

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

The Underrepresentation of Women in Managerial and
Professional Specialty Fields

By
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October, 2007

**The Underrepresentation of Women in Managerial and
Professional Specialty Fields**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Institute of Gender Studies
Addis Ababa University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement of Master of
Arts in Gender Studies**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my mother, Alem Gobezie, and Father, Walle Fentie, who continue to help me grow. It is also dedicated to the memory of my sister, Serkaddis Walle, for all the quarters and much more.

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Of course, none of the individuals noted above shoulders responsibility for any actual or analytic errors I commit here in.

ABBREVIATIONS (ACRONYMS)

CERTWID	Centre for Research and Training on Women in Development
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
e.g.	For Example
FCSC	Federal Civil Service Commission
Km ²	Square Kilometer
MOE	Ministry of Education
N.B	“Nota Bene”
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund

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ABSTRACT

Because work defines an individual's place in society—social standing, lifestyle, prestige, and respect—it is not surprising that many of the battles for gender-role liberation have been fought in the workplace. And the reasons for the battles are many. Historically, women have been kept out of many areas of employment. Sex discrimination, both blatant and subtle, still blocks women's entry in to management and male-dominated professions. It is still unusual, not only for a woman to be so visibly successful in a male-dominated line of work, but also for that woman to receive so much encouragement and support for combining career and family responsibilities. Women have always worked—even in male-dominated fields and management—but rarely has their work achieved the same status and recognition as men's, and they have frequently been penalized for trying to "have it all." Even in the face of unemployment, women fare worse than men. This study reveals the underlying structures and forces that account for the underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional specialty occupations using a mix of evidence (a multi-strategy research) including existing statistics, documents, questionnaires, interviews, qualitative content analysis, and observations. It also examines the impact of the male-oriented perspective (like positivism, functionalism, or psychoanalysis) on the research problem. Why are women strikingly underrepresented in managerial and professional specialty jobs? The results indicated that the basic societal institutions—that is, the organization and practices of the economy, the law, politics, religion, media, and the family—have operated in a web of interconnected, mutually reinforcing and interlocked system; and have confined the majority of women to jobs characterized by low wages, little mobility, and limited prestige. To this end, the researcher argues for and utilizes a structural approach—one that examines the ways in which the economy, education, the family, and the polity reflect and influence one another and help reinforce women's subordination. Thus, while individual characteristics of women—their motivations, aspirations, credentials, qualifications, and abilities—are important, individual-level alterations will effect little basic change in women's managerial or professional position unless the external structural barriers have restricted women's opportunities are eradicated.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Women live in a world in which the standards for what is “normal” have been set by men, so that women’s priorities, perspectives and practices are marginalized as “different” and inferior, something to be overcome if women are to be equal as citizens, workers or thinkers. Societies are largely structured around a dichotomous conception of gender which imposes appropriate identities, roles and behaviours upon women. All over the world, most people continue to be socialized according to values based on domination and violence, rather than diversity and respect. Moreover, militarization, terrorism and religious extremism are closely associated with increasing levels of violence against women and girls. Furthermore, despite all of the work feminists have done and progress they have made, women as a category and as individuals continue to be devalued, discriminated against and abused (Bryson, 2003; Association for Women’s Rights in Development and Mama Cash, 2004).

This therefore highlights the need to challenge the underlying “rules of the game” if there is to be meaningful equality between the sexes. We will only be able to understand-and so change the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses. In addition, the current challenge in advancing women’s rights and gender equality indicate that we are at a critical time in the struggle for gender equality and women’s human rights.

International declarations show the importance of women’s participation with men at equal level. The founding of the United Nations after the victory in the Second World War and the emergence of independent states following decolonization were some of the important events in the political, economic and social liberation of women. The International Women’s Year, the World Conferences held in Mexico City in 1975 and Copenhagen in 1980, and the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace contributed greatly to the process of eliminating obstacles to the improvement of the status of women at the national, regional and international levels. In the early 1970s, efforts to end discrimination against

women and to ensure their equal participation in society provided the impetus for most initiatives taken at all of those levels. Those efforts were also inