Rwanda

In Rwanda, as neither of us personally knew any women political leaders, we enlisted assistance from different sources. First, we requested assistance from Prof. Gertrude Fester who was at the Centre for Gender, Culture, and Development, which was then under The Kigali Institute of Education (KIE). From the Centre I received affiliation which enabled me to receive a government permit to conduct research in the country.

My supervisor also reached out to her professional network in the Institute for Inclusive Security in the United States. The Institute sent me a list of their Rwandan members and links to their biographies. Through the biographies I was able to determine which of their Rwandan members have held political positions post 1994. The Institute contacted this short-list of women directly to determine their willingness to participate in this study. I was then given the contact details of

those women that had replied favourably. From this assistance I was able to secure the bulk of my Rwandan participants.
A second source was from the Centre for Gender, Culture and Development. The Director, Dr. Rubagiza, contacted former students of the Centre that she knew where in government. Through Dr. Rubagiza I received additional participants.

Finally, though my supervisor and I had undertaken a purposeful sampling, once we reached Rwanda and my interviews began I started to develop a snowball sampling. Through one of my existing participants I was then able to secure an additional participant.
Below is a list of the participants and the positions that they have held. Pseudonyms have been used in order to protect the identities of the participants. Some did not request to be anonymous, but I have done so for the sake of uniformity in this study.

Participants

Name	**Age**	**Position**
Agathe	63	Former Ambassador
Aline	52	Former Parliamentarian
Jane	34	Executive in government institution
Nicole	46	Works in government institution
Clementine	55	Executive in government institution
Angelique	41	Former Parliamentarian

South Africa

In South Africa purposive sampling was also used at first. Two participants were secured through cold-calling. The first one I was able to meet and introduce myself at a public event, where she provided me with her contact details. The other I had no contacts for, so called an organisation that she is affiliated with for her contact details. My supervisor called both women to formally request their participation in this study, and she also secured interview dates with them.

A third participant was also secured through my supervisor as she had her contact information. As in Rwanda, a final participant was secured through the snowball method. One participant referred to me another, and provided the relevant contact details.
Below is a list of the participants and the positions that they have held.

Name	**Age**	**Position**
Kagiso	61	Former Parliamentarian
Thuto	82	Former Speaker of House
Bokang	81	Head of Government Institution
Lebohang	48	Former Parliamentarian
Nomsa	55	Ambassador

In total there are six participants from Rwanda and five from South Africa. Unfortunately, I had to give up securing a sixth participant in South Africa because of the time that it took to get in touch with them as well as their limited availability. My constraint on pursuing an additional participant was the approaching dissertation submission deadline, which I would have struggled to meet if more time was spent on pursuing and then interviewing an additional participant.
The biggest obstacle in securing participants was not willingness on their part, but their schedules, and finding a time-frame where they would all be available so as to eliminate the need for more than one trip to Johannesburg and Kigali. Despite these obstacles I was able to reach my target of at least 5 participants from each country.

3.6 Data Collection

Data collection in Rwanda took place in the last week of October and first week of November 2013. Data collection in South Africa took place in February 2014. Participants in one country represent one case study. In other words, all the participants from Rwanda are one case study, and all the participants from South Africa are a separate case study.
Individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant at the location of their choosing. The semi-structured interview is a method of asking questions but in a conversational style, guided by the research topic. They consist of a schedule of questions, which are asked of all the participants (Patton & Cochran, 2002).

The interviews in this study consisted of a schedule of questions and topics, based on the research aims and objectives outlined earlier in this chapter. The questions used can be categorised in four ways;

- Participants' demographics/background information.
- Prior to the interviews I researched each participant to learn as much as I could about them. Each interview was tailor-made to explore the unique personal and professional lives of each participant as an individual. As a result, some questions were unique to specific participants.
- Questions that were uniform within a case study were developed to explore the same topics, but within the case study context. For example, I asked each Rwandan participant for their response to critics of their representation figures as window-dressing. Questions to South African participants probed their opinions on the levels of gender-based violence in the country.
- Some questions were uniform within and across case studies. These were developed to explore the more general topics of politics, women's leadership, and women in politics. For example, I asked all participants in both case studies for their opinions on gender quotas in politics.

I found that at the beginning of an interview I did refer to the questions and the order in which I had them to start off the conversation. However, as the interview progressed I referred to the questions less, and at the end briefly read through them to ensure that I had covered all the topics that I needed to. I found that this method worked well for me as the researcher, as well as for the participants. The participants were given freedom to discuss and explore their narratives in an unlimited way. I found that in several instances the participants brought up some of the interview topics of their own accord.

Each interview was scheduled to take one to 1½ hours. However, a majority of these went over the time limit, and this was due to the willingness and openness of the participants to share their knowledge and experiences. However, there was one particular instance where a participant was only available for thirty minutes. This interview was less conversational because I found that as the researcher I felt more pressure to ensure I had covered as many of the topics as possible. This was the one instance in which the interview felt more like a question-and-answer session than a conversation and unrestricted narrative development.

In addition, my first interview conducted with a Rwandan participant was my first interview as a researcher. The day of the interview was chaotic as the venue was hosting an international conference, which the President of Rwanda was attending. As a result, it was difficult to get through security. This left me feeling flustered and nervous for the interview. After reporting back to my supervisor after this interview, and discussing what I had learned, my supervisor alerted me to the fact that the interview really only skimmed the surface, and I did not ask the participant for more detail or examples to support their assertions or views. After this I made a conscious effort during interviews to try to elicit concrete examples and instances from participants.

All of the interviews, except for one, were conducted in English. One interview was used with the services of a translator, as the participant preferred to use her mother tongue, Kinyarwanda, and the translator translated into English.

An additional difficulty during the interview process was with translation. The translator had no prior experience, and was introduced by a mutual friend. The translator was fluent in English, but was not conscious of when she started to interpret what the participant was saying, instead of simply translating. Fortunately, as the participant can speak English (just not fluently) she became aware of this, and where possible she tried to speak English. I also attempted to ask more pointed or precise questions to get the participant to be specific, thus trying to prevent the translator having too much room to interpret for me. In hindsight I realise that I should have been explicit with the translator in terms of specifying what their role should be, and reminded her if she unconsciously started interpreting the responses of the participant.

The translator was given a confidentiality form to sign, a copy of which I provided the participant. However, I realise that despite this, there is the possibility that the participant, being a member of government, may have felt self-conscious or even withheld information or opinions that she might otherwise have felt comfortable to share because the translator is an eligible voter.

All interviews were audio recorded, with the consent of the participants.

3.7 Data Analysis

Prior to data analysis the audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed. The Rwandan interviews were transcribed by the researcher. The transcription of the South African interviews was outsourced to a professional transcriber. The transcription of the South African interviews was outsourced due to time limitations. A confidentiality agreement was signed by the transcriber to protect the identity of the participants who wish to remain anonymous, as well as to protect the data.

Analysis

Each transcript was analysed individually for themes. Guest et al (2011) define themes as ‘implicit and explicit ideas within the data’, (pg. 10). Themes from each transcript were then compared with themes from all transcripts within one case study. This was then followed by analysis of themes from across case studies. Analysis began with the Rwandan transcripts as this was the first case study that I had completed. This process involved the following;
Each interview transcript was read several times to gain an intimate knowledge of the contents and to gain familiarity with what each participant talked about. I did not follow a particular structure or method of reading them. Notes were made on each transcript as I began to find developing themes. This enabled me to begin to identify what was most talked about by the participants, what their opinions were on different topics, and what their life experiences were. I was able to begin to see the similarities and differences amongst participants, both within and across case studies.

To help think critically about what was being read, I used a narrative analysis guideline provided by Fraser (2004). This guideline provided the following points to consider when reading the transcripts (Fraser, 2004, pg. 190 - 195);

- What are the common themes in each transcript?
- Are there ‘main points’ that you can decipher from particular stories?
- Where are the vocal inflections? What might they signify?
- What words are chosen and how are they emphasized?
- What kinds of meanings might be applied to these words?
- What other vocalizations and non-verbal gestures are present?

- What contradictions emerge?
- Are there notable silences, pauses or gaps? If so, how might they be distinguished and what might they suggest (for instance, disagreement, boredom, distress?)
- How are common patterns or plots unveiled?
- Are sensational, provocative or contentious stories deliberately fore-grounded – or conversely – avoided? If so, what are the implications?
- Are stories that challenge the views on which the research is predicated given sufficient analytical attention? If not, how is this rationalized?

This is not a comprehensive list of the questions raised by Fraser (2004), but it indicates the level of depth and detail that this guideline encourages for data analysis.

I discovered Fraser's (2004) guidelines after I had begun the analysis of the Rwanda case study. However, it was still useful as this was the first time I had undertaken narrative analysis. And while I had previously read on different strategies, such as coding, this guideline makes it much simpler for a beginner to understand the intricacy and interpretive nature of narrative analysis. I therefore used Fraser to examine whether I had comprehensively examined the Rwandan Case Study. After finding themes in the Rwanda case I searched for themes in the South African case.
During the process of finding themes while reading the transcripts I began to make notes on them separately. The notes were organised according to themes as they emerged, and included which participants had discussed which themes, and what their views were on them. I also began to search for literature which discusses these themes, and compared the literature with what my data was saying. One of Fraser's (2004) recommendations is to consider the ways in which the themes address, or do not address, the research questions and study objectives. From this recommendation I began to organise the themes according to the study objectives in particular, to determine if I had accomplished what I had set out to investigate. It also enabled me to determine what developing themes did not tie directly to the research objectives. This was helpful in terms of helping me determine what structure the Analysis Chapter of this study should take.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Research ethics have to do with the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Ethics in research are important to both respect the needs and well-being of the participants, and also to develop a level of trust between the researcher and the participant (Mack et al, 2005).
The proposal for this study was approved and registered by the Humanities Faculty Committee at the University of the Free State. When making an approval the committee examines the ethics of the proposed study, and it would not be approved if it was felt that the study raised ethical questions.

To conduct an ethical study all participants in this study were provided with an (i) explanatory note and a (ii) consent form prior to the interviews.
(i) The explanatory note explained to the participants what the study is about, the purpose of the study, the institutions that I am affiliated with, and the expected format and duration of the interview. It also contained my contact details in the event they needed to get in touch with me after the interview.
(ii) The consent form was signed by both the researcher and each participant, and each received their own copy. By signing this form the participants agreed to several things, including; confirming that they understood the purpose of the study, they agreed to participate in the study, they agreed to have the interviews recorded, and they were able to specify whether they wanted to be anonymous in the study or not.
Another issue pertaining to the ethical considerations of this study is that of the validity of the findings. To ensure the validity of this study I undertook a reflexive process.

3.9 Reflexivity

All researchers are positioned, whether it is by their background (gender, race, class, etc.) or their life experiences. It is important for researchers to disclose this information where relevant in instances where it could affect the data and data analysis, as this could affect the validity of the study (Patton & Cochran, 2002). The process of thinking about one’s position in relation to the research, and the impact it may have, is called reflexivity (Pillow, 2010).

In conducting data collection the researcher has to try to be objective. This means that the researcher has to dispose of assumptions and opinions that they have, attempt to not lead the participant through a particular line of thinking, and try to remain open minded with what emerges in the process of data collection (Pillow, 2010). I believe that the key point here is to remain open minded; not to expect particular types of answers or results. This would enable the researcher to avoid imposing their own assumptions and perspectives on the research process.

It is important to make clear that I have approached this study with a strong feminist perspective and background. This has been the biggest influence not only in my selection of research subject, but also in my selection of research methods, down to many of the questions posed to the participants. However, this is not unusual in feminist research in general, as the aim of feminist work is to produce knowledge that can empower women (Pillow, 2010).

The questions that I posed sought to engage the participants on how their work has had an effect on ordinary women's lives. I did not spend much time investigating the effects of their leadership on men, children, community, society, etc. (though in some cases this was touched on).
Throughout this study the question that has been at the forefront of my mind is 'what does this women's leadership mean for ordinary women?' Therefore, I held the perspective that leadership is a position of privilege, that women's leadership is important, that women should have access to leadership positions, and that women in leadership have a special responsibility to use their positions to empower other women.
However, once having completed data collection for this study my perspective has changed in a few ways. I have learned that sometimes leadership is as much a sacrifice as it is a privilege for women. I have learned that women leaders experience a degree of pressure and anxiety as a result of their positions. Because of these findings (discussed under the Analysis Chapter) my thought process has changed from that of 'what does women's leadership mean for ordinary women?' to 'how can women leaders be empowered and assisted to make meaningful contributions for women in general?'

Despite my previous perspective, I made efforts to be critical of myself and to think critically about the data. I kept a journal during data collection, detailing my experiences and feelings on the interviews and the participants. This enabled me to be aware and conscious of my perspective, and how it may affect my data analysis. I believe that because my expectations and some of my ideas about women and political leadership have changed, this is an indication that I was successfully able to push-aside my preconceived notions, have an open mind, and engage in the process critically.

In addition, as previously indicated, I used Fraser (2004) as a guideline during my data analysis. Having clear outside questions to use when undertaking data analysis, I was able to prevent myself from only asking those questions that develop from one's preconceived ideas.

Thirdly, having done research on the topic prior to data collection, I had already had some knowledge of what the literature says regarding the different topics. By comparing what the participants said with what the literature states also enabled me to look beyond what I as the researcher wanted to know, but to also look at what topics are currently being engaged with in the field, and how the participants' answers compared.

Because I employed three different strategies to attempt to prevent my beliefs and ideas from influencing the findings of this study, I believe that I have successfully ensured validity, while remaining true to my central hope that the knowledge produced here will somehow improve women's life.

3.10 Limitations of the Research

Qualitative research does not seek to provide general findings or models that can be applied to other contexts and areas (Mack et al, 2005). As a result, this study does not attempt to provide conclusive or general answers to questions regarding women and leadership, or women in politics. It is only an attempt to provide new information and insights, and even knew ways of thinking about the subject area.

In addition, with each election cycle a country can have different women come to power, some may retire from politics, etc. Therefore, the women interviewed in this study cannot be taken to be the voice of women political leaders in their countries at any given time. Furthermore, the women were interviewed in their personal and private capacities, not as representatives of political parties or governments. For this reason their opinions cannot be taken to be official government policy on the issues they discussed, unless they explicitly indicate otherwise.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter described the methodology and research methods employed while undertaking this study. It detailed the sampling and participants, the data collection and analysis, the ethical considerations and limitations of this study. It also outlines the strengths and weakness of this study in terms of what obstacles and challenged occurred, and how they were addressed where possible.

Chapter Four: Analysis

4.1 Demographics

Name	Age	Position*	POB	Marital Status	Children
Agathe	63	Former Ambassador	Rwanda*	Divorced	Yes
Aline	52	Former Parliamentarian	Rwanda*	Divorced	Yes
Jane	34	In government department	Uganda*	Divorced	Yes
Angelique	41	Former Parliamentarian	DRC*	Married	Yes
Nicole	46	In women's government organisation	Rwanda	Single	No
Clementine	55	Former Minister	Rwanda*	Married	Yes
Thuto	82	Former Parliamentarian	South Africa	Single	No
Nomsa	55	Former Parliamentarian and Ambassador	South Africa	Married	Yes
Lebohang	48	Former Minister	South Africa	Married	Yes
Kagiso	61	Former Parliamentarian & Commissioner	South Africa	Divorced	No
Bokang	81	Former Chair of Government Institution	South Africa	Single	Yes

* Their positions are deliberately vague in order to protect their identities.

* Denotes former refugee. Agathe, Aline, Jane & Clementine were refugees in Uganda. Angelique was a refugee in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. All returned to Rwanda in or after 1994.

4.2 Introduction

The aim of this study was to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders. The research questions of the study were;

- What are the experiences of women leaders prior to and during their tenure as formal leaders?
- Have their experiences informed the positions they take and choices they make when fulfilling their responsibilities as leaders?

- What are their experiences of having many women represented in politics?

From the participant's narratives I determined the following seven themes which answered the above research questions;

- Impact – an exploration of their views on gender quotas and impact and their opinions on women's representation in their respective countries.
- Educational backgrounds – an examination of their educational backgrounds found that education is both a defining life experience and a motivating factor in the leadership of women. Professional backgrounds and entries into politics – a discussion of their professions before politics and the events that led to holding formal positions in government and politics.
- The family – an exploration of the role that family plays in the lives of women leaders.
- Motherhood and marriage – an analysis of whether they have been able to reconcile motherhood and marriage with leadership, and how these personal roles influence their leadership.
- Worldview – a discussion of life events that shaped, particularly during childhood, and influenced them in terms of how they see the world and their place in it.
- Parliamentary women's groups – this theme examines the different world views in a more explicit way but using an example where the different views have affected outcomes in terms of co-operation amongst women parliamentarians in particular.

4.3 Impact

While women politicians' impact is a large area of research (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007), it was out of the scope of this study to investigate impact in detail. Rather, I asked the participants for their views on and experiences of quotas and impact.

Rwanda:

The international community has classified Rwanda's government and political leadership as an authoritarian regime that suppresses opposition to its leadership (Silva-Leander, 2008; Hogg, 2009). It has questioned whether Rwanda's women politicians can have agency to make an impact given a repressive political climate (Hogg, 2009). For this reason looking at impact in Rwanda is not as simple as looking at the relationship between numbers and legislation, etc. Yet it was an important factor to explore in this study because one would imagine that working in what is considered to be an undemocratic regime would constitute an important life experience and one would want to understand the motivations behind those that would participate in such a regime, if that were the case.

Because I was interested in their own experiences and perspectives of women's impact I asked the participants for their experiences and views on the suggestion that they are window-dressing for the purposes of state legitimisation and donor-funding. I also asked them for their opinions on the issue of quotas, and whether they are supportive of this as a measure of increasing women's representation. As discussed in the Literature Review, Rwanda makes use of constitutionally enshrined reserved seats quotas of 30%, meaning that only women are allowed to hold those seats (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2005; Burnet, 2008). Discussed later in this chapter is that in their professional work prior to having formal political and government positions a majority of the participants were involved in work empowering women in different ways, as previously discussed. In other words, they already had an impact on women's lives before becoming members of government. This section then deals with their impact after taking formal political positions.

Window-Dressing

The question of window-dressing was met with indignation and some firm responses;

> *Jane: Window dressing what? Window dressing what? No, it's absolutely not true because what is there to window dress? When you have women in parliament, or you have men in parliament...I mean the opportunities to work for them is there, it is not like women hide anything, or men hide anything. I think that's rubbish actually, honestly. It is just criticising for the sake of it.*

Clementine expressed a similar kind of exasperation to the question;

> *So who are we pleasing, who are we pleasing? That we are window dressing? Why don't they do it? I don't think so because if that was the case I think that everybody would do it. And I don't think we are even getting any more money than anybody because we have women in our parliament. And our President has said it so many times, women inclusion, this is what he says and this is what I believe; 1; it is their right, it's their right. 2; women are more than 50% of this country, if we really want*

> *to develop we cannot leave half of the population aside, and I know the leadership of this country is for development.*

The participant not only defended her country and president, but herself as a woman who was appointed;

> *I don't think I was given a job as a woman to window dress. I'm not here for window dressing. But you know I am not one of the top most women and we have but we have the speakers, we've had women speakers of parliament successively. I don't think we are window dressing otherwise what would we want our parliament to do if it is headed by a woman, it's like we don't want our parliament to work. Then for the 64% of women in parliament, those are women that, those are parliamentarians that we spend a lot of money on them in the national budget. Why should we spend money to window dress? I don't think people who are saying that are being fair. Actually they are being unfair.*

The participant is arguing that if women are appointed/elected to window-dress then Rwanda's government and parliament would be ineffective. The same participant indicated that the accusations are a deflection from representation levels in other countries;

> *Clementine: But on the other hand, I think countries have failed to recognise the importance and the potential of women. So in covering up their own failures they have to get, they have to get an explanation why we are doing so. Actually I wish I could ask why they do not have this 50/50 percent women. Why don't they? Now for them they are not even progressing, and they believe in human rights. Well they say they believe in human rights.*

Angelique had a globally situated view on the matter, arguing that doubts about Rwanda's levels of representation stem from a deep-rooted gender ideology that women are not capable to be leaders. Her argument is that Rwanda is questioned because outsiders cannot believe that it is possible to have impactful numbers at those levels;

> *This is the struggle of all women in the world. So they are viewed as not capable. They are viewed as a caretaker of the family, take care of the kids, they cook. The western countries, as time goes by they will also realise it is not just about the number, it's about performance. Yeah, it is not only the western countries, it's even Africa, even Rwanda. People saying they are not capable but when they are there they realise they are capable.*

Around the world, in 2007, women only held about 17% or parliamentary seats and 14% of ministerial positions. Even then, they mostly occupy what are soft or women and family welfare positions (Hunt, 2007). The participants in this study are not only from women's or soft posts;

one was an ambassador, another works for a government department supporting economic growth, another was a member of a parliamentary committee charged with over-seeing environmental and agricultural issues.

Quotas

Rwanda has a history of using quotas, but previously they were based on ethnicity (Hilker, 2011). Now quotas are used based on gender. Clementine explains the differences between the two – and why it is important to have gender quotas in Rwanda;

> *You know the RPF policy of inclusiveness was, I think it was such a great opportunity for all Rwandans, but more so for women, you know? There had been discrimination in this country, but people had not even realised that there was discrimination against women. They could see the discrimination based on ethnicity, the identity cards which had the Hutus and Tutsis, in education were the Hutus were given the priority to go to school, in employment. This was not a secret, you know? Quotas were the way of doing business. But here the quotas, we are all Rwandans, we are all Rwandans. So why put quotas for people based on ethnicity, which is not even, there is no clear cut. I'm sure in South Africa it is black and white. For us we are speaking the same language, we live together in the same environment, we have the same culture, you know? But simply because some colonialists came and created some divisions, and actually told people to believe so, which even had to result in something like the genocide, so it was the exclusiveness that was in Rwanda all the time, was very bad. But it was even worse given the fact that women who were the mothers of the nation were totally forgotten.*

Aline who arrived through a reserved seat, explained that women are not appointed to these seats; they have to campaign to win a seat;

> *When in our campaigning we don't compete with men, only women who compete amongst themselves.*

This means that they are elected by their constituency, and are not appointed as tokens to fill seats.

The participants overwhelmingly support the use of quotas. They believe that having a descriptive representation has resulted in substantive representation in Rwanda, as well as symbolic representation where perceptions of women's capabilities have been positively influenced.

Substantive and Symbolic representation

Literature has explored the impact of women's descriptive representation in Rwanda. Some literature points to the successes of women parliamentarians having sponsored and passed legislation improving women's land and inheritance rights, as well as gender-based violence legislation (Pearson & Powley, 2008). Other literature questions whether descriptive representation in Rwanda has any substantive value at all (Hogg, 2009). The less contested area is that of symbolic representation. Symbolic representation is important because the literature (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2000; Paxton & Kunovich, 2003) states that a significant factor affecting women's political participation around the word is gender ideology. Amongst the participants of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (2000) survey the most widely discussed obstacle to women's political participation in politics is a negative gender ideology (Paxton & Kunovich, 2003).

The participants are conscious of the pervasive negative gender ideology that exists;

> *Aline: …not only in Africa also all over the world where they say that leadership is for men, women cannot be leaders, and all that.*
> *Agathe: Not – I think not from my country, but everybody is watching whether, 'can she do it?'*
> *Angelique: …people say that women are talkative. [Women are] fighting hard to do their best so that they remove that thing of there is a way people see them, treat women as not capable…. 'What is behind the number? What is here? Are they delivering?'*

Burnet (2011) conducted ethnographic research of women at all levels of Rwandan society, including politicians and non-politicians. She found that women from all sectors of society had gained a sense of pride, value, importance and respect as women as a result of the Rwandan government's gender policies. This finding is evidence of symbolic representation that is changing the gender ideology and empowering women in Rwanda. Aline explained how there were sharp increases in the number of women contesting seats during the second elections because they had seen other women do it and were encouraged by women leaders;

> *So what we did was to mobilise and empower women, more women. So for those 5 years we were there we had empowered very many, so they were enlightened, that's how even they came many contesters. Like in my region, first time we contested the women were only 5, but in 2008 there were 28 women contesting for only 6 posts.*

This is an example of how symbolic representation has translated into more descriptive representation as more women are campaigning for the reserved seats. Aline spoke of changes in gender ideology as a result of women's descriptive representation;

> *So we got that chance, we entered the parliament, we entered other leadership positions, then that's when they arrived, 'oh, so these women can perform!' Because if you are not in the leadership they cannot see whether you can manage to perform. But when you are there you are given responsibility and you perform accordingly, that's when the men, the whole population, started to realise, 'ah! So these women are able to perform'.*

More controversially, the participants also believe that substantive representation has been achieved through descriptive representation. Also, from their responses below, one sees that there is a relationship between all three types of representation. Angelique spoke of the substantive representation that has been achieved;

> *It's not just a number, but also, they perform. Like you can't say the success they've made in the parliament, the 56% were women, and then you tell us and say these are the men who did this and the success was because of the men. Women were included, they participated. We have this, the ranking for World Bank, for IMF, so we were ranked at a place that is not bad in our doing business and the law was made by the parliament of Rwanda that made this success in doing business, so how can you separate this success we made in Rwanda with women because women were part of different activities that made the success story of Rwanda.*

Agathe discussed several ways women's leadership has had an impact, first the symbolic representation;

> *So now that we've got the quotas in some areas the women do get into these positions, then now everybody is turning round to say, 'oh, you know, are these numbers effective?' Some people even say, 'what's the quality of these women who get into these quotas?' But, to me that's not the issue. They are there anyway. Several reasons, first, and very important; it has demystified this whole feeling that leadership is for men. Children, young people like you growing up, you're no longer surprised to see a woman head of state, it's no longer such a big surprise. It was a huge surprise for us when we were growing up. It was unusual. But now it is no longer. So this presence it has that intellectual effect of changing the whole mind set in terms of women's leadership, leadership capacity.*

She also spoke of substantive representation that has occurred;

> *Secondly, I would say like in Rwanda, what we are seeing, the presence of women, not just in parliament, but also in government, we have had such really fantastic laws*

have been passed, you know, which guarantee the rights of girls and women and like The Family Law which gives, also with inheritance, things like that, because before Rwanda is patriarchal country like many African ones, so Inheritance was for boys because the girl is going to get married. So, and with the genocide because we ended up with a whole lot of young girls orphans and their relatives were taking up all the property from the parents if the parents had died because they are females. But all that has changed now. They have the right to inherit. That's one of the laws, and we have passed an anti-GBV Law. So many laws like that. They are the result I think of the presence of women in government. And in parliament, like we have a woman who is the head of the environmental authority here, which means that even within the environmental regulations and legislation that is being passed there is laws that gender perspective. So really the presence has a lot of impact.

Aline discussed the way in which having a descriptive representation has resulted in substantive representation in Rwanda;

The laws which are gender sensitive, they are made in the parliament. If there were few women in the parliament that means those laws wouldn't exist, would you tell me that one woman or two women in the parliament could lobby the men who are there and manage all of them? But if the number is big; you take this one, I take this one, we take this one, and you lobby them; the gender sensitive laws are passed. You go to judiciary now, we have 50% women. Go to local government you have 50% women. Why? Because of the big number in the parliament. The laws manages everything. And in Rwanda a law is a law, it must be implemented. It's not like, it's not like other countries where things are on papers, it is their constitution, they talk very good things, but when it comes to implementation it is a different issue. But in Rwanda the law is the law. It has to be implemented.

She spoke of how the laws that women parliamentarians have lobbied and voted for have changed women's lives in Rwanda;

If you go to these income generating activities, when you go to market, many women are working there, which formerly everything was being done by men…and now you see our country the economic growth,… we have a population of about 10 million, if it is only 5 million to work for the rest of the people, do you think that would be viable? Can you produce a lot? So in Rwanda we are pushing very hard because all the population is involved…women are there everywhere. They have been sensitised, they have been fully mobilised because of the big number which started from where? Leadership. A local woman now knows how to go to the bank, which they didn't know. Formerly a woman was not even supposed to open here in the law, they were not supposed to open a bank account without consulting the husband…

While all of the participants strongly support quotas, there is also a feeling and understanding that women are not just there to represent women's interests but also serve the government;

> *Angelique: Like when we are dealing with women's issues, as I can say, yeah it's good because if you are a woman you understand your fellow woman, but it's not always about that. Women should be there to perform all their tasks, but not only for women, but also for the government.*

Similarly Jane said that the country is focusing on gender equality as opposed to women's empowerment only;

> *Now, whether that number means that there will be more favourable decisions for women; I don't think it's necessarily true because at the end of the day these days there's very few gender specific legislations that we bring, we want to give equal opportunity to men and women, so as much as possible the laws should all be equal for men and women or it should be able to make sense to man and woman. Even if it affects women more or men it should be able to make sense to man and woman.*

I believe that this is evidence that women's representation in Rwanda is not just window-dressing. If it were an issue of window-dressing women would only be required for and relegated to dealing with women's and welfare issues. Nor would they feel the responsibility of representing men as well, not just women.

Based on the responses of the participants to questions of window-dressing, quotas and impact, I believe that they are not agency-less victims in an undemocratic regime.

Hogg (2009) writes, '…even though women have constituted a critical mass…there have been no substantial changes in policy outcomes that move beyond 'women's issues,' or that disrupt the RPF's agenda…these argumentative strands can be woven together to seriously question RPF's assertions that women's greater presence has led to…an automatic translation to the advancement of democratic ideals'.

Part of the argument that Hogg (2009) makes is that there has been no opposition to the authoritarian regime by the women. This argument has the implication that women politicians in Rwanda are agency-less victims of the authoritarian RPF regime, as per the window-dressing discussion. While Hogg (2009) questions if women are truly politically empowered in Rwanda, she does interrogate the essentialist notion that women are naturally peace-loving and proponents of democracy. As one participant pointed out earlier, quoted below again, these accusations may partly be a result of people's internalised beliefs that women are not capable of performing, and so accusations of window-dressing make it easier to understand women's representation in Rwanda.

> *Angelique: This is the struggle of all women in the world. So they are viewed as not capable. They are viewed as a caretaker of the family, take care of the kids, cook. The western countries, as time goes by they will also realise it is not just about the number, it's about performance. Yeah, it is not only the western countries, it's even Africa, even Rwanda. People saying they are not capable but when they are there they realise they are capable.*

Based on the participant's vehement denial of such accusations of window-dressing, but also based on their narratives, I believe they are not victims and puppets of an authoritarian regime. For the sake of objectivity, one can argue that the participants denied the window-dressing accusation exactly because they live and work in an oppressive, authoritarian regime, and so are afraid to voice their true opinions. However, when considered in relation to the rest of their narratives (continued below in this Analysis), one is inclined to believe that they are being honest.

South Africa

South Africa is considered to have a thriving democracy (Hassim, 2003), as such accusations of window-dressing cannot be made, as compared to Rwanda. Rather, the discourse on women leaders in South Africa has been on the quality of their representation particularly because the nature of the political system in which they work (proportional representation) holds them accountable to the party that places them on candidate lists, and not to constituents (Hassim, 2003).

Quotas

South Africa uses a political party quota system; gender quotas are adopted and implemented by political parties and not the state. The ruling ANC has been the leading political party in this regard and has a 50/50 gender quota as party policy (Gender Links, 2014). The South African participants are supportive of using gender quotas to get women into political positions. Interestingly, some of the participants said that quotas were not just important in terms of challenging social and institutional prejudices against women's representation, but also against women's own internalised prejudices against each other. In addition, the participants do not blindly support quotas. They are critical of some the issues that arise through the use of quotas, such as over-burdening women with the responsibility of being the only ones to address women's interests. Bokang views quotas as an absolute necessity for fairness, but also because the causes of gender inequality (particularly patriarchal attitudes) will not be resolved in the immediate future and so measures such as quotas will be required for as long as there is gender inequality;

> *I'm a supporter, a great supporter of the quota system. I think that if you are treated in a society as a minority that has no power, that has no influence, that is marginalised as women are, we will not wait for a world that will not have patriarchy. It has been hundreds of years for women to prove to the world that the fact that they can bring people into this world and nurture them and take care of them, they are capable. It has not happened. Patriarchy is beyond us. And I am not prepared that we wait until patriarchy disappears…Let the quota system give us space until such a time when we'll have enough power as women.*

Lebohang points to how gender inequality can be circumvented through quotas especially because the inequality is not just about attitudes, but is also institutionalised;

> *My view is when as a movement or any collective you also look at a variety of instruments around which to reach your desired objective. So the quota for me is just but one instrument that women use world-wide to be able to assert, particularly where you face very chauvinistic bureaucracies that wouldn't naturally allow for women's participation.*

Bokang discussed the ways in which women constituents do not support women's leadership because of internalised prejudices against women;

> *They don't just go for a female; they go for a female because they know that particular female on her own she will never be given a chance by men, by society, by women themselves because women are not socialised to affirm the leadership of another women. So who is going to appoint you? Who's going to appoint you…you know why women refuse? They are refusing because they are, 'if I cannot do it, she can't do it.' I project my own insecurity…I project it in you so I think if I can't do it then you can't do it: no, a woman can't be strong enough to do that. And so now if we wait for all these attitudes to change we will wait for the next thousands of years.*

Critics of quotas have argued that it can result in tokenism (Hassim, 2003). Nomsa alluded to the risks involved with gender quotas, but still supports them;

> *I am one of the people that has been a champion of quotas; I continue to be a champion of quotas and I'm aware of the dangers of quotas, but I'm also aware of the dangers of non-inclusion of women – and given the two I would rather go for the dangers of inclusion. In my understanding you have to give women, just like you have done with black people, access to institutions of power. And because of apartheid and patriarchy they don't have that natural approach. It's always whites that would have the natural approach, and men. So you've got to consciously think about women and this is why the quota then helped you because it gives you that opportunity to open the door for women to enter.*

As indicated earlier, the participants are not uncritical supporters of gender quotas. Here Thuto discusses the difference between party quotas and reserved seats;

> *Thuto: And there are so many different mechanisms. It depends on if you want an appointed parliament you can arbitrarily say we'll have so many women; or if you have reserved seats. But then you are making to me a fundamental problem. Are women the only ones who have to work on gender?*
> *NM (researcher): No.*
> *Thuto: Then why? You then put the burden on the women once you create that. Now for political parties to have quotas to be more representative makes much more sense – and that is what certainly what we did in the ANC. But also the danger was – well, we have had a proportional representation system, so we started with the 30% and then today it is 50%. But we went much further than that; we said you can't then just put all the women at the bottom of the list, so it's got to be every third woman, every third member on your list has got to be a woman, or every fifth has got to be a woman – you see, this is in the first 10 you must have the 30 or 50 all the way down. So we thought about the balloting system and used that kind of way to even out. Men didn't like it. It didn't matter because we had to put the political commitment of the organisation – if there's someone who didn't like it too bad for them.*

Thuto takes the view that the burden of representing women's interests should not fall on the shoulders of women alone. Rather, quotas should be used to ensure fair and equal representation. She also points to the importance of how a quota is implemented; in this case the positions in which women are placed on candidate lists.

Quotas in Practice

The most recent national elections in South Africa were in 2014. These elections saw a sharp decline in women's representation in the country's national parliament, provincial legislatures and in the cabinet. The most notable cause is the failings of party quotas. That is; it is up to the political parties to adopt and implement quotas. While the ANC has a party quota it does not strictly and consistently adhere to it, nor does it strictly adhere to an equal balloting system (alternating male and women candidates). Most opposition parties, including the biggest opposition party the Democratic Alliance do not even have quotas at all and women's leadership in other parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Party is dismal (Gender Links, 2014).

There is an additional cause for declines in representation that Bokang saw during her tenure at the Independent Electoral Commission;

> *Like now the women are having problems even within the African National Congress on the quota system. The men phone them, threaten them at night that, 'don't allow your name to go'. And suddenly one year we were getting a lot of resignations. I asked my colleagues, 'why?' And then I'm angry with the women. I'm not aware and then I started to follow that the women in fact are under threat that, ;why have you taken these positions; don't you know that I need to have the position so I can get salaries for my children? If you are going to be in this position you and your husband will be earning money.'*

Therefore, Bokang explains that patriarchal attitudes, including the assumption that all women have a husband providing for them and their children, also impacts on women's representation in silent ways. Lebohang also discussed the ways in which individuals jostle and lobby for positions and spots on candidate lists, which then inadvertently hampers women's opportunities;

> *Here I'm talking about a very progressive movement which has always upheld issues of women's emancipation. But immediately post-1994 that disinterest came in to play; men were jostling for power, it was like the survival of the fittest and the law of the jungle. So you had to actually remind them and then they said, 'ja, but we are not nominating each other'. But even if you were to nominate each other, where nominations from the branches you had more men so there was no way you could win. So you had to instil a quota, you actually had to fight for a quota of these things, which will create an opening and then through participation and work, but also level of conscietising the very men, then it became natural.*

Therefore, the South African case shows that adopting quotas is an important first step. However, pressure must be placed on the dominant ANC to continually implement its quota. Similarly, pressure must be placed on those parties without quotas to adopt and implement them. As Hassim (2003) wrote, even within a party that has displayed a commitment to women's representation there are no guarantees, and we see this playing out in the most recent elections. As Bokang said, quotas are a necessity until gender equality is achieved.

Impact

The participants point to the importance of using quotas to find and elect competent women who will perform in their positions. Lebohang provides an excellent example of how the case cannot be made that there are no suitable or qualified women available for various positions;

> *I mean just if I was to share with you one anecdote, in Cabinet, once one minister brings in a memo for an advisory committee…I think one woman out of 10 – and instinctively all of us as women just said 'no!', and his answer was, 'well, I don't know women in this sector.' So I said, 'You don't know them, we'll find them for you.' The president said, 'yes'. We did suspend that memo that day, it didn't pass. We looked for women, and said, 'here they are, here's their profiles'. And we had to insist that there must be a database because if men ministers say they don't know women, so let's have a database with all women so that you can't argue and say you don't know women. Obviously you may not know them… but we know that they are there.*

Similarly, in explaining their support of quotas the participants emphasised that quotas are not based on solely having women placed, but ensuring those suitably competent women are elected/appointed;

> *Bokang: So I am for a quota system because through a quota system you can get into the system and work as well as any other man – because it doesn't mean a quota system you are taken because you are incompetent. It is giving you a chance. They pick women who are competent…*

Geisler (2000), who conducted interviews with South African women parliamentarians, quoted one as saying, 'whether you are a token or not does not depend on those who put you there, it depends on what you are doing' (p. 618). In other words, the reasons you were put into a position (your race, gender, etc.) does not matter as much as what you ultimately do with that opportunity and position.

> Lebohang: *But it's also about the performance which is what I was saying to you that one of the things I was conscious about is that having gone in there, not even by a quota, because I was elected into a position…*

Around the world women are generally placed in soft, social positions relating to women and welfare. Conversely, South Africa has a track record of placing women into all kinds of government and political posts, including those that are considered traditionally masculine posts (Hassim, 2003).

> *Nomsa: But even as you are looking for the women to enter, it's not as if you are just picking up any other women; you are selected because you are aware of the obstacles, natural obstacles, and these socially created obstacles. So you've got to make sure the women who're selected are women that can -. You are not then saying that here are the men that are very good but because there are men I'm just going to pick up any women. And if you don't have what you think are the very good women, you offer training for them, and it's usually not true that they are not there – because there is no political school that men, in the ANC for instance, go to especially for men for them to understand ANC policy. We go through together and some of them are even younger in terms of political understanding than the women that are there; but it is taken as natural that a person who joins the ANC, a man who joins the ANC in 1994 is better than a woman who joined the ANC in 1980…so it's about giving opportunity for access for women to enter those institutions or those positions.*

Nomsa raises an important point in light of recent discourses by the ruling party on the possibility of electing a woman as president of the country in the next elections. Recent comments made by President Zuma that the country could be ready for a woman president (Letsoalo, 2014) raises the question as to why was it not ready before? How can it be a move towards gender equality if women's representation levels are decreasing? And as Nomsa points out, there have always been qualified and competent women within the ANC. Therefore, even if a woman president were to be elected, it would be based on the politics of the party, and based on the permission of the current male leadership. Therefore, while there may be benefits to be had from the election of a woman president, the victory might ring hollow in terms of a step towards gender equality.

The participants in this study arrived in parliament and other sectors of government with the 1994 elections. Studies of this first group of women found that these women carried the parliamentary and political discourses on gender and women's issues, they were not shared equally with men representatives (Geisler, 2000). Vetten et al (2012) discuss the ways in which subsequent women's legislation has been weak compared to the legislation that was passed by the first group of women parliamentarians. Discussed later under Education women parliamentarians in particular have begun to participate in parliament less because they doubt themselves, which would then impact on how effectively they are able to represent women's interests. Thuto states that the burden of gender equality and representing women's interests should not be the burden of women representatives alone. Unfortunately, this has been the case.

The result is that women representatives are overburdened (Hassim, 2003). This is a point I made about Rwanda – arguing that women representatives face a third shift. In the South African context Hassim (2003) points to the same issue, though she does not explicitly call it a third-shift.

Hassim (2003) also argues that it is important to consider the relationship between women party members and the party, their relationships with male colleagues and the party leadership, especially in a PR system where they are answerable to the party and not to constituents. The opposite would then be a constituent based system. However, Bokang discussed the way in which the constituent based system would further disadvantage women;

> *Where would you get the money from to campaign? Who knows you? And the difficulties now that women have, even though some people like the constituency system is that campaigning is very hard. It means they have got to be away from their home campaigning. It's very difficult leaving small kids, and then there is the problem of the resources that they don't have for campaigning for paying the staff. So it's still a big challenge. I know some people who want the constituency system; I'm looking for a mixed system.*

Perhaps what South Africa needs is a context specific electoral system, as Bokang believes. One in which representatives are held accountable by their constituency but in a manner in which patriarchal attitudes and institutions cannot prevent steps towards gender equality.

Reflections: Rwanda and South Africa

Participants in both cases support the use of gender quotas to increase women's representation, even those women who have been appointed/elected without quotas. In both cases women believe that there has been impact as a result of women's descriptive representation. This was an important aspect to look at because of the controversies surrounding women's representation in both countries (as discussed in the Introduction Chapter). Bauer (2012) describes some of the criticisms that have been made against Rwanda and South Africa's representation levels; as a form of tokenism and a lack of accountability, respectively. These criticisms carry the same theme; that women politicians are puppets and/or victims of their political parties and so have not been able to represent women's interests satisfactorily.

This assumption is problematic because it assumes that men are not also victims of their parties and party leadership. It is also problematic because sometimes the tone is that because women politicians are victims of their parties it is the women who are failures at representing women's interests – placing much of the responsibility on the shoulders of the women. In addition, it also homogenises women's experiences of politics as well as their motivations. It assumes that all women politicians would want to challenge gender ideology and inequality within their parties and politics. I'm not sure what further research on this should look like, but it might include a comparative study between both countries, again using a narrative enquiry, to explore women's access to senior party leadership positions. Hassim (2003) has already argued that women's experiences within political parties have been under examined and this is a crucial area to investigate.

4.4 Women's Parliamentary Groups

Women's caucuses within legislatures can be beneficial in terms of increasing their impact. It can do so by bringing legislators together around issues, rather than party lines. It can also provide support through initiatives such as mentoring (Pearson & Powley, 2008).

Rwanda

In Rwanda and South Africa women parliamentarians have initiated parliamentary groups intended to represent women's interests. However, they differ in terms of the successes of the groups.

Rwanda's parliament has a forum called the Forum of Rwanda Women Parliamentarians (FFRP). It was formed during the transitional government by women from different backgrounds and political parties (Pearson & Powley, 2008; Hogg, 2009). Nicole explained the founding of the FFRP;

> *The parliament after the 1994 genocide was set up and the two years after members in that context, post-conflict context, were different categories of Rwandan, some was helping the relatives, suspect for genocide, others were from outside and joined the country after the 1994 genocide, others were survivors of the 1994 genocide, so it was a kind of diversity. And sometimes it was not even, it could not be taken for*

granted to see those people working together, interacting positively, but women parliamentarians sat down and said, 'we are parliamentarians, we have our qualifications, we have our work as parliamentarians, but behind that we are women, women members of a broken society like Rwanda. What can we do? How can we work regardless different divisions that could affect our work?' Apart from different backgrounds, women were coming from different political parties, and they have said, 'how can we be more focused? How can we agent for change to change this broken society, to contribute to the rebuilding of our country, to the rebuilding of lives of women, to speak, to be one voice only for the promotion of women and for the rebuilding of our society.

FFRP still exists today (some participants interviewed in this study are or have been members). Today it includes both men and women, as Aline explained;

No, there is a way of getting a kind of working relationship with men, kind of partnership, in everything work together. For example we have that women's parliamentary forum, formerly it was just for women alone. But sometimes when you'd go out in the field, we'd say 'let's go together'. When we go to our own activities, sensitisation, but you can include some men members of parliament and we'd go. Later on we thought 'why can't we join them we put them in our forum?' So we have men members of the forum, they are there.

The fact that what started as a forum for women members, representing women constituents, now includes men members of parliament does not just indicate the country's commitment to gender equality. It also indicates the co-operative nature of Rwanda's government and politics. It shows a real commitment to working together to rebuild the country. Of course there is the opposition to the country, and the allegations of suppression of the opposition (Hogg, 2009).

However, that members also come from different backgrounds in terms of their positions in Rwandan society indicates that there is not just an appearance of co-operation, but it is real. As a result, this forum has done several things, some of which are outside of the mandate of parliamentarians. For example, they initiated a gender-based violence legislation which was the first major legislation passed by the country's first elected parliament (Pearson & Powley, 2008). Aline explained that at first men opposed it, but through working together with them the women were able to convince them to vote for it;

You know most of the laws are normally initiated by the government and then they come to the parliament, we debate on them, and then they are passed like that. But that one was initiated within the parliament. When we initiated it of course the men were not for us, they didn't like it. Some of the provisions which we entered, they *didn't like it because penalties and all that, but later we really worked together and convinced them and they came back for it.*

South Africa

In South Africa the women's parliamentary caucus has been less successful. Women parliamentarians stared the Parliamentary Women's Group (PWG). It consisted of members from different political parties, including the ruling party and main opposition parties, as Nomsa explained;

We had initially a women's caucus, parliamentary women's caucus where we discussed as women from the various political parties. We disagreed on many things but we would agree on others.

The South African participants did not discuss this caucus as much as the Rwandan women discussed their forum, perhaps because in South Africa it did not last very long. Conversely, while in Rwanda parliamentarians came together despite their diversity, in South Africa it was diversity that caused the PWG to fail. It was particularly women from the opposition groups that caused the failure of the PWG as they felt distrust for the women from the ruling party, despite their track record of previously having represented women's interested across numerous divides, such as with the WNC. This distrust along party lines resulted in a lack of co-operation (Hassim, 2003). Part of this may lie in the fact that women (and men) are accountable to the party (Hassim, 2003). Kagiso explained that women's issues in South African politics are determined by the party agenda;

The question is: how do you have an effective strategic role as a woman in your political party where the political party has got so much power but they are also so geared to a particular political agenda that women's issues are actually either just used to promote the party agenda?

This means that even if the women agreed on different issues, if it was not along their various party lines their hands are tied. In addition, the PWG was not recognised as an official parliamentary structure and did not have a budget (Hassim, 2003). This trend is visible with other governmental gender machinery. While other machinery exists, which have budgets, they often receive much less priority than other government institutions, which Kagiso voiced disapproval of;

> *You have a Human Rights Commission with a budget that's ten times of the Gender Commission – I mean, it is just set up for failure, not that money is everything but how do you actually balance out? How do you as a gender commissioner make recommendations to parliament and all the recommendations are somewhere up on the walls in some library, or they're very selectively taken.*

This is not to say that South Africa's women parliamentarians have not passed excellent legislation for women. Kagiso pointed out some of the legislative accomplishments of women in parliament;

> *And I think the first few years in parliament was really very exciting. If you think of the legislation, Domestic Violence Act – of course it's not a perfect Act in retrospect. Recognition of Customary Marriages Act. And I think for me that story is always a very important story of how grassroots women – when Lydia Kompe who was the founder of the, at that time it was Transvaal Women's Rural Action Movement, Lydia Kompe, and she was in parliament.*

Reflections: Rwanda and South Africa

What may also explain the differences between the successes of women's parliamentary caucuses in both countries may be the types of people entering parliament, and their motivations. Nomsa explained the differences between the original members of South Africa's democratic parliament, and the newer members;

> *But it must be taken into context because overall the parliamentarians that are coming in now, men and women, because of the changes and the new environment and the entrenchment of democracy, it's no more about mainly as we came in there as revolutionary. Now they are becoming politicians and there's a difference and there's a very big gap between a revolutionary and a politician. So overall it's not only the women; it's the environment now that says 20 years on we are politicians. And people that are getting into politics now are not your original, generationally are not your original revolutionaries, are people that are interested in politics as a career. If you wanted to get into politics you get into the ANC, you pay your R12, you work, you understand the policy of the ANC and you take that route, you go into parliament. What we then began not to do as ANC was to train our politicians, all of them, especially women, especially on gender. We don't do that training anymore. We don't do it. And the younger ones are more disadvantaged, both men and women, because they didn't go through my experience.*

Whereas Rwanda has had the same President since 2003, President Kagame, who has continued a political will to represent women's interests, as Aline explained;

> *I am saying all this depends on leadership, our top leadership, that's why we praise our President Kagame. Ours is gender sensitive – he has respect for his people, whether a woman or man. But if the ones from the top, if they say no, who else will say it when the top man says no? So it is the political will of the government, and again, we are talking of the constitution, the women, the women after….*

These cases indicate that diversity can either be a good or bad thing in a post-conflict society. Speaking in general about the political parties, and not just the ruling parties; the way in which a post-conflict society handles diversity may affect the impact that government is able to have. In Rwanda diversity exists, but the emphasis is on building a united country and paying less attention to difference. In South Africa it is the focus on difference that can cause a lack of co-operation. The WNC is a perfect example of this – when groups came together and decided to focus more on their common interests than their differences a great deal was accomplished. Perhaps in industrialised, developed countries this is less of an issue. But in post-conflict countries like Rwanda and South Africa it is crucial for all stakeholders to have the same vision for the country, despite any differences.

4.5 Education

Bauer & Britton (2006) point to conflict contexts as being instrumental in creating more qualified women because exile provides them with opportunities to receive educations. In addition, women played important roles during liberation movements, as activists at home or in exile, thereby gaining skills and knowledge they might not otherwise have had. Along these lines, for these participants education is not an experience by itself. In both case studies the participants' education was affected by their contexts, though in different ways. For a majority of the Rwandan participants education can be linked to their experience of being refugees/exiles. In addition, a factor in relation to education is the commitment by their parents to ensure that their children are educated regardless of their material circumstances. In the South African case the narratives clearly show the participants' education being impacted by intersections between race, gender and class and the relationship between these and the Apartheid system. In both case studies their receiving education seems to have been despite great odds and difficulties.

In the IPU (2000) survey it was found that 73% of women politicians around the world had an undergraduate degree, and 14% had a post-graduate degree. In this study all but one of the participants had a post-graduate degree. At time of the interview the exception had enrolled in an MBA program, but already had a post-graduate diploma. Therefore, the participants in this study exceed the world average in terms of levels of education of women in politics. This is particularly astounding given the poor literacy and education rates of women of their generation in both countries (as discussed in the Literature Review). In other words, the participants in this study are exceptions not just in the world, but also in their countries.

Rwanda: Refugee Experience and Commitment by Parents

Five out of the six participants grew up as refugees outside of Rwanda. From the narratives of the participants their refugee experiences and parents played a significant role in receiving educations.

> Clementine: *…so my mother had said that, 'my daughter goes to school so that she can read sign posts'. Because when she was running as a refugee from Rwanda to Uganda she would pass by sign posts, but there were not many, but she couldn't read them. So she said, 'my children must learn how to read so that they can read signs so that when they travel…', she could see that now getting out of Rwanda she don't know when we'd come back….she could see that we were going to move from place to place, from country to country and reading was a tool that would facilitate that aspect.*

For this participant's mother education became a means of ensuring survival during an uncertain time. Therefore, the refugee experience created a sense of urgency in ensuring that children receive educations. The magnitude of the feeling of insecurity with regards to their futures is further highlighted when Agathe and the other participants discussed the priority that was placed on education, and the sacrifices that had to be made by the parents to ensure their children were educated.

> Agathe: *We grew up in, some in refugee camps, some in different circumstance. Life was not easy. But most of our parents; the thing they wanted most was the education of their children. They'd rather go and do all the work, very few would take their children out of school to help, and they needed the help, they needed, you know, the*

labour, you know? You're thrown there without any possessions, without anything, but really I appreciate this and I really keep saying I hope it gets heard. Our parents were unbelievable because they, you know, they would spare nothing to make sure that we were educated.

Similarly, Clementine expressed that her mother had to struggle in order to have her children educated;

I told you in 1963 my mother ran away from Rwanda as a refugee with my sister and brothers. That was after my father was killed at the end of 1962, so she became a widow with children and my mother said, I used to hear her telling other women that, 'my children must go to school'. So I think the fact that my mother in the early 60's decided to send me to school, despite her challenging environment as a refugee widow, without any property, with working from hand to mouth, you know?

Similarly, Jane's parents returned to Rwanda in 1994. She remained in Uganda to complete her education, but she was still a minor.

Yeah, I spent my first, well full time my first 15 years until 1994 because 1994 is when Rwanda's liberation happened and my parents came back to Rwanda but I still went to school in Uganda until I was 23.

This is an indication that her parents prioritised her education. Immediately after the 1994 genocide Rwanda's educational infrastructure was significantly damaged and a significant number of teachers had been killed or jailed (Hilker, 2011). Had Jane returned to Rwanda with her parents she might not have received the level of education she did receive because Rwanda's education system was destroyed. This is not to say that a terrible experience is needed for education to become a priority, it is just a crucial aspect within the narratives of these participants in particular. Nicole, who was not a refugee, was allowed to go to school by her parents. And she cited her father, in particular, of having been a fan of hers partly because of her intelligence and success at school.

Someone who encouraged me first of all was my father. But it was a long time ago because he died in 1994 genocide. But while I was still young, as a girl, actually I think I was brilliant because my father was proud of me. And I know he was always supportive and he was sometimes giving examples, taking me as a model in the family. In addition to telling my brothers, 'yeah, so why don't you do like her? Or why don't you do like this?'

These participants narratives show that the commitment to have them educated came from their parents, even if for different reasons and in different circumstances.

Tutsi Discrimination as a Barrier to Education

Factors affecting women's education in Rwanda in the generations of the participants would have been structural, political and cultural difficulties to receiving an education within the country itself. Firstly, prior to 1994 there were few universities in Rwanda, meaning fewer options and more competition for spots. Compounding the problem was that Tutsis' were discriminated against in terms of university acceptance; preference was given to Hutus (Hilker, 2011). Looking from a gendered perspective, a cultural obstacle would have been the fact that they were girls;

> *Angelique: Our background says that women were not kept at school, they would go at home, help their mothers and the chance to study was for boys, for a boy.*
> *Aline: Now, formerly, if I had a boy and girl at home and I have little money I would educate a boy and leave the girl to marry, that was it. Primary she goes, or even she doesn't go to primary, that was it!*

In summation, these women's access to education can be seen to be the combination of several inter-related factors. They were refugees as children, creating an uncertain existence for themselves and their families. With the exception of the participant who was not a refugee, the upheaval of being a refugee with the uncertainty of not knowing when they would be able to return home was a clear motivating factor for the parents of the participants to ensure that their children, including girls, received educations. However, the one participant who was not a refugee shows that an uncertain and unstable life does not have to be impetus behind educating girl children. I am simply arguing that the refugee experience may explain why the participants in this study have higher levels of education than some of their colleagues around the world, and are more educated than most women of their generation in Rwanda; from a young age education became a necessity and priority in their lives. Secondly, had they remained in Rwanda political, cultural and structural factors could have prevented them from receiving educations.

South Africa: Race, Gender and Class

As discussed in the Literature Review section, access to education and the quality of education prior to 1994 (the years in which these participants would have been of school-going age) was determined by the Apartheid racial hierarchy (Prinsloo, 1999). During that period some Black women were able to train to become professionals, but this was a small number, and their professional options were limited (Seidman, 1993). This inequality is reflected in the narratives of the participants. They come from diverse educational backgrounds and have different qualifications, but themes of race, gender and class are evident throughout all of their narratives. Black women were confined to social professions such as nursing, teaching, social work (Seidman, 1993). Thuto and Bokang's narratives display the way in which professional opportunities for Black people during Apartheid were limited;

> Thuto: *High school in India. And when I went to London I finished my matric senior certificate as they're called. I studied science first and then I was not able to complete because I am allergic to certain chemicals. So then by that time I was also much more aware of what I wanted to do with myself and that I wanted to come back to South Africa. And there wasn't much that any Black could do except become a doctor or a lawyer or a teacher, or something like that. So I decided, no, I'd rather be a lawyer – that's how it happened.*

Similarly, Bokang trained as a teacher and then a social worker as those were some of the few professions available for black women;

> *I qualified as a teacher, which was not something I had really planned but the opportunities in those days because of apartheid and discrimination and the limitation of funds – my parents couldn't send all of us because boarding school was very expensive for all of us at home. Then we all had to go to secondary school in boarding school and go to high school. So parents couldn't afford to send all of us; so I never had an opportunity to go to university then. I was then trained as a teacher. And a year after I had been a teacher I was lucky to get a scholarship and be trained again as a social worker. And then later on I got opportunities, I continued with my studies [indistinct] management and then I was lucky later to go to the United States in the later years. But a long journey, I finally got my master's degree in communication.*

Thuto and Bokang's professional training made them a minority amongst black women during that time. Their peers were predominantly unskilled and mostly worked in the informal sector (such as domestic work) and the industrial and agricultural sectors (factories and farming) (Seidman, 1993).

In addition, Black people needed permission to be allowed into certain institutions;

> *Kagiso: Also going to university, I'm the first one in my family that went to university. I chose to go to go university, I chose to go to UCT and it was also problematic, like I had to have a pass, I had to have a permit for UCT.*

Bokang’s narrative also indicates the intersection between race and class. Her opportunities were limited because of her race as well as the economic situation of her parents not enabling them to send her to university. Other participants discussed financial obstacles as well;

> *Nomsa: I did my primary in Orlando East and then a little bit of the rest of my primary school in Mbozolo. And I did what was then called JC…in the Eastern Cape. But then I came back to Johannesburg and I did part of my matric in Morris Isaacson but I didn’t complete because I had to leave school and go and work. So I corresponded with the long distance education facilitated by Damelin College. So I wrote my matric with Damelin. My highest at the moment is a master's in public development and management from Wits.*

Similarly, Lebohang discussed financial restraints determining what higher education options were available to her;

> *After finishing matric I actually did a secretarial course, largely because my parents couldn’t afford taking all of us to post-matric degree level; so we took different options and then thereafter I did some diplomas, one in journalism, one in personnel and training practice... I got my junior degree with UNISA in 2003, and 2007 I got my honours.*

Kagiso’s narrative indicates the intersections between race, class, but also gender;

> *My father died very early and as a black child if the breadwinner dies you actually go and work, you don’t go to school. And the family all said, ‘oh, those girls must go to work’. My mother said, ‘No, all my daughters will have professions.’ And she just worked and we actually had to study. Even though we had part-time jobs; I remember cleaning the convent, these long corridors and dormitories and working until five in the morning at restaurants.*

If Kagiso was a boy and came from a white family in a better economic position the issue of continuing to go school after her father’s passing may never have been opposed or been a challenge. Explaining her mother’s decision, Kagiso said;

> *Also she always wanted to go to study. She’s one of 14 children and she was very clever but she wasn’t allowed to study. There was only two out of the 14 and the two were men who went to university and therefore she lived, I think her thoughts, ambitions, through the daughters – everyone going to university subsequently*.

Kagiso's experience is similar to that of some of the Rwandan participants. Though under different circumstances, here there is a determination by a parent to ensure that her girl children receive educations, something that was not the norm (for the reasons indicated above) during that time.

And for some of the South African participants educational institutions became sites of resistance and where they developed some of their consciousness;

> *Nomsa: But at Fort Hare not only did we stop at solidarity strikes, we extended it to conditions at Fort Hare and we ended up extending it to Bantu education. So I was kicked out of Fort Hare, and that was my first year and my only time that I had opportunity. It starts with SASO and with June 16th. June 16th, the uprising of course we are now a strong group…and there's Mapetla Mohapi – and there are all of us and these are young people that have been kicked out of various universities and we start a community in Kingwilliamstown because these people were banned to Kingwilliamstown. So we converge around him and we start these various organisations. Then we become a popular centre for Black Consciousness... I go to work; one day we were with Donald Woods and Donald Woods then is consulted because in the Daily Dispatch there are no political reports about black people and their conditions. And by this time were running projects, black people's projects, and then Donald said that he doesn't have a journalist and I'm sent there as a journalist. And it is quite clear that the growth of the movement of SASO, South African Student Organisation, South African student movement, national youth organisations all these organisations around Black Consciousness. And of course around Johannesburg, Soweto and all these things happened. So there's been a lot of work that we are doing at that student's organisation. So when June 16 happened we get arrested of course, all of us, and I get banned and I get banned... to Orlando East, my home.*

Similarly, Lebohang discussed attending a school that was founded on a certain political belief and which helped to develop her consciousness of racial inequality in the country but also the movement opposing it;

> *As a student I was an activist, I was a member of COSAS but I think as one started working you started being exposed politically and understand certain things differently and in a way affirming the positions you have taken. So in terms of a political career and activism, it started in the very early 1970s when I was still at high school. And I always said to myself being at my high school there was no way you would not have been influenced politically. My high school was a school that was built by John Langalibalele Dube and Nokutela his first wife. And what used to happen because his house was not far away from school, so at the beginning of the year, the first weekend we had to all go to his home. His second wife, Angelina Dube, was still alive… she would tell us about the stories of her husband, she's involved maybe in the ANC; the consequences of those choices for their family.. also starting to explain the motivation behind the building of the school, that it was really a form*

> *of struggle to empower black children who otherwise wouldn't have had an opportunity for education…and I think relatively being in that space allowed you to think beyond the academia.*

Despite the context within which they received their educations (Apartheid South Africa), as well as the gender and class obstacles they faced, all the South African participants managed to obtain at least graduate degrees. As indicated in the IPU (2000) survey, women politicians around the world have comparatively higher levels of education compared to other women. As discussed previously, education is important because it creates a pool from which qualified women are available for political office (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007). However, the narratives of the South African participants in this study illustrate that education and political office have a more complex relationship than just creating a pool of suitably qualified women. Kagiso spoke of her and a colleague's differing levels of education, but they both struggled with parliamentary work;

> *She said, 'I'm just an ordinary woman, I'm not quite sure why; I can't read.' Every day you get to your desk and you've got a pile of documents that you've got to read. And that's all you read and it's just way beyond people. I struggled even though I have tertiary education to get through all the documentation. And she said, 'What am I doing here? What is my role here?'*

Geisler (2000) discusses the ways in which some women did not feel educated enough to be in parliament. For a majority of the MPs (men and women) parliament was challenging because of inexperience with parliamentary procedures, issues of language, and the heavy workload (Geisler, 2000). Lebohang, who did not have an undergraduate degree when she was first appointed a minister, discussed how she and others had to take the initiative and obtain further training in the particular areas in which they were elected/appointed in government;

> *We started what we called the class of 1996 where we asked one of the professors, Professor Wilson in Cape Town University to assist us, just a basic understanding of economics as a subject – so that we are not like naive in the debates in Cabinet. So we did that programme for the whole year. But that really gave you confidence in your space of work because then you understood what your role was about beyond just being a minister.*

These narratives indicate that some form of traditional education is required to be able to conduct one's work in official positions. However, the narratives also show that this should not be an exclusionary factor; excluding from leadership individuals who have not received certain levels of education as not qualified or capable. Steps can be taken to receive further training when needed. In addition, resources can be made available to assist representatives;

> *Bokang: So we set up an office in parliament. For three years we had two young women researchers who were assisting the women in parliament for getting information on issues. This is when now South Africa was very good, they were looking at the laws that would protect women, and so our NGO then was helping there in that way.*

Despite all of the above, Geisler (2000) writes that there were more easily available avenues for ANC men (less so for women) for self-development such as education and training. Also, women were more focused on grassroots work – leaving less time and opportunities for self-development. In addition, a 1996 report found that women's participation in parliament declined as they lost self-confidence because they felt they did not have enough professional skills to participate (Geisler, 2000).

> *Nomsa: And we've got to have some skills, equipment for women, even to talk to the media. Because we have not been as exposed as men in our lives, you just don't know how to handle media; even to talk in parliament you just don't know. Men need this training too but particularly women and particularly women who came in through the quota system – because you are empowering them now. This is to make sure that not only do they access, enter parliament, but they participate. At some point I did my own research and I found that in fact that participation of women in debates, according to what I found was something like 10%. No, no, no, participation of women was about 30% but raising gender-related issues was about 10%. So the assumption that once you have accessed parliament then we have the happy ever after is a wrong one.*

A poor level of women's participation in parliament not only affects individual women representatives, but also women (and other constituents). If women leaders lose their voices, they are no longer able to speak for women, as well as all the other constituents they are elected to represent.

While the literature discusses the ways in which education creates a pool of qualified women (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007); the conflict context provides a new dynamic by the unique ways it enables women to receive education and skills (Bauer & Britton, 2006).

The movement the South African participants were involved in provided a unique form of education that they would not have received during peace time; political education. Kagiso describes the way in which formal education levels did not prevent women from becoming leaders in the movement, and that they all received political training;

> *I think that's lacking now in the new South Africa, we had political education all the time. Think it was a particular moment that also demanded that we understand where we're going to and what we want, how do we struggle, how do you strategise? What's worked or doesn't work? So it was politically very inspiring and there were amazing people like Dorothy Zihlangu, Dorothy Mfaco, Midred Lesiea. And we always say, 'gosh, we went to university', but Lynne Brown and I were very close and quite a lot would say that those are our political leaders, these are women who were domestic workers but they were the leaders in the organisations and we promoted working class leadership. And even though they could not analyse politically with the jargon that we used, they still could understand everything.*

Nomsa talked about one of the structures in which political education and training was paramount;

> *Camp is the political military school of MK…it's just the politics and military training, marching; and when you have free time you are just sitting, reading, sitting and reading.*

In summation, in developing post-conflict contexts it is incorrect to solely look at education in terms of highest levels of qualifications. In societies in which inequalities exist(ed) not all of the best and brightest or competent would have university level educations. To look at education through such a narrow lens could exclude capable women (and men) from politics. The South African case shows that this need not be the case. In addition, if government is to represent the masses, who in this case have not had equal access to education, then it should enable those people to participate in decision-making as well. Perhaps then what is needed is consistent and context-specific further training for leaders even after they have been elected/appointed, as Nomsa says. This would be factored into their working hours so that it does not take away from their other activities and place extra pressures on them.

Reflection: Rwanda and South Africa

What all of the narratives have shown is that all of these women have received educations despite great obstacles and inequalities, constituting a defining life experience. It is also a motivating factor in their leadership.

Education is not just important in terms of women's leadership, but also to have peaceful societies. A study has found that if the population share of the age group of 15-24 in a country increases by 1% then the likelihood of civil war increases as much as 4% (Kristof, 2014). Studies have found that educated females are likely to have fewer children, thereby curbing population growth. Educating girls can also help to boost the economy, but only if they are enabled to become active members of the economy through formal participation (Kristof, 2014).

Aline addresses issues of growth of the economy and reducing birth rates;

> *So when you see Rwanda is developing it is because it is using the strength of the women and the man. Not only the men to work for the rest of the people. That's why I say everything here, we are pushing; our economic growth is going so high within the region it is because everybody is working. And this family planning issue. Formerly we had, we were at 6.5%, now we are 4.5% because of education, now educated girls can't produce more than two children. She says, 'ah, I don't want that burden.'*

Agathe discussed the importance of the education to improve society in numerous ways.

> *I am currently carrying out a study on violence against adolescent girls in Rwanda. And, what we are finding is that most of the victims of violence, they dropped out of school at a certain time, maybe because of poverty, ignorance, all kinds of things. But when you see the cycle of violence that follows them after that, because we are carrying it the girls who are out of school and the ones who are still in school. You know the difference is enormous. So education is going to allow you to have a career and live a decent life. Education is going to allow you to go into political leadership if that is what you want to do.*

Clementine discussed ensuring deliberate efforts are made to educate girls;

> *I always remember how chance came my way and I got educated and I call it chance because my mother could have wanted me to help her in the house, this lady who came into my life came by chance, so I always find that this chance can always be there but can also be deliberate action to support girls education.*

Both of these women, and Nicole, have been involved in higher education institutions in Rwanda.

One participant in particular, Aline, has held a position in civil society advocating for education for young girls.

I was also in charge of a non-governmental organisation, I was representing that organisation in that province, so it is where we were promoting girls to go to school.

In addition, Angelique has been instrumental in introducing a new form of education that is particular to their context. As a result of it there is a new government program which goes out into communities to teach about Rwandan values.

The objective is to teach people about their values. We've been through struggles, so we are trying to teach people on how to look back and do for the country. We get the people from different areas and we gather them, we teach them for a month, for two weeks. So we try to give them these values. Rwandan values.

It not only teaches what the participant describes as 'Rwandan values', but also informs people of government policies and programmes (Diaspora General Directorate, 2009 – 2010).
Similarly, the South African participants have displayed commitments to education as well.

Thuto was a chancellor for a national university and provided an example of how educational opportunities can be made available to address issues of inequality;

I was the first chancellor of a national institution after the amalgamation, when they reorganised the universities. And out of the blue about three years ago they wrote to me and said we are giving the 15, the best women applicants regardless of what they study, we are giving them full scholarships, and naming them after me. Now that is the sort of thing where you need society to do it. I never asked them to do that but they've got a very good thinker, the vice chancellor. I suspect it was his motivations that did it. Now this is the sort of thing where you have to change attitudes – and they didn't say the best nursing students…he 15 top applicants were Africans.

Other South African participants have displayed a commitment to education in their country. Bokang is also a chancellor of a national higher learning institution. Kagiso has worked in numerous institutions of higher learning and has also published extensively on women's issues, including women's representation. Similarly, after having left parliament Lebohang became a consultant for a research institute. In terms of context specific education, Nomsa has also published in academic journals on women's representation in South Africa. For the purposes of protecting the participant's anonymity I am not able to provide more detail on this.

What is common in the narratives of both case studies is that receiving an education was a challenge caused by various obstacles acting simultaneously; political, cultural, structural and economic problems and inequalities. The fact that these women have degrees is in spite of their contexts, which speaks to their drive and characters as individuals – and shows their lack of acceptance of the status quo. This has further manifested itself in the ways in which they have displayed a commitment to education in their countries as leaders.

4.6 Professional Backgrounds and Entry into Politics

In understanding the life paths of the participants I explored their professional backgrounds prior to entering into politics and how they first entered into the politics. The majority of the participants in Rwanda began their careers in civil society. Some South African participants had professions before 1994, but all were activists against Apartheid.

Rwanda

A majority of the participants were employed in civil society before entering into formal politics. Some worked with government before entering into political or government positions. However, none of them held government positions prior to the post-genocide transitional government. A few participated in the liberation movement and other social activities directed at other Rwandan refugees before 1994.

Professional Backgrounds

Most the participants started their careers in civil society;

> *Nicole: I was working for government, but in different projects as a program manager of different programs, in projects between the government and the agencies, like UNDP. Then left to work for myself as a consultant. But I had been consulting with different government institutions on matters related to public administration, governance, gender equality. At the same time I am member of different boards of the government.*

Like Nicole, other participants worked for international NGOs;

> *Aline: I worked for government and non-governmental organisations. But prior to joining the parliament I was the coordinator for an international NGO here in*

Rwanda, that was in 2003. I joined parliament in 2003. But I had been with that NGO since 1996.

Similarly, another participant had spent her career in civil society before embarking on a political career;

Clementine: I worked for an NGO, a British NGO called Action Aid from 1988 to 1995 then I came back to Rwanda. So when I came back in 1995 I had this passion to work in development, so a few months later I worked for a local NGO. I was like a program coordinator, for two years. And then I got a job with UNHCR, heading a project relating to women.

This corresponds with literature in the area which finds that a significant number of women in politics began their careers in civil society and grassroots movements (IPU, 2000).
Only one participant worked outside of civil society;

Agathe: I've done many different things. But after my first degree I worked in a publishing, in a publishing concern. I was a trainee editor.

And one participant began her career in local government;

Angelique: Before I went to the parliament, I was working with the local government. I was a deputy mayor.

Therefore, while civil society is a most common background, these participants show that there is diversity in professional backgrounds that they bring to Rwandan politics.

Entry into Politics

They participants entered formal politics in a variety of ways. Nicole began by first working in civil society, but partnering with government institutions. After this she was appointed to national governmental institutions.

My first project after university was after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsis; different efforts were put in place to support women to recover during the emergency time, and supported by different international organisations, especially agencies. And I joined a ministry to implement a project helping women to lead the emergence, to lead the transition to the development field. For women; to help women to recover,

> *to be economically included. The support to help women to contribute to their own development, economic development, self-empowerment. And after I started another project, to fight against violence against women, especially gender-based violence. One year after I implemented that project I was appointed to a national governmental commission.*

Similarly to the Nicole, Jane was appointed to a position, also because of her skills and expertise;

> *I think it is really my education because when I was recruited I hadn't done a lot of work at the time. I was very new to the work field. I didn't have many years of experience but I had skills, I had excelled in my trade and investment policy masters, and I had a law degree before that and I think it's really because of that that I was given the opportunity.*

This corresponds with literature that says that women in politics are sometimes recruited to positions because of their skills and experience, but this is a minority (IPU, 2000).

Aline was not initially appointed to a post – but was elected after campaigning. However, she was previously involved in various social activities which led to her seeking political office.

> *I got interested because immediately I arrived I got a job, I worked with government, I was the coordinator for the repatriation and settlement officer in that province from 1994 to 1995, and during that process there were other electoral offices which I was getting. Like I was president of the Women's Council in that province. So, that was not a job, I was just elected as, it is unpaid, so I got involved working with women. I was also in charge FAWME - Forum of African Women Educationalists, I was one who was representing that organisation in that province, so it is where we were promoting girls to go to school and within my NGO, which was dealing with the promotion of women. So I got very much interested. So when that chance came in 2003 where there was affirmative action because it was the first of its kind, they said we needed two women MPs from each province as affirmative action…so the chance came I said 'why can't I?' so that's why I contested and I managed to go through, so that's how I got interested in politics.*

However, prior to returning to Rwanda she was not involved in politics.

> *Aline: It is very very interesting because all my life I have been working in developmental activities, I had never thought of joining politics, but then I would say that because I was a foreigner, I never got interested much. But when I reached here in Rwanda because we were repatriated in 1994, so that's when I came. So when I came, of course coming back to your country, I got interested.*

Some of the participants were already members of the RPF or were involved in activities that can be seen as a precursor to government and political positions. Party affiliation as well as political circumstances (particularly a need to change the existing regime) are also cited by women politicians around the world (IPU, 2000).

> *Angelique: The way I got to be interested in politics; I was a refugee outside the country so like other refugees outside the country I wanted to know more about history of my country. So I went into politics by joining the army, RPF. I joined the RPF, that's how I came to be a politician. But I was not in military. I was a civilian cadre.*

Similarly, Agathe began with social political activism as she defines it;

> *Even before the RPF as a movement started, after graduation I actually didn't work in Uganda. I moved to Kenya. And I lived in Kenya for 13 years. Then while I was in Kenya there were a lot of refugees, Rwandese refugees in areas around the city of Nairobi. So I remember as far back as the early 1980's we started an association of women, Rwandan women, in Nairobi. And this association, the main focus for it was to empower the women in the refugee, women refugees, Rwandese women refugees to try and support them in developing skills so they could do like crafts. You find a market for them. We used to take young girls, teach them how to dance traditional dance and then we would organise concerts and raise money now to take back into projects for these women. So that was like a social activity but it was also the beginning of the political activity. Because we were dealing with specifically with Rwandese women to try and improve their situation. And to try and get our children trained in our traditions and so as to retain traditional values and so on and so forth. So you can see there is an element of, its social political activism. So that's actually how we all started, so we all knew each other and then when RPF movement started then we just moved straight on, you know like carried on from what we were doing.*

Clementine explained her professional interest after returning to Rwanda, but before entering politics, as wanting to work with women;

> *So in a way I was looking for a job but I was also looking for a job that was pertinent to my interests. So I liked working with women after the genocide. Actually this project was supposed to help in their rehabilitation, reintegration, and getting them to be part and parcel of the reconciliation and reconstruction of the country.*

Regardless of their professional backgrounds and various ways of entry into politics, one thing that emerges from most of these narratives is that these women were already involved in various activities and programs related to empowering women in various ways; through refugee assistance, post-war reintegration, women's education, gender-based violence programming, empowering women to participate in Rwanda's economy, etc. These participants were already representing women and their interests in a post-conflict Rwanda before they entered into formal political and government positions.

South Africa

In South Africa women have a strong history of activism dating back to the early 1900’s (Wells, 2007). Women were involved in both peaceful activism and in the guerrilla movement (Graybill, 2001; Wells, 2007). In the IPU (2000) survey a majority of the participants said that their leadership was a result of several factors, including being at the right place at the right time. Some entered politics because of a motivation to change an existing regime (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2000). In the South African case the majority of the women who entered parliament through the ANC had spent many years in the political struggle against Apartheid (Geisler, 2000).

Activism

All of the participants in this study spent most of their lives serving the country, first in the national liberation movement and then in democratic politics and national government. Lebohang talked of her activism through her employment in religious organisations and a law firm that represented political activists during Apartheid;

> *Largely the task there was about helping churches to take seriously their social needs. Given the context where we were as a country and some of the churches were scared in taking a stand against apartheid. We did ministering to society to not only deal with the spiritual but also to deal with the social circumstances of those people not just in charity terms but also how you help people to deal with their situations. But also I had done a stint for six months in a legal firm, it was for about a year – it was a civil rights law firm which really dealt and represented a lot of young activists in the 1980s. So I think that in a sense also exposed one to some of the political questions and the legal fraternity…lawyers were also using their legal backgrounds to participate in supporting the struggle for democracy.*

Bokang worked as a professional and was able to use that role to undertake various illegal activist activities without being detected;

> *I kept my job as a respectable person working for YWCA and most of the work I had to do because the movement at the time didn’t want everybody to be active; and so*

because I was travelling all over South Africa and I was the carrier of messages. Not always, I think the police were suspicious, the police would come to my office and things like that. And within the pamphlets of YWCA I carry all this respectable materials and things, I would be carrying a lot of things. And then one of the things I was very proud of, very scared, is that there used to be money coming from England from an organisation called Defence and Aid Fund. At that time I was in Durban; this money would come to Durban where I lived – and then we have to find the families that need the money. And this is one of the areas where I was very, very active in because of my work – because I could travel going to do the YWCA work, and then you would get to know everybody in any village and they will tell you who is an activist. So there's an activist in this – because people were scared – so they would say, 'oh, the father of this home is in prison or is an activist'. And so my mother and I particularly we were then passing this money usually; and sometimes parcels to these families. And the one that was most scary…I used to drive the same car that belonged to the organisation and use it to carry people who are going to activities of the political party, using the same car of the office. I used to drive people to the borders all the time – the same car [indistinct]. And then in Durban it was particularly difficult; we lived with another girl, we lived in a room which was very hard, we just had a room in Durban; it was really a backyard of an Indian landlord. And these activists at that time they would come and would stay in our room pretending they are visiting us, but instead they are running away from the police.

Once outside of the country in exile, through her work she was also able to lobby people outside of the country to assist with activities such as boycotts against the Apartheid regime;

And one of the biggest exciting things which I liked; I worked in Germany with what was called the German Protestant Women. We went to talk to these women with a woman of the YWCA called Jane Pakati. And these women listening to our story on the repression in South Africa and Apartheid say to us, 'What can we do?' And Jane and I, we said, 'find the things that you can boycott from South Africa'. And these women did their own research and they discovered that there were three major things they were going to boycott: Protea flowers which they loved very much, and Outspan oranges were very, very much in Europe in bags. It was one of the biggest markets, and Granny Smith apples. So I worked with this German group year after year, going there to report what was happening. This was the most successful boycott that lasted for over 15 years. And these women in Germany, I really liked this one because they were the only ones, they used to picket the South African embassy every month and they did this for over 15 years – every month there would be a woman – they are so organised, who would be picketing in Berlin. And they received an award from the United Nations – and I was very proud because I had been very influential, very supportive to them in all those years in this Anti-Apartheid Movement.

One participant first became an activist very young, but driven by the unequal racially segregated conditions at her work;

Nomsa: I started working in a factory at the age of 14, and our first employer was Baas Umtong, was a Chinese. And there were young white girls and white women

> *working there and young men. But we were treated so badly as black girls; our lunch hour was 30 minutes and there was a big office dining place but we didn't use that. And everything was just glaringly different for us blacks and for the Chinese and whites. And that again made an impact in my head and I began asking questions. So by the time I was 16 in that factory I had managed to organise some of us black girls to confront Baas Umtong to say this is not on; how can you treat us like this – and of course I was expelled from work.*

Nomsa then became more involved in activism, she later became a leader in the South African Communist party (indicating her worker background) and as a result of a series of other events she joined the ANC and MK;

> *But then between 1976 and 1977 I get arrested more than eight times under different laws – the Section 6, Section 22, Section 10 – all these laws. And my comrades at that time felt that I'm likely to be killed at the rate things are going. By that we need to go and start the Black Consciousness Movement outside anyway. So I'm taken out by some of these – so I go to Lesotho, and there I try with a group of us, I try to resuscitate the Black Consciousness Movement because we don't want to join ANC or PAC – we want a united movement as we are wasting our resources by having these different organisations. But then we said – the long and short of this is to say then I joined ANC in Lesotho in 1978 and I come in contact with Chris Hani and one comrade who was called comrade Ace. And at that time when we joined the ANC we were given a choice, 'do you want to go to school or do you want to go to MK?'*

Nomsa made the choice to join MK. By 1989 MK had just 20% women cadres (Geisler, 2000), therefore she would have been amongst this minority. She progressed through the ranks and became a commander.

Similarly, Kagiso began activism young;

> *I was always politically involved. At high school using drama in the form of politics and politicising people. Using drama, going to orphanages, playing at old-age homes and different places with theatre. So it was just inevitable that I was going to be involved in politics.*

Democratic Government

The participants have held diverse positions, some appointed and some elected. This is a positive thing as it shows that South Africa's women leaders are not excluded to soft positions and they are able to contribute in different ways. As shown throughout their narratives, like Rwanda's women, they have fought for racial and gender equality before they reached office in a democratic South Africa, what Hassim (2003) describes as a feminist presence, as opposed to a feminine presence.

Reflection: Rwanda and South Africa

There is a difference in terms of when and how participants in Rwanda and participants in South Africa entered into formal positions in politics and government. This may be due to the differing times in which the respective liberation movements began. South Africa’s liberation movement is over 100 years old, whereas Rwanda’s liberation movement only began in the 1980’s (Welss, 2007; Hogg, 2009). In addition, this may explain why all of the South African participants began as activists, and the Rwandan participants entered politics after having other professions.

What is common in both cases is that a majority of the participants represented and worked for women’s interests before they held formal political/government positions. Once in government it was a continuation of an already existing determination to address gender inequalities, amongst others.

4.7 The Family

Participants were asked questions pertaining to their families to determine if this was a defining life experience and whether family plays a role in their motivations. The Rwandan participants spoke of receiving support for their roles and work as leaders. The South African participants spoke of the perspectives and role of family in their activism.

Rwanda: Family Support

When asked about the reactions of family to their leadership roles the participants expressed receiving support and positive reactions. Jane expressed feeling supported by her male partner.

> *Well, he’s proud of it. He’s proud to see what I do on a day to day basis and contribute what I contribute to the country, so he is very proud of that.*

Similarly, Angelique said about her husband,

> *He supports me in all ways he is capable, like during elections he is always there for me, at my side, and also like sometimes I have a lot of work and I am not at home he can do the dishes at home.*

When asked about her family's response to her appointment, Jane said,

> *Well very excited because our government led by our President Paul Kagame is very progressive…working for government is a privilege…so when the appointment happened and when my government had entrusted me it was an honour and privilege and they saw it that way and that's why there were very excited.*

Similarly, Aline expressed the pride and happiness people's families feel at their appointments.

> *As I told you now every man is aware that a woman also can do it and going there of course is a prestigious for your family. It is not for the woman alone. In Rwanda, and maybe Uganda where I was, you'd find the account, the bank account is for the family, not for the woman to have her own…so whatever money the woman is going to achieve is for the family, whatever the man is going to achieve is for the family.*

Nicole who lost most of her family during the genocide said that her children are proud of her;

> *Nicole: My family? My family are my children today because a big part of my family was killed.*
> *NM (researcher): I'm sorry. And how do your children feel?*
> *Nicole: They are fans. For my children I am not a leader, actually I am not a leader, I am a woman.*

Similarly, Aline expressed the pride and admiration her daughter has for her and her work;

> *She likes it. She's proud of it. And sometimes she will talk that, 'mummy, I am growing up, I will replace you when you have gone'. That's what she used to tell me, and even up to today she is a lawyer, she is an international lawyer. She is a lawyer, so she says, 'ah, one time I will be in your seat there'. So I think she likes it. She likes the job because its maybe it never stressed me up, she could see I was comfortable and elected, so she says one time I will replace you there.*

Agathe received a negative reaction to her appointment, but it was not from family;

> *Oh my family and friends were very happy. One of my boss' thought I was crazy because I was working in Europe and you know, everybody thought how do you leave your career and go to a country in crisis? For him he even said, 'political jobs are*

> *no good, you don't know how long you are going to have it, and so on and so forth'. So what I explained to him which I think was the feeling of all of us, he wouldn't understand. For us it was not like a position, it was not like salary. It was just you felt it's time you also contributed to your country. And if you are lucky like me and you're given a good position, that's very good. But even if they called you to do an even lower position you would do it.*

In summation, there is an overwhelmingly positive response to the women's leadership by their families. Perhaps what is most observable from the support received is that political positions do not just benefit the woman, but also those close to her. There are material benefits, but there is also the sense of achievement. They make use of words such as 'privilege' and 'prestigious'. It appears that family members are proud to have daughters, wives, partners, and mothers who are leaders and are accomplished in important positions.

South Africa: Family Influence

While the Rwanda women spoke of receiving family support for their political leadership the South African participants spoke more of how family played a role in their consciousness of racial, class, and gender inequalities that existed while they were growing up.

Out of all the South African Kagiso's family was not involved in politics;

> *I think the other enigma in terms of me is that I'm the only one who's ever been involved in politics in my family. So it was very unusual – for my community and my family, for my social circle it obviously changed as I got involved in politics. And I suppose the fact that I went to prison was even more bizarre for some family members. And the fact that some of my family probably looked at disdain the fact that I was in prison. I remember going to church after being freed and one church elder said to me, 'I hope you'll behave yourself in the future.'*

However, her family knew other people in the movement who were experiencing the same things and were themselves involved in socially conscious programs in the community;

> *Trevor Manual and I were in the UDF. And I think the fact that Trevor Manual's mom and my mom were in the same welfare committee, they also were uplifting the community, like my parents worked for the old-age home in our area and they were this welfare committee. But the fact that he was also doing things, he was also going to prison, it was sort of a bit of 'normalisation' – because as I say, no one else went to prison and no one else was involved in politics but Trevor Manual was and I was and my parents and Mrs Manual were together in the Kensington Welfare*

Association. So that was a little bit of a consolation maybe. I know she dealt very hard with prison.

Thuto spoke of political discussions in the family;

Now in the family we used to talk; at that time you had in an organised way you had the South African Indian Congress or a Transvaal Indian Congress, a Natal Indian Congress, which was formed before the ANC, it was formed by Mahatma Ghandi. Indians for example could not go to the Free State.

Bokang's family actively participated in various activities, but of her own activities her family knew some of what she did, but not everything;

The ones that were underground work of course I wouldn't dare. The reason I wouldn't dare – my mother knew on the money, we were doing it with my mom, the money one. And my mother was also very much, mama was also helping to distribute this money also herself underground. So we were both supporting each other. And in our home in the Transkei, my mother's home is, as I said, in the village – my mother used to hide people in our home, hiding from the police. And the police sees young people, mostly men coming from urban areas where the police wouldn't get that somebody would run away from Johannesburg to go to some village in the Eastern Cape. My mother didn't know of that. My family, they supported me, my own brother coming after me was very proud and knew I was helping. He didn't always have to know because he was himself in Robben Island for 10 years.

A large reason Bokang kept some of her activities secret from her family was for their own safety from the Apartheid police, but especially her mother, as well as to protect her mother from worry;

Whatever I would have done…my family, they didn't know. They wouldn't know because…sometimes they used to worry; my mother worried but I didn't tell anyone because I also didn't want her to be under pressure from police. She was already under great pressure over my brother.

Of her family's activities she said;

And I've come from a family which was not necessarily in the struggle the same way but my own grandfather and my own father had been people who are involved in community work and they were involved in what was the structure at the time which of course wasn't servicing us, it was a patronising structure of what was called the Transkian Council. My parents were already in the struggle, not the struggle as it is interpreted now of carrying arms. They were in the struggle at that time which they thought in that context historically would change the situation of the black people's

> *lives. And one of the things now and I'm writing the book, is even to look at the statements that my grandfather used to make at the Territorial Council in the 1930s. And I look at it and I read it, and I am glad that even at that time though it was a liberation movement; he was already talking for the rights of people for agricultural…*

Nomsa spoke of having a questioning mind which was also influenced by family members, especially in terms of becoming aware of racial, class and gender inequalities within their own lives and their community. She spoke of how she started to become aware of Apartheid and how other people were challenging it;

> *But then the yearning for knowledge was quite strong and in our street there was a gentleman who was in Robben Island and my sister began to tell me about how and why he had gone to Robben Island. So I began to understand the notions of apartheid.*

She was also taught by her mother to challenge authority, not to accept it blindly at the cost of one's dignity and worth;

> *My mother, one day she was working at Baragwaneth Hospital sewing the uniforms of nurses when they are torn, and so on. And she had a boss that was Ma Aminis. And Ma Aminis was quite bossy and quite white and apartheid-thinking. And one day I don't know what she had done to my mother but she had insulted my mother and she had a private toilet, Ma Aminis, and my mother – when Ma Aminis was in the toilets because she didn't have to lock it, she just left outside, my mother got in to the toilet, beat Ma Aminis, got out, locked the toilet, took her bag and went back home and kept quiet and told us that you must never allow anybody to walk over you. Never, never, don't allow that; it doesn't matter how poor you were. So that was the Ma Aminis story.*

The influence of the family may differ between the case studies because the contexts are different. The Rwandan women are leaders in an established government and in a ruling party. The South African participants became involved in anti-Apartheid activism at young ages, and for some their families played a significant role in the development of their consciousness. The family factor in South Africa is more complicated, as evidenced by Kagiso and Bokang's experiences, because being an activist posed social stigmas and physical dangers respectively.

Reflection: Rwanda and South Africa

Again, due to the fact that the participants from Rwanda and the participants in South Africa became involved in politics during different stages of their countries' history, there would be a different experience in terms of the relationship of family to leadership. In Rwanda the women speak of feeling supported by their families. This is in the context of an established government in a stable country. In South Africa the families' perspectives vary as they began politics as activists challenging an unequal and violent regime.

However, what is interesting is none of the participants in both cases voiced any opposition from family members due to their gender. This is encouraging as it indicates that in these cases women are not prevented from taking up leadership by their families. However, as discussed below, the relationship with romantic partners' is more complicated for some of these participants.

4.8 Motherhood and Marriage

Rwanda

Sociologist Arlie Russell developed a term for women's work, 'the second shift' (Kramarae, 2001, pg.3). Russell's found that women overwhelmingly experience two working shifts during the day; they perform income generating activities, and they work in the home for no pay. Responsibilities in the home, such as cooking and cleaning, largely fall on the shoulders of women, receiving little or no help from their male partners. As a result, women have two working shifts during the day, housework being the second shift (Gerstel, 2000; Kramarae, 2001).

In this section I outline the ways in which the participants in this study experience a second shift (household work), this includes an analysis of how they manage their second shift.

Housework and Family Duties: The Second Shift

Internationally, the greatest proportion of women's unpaid work is household work. This is an important aspect of women's lives to investigate because traditionally it is not viewed as work even though it includes performing many tasks that sustain homes and families (Seager, 2003). Based on the interviews, Rwandan women political leaders are no different from women in the rest of the world in this regard.

One participant, who is married with two children, discussed the way in which despite having a husband she is responsible for ensuring that the home runs smoothly and the needs of her family (including her husband) are met.

> *Angelique: There are a lot of responsibilities; I come home and I find them waiting for me, like let's give an example like cooking. A husband can't go in the kitchen and cook for you or lay the bed, those are your responsibilities, that's why you find that women have a lot of responsibilities. I really work hard to perform them, so it is not always easy.*

Another participant, who is a divorced single mother, described household responsibilities as well;

> *Nicole: I always used to make sure I do it myself to make sure my children when they go to school in the morning we wake up all of us, I make sure, even if it is the house girl who prepares these things, but I come and supervise these things…and after my working hours, even if I am going home too late, I make sure I pass through the rooms of my children to see if everyone is sleeping.*

From these narratives, it appears that having a male partner may not make a difference in the amount of household work a woman performs. Previous studies have found that women and men in the same household do not equally divide household work between them (Seager, 2003). Therefore, the experience of the married participant, contrasted with the divorced participant, illustrates the previous findings that having a male partner does not lessen the amount of responsibility women experience in the home. Having a male partner does not ease the pressures. Therefore, like other women around the world, these participants perform a disproportionate amount of household labour.

That being said, amongst women politicians (as compared to women around the world in general), there tends to be more assistance with household tasks than normal. 85% of respondents in the IPU (2000) survey said that they received support from their husband or partner, with them taking on household duties and caretaking of children as a matter of routine. Unfortunately, the survey does not provide a regional analysis of the results to determine if the 85% figure includes African participants (as indicated previously, Rwandan women did not participate in the study). The 15% who did not identify as having received support from partners are not discussed. Conversely from the majority of the IPU (2000) respondents, from the narratives of the Rwandan participants, it is implied that having a husband or male partner may actually cause more of a burden and added responsibilities.

One participant, Aline, who is a single mother said:

> *…me being a single mother didn't have a problem…I didn't have the husband. I was a free woman.*

Aline's reference to herself as a 'free' woman because she has no husband is interesting because the necessary alternative would be 'unfree' – implying that marriage, or a husband, constitutes some form of restriction or constraint. This is evidenced by the coping strategies employed by the participants – they did not mention receiving assistance from husbands, ex-husbands or male partners. Coping strategies relied on other people.

Second Shift Challenges and Coping Mechanisms

Single and partnered women expressed facing the same challenge in their personal lives; that of not having enough time to split between their work and home.

Agathe, said that as a politician she had less time for her children than she did as a professional.

> *You know I don't think they saw it, you know, because I was working in an international organisation before that. And their quality of life did not improve that much, did not change significantly when I went into, instead you would say maybe it even got worse because I had much less time to be with them.*

Aline, talking about her colleagues said;

> *But where I see maybe they can experience problem maybe after reaching the job; their time, you know, that work is really quite demanding. You work long hours, sometimes even travel to go abroad.*

Jane expressed not being able to give enough of her time to her partner;

> *But obviously he faces the cost of the time that is available and he'd like me to be more available than I am.*

Those women who did not struggle with having too little time are those who had adult children by the time they reached leadership positions. Being a single mother, when asked who helps her with her children, Nicole said,

> *Taking care of children over 20 years? Schools are taking care of them. And my last born is at secondary school. She is coming home after her boarding, after day boarding time, so after 8pm.*

Also a mother of older children, Aline said,

> *I managed because I didn't have younger children, ok, I had one child but I have relatives' friends' children whom I was looking after. But I tried and managed it, I didn't have younger kids, babies no. So it was no problem to me for sure. I was just program with the children, they are old, some are at university, so just program…I didn't have any problem.*

Those participants who faced the challenge of having enough time to do everything have developed various coping strategies to assist them to meet the challenges of caring for their families. What stood out in the interviews is the way these women emphasise being organised and planning their time.

While she has adult children, Aline said that the most important thing is to be organised. She said,

> *It is programming yourself, that's the first thing. You have to program yourself that on such a time I will do this and that.*

On her colleagues she said;

> *But even others I think they really program, because I have seen women they really work, they don't miss out of the work.*

Similarly, Nicole said,

> *So as a woman, as a mother, if it happens to you don't say, 'I am tired, I don't have time'. You must organise yourself to have time for your family. And when they were still young I was using, important to plan, to make your agenda, and save for your children.*

Women politicians around the world have developed the same planning and organisation strategy. Respondents in the IPU survey also discussed the importance of careful planning and management of resources (IPU, 2000). It is also important to have a support structure in place. In the IPU (2000) survey 72% of the respondents had domestic help services, 64% had received assistance from parents, and 40% from other relatives. Angelique has the youngest children and makes use of domestic as well as family assistance;

> *But we are still lucky we have helpers, house helpers…when I am not home to bring back my kids from school I call my house keeper, tell him, 'go with a taxi and pick the kids'.*

She also expressed the importance of the help of family members;

> *We have this culture of like being in the family, we have people, we have like cousins, aunties, like we are all, we live together, we help each other, we love each other…even if you are tired and you have all that support from your family, a big family, at least you wake up and you're not depressed. Our family culture is different from the western countries, so we have some relatives at home and so can help you…in other countries you must go yourself, you must do all things yourself.*

Another participant also discussed how she coped with still having a minor child. Nicole said;

> *And actually I decided to pay for my daughter to be in day boarding, to avoid her to be alone at home…after school they do extra curricula activities and they go back to classrooms, helped by teachers to do their homework, then they go home for sleeping every day.*

It is important to note here that this participant lost most of her family during the genocide and so may not have a familial support system available to her.

The support of family is important to consider. In the Literature Review Chapter I discussed the importance of contextual analysis of women's leadership. Angelique's point here supports this assertion. In this instance, culture is beneficial for women's leadership. As Angelique says, a culture of family interconnectedness, and relationships with extended family is important. They form a support system so that women have the time to do work outside of the home, but of course this is dependent on whether the family supports the woman to work outside of the home.

One of the central points to take from the personal narratives of these women with regards to their experience of the second shift is that having a partner does not lessen the amount of work in the home. These women point to being well organised, planning, having schools, domestic help and family members as the resources that enable them to be political leaders. Not necessarily present or previous male partners. However, from these participants' narratives of trying to balance home life (motherhood especially) with their political careers I believe that they are not out of touch with the ordinary daily experiences of other women in this regard. This is reiterated by respondents in the IPU (2000) survey who said that they experience the same pressures as ordinary women.

Clementine had this to say about being mothers and wives affecting them as leaders;

> *I think that what we've gone through as women, once we are given an opportunity to be in decision making positions there is no way we can forget the needs that are there in our families, the needs that are there for women, the needs that are there for children, the needs that are there for having water nearby, the need for electricity, the need for good roads, the need for help, you know? We are not even saying that these are women who are going to deal with academic gender issues. These are women who are going to deal with practical gender day issues.*

Political Work and Representing Women: The Third Shift

In this section, based on the interviews with the participants, I would like to argue that women politicians experience a third shift when representing women's unique interests. This is a separate discussion from Impact, but they are inter-related. In recent years scholars have begun to identify third shifts that women face. The third shift encompasses caregiving work, both informally taking care of sick relatives, and formally through volunteer work (Gerstel, 2000). In other words, women perform income-generating work, household duties (the second shift), and perform care-giving work (third shift). In addition, it has been found that women who pursue further education through online or distance learning also experience a third shift in their routines (Kramarae, 2001).

I would like to develop the category of the third-shift to include the work of women politicians; women politicians also experience a third shift unique to their identity as 'women politicians'. They take care of their families (as discussed above), they perform their formal political duties as per their positions, but then they also take on extra political and social activities relating to representing women specifically.

Only two of the six participants have held positions directly mandated with representing women's interests. Some of the participants who have never held posts related to women's interests have been involved in social activism and work directed at improving the lives of women. As a parliamentarian, this participant and her colleagues were part of an association that performed various social activities outside of the scope of their work.

> *Angelique: Being in the parliament is being there for the people. I was in an association to help women like widows. Building houses for them, for poor people. You know we have a lot of orphans in Rwanda due to the Rwandan genocide, we built houses for them. We did stuff like that. It was our extra mandate because our mandate is to make law, to have the control over the government. So, we had other extra activities - women in the parliament.*

Another former parliamentarian talked of working within their communities;

> *Aline: Training, education at schools, education sensitisation, you know. So that they have to fight for their rights…Programs, workshops because when we were in the parliament we don't sit there and keep quiet, especially as I said, in each province at least you get 6 women representatives there in parliament, so when we say but parliament we have to go back, work with them, organise training, sometimes with civil society they can help us especially with the funds, when you work with the civil society organisations that are there they can organise and you go and if you do lessons, whatever.*

As an ambassador, this participant had to deal with all manner of issues relating to Rwandan citizens that one would not expect to fall under the mandate of an ambassador.

> *Agathe: Jack of all trades, yeah. So because you have populations from your country in your country of accreditation all issues come up, including gender issues. Yeah, sometimes including even domestic violence will come to you, you have to mediate.*

I believe that the extra work these women performed, outside of their official mandates, constitutes a third shift in their days. This adds a new dimension to the issue of impact, and how much we (academics, their constituents, civil society, etc.) expect from them. While I discussed impact in more detail previously, I believe understanding that these women face a third shift can help us to rethink the ways in which we interrogate their impact. That is – instead of expecting women politicians to do it all, we should rather think of how we can enable them to better represent and serve us. Making suggestions is outside of the scope of this study. However, the narratives of these participants clearly show that when investigating women politician's impact we should consider their achievements (and failures) in relation to how much they carry, and the limited time that they have. Therefore, the discourse should include ways in which these women need to be supported and assisted. Agathe alluded to this when discussing her work as an ambassador;

> *You see when you are in a position of leadership all eyes are on you. There's a high expectation and support does not always, it is not commiserate with the pressures that you get. Because when you are in a position of leadership a lot is expected of you in terms of delivery, in terms of conduct, in terms of. I don't know how I can explain it.*

South Africa

South African mothers also spoke of experiencing the second shift discussed above, having to manage and balance their roles as mothers with their work. Lebohang shared a similar experience as with the Rwandan participants;

> *So the issues with children and family remain part of your baggage that you need to find a way of managing, I won't say 'balancing', managing in order to do your work successfully. And for me it was a support system at two levels: one, it was at home, the domestic support system; I was fortunate that my mom was staying with me and my sister was not far away and my brother. And my sister who is a nurse by profession, so I knew that when I leave and do my work the kids will not not be attended to. Sometimes they'll tell me when I come back, 'so-and-so was sick, I took him to the doctor'.*

Like the Rwandans, she spoke of managing her time, but also spoke of the importance of having support systems in place. Her support system is her extended family – not her husband. However, for the other South African participants experiences of motherhood and marriage differ sharply from those of the Rwandans. Another participant, who is a mother, had a different experience because she was first a soldier and then a commander in M.K;

> *Nomsa: I have a son who's emotionally cold because I've never mothered him, and now I feel so bad because I've created the conditions now South Africa is free. But what I've lost – because I was never there, even when I was there I was not there. So now with my son there's a cold character, you can say to him, 'Hey, Lumumba, I'm going to shoot you,' and he'll say, 'Where are you going to? Let's do it outside because it's going to be very...' Or you say, 'Lumumba, I've bought you an aeroplane that you wanted.' He'll say, 'Just park it there, I'm still watching TV.' So there's nothing like sort of -. He's 'Just park it,' and then… 'Okay, where is that aeroplane? Oh, it's beautiful.' He's just like that. So it's something that because we are women we've got to find the ways and means of balancing.*

Being a mother in the struggle often meant that you were removed from participating in structures and so women like Nomsa had difficult choices to make;

> *You miss out. And then there's also the question of relations. You are likely to get pregnant and if you get pregnant, wherever you are as a woman whether MK or not, you get taken to Tanzania where women stay with their children. If you leave early you will not rise to be a commander or a commissar even in future years…so we have that disadvantage of we train and go up to a point and then we leave camp. And men stay in the camps and become even instructors and everything but we don't get that opportunity because we are women and because of patriarchy working itself in a way that excludes.*

Being activists greatly affected some of these women in terms of the traditional gender roles of being wives and mothers. Some chose to reject some of the roles in order to dedicate their lives to their visions for their country and the way they wanted to participate in bringing that vision to life. While Nomsa had a child, she made the decision not to get married at all;

> *I had a relationship when I was still in South Africa when I was young, but I was too one-track minded and everything was secondary, correctly so, to the struggle. And it meant that I had to unfortunately make choices, sacrifices. because being deployed in the forward areas and going to the camps, there's no time for a husband or something – you just are deployed, not as a couple. The first time I had the father of my child and he wanted us to get married and I loved him to bits, he wanted us to get married. But if I got married he was in the forward areas and I was also in the forward areas in Lesotho which wasn't in South Africa. And I just couldn't see*

> *myself going to sit as a wife in Swaziland though I was not going to be allowed anyway; it would have meant I'll go to Tanzania and there was no way.*

The participant had earlier explained that Tanzania was were women who got pregnant were sent, and were effectively excluded from in participating in ways in which they could have progressed in the structures and also missed out on opportunities to fight for their country in meaningful ways. Tanzania was essentially an exile for pregnant women. Similarly, when it was time for the CODESA negotiations she put her country first;

> *And then I subsequently had a partner and it was the same thing; we were both in the forward areas and then we were separated. And when we came back together and we were at the same spot, he wanted children and I said, 'no way, I'm not going to Tanzania'. Then we came back and it was negotiation time and he wanted a child, I said, 'No ways! Negotiations!' and he died of cancer.*

Nomsa expressed regret for these choices. Not for sacrificing her personal life for her country, but for not trying harder to find ways to balance the two, cautioning against women taking too radical (or subservient) approaches to their personal lives;

> *And that's the part that I find with the younger generation is not there – it's either people are completely radical or completely subservient and they use us older women as examples that we have made it and we made it on our own but they don't know that in fact we sacrificed that part and sometimes unnecessarily, we could have balanced. When my partner died, I could sit down and say, ja, for men I could have balanced, I could have met him half-way without going down the road, just negotiate with him. I could even have negotiated that, 'okay, let's take two years off and go to Tanzania, you do something and I'll do something and we have this baby and we take it from there.' But I just said 'no'. And when we came back there was no need for me to then say that I couldn't be in negotiation if I'm pregnant; I could have been. But it was going to be this focus that I just said no. So it's something that people have got to really balance because you only have one life and it cannot be just a political life as I think I had, mine was just a political life and nothing else. Fun – you've got to have fun within that political life! We've got to live, you live only once.*

Similarly, Kagiso made the choice not to have children as she felt she would not be able to fulfil that role because of her dedication to the struggle;

> *I chose not to have children because I worked in an area called Crossroads informal settlement and my main aim was highlighting the importance of women's liberation with the national democratic struggle. I had a woman who was doing translation for me because my Xhosa is not that good. That was in Gugulethu and every Saturday I'd go to Crossroads and I'd pick her up at her house…she came out all very smartly dressed and there were her sick children, all little children, crying, dirty and wanting her attention. And I said, 'It's okay, you don't have to go with me, I can go on my*

> *own.' And, 'No, no, no, no, I'll go with you.' And that was the moment where I decided how do you actually work for a greater cause to have a better society and a new society with women's liberation and equality and no apartheid and you don't actually feed your children? And that was the moment that I decided that I was not going to have children.*

Kagiso expressed not having any regrets for the sacrifices she had to make in her personal life;

> *And I don't ever regret decisions about anything. And the only time ever that I thought, 'gosh, I am so lonely' was when I was in political detention; that if I had a child outside at least there was something of me.*

Motherhood and the first democratic parliament

In interviews with women parliamentarians found their biggest challenge with being parliamentarians and mothers was the distances between home and Cape Town where the parliament is located, and how this affected their ability to mother their children. This could be solved if families were moved to Cape Town, but husbands often did not wish to accommodate their wives in this regard (Geisler, 2000). Lebohang said;

> *But also the distance that came with South Africa's political administration where you've got two centres, it does put a strain on the family. And remember I was very young when I got married, I was 30 years in 1995 and he got a job in Johannesburg – so you could see each other on the weekend, if you are also not working because I'm most of the time in Cape Town and come to Pretoria once on Thursday night then on Friday and maybe Saturday we have got a deployment in another province where you can't be home. That put a strain on family life and it's something that the majority of women would not talk about.*

Bokang, whose NGO worked with women parliamentarians was a witness to this;

> *And then women were there and then it was very hard in the beginning for women because our parliament was never created in terms of their programmes to create space for a mother and a wife. And so the early days of transition, having to manage your home; some were very far from Cape Town and you have to fly and then you have to be at home on a Saturday.*

Efforts were made to make women's parliamentarians' lives easier in terms of their family life;

> *Thuto: And then we set up a crèche but we found afterwards that women were not using it – that was their choice, but the staff were. We then stopped session by six o'clock so people could go home. It was very rarely that I would allow it to go on longer because I thought people need family life and they need to be able to go home.*

Despite measures such as this, it appears that unequal gender roles affected the participants.

Marriage: Rwanda and South Africa

Perhaps what is most striking is that some of these are women who have challenged the patriarchal notion that women cannot be leaders, or political leaders, have not been able to fully challenge patriarchy within their personal lives. Lebohang discussed the ways in which it is the very women who pass laws for women's liberation that sometimes are not liberated within their personal lives, and it is not for a lack of an awareness of the contradiction;

> *Well, if one were to take this issue we are talking about now, if you look at the calibre of all of us who went to parliament you can't say it's women who didn't participate in the women's struggle, it's women who didn't know what you had to do, women who didn't know their rights, it's women who didn't know there are choices that how many choices are there that you can make; it's women who have drafted the very laws. But when a woman is faced with those choices, knowing all of those things there are other considerations that a person takes a choice around to say, 'do I, do I not?' – and which no one can influence.*

Angelique spoke about having unequal responsibilities in the home which included performing basic tasks for her husband;

> *A husband can't go in the kitchen and cook for you or lay the bed, those are your responsibilities, that's why you find that women have a lot of responsibilities. I really work hard to perform them, so it is not always easy.*

She went on to say;

> *It is hard for me, really hard. To manage I have to wake, maybe I have to work at 7, that means I have to wake up so early, prepare the kids, or even my husband can tell you, 'iron the shirt for me' – you have to do that.*

This is a participant who had previously said that her spouse supports her career in politics. Bokang, discussing women experiences in the first South African parliament expressed similar difficulties faced by South African women;

> *Oh, what a strain on women, what a strain. When the women get home on a Saturday each member of parliament who is very busy, she really now has to try and do every possible thing, checking everything in her home. Shopping, everything, you know, name it. And what was the hardest thing is that sometimes it was so difficult for husbands who are not used to managing homes, to really manage a home on their own with the children. At times husbands would phone a wife to say, 'please remind me, I can't remember the name of the doctor of our family. So-and-so is not well, what should I give her?' Yes, little things like that. These are true stories.*

Two of the Rwandan participants are divorced, but did not discuss this aspect of their personal lives. Kagiso (South Africa) expressed that being in politics can often result in divorce;

> *Yes, I was married like many people were married; but the other big thing about politics is you don't actually have a life. You don't have a life, your life doesn't belong to you. It's difficult: if I think of everyone that I know there's one couple that's still married…otherwise every single person that I know is divorced.*

In South Africa there were many divorces amongst women parliamentarians with 30 divorces in the first year of democratic rule alone. This was partly to do with husbands not being able to cope with having wives as leaders (Geisler, 2000).

> *Lebohang: And sometimes men because they've never been accustomed to not to be in front and to be the ones that are recognised and you are always recognised with reference to him, it becomes a kind of of difficulty where for the first time it will be like, this is the X's husband, as opposed to Y's wife. That you could tell was a bit of a struggle.*

Geisler cited one of her interviewees as saying that the high divorce rates were likely partly to do with women feeling empowered to leave unhappy marriages, and not just because husbands could not cope with their wives' elevated statuses (Geisler, 2000). Lebohang participant talked about marital infidelity on the part of husbands as a result of their wives' absences;

> *And unfortunately our society would become susceptible to men cheating and they will justify it, she said, 'what are they going to do bantu?' You know, it's like if your physical presence is not there, what do you expect this man to do? But if a man would be going to work in the mines for nine months, the woman must be faithful and stay.*

The participant means that society enables the collapses of marriages by justifying men's infidelity and it is society that pressurises women to remain in such marriages. As Lebohang said, just because some women are still married does not mean that they are happy in their marriages.

> *But what may be silent and not said is how many families got destabilised, people might not have come out of their marriages. Some of those things that people wouldn't talk about, you'd want to create a brave face and say, 'ja, everything was just fine'.*

Lebohang went on to explain that women are often silent about what they experience in their marriages;

> *…and some of those battles are private because I think as much as you may try to become open, there's a certain level at which women also become private. And there are two things: it's like, 'what would I want my friend to do about this situation except just lamenting; she has her own problems, maybe these are for me to deal with'. You think, 'should I tell my mother? Now if I do then it means my mom must now take a side. It's not worth It'.*

In other words, the silence may be to not want to burden those close to them. However, there are other reasons why women may choose to both stay silent and remain in unhappy marriages; they fear the social stigma attached to divorce;

> *Lebohang: So I'm saying you might have a definite number for people who have divorced but you might have an equal number of those who have stayed but in collapsed relationships where either it's a fear of reprisal amongst the community or maybe -. You know, what is on your psyche liberated as you might be but there's that thing of, 'what will people say?'. And it's like in our society even though no more that prevalent but you are seen as a woman who has failed if you come out of a relationship and divorced.*

In addition, she expressed that the deliberation of whether to stay in or leave a marriage is often full of turmoil, with particular concern with how other people other than themselves would be affected by a decision to leave (particularly children).

> *Lebohang: And sometimes we make assumptions that people don't leave because they are scared necessarily, because they're scared of the society, because they are fearful of something they will lose and, yes, some of those issues do happen. But on a number of occasions it's about that deep reflection that a person goes into alone to*

say with all of these choices what are the consequences for those that might not be part of this relationship by choice but through birth. So there are many of those considerations which at the end a person may say actually this thing can't define me, there are many other things that I can do, I'll find a way of coping – but as long as this one can live under this facade this things are normal and be able to have a normal life, it's okay. Whether that's right or wrong I have learned that one can't be the judge because it is at that personal level that as an individual will take a choice. And I think it doesn't matter how feminist she may be, I think that natural instinct always comes.

In the South African case there have been instances where women leaders have been public about being mistreated in their marriages (Giesler, 2000). Of these there have been instances in which women leaders' divorces or marital problems are used to cast a negative light on them in the media; that they cannot cope with their multiple roles. They are publicly undermined if their marriages fail, and attention is shifted from their work to their personal lives (Geisler, 2000). This may explain why some women are silent about these experiences, but also why they may choose to remain in unhappy marriages.

From the participant's narratives it appears that the public discourse is not about how women are treated unequally in their marriages, but that if they are treated harshly it is the woman who is to blame, not the patriarchal attitude of the men. Particularly where infidelity occurs, the onus is not on the man to be faithful, but for the woman to make the choice between remaining in a marriage where she is unhappy, or face public reprisal as well as potentially affect family members negatively. In other words, the burden of maintaining a home falls on the woman. As Angelique put it; true change and inequality will come when men believe in gender equality as much as any woman;

But all this might end the day men, he can know that we should be equal, to perform equal.

Reflection: Rwanda and South Africa

Both Rwandan and South African cases have experienced challenges trying to grapple with the different roles that come with being a woman; partnership, motherhood, and with their leadership roles. What is different is that in the South African cases there have been outright refusals to accept certain roles and the restrictions that they may pose to their political life, particularly during the Apartheid years. The Rwandan participants did not speak of their personal relationships, preferring to discuss their children instead. What is clear from their narratives is that they too experience gendered roles within their personal lives. Of course, being an available and nurturing mother does not necessarily mean that they are submitting to gendered roles. It is the way in which when discussing their support systems their male partners and the fathers of their children are not mentioned.

One would question why they have not been able to reject this gendered and unequal share of the responsibility of child-rearing if they have been able to challenge gender inequality in politics. Similarly, one of the South African participants who is married discussed having the same personal challenges as what the Rwandans discussed. She was particularly more open about why otherwise powerful women would choose to remain in relationships where they do not have as much as agency. The reasons include how it would affect other family members. Another reason is the public scrutiny and criticism that they would experience. In other words, becoming a leader does not mean women have perfect lives – nor does it mean they no longer face the challenges that ordinary women face. Perhaps understanding this would also go some way in understanding their leadership; that they face ordinary challenges within their personal lives, and when exploring their impact we must approach it with a big picture analysis that these women are more than just political leaders.

4.9 World-View

The participants' narratives show that difficult experiences which are directly tied to their respective contexts are not merely defining experiences. Their experiences, discussed below, were created by their contexts and their positions within those contexts. Those experiences defined for them who they were in their societies, and seeing the experiences of others also created the motivation in them to change their societies. For the Rwandan participants it was the refugee experience. For the South African participants it was the experience of growing up during Apartheid.

Rwanda: Refugee Experience and 1994 Genocide

Though already discussed as an important factor in the participant's educational levels, I believe the conflict history (including the refugee experience and the 1994 genocide) has greatly affected the participant's world view in terms of who they are as Rwandans, but also how best to run and rebuild the country.

Aline gave me an over-view of Rwanda's history;

> *This country had a lot of conflict, and you know with us, so in 59 there was that ethnic grouping, first of all you had a kind of kingship kind of, so when we became independent, that's when it turned and went to other people, so when these other people for the government what I could call the Hutus now they said just arrest the Tutsis. So that's when they started the killings, and then the remaining have to run to different places, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Congo. So there was negotiation with the government that we should come back but the government should be replaced that time. But those who remained here, most of them were massacred from time to time. So when they refused that we come, you know, peacefully, we had to fight. So that's when in 1990 the liberation was started. And we won it in 1994, so after winning that's how we came.*

Aline's explanation indicates that for Rwandan refugees and the RPF the early 1990's were about the liberation of the country after decades of discrimination and violence against Tutsis specifically. For them Rwanda's defining moments are not confined to the genocide in 1994, but the violence and inequalities that occurred before that as well.

Again, other participants went into more detail about their refugee experiences. When discussing how they became members of Rwanda's liberation movement before 1994;

> *Agathe: You were thrown into it by the fact that you were, you were forced to leave your country by your circumstances. So, the feeling of that injustice, of growing up as a refugee or seeing the conditions your parents were in as refugees… We grew up in, some in refugee camps, some in different circumstance. Life was not easy… You're thrown there without any possessions, without anything…*

Angelique described how being a refugee shaped her feelings about her home country;

> *I was a refugee in Congo, so that was not something that was easy for me, and being a refugee you learn a lot. You pass through struggles…I wanted to have this solidarity in me…you see, it was the experience for refugees in the country; 'You are*

Rwandan!' Like they are discriminating, 'You are Rwandese, maybe you don't even belong here!"

A consultation of the literature shows that the participants only revealed the tip of the ice-berg in terms of the experience of being a Rwandan refugee prior to 1994. In Uganda the first waves of post-independence refugees from Rwanda faced the possibility of being returned because the then British colony did not want to have to deal with a humanitarian crisis. After Ugandan independence they then experienced hostilities from the Ugandan nationalists as well as host local populations. This meant that there was insecurity in terms of knowing whether they would be able to stay in Uganda as refugees, or return to Rwanda were they faced ethnic discrimination and massacres.

In addition, because of the sheer numbers of refugees in countries such as Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and parts of the Congo the international community decided that Rwandan refugees should be permanently settled in those countries, instead of assisted to have a peaceful stable environment to return to in Rwanda. However, at the same time, the Rwandan monarchist party of the UNAR, would use violence against Rwandan refugees who tried to settle and rebuild their lives in countries such as Uganda. It would take Rwanda's refugees three decades to be able to return home, and then only through a civil war and violent invasion. Throughout those three decades there were continued massacres against Tutsi's remaining in Rwanda, the last one being the most famous 1994 genocide (Long, 2012). In addition, the 1994 genocide is partly characterised by the fact that the international community did nothing to prevent or stop it despite being aware of what was happening (Uvin, 2001).

However, Agathe was at pains to explain to me that the genocide and the history of violence in the country are not what led to the improvements evident in Rwanda today.

I hate to say it that way because I know people who keep saying 'Oh, Rwanda everything, oh all the progress it has made is because of the genocide', as if genocide is something we should all be looking for. No I wouldn't like to say it that way, but I would like to say that when there is a movement for rights, you know, struggle for rights, then the people understand rights in its entirety. Which of course opens a window for women also because these are people who have struggled for rights, they understand what discrimination is, they understand what denial of rights is. But, I don't want to say because of our violent history because people have misused it, particularly in the case of Rwanda, to say 'oh, you know it is because of genocide…' no! It is not that. It is because of a better understanding of rights.

The participant is correct that it should not take genocide or other types of violence to force a country to implement stability, growth development, and all forms of human rights. What is important is having the mind-set of a commitment to people's rights and equality. However, I believe that these experiences continue to influence, and motivate them today. For example, there is the Itorero Commission which aims to teach Rwandan values and informs citizens of government policies and programmes (Diaspora General Directorate, 2009-2010). The fact that initiatives like Itorero continue 20 years after the end of the civil war and the genocide illustrates that those experiences are not being forgotten, rather continuous steps are being taken to prevent the same events occurring again. The development of such a commission speaks to their understanding of the causes of the problems that have occurred in Rwanda.

> *Aline: So you have to understand, it happened because of bad leadership.*
> Agathe: *So in Rwanda also, the genocide, first of all the genocide was also like a result of a disintegration of the social fabric, because where the social fabric is strong there is no way a neighbour is going to go and hack down an entire family of neighbours. So, a lot is being done in terms reconciliation, in terms of this and that.*

The participants talked about how the government and politicians have tried to reconcile the country through its leadership, while implementing different programs and activities to do right by survivors.

> *Aline: So, it was hard but the good thing also the survivors of genocide, the government and even the population tried to at least be with them all the time. During the time of commemoration, we must be with them. You comfort them. And, the government puts there some programs, support them. Like the children who survived, they pay them school fees, they gave them some small things, they constructed them houses, those who are sick they take them for treatment free of charge, there is a fund which was created where government puts in money, 5% of national budget, and then also the community contributes, we even contribute even from our salaries. But for the last 5 years they've stopped individual contributions, it is now the government because the number is reducing on the support because they learned, they come and work so they no longer need that support. So, we owned it, we didn't leave it for them. So we would pay that money comfortably.*

These efforts display a deep consciousness of Rwanda's past, and a need to correct it and prevent it from happening again.

Rwanda has experience with democratisation processes, but which ended badly, partly precipitating the 1994 genocide. There are those who argue that stability is more important than democracy, and that democracy can always come later (Silva-Leander, 2008). But perhaps, Rwanda forces us to consider if democracy as we know it should always be viewed as the ultimate achievement of any society? The stability, economic growth, and progress of women in Rwanda forces us to question the normalisation of the uncritical belief that democracy is the only effective way to run a society. Why shouldn't liberation governments implement measures to ensure that no further genocides, mass-exodus and destabilisation happen again, as the President has recently argued (AllAfrica, 2014)?

Considering the way in which many Rwandans either became refugees or were born as refugees after independence, as well as the international community's inaction during the 1994 genocide, one can sympathise with the need to ensure stability at all costs. The Rwandan narrative is that during time of crises they are on their own – they cannot rely on the international community to assist them.

South Africa: Childhood experiences of Inequality

During the Apartheid years both the rural and urban settings were heavily regulated by Apartheid policy (Wells, 2007). The participants grew up in different regions of South Africa, and in different urban and rural settings, some having experienced both contexts. As a result they have a diversity of childhood experiences. Despite this diversity they all experienced Apartheid policies and the consequences of racial, gender and class inequalities. One can see the ways in which their various settings influenced them to become aware of the inequalities that existed and affected them.

> *Kagiso: I was brought up in Cape Town; I was born in Cape Town. I lived in an area called Maitland. I think what was probably the first consciousness was the way the Group Areas affected people – that was really the most stark awareness of movement of people and friends and family suddenly, you know the break up, uprooting of people. I have a very stark memory of probably being like three or four years old and I didn't really know Cape Town at all but we had an incredibly beautiful drive around the peninsula, and as you come from Hout Bay and you can see Noordhoek beach down below – and I said to my parents, 'That's my favourite beach and we're going there.' 'We can't.' And I just couldn't understand it, I said, 'What do you mean?' 'No, we can't go.' And I'd say, 'But why do say that?' 'Oh, no, we're not the right -.' You know, they were trying to explain very awkwardly and uncomfortable and all sorts of things. I said, 'But what are you doing about it?' And they said, 'No, but it's the law of the land.' I said, 'Well, I'm going to do something about it.'*

Above Kagiso discusses the way she experienced policies such as the Group Areas Act. This Act determined the areas in which the various races where allowed to live, and in many cases people were uprooted from their homes to comply with this policy (Wells, 2007). In addition, the Pass system used as influx and labour control by controlling how many Africans lived and worked in the cities (Wells, 2007). Those not in the cities lived in desperately poor rural areas in reserves called Bantustans (ANC, 1980). Part of this included strict control of rural women's movements to the cities, preventing them from following their husbands who went to work (ANC, 1980; Ginwala, Mackintosh & Massey, 1991). Bokang's experiences of women in her rural community were tied directly to the Apartheid policy of migrant labour and influx control that destroyed the family and social fabric of communities;

> *The women in the rural areas those days were without their husbands because many of their husbands were working in the mines. And one of the things I thoroughly enjoyed was coming back from school where now I had finally made it in school, I was back home for two years only and then I would spend time in the afternoon with these women and I loved it: conversations on everything; and they are talking about their problems at home, they are talking about their husbands who are not there, generally, and so this was wonderful. I looked forward to these afternoons. And I think it must have been that, that as a child I was [indistinct 08:35] and I was part of them, but I realised. And then later on when I could write letters, that was one of my responsibilities that they would come to my mother and they would ask if I could write letters on their behalf, those who could not write, to their husbands. And I remember my mother telling me that when I write these letters I must never tell anybody what the contents of the letter. I wasn't sure exactly why but I didn't because it was one of those things.*

Bokang's writing of letters on behalf of these women must have given her access to the most intimate, private experiences of the women she wrote for. Bokang's experience of these women is also evidence of the dire poverty experienced in the rural areas;

> *And these women would come to my home in the afternoons to assist with the weeding – you plough the mielies, you plough the beans, you plough the pumpkins, and then you have the weeding season. And the women will come with their hoes that were used. But then when they come in the afternoon, these women, they come not for money but they would be paid by getting sugar and tea.*

That these women had to take on extra work for staples such as sugar and tea indicates how dire their situations must have been.

Other participants also discussed becoming conscious of class, racial and gender inequality as children. As a young girl Nomsa began to question the treatment of women in her family, citing one particular event;

> *As I said the first thing for me was poverty; we were extremely poor as a family it was a female-headed household. My father had died when I was two years. And when I moved to the Eastern Cape, again it was a female-headed household, my uncle had died. And two significant things happened in my life at that time when I was a child. One was that in the Eastern Cape my uncle died and my aunt was being asked to marry the brother to the uncle which was the umgena custom. She was asked to do this but she resisted and because she resisted we were kicked out of that village and we went to stay in another village with my aunt. And at that village again we were harassed because there was a claim that she was a witch and that's why she was kicked out from the first village to the second village. That raised questions for me as to – at that time I was about 14 – how you could be made to marry somebody who is your relative and somebody that you have never been in love with? So those questions as a child arose.*

She provided examples of how she came to identify women's unique experiences in society, and how these experiences were a result of their gender and their inferiority as a result, and the dangers that came with being a woman;

> *So this made an impact that my sister above everything else used to talk a lot about white and black and being a woman and having to stand on your own. And she had no respect for any woman who wanted to depend on a man. She said, 'You must have a boyfriend,' but at that time there was this thing of the boyfriend who gives you things and my sister said, 'You must never accept that, it has got conditions. Men will always have conditions.' And then when she was teaching me about sexuality and then she wasn't saying [indistinct 19:22], she was saying that men are up to no good; what they are looking for in women are potential slaves, as a wife you'll be a slave, and but you'll also be a sex slave [indistinct] use you for sex and then [indistinct 19:42]. So these are things that affect me when I'm around 15-16, and they are very strong in terms of attitudes to authority, to people that have got power, to rich, to all these kinds of things.*

Also at a young age Nomsa began to experience racial inequality but also the way in which the relationship between racial inequality and class inequality in South Africa is bound together;

> *And the second one was when I was in Johannesburg there was a lady called Mrs Minty and my aunt was working for Mrs Minty and I used to go to my aunt's work on a Thursday in the morning to go and fetch her because she'd be bringing leftovers and things like that. So I would not go to school on Thursday; go to my aunt. And Mrs Minty had a huge house, very huge, and she had I think about four cats and two dogs and no children. And at home we were about 11 and we had only one bedroom.*

> *So this question of how does it come about that Mrs Minty – and I was very sympathetic to Mrs Minty because I thought that she was…We were a very happy family, to the extent that I didn't know who was my biological brother or sister in this; we were just family. But Mrs Minty, there she was, one room for Mrs Minty to share with us, take some of us, we can stay with her, she's lonely. And my sister explained the question of apartheid: black and white and why Mrs Minty stays alone. And this struck me as completely unfair, not only for us as blacks but for Mrs Minty because she couldn't benefit.*

Lebohang had the advantage of having spent part of her childhood outside of South Africa to have recognised that the inequalities in South Africa were not right;

> *My mom is Swazi, so part of my early years I spent in Swaziland and Swaziland was under the British protectorate, as you know, and Swaziland then got their independence in the 1960s. So I grew up in Swaziland without the notion of race and colour and Swaziland expatriates, white people who were sneaking into Swaziland – so there was not a 'them' and 'us' kind of thing, and there was no preferences of white; we went to the same schools. So I think the reality shocked us when coming to South Africa and you found that you couldn't go to public toilets, certain public toilets, those are for whites. Huh? And I think that started to make you feel something is wrong in the society.*

She also spoke of being conscientised through the events that were taking place in the country;

> *But also my dad, even when we were young, when it was News time all of you had to be quiet, and actually you were forced to listen to the news…And when Hector Pietersen died, I can't say it was more the political awareness at that time for me but I think it was just the hurt and the parallelism of my age…it was really a trauma not having experienced this but I think the knowledge of it and reflections about…something is wrong.*

Thuto described what it was like to be Black in Apartheid South Africa – summing up the experiences of the other participants above – that one could not be a Black person in South Africa and not experience racial inequality;

> *You see, in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, you couldn't be a black South African and not react to apartheid – it was as simple as that. Now in the family we used to talk; at that time you had in an organised way you had the South African Indian Congress or a Transvaal Indian Congress, a Natal Indian Congress, which was formed before the ANC, it was formed by Mahatma Ghandi. Indians for example could not go to the Free State.*

Apartheid policies and laws were so pervasive that they sought to control every aspect of Black people's lives, making it impossible for any Black person to not have experienced Apartheid directly (ANC, 1980). As shown throughout the narratives of these participants, they each developed a consciousness of the various forms of Apartheid through personal experiences, much like other South Africans.

Some women politicians in the IPU (2000) survey said that their entry in to politics was a motivation to change the existing regime. The same is true for the South African participants, as evidenced by their narratives they have a motivation to address the different types of inequalities that they saw and experienced. For the Rwandan participants, it is a motivation to grow their country and break the history of bad governance and violence.

Reflection: Rwanda and South Africa

While the preceding five themes discuss defining life experiences (both before and after leadership), this theme explains the way in which the combination of different experiences can shape individuals as leaders by influencing their motivations. With the Rwandan women the emphasis is on using different measures (such as growing the economy) to create a more stable country. Amongst the South African women the emphasis is on creating a more equal society, and not just in terms of gender equality.

For example, in Rwanda the national agenda is to remove perceptions of ethnic differences to create an equal society. This has been met with some controversy – again in terms of suppressing diversity (Hogg, 2009). But one can see the single-mindedness with which the government in particular has implemented measures to grow the economy, create more employment, and making everyone participate in rebuilding the country.

> *Jane: Or when I move around and I see a new hotel, a new project, a new bank that we facilitated coming into the economy it is very motivating because you see the results, and then you enter, for example, times I've gone to a bank that we've worked with in coming to the country, enter the bank and I see all these people working and then I see that all these hundreds of people got a job because this investor come and these probably supporting the wives, the family, the whatever, and so the people that are actually benefiting from all of this are about 500 and I'm like, 'oh my god this is important!' That is very motivating.*

> *Aline: It is started at the national level at the local leaders at the districts they will do it and sign it with his excellency that this year I am doing this and that. Provide me money I will do this and that. So they are provided the money, when this is not*

> *done, say why wasn't it being done? What was the problem? What was the point? And these are the performance contracts they sign with his excellency. And then at the end of the year, you will come back and before I sign the others, they even give them marks according to, this one got an 80%, this one got 60, this one got this, and sometimes even some can lose their jobs because they failed to perform.*

In South Africa the perspective is that the causes of many of the country's problems are inequalities, including gender inequality, and so the ruling government as placed particular emphasis on addressing these issues. Lebohang spoke of this also being a consequence of the post-conflict background of the country;

> *Lebohang: One of the interesting things which I think is an experience for not just me, you'll find across the board for women parliamentarians and executives, is that particularly South Africa being a society post conflict, we are very conscious about issues of exclusion and marginalisation and issues of women's empowerment – so all those came into there.*

Thuto also believed in the sincerity of the government's commitment to addressing inequalities, though the commitment may not be as strong today as it once was;

> *So I am not questioning the sincerity of our movement; I think when we look at the leaders of the movement you think of the magic of the women in the movement – they really were sincere about human rights, they were sincere about women's rights, about the rights of marginalised people. They even had issues around disability when it wasn't even fashionable. But I think what has happened now, there's just been a deterioration over time and women's issues are side lined.*

4.10 Conclusion

Both Rwandan and South African participants believe in the importance of using gender quotas to get women into leadership. Both countries are evidence that descriptive representation can result in other forms of representation. In addition, though they use different kinds of gender quotas both cases illustrate the absolute importance of a political will to ensure that women are represented – in particular the political will of the ruling parties' leadership. What is encouraging to see from the participants is that they all support the use of quotas, even by those who did not come through a quota. This indicates that their commitment to gender equality and women's representation is not just about them securing positions as individuals, but as an important measure for all women in their respective countries.

Both participants in Rwanda and South Africa have at least undergraduate degrees. This is despite contextually driven access to education which would have ordinarily disadvantaged them from receiving an education by virtue of their gender, races/ethnicity and economic and political status. This reflects on who they are as individuals who have been able to overcome great obstacles, but have also shown a commitment to addressing those obstacles now that they are in positions of power.

A significant way in which the case studies differ is the ways in which women in the respective countries enter into politics. In the Rwandan case most of the women began in civil society though there are exceptions with those who began in Rwanda's liberation movement. In South Africa all of the participants began as Anti-Apartheid activists in various ways. What is similar between the cases is that all of them have displayed a commitment to women's liberation and empowerment, even prior to holding formal government/political positions – and their work in this regard continued.

The South African participants show a mixed relationship between their activism and family. Some expressed developing a level of consciousness through their families and the experiences of family members. Others were activists working with other family members. Another participant expressed being an anomaly in her family by being an activist. This shows that family background may not be an indicator of women's participation in conflict. Rwandan participants expressed feeling supported by their families. However, this support is complicated when considered in relation to how they experience being mothers and wives as leaders.

Both the Rwandan and South African cases show that women leaders face the same challenges as ordinary women; that of fulfilling their professional roles while also trying to fill the roles of motherhood and being wives. The challenge partly stems from them experiencing gender inequality within their personal lives. What is interesting in the South African case is that it shows that conflict can deprive women of the opportunity to have all of these roles. Women who are active in conflict face difficult choices between being mothers and wives and being able to contribute to their people's liberation in as meaningful a way as they would want. And perhaps it is this extreme choice that makes them even more able to sympathise with ordinary women who struggle to have the best of both worlds. And perhaps a needed step towards gender equality is a requirement to empathise more with women leaders by understanding that in serving their countries those close to them have also had to pay a price.

There is a link between their early experiences with what they represent as leaders. In both cases participants experienced various kinds of hardships that were contextually tied to the socio-political dynamics of their countries growing up. Their various experiences shaped their perspectives in terms of what visions they have for their countries. In Rwanda this would be a peaceful, stable, developed and thriving society. In South Africa it would be a country in which racial, class and gender (and others) inequalities cease to exist.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

5. 1 Introduction

In this chapter I conclude with an overview with the most pertinent information and discussions from the preceding chapters. I also discuss the findings of the study and whether the research objectives were met.

This study's aim was to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders.

Rwanda and South Africa are good cases for the study of women's leadership for several reasons. Rwanda has the highest level of women's representation in the world. South Africa ranks eight in the world in terms of women's representation (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014). Considering that the world average in terms of women's leadership is significantly lower than the representation levels in these countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014); they have provided opportunities to understand how women can enter political leadership positions in greater numbers and to understand the nature of their leadership (impact).

There is already a large body of research on these countries, but it tends pay particular attention to instruments for women's representation (electoral systems, gender quotas, etc.). The literature is also largely focused on exploring the relationship between numbers and impact (descriptive, substantive, and symbolic representation) (Bauer, 2012). In addition, the literature often pays attention to individual countries (Bauer & Britton, 2006).

This study fills a gap in this area of research into women and leadership in several ways;
It looks at two cases – Rwanda and South Africa. It explored themes within cases, and also across cases. It fills gaps in the literature by exploring impact in a manner that is less concerned with numbers and legislation, and more from the perspectives of women leaders themselves. In addition, it fills a gap by looking at these issues in a more personal way – by looking through the prism of their narratives and experiences.

5.2 Background

Rwanda and South Africa's representation levels occur in the context of various international and regional instruments, such as CEDAW and BPFA, which call for gender equality and women's access to positions of decision-making power (Fester, 2011, Bauer & Britton, 2006).

What is striking is that in light of increasing women's representation is that these countries have come under criticism for this achievement. A criticism is that women's representation is a result of a dangerous tokenism of appointing incompetent women for the purposes of state legitimisation (Rwanda). Another criticism is that women leaders are an elite class of women who are out of touch with the needs of grassroots women (South Africa). What is unfortunate is that these accusations are not just directed at the countries and the ruling parties, but the women themselves (Bauer, 2012).

This is not to say that the quality of women's representation should not be examined, but it should be approached in a different way. That is; this study stepped away from viewing women as subjects of international instruments, electoral systems and gender quotas, of political parties and women's movements. Rather, it viewed these women as principle actors within their own experiences. It sought to understand some of these things from their viewpoint.

5.3 Literature Review

The global literature on women in politics is broad, and covers topics as diverse as impact, leadership, voting and campaigning. The growth of this literature in recent decades is as a result of the ranges of women's representation levels around the world and regionally as well (Kunovich, Paxton & Hughes, 2007). In the Literature Review Chapter I discussed some of the leading scholarship on women and political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in particular as that is what is most relevant for this study.

The literature discussed are those that engaged with how Rwanda and South Africa have been able to attain the representation levels that they have This literature finds that a proportional representation electoral system, gender quotas and a political will by the ruling parties in both countries have been instrumental, but as a result of a pressures from women's movements and activists in these countries (Geisler, 2000; Goetz & Hassim, 2003; Burnet, 2008;; Burnet, 2008; Pearson & Powley, 2008; Hogg, 2009).

I then engaged with literature that investigates the relationship between representation levels internationally (e.g. Bratton, 2005; Childs & Krook, 2009), and in Rwanda and South Africa (e.g. Hassim, 2003; Britton, 2006; Pearson & Powley, 2008; Burnet, 2008). The international studies have found that there is not always a direct relationship between descriptive and substantive representation (Bratton, 2005) and as such an examination of individual actors, men and women, is more important than an examination of the category of women leaders (Childs & Krook, 2009). Literature concerning Rwanda and South Africa specifically find that women representatives have been able to pass impressive legislation for women's rights, although at times inconsistently and along party lines only (Geisler, 2000; Hassim, 2003; Burnet, 2008; Pearson & Powley, 2008; Britton, 2006).

The final section of the Literature Review Section explored the backgrounds of women in general in these countries in order to gain an understanding of the context in which they are situated. This included an analysis of what is to the best of my knowledge the most comprehensive survey of women political leaders around the world – the Inter-Parliamentary Union Survey (2000). This section also examined women's literacy rates and backgrounds around the world and found that women are disproportionally illiterate and have lower levels of education as compared to men, Rwanda and South Africa included (Seager, 2006; Global Literacy Project, 2013; Prinsloo, 1999; Salmon, 2004; World Bank, 2004).

5.4 Methodology

Aim and Objectives;

The aim of this study is to gather life narratives of women in political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa in order to understand the significance of life experiences in paths to leadership and motivations as women leaders. Thus, the objectives of this study are;

4. To identify from women leaders' narratives the defining experiences that led to their leadership.
5. To evaluate if and why they as women leaders have been able to implement/pass/support women friendly policies and programmes.
6. To explore their views on women's leadership in politics and whether there has been a difference in having more women political leaders in their countries

A qualitative methodology was used in this study. The selection of this methodology was because it was not interested in any measurement (which a quantitative methodology would have allowed). It was interested in women in political leadership – a social phenomenon, which qualitative methodologies are best suited for (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Mack et al, 2005; Fritz, 2008). Qualitative methodology also allows for a contextual and temporal analysis because it collects data from participants from their perspectives (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Mack et al, 2005; Fritz, 2008; Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010). This was important because the study was interested in experiences prior to and during leadership. In addition, the participants' experiences were considered in relation to numerous contexts (in terms of women's leadership around the world and in the experiences of women in their countries).

Data Collection & Analysis

Both a purposive and snowball sampling were used, but the main method used was a purposive sampling. Because it was interested in their life narratives, women leaders in both countries were required as participants. In total there were six participants from Rwanda and five from South Africa. As the study was interested in their personal stories they were not interviewed as members of any political party, but were interviewed in their personal capacities.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant individually. A narrative enquiry was used – meaning I was not just interested in simply collecting the experiences of the participants, but was interested in their views on these experiences and how they interpreted them (Clandinin & Huber, in press, pg. 3). Narrative enquiry is particularly interesting for this study because it looks how people interpret their experiences through a social and cultural understanding. However, people are also able to create their own narratives through their decisions – narratives that oppose the dominant social narrative for their roles and positions in the society (Fraser, 2004).

When considered in light of the historical representation levels of women in Rwanda and South Africa as well as the low world average, women political leaders in these countries have defied the dominant narrative that leadership and politics is not for women. For this reason narrative enquiry was the ideal method for this study.

There were four types of questions asked. There were questions about their background/demographics, questions tailored to the individual participants based on research done about them, questions specific to each case, and finally questions that were common across both cases.

Data analysis was conducted on the narratives. Each narrative was examined individually, then across each case, and lastly across both cases. In total there were 6 themes which addressed the objectives of this study.
The research questions that guided the data analysis are as follows;

Research Questions

- What are the experiences of women leaders prior to and during their tenure as formal leaders?
- Have their experiences informed the positions they take and choices they make when fulfilling their responsibilities as leaders?
- What are their experiences of having many women represented in politics?

5.5 Findings

Impact

The participants overwhelmingly support the use of gender quotas to increase women's representation, though there are some differences in terms of what kinds of quotas they prefer. Rwanda makes use of constitutional reserved seats. South Africa uses voluntary party quotas. The participants are aware of the controversies surrounding women's representation, but this seems to have not affected their support of instruments such as quotas.

The Rwandan participants reject the allegation that they are tokens. Interestingly, only one of the Rwandan participants received a position through the quota system. However, she, like other similar women, had to contest and campaign for those posts.

The South African participants are also aware of the dangers associated with quotas and argue that where necessary training should be provided for women who are not qualified – though many of them argued that it is not possible that there are never any qualified women.

Similarly, South African participants were elected and/or appointed to positions. Therefore, what is striking is that women who have not benefitted from quotas strongly approve of their use. This speaks to their consciousness of and commitment to gender equality – even if it has not benefited them directly.

This section speaks to all three of the research questions. Firstly, majority of these women have not benefited from the use of gender quotas. However, we can assume that they have in generally benefitted from their countries and/or party's policies of gender equality. Secondly, they mention some of the achievements of women's leadership, such as gender-sensitive legislation, and thirdly, they have managed to challenge patriarchal gender ideologies within their society and amongst their male colleagues.

Women's Parliamentary Groups

Rwanda and South Africa have different experiences of women's groups. In Rwanda the FFRP has been able to intiate and pass gender sensitive legislation by working across party lines and through the co-operation of men parliamentarians. Men also later joined the forum after being invited to participate in its various activities.
In South Africa the PWG failed because of distrust along party lines. It also did not include men parliamentarians, and faced obstacles such as not having budget and not being recognised as a legitimate body.

These cases indicate that diversity can be problematic, but it can also be overcome when there is a shared vision for a country. One of the necessities for a shared vision is the direction provided by party leadership, as shown in Rwanda. South Africa shows that too much opposition can actually be detrimental for strategies, such as women's forums, intended to represent constituents' interests.

Educational Backgrounds

The narratives of these participants indicate the way in which life experience is intimately connected to the context where one is located. For the Rwandan participants education was a defining experience in terms of growing up as refugees. They emphasised that going to school as children was a sacrifice made by parents as education became a way of ensuring their children's future and survival during an uncertain times. The participants were also conscious of the socio-economic background of Rwanda where educating girl children was not a priority as she would be married off into another home. In addition, had they grown up in Rwanda they may have experienced ethnic barriers to access to higher-education (Hilker, 2011).

The South African narratives also indicate the relationship between experience and context. Similarly to the Rwandan participants, one South African discussed the way in which her mother's experience of gender inequality in access to education created a determination in her to have her own daughters educated. Another gendered obstacle these participants faced was the types of professions they were allowed to have – in Apartheid South Africa this was compounded by their races as well. However, an additional inequality they experienced was economic; the financial backgrounds of their families determined how far in the school system they could progress, and also affected their access to higher education.

Despite these enormous obstacles, in general the participants in this study have a higher level of education than their colleagues around the world. Amongst women politicians surveyed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union less than half of the women had graduate qualifications (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2000).

However, the South African case in particular complicates the discourse that says that formal education creates a pool of qualified women for political office. Some of the South African participants did not have advanced degrees by the time they took office – and they expressed that there were others (men and women) who also did not have undergraduate and graduate degrees. Various initiatives were taken to address this – from research assistants to seeking tutoring from experts.

Education is a defining life experience both before leadership, but also after leadership. And it has affected their motivations as leaders – many of these women have held positions in educational institutions and in educational organisations. Others have published academic work.

Professional Backgrounds and Entries into Politics

The Rwandan participants entered politics through elections and appointments. There is some diversity in terms of professional background – but the majority moved from civil society into politics. Some were active as in the RPF liberation movement in exile. The South African participants worked as activists for the majority of their lives before liberation. Those who had professions used them to challenge the Apartheid regime.

The differences between the histories of women's involvement in their respective liberation movements can be explained by the durations of the liberation movement. The RPF was founded in the 1980's – whereas the liberation movement in South Africa has a longer history (Wells, 2007; Burnet, 2008). What is significant across both cases is that the majority of the women served women in various ways before they received formal political/government positions.

Family Support

The Rwandan participants expressed feeling supported by their families. Families also benefit from women's leadership in terms of material benefits but also a social prestige that is experienced. Husbands especially may support their wives working because of the extra income that it brings into the home.

South African participants' narrative of the family differs. For them the family played a role in the development of their consciousness of the inequalities in South Africa. One participant worked with another family member as an activist. Another one expressed how her family's experiences forced her to question her society in terms of their racial and class positions, as well as the gender roles of female members of her family.

Motherhood and Marriage

The Rwandan women's experience of motherhood mirrors that of other women around the world. They experience an unequal burden in the home in terms of splitting household and child-rearing tasks with male partners. They expressed that the biggest challenge for them is not having enough time. To be able to be mothers and leaders they mentioned having support structures in place. These include extended family members, domestic help and the school system. For one participant in particular it is the support of her family that enables her to be a leader outside of the home as they help her with her children.

The South African experience of motherhood is different – for some of these participants motherhood was not about managing different roles, but about choosing their activist roles over other roles in their personal lives. One made the choice not to become a mother while another chose not to be a wife. After activism, and in democratic politics and government the picture changes. One participant who is both a mother and wife spoke of the collapses of marriages as husbands are not able to cope with having wives in visible positions of leadership – where the woman is more successful or famous than he is. While divorces in the first democratic parliament are published (Geisler, 2000), she states that there are many women leaders who have not divorced but have remained in unhappy marriages where things such as infidelity occur.

Some of these women's experiences of motherhood (unequal division of child-rearing responsibilities) and marriage (remaining in unhappy marriages) can cause us to question their commitment to women's liberation and gender equality. If they are not able to live it in their personal lives how can they represent women like them in the public sphere?

However, one participant argued that gender ideology has not totally changed – and so men still do not believe that domestic responsibilities should be shared. Another participant argues that before leaving marriages women will consider the impact of such a move on their loved ones, and deduce that it may be more harmful to leave than to stay.

There is an additional element that the participants did not discuss. That is; women leaders' personal lives are as scrutinised as their professional lives, and the failures of marriages are ascribed as their personal failings and their competence in other areas is then questioned. In addition, attention is shifted away from their professional accomplishments and emphasis is placed on their apparent personal failings.

Therefore, these are women who have been able to challenge patriarchal gender ideologies about women's leadership. However, they continue to experience gender discrimination as leaders. Their experiences are then indicative that while patriarchal gender ideologies continue to affect women leaders and their leadership has not somehow made them immune from gender inequalities.

Worldview

The final theme on women political leaders in this study concerns their worldview. In this study their worldview has been linked directly to their motivations as leaders.
For Rwandan women political leaders having grown up as refugees has shaped how they view the world – particularly as they spent most of their lives as refugees. They expressed having difficult lives (such as growing up in refugee camps). Yet, what is most distinct in their narratives of being refugees was the feeling of injustice of having being forced to flee their home country and their treatment in their host countries, and the resultant feeling of non-belonging.

In terms of the broader Rwandan narrative the country was liberated by the RPF three decades after sporadic massacres and mass-exodus began (Long, 2012). In addition, one of the biggest tragedies of the genocide in 1994 was the way in which the international community made the choice to not intervene (Uvin, 2001).

South African participants experienced numerous forms of inequality during childhood. As one participant points out, it was impossible to be Black in South Africa and not be affected by Apartheid. The Apartheid government organised and controlled Black people's lives to such a degree that each participant was able to describe memories from childhood where they first began to question their society – that even children could not be ignorant to the fact that something was wrong. Perhaps what is most striking is that some of the participants began to see different types of inequalities (racial, gender and class) even if they hadn't yet developed the language to make sense of it.

In summation, it is not the experiences that they had (conflict, experiencing inequalities, personal relationships, etc.) that have shaped these participants. It is how they have understood and interpreted these experiences which created for them narratives of who they are and their understanding of their countries and what changes are needed therein.

I believe that these findings have met the aim and objectives that were set out at the start of this study. Through a qualitative narrative enquiry I was able to collect narratives of women in leadership to determine their defining life experiences. I was able to draw a link between these experiences and what motivates them as leaders. In Rwanda it is a motivation to create a stable, economically growing country and advance gender equality. In South Africa the motivation of women leaders is not just to address gender equality, but to improve the lives of all people by eradicating racial and class inequalities as well.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with their leadership, their narratives indicate that they are not merely tokens nor are they merely an elite class of women. Their stories are much more complicated than that. They are multi-dimensional women who face similar challenges as ordinary women, but with the added responsibility of trying to rebuild, through their leadership, societies that have been broken by violence (together with gendered violence) and inequalities for decades. With their leadership positions they face other obstacles; whether it is a diminishing political will, criticism from outsiders, party politics, or an unco-operative opposition. Perhaps when examining women's leadership in these countries the language thus needs to change from 'window-dressing', 'tokenism', 'elite', and 'quality' by recognising that the narrative of women's political leadership in Rwanda and South Africa cannot so easily be classified.

5.6 Limitations of this Study

In terms of sampling, one aspect in which this study could be improved is in the diversity of the women. For example, in Rwanda a majority of the participants grew up outside of Rwanda as refugees. In South Africa all of the participants were Black (African, Coloured and Indian) and were activists during Apartheid. This limitation was not deliberate. Unfortunately due to time limitations, the sample size, and the availability of women leaders it was not possible to place more emphasis on ensuring more diversity amongst participants.

5.7 Recommendations for Future Research

One way in which future research can address the limitation of this study is to get a more diverse group of women. Diverse in terms of age, race/ethnicity and political perspective. As these liberated countries are just 20 years old it would be interesting to also explore diversity in terms of women who grew up in liberated Rwanda and South Africa and how their experiences may differ from this first group of women.

In addition, each finding can be investigated and developed further in future research. For example, in terms of background and entries into politics research can be done on other kinds of leaders in these countries, such as business women, women in the health professions, etc. These are women who would have grown up in the same context but entered into other fields.

Similarly, it would be interesting to look at women Anti-Apartheid activists who did not receive formal political positions in a democratic South Africa. In Rwanda it would be interesting to look at women who have chosen to remain in civil society than pursue politics, as a significant number of the participants in this study came from civil society.

Another possible area of research in terms of these two countries could be a more quantitative and empirical examination of the countries' differing representation levels and impact.

Other areas that should be developed further is how leadership affects women's personal lives – particularly the ways in which some women make the choice not to challenge patriarchal gender ideologies in the private sphere, as well as how making a choice to do so may have affected those who have.

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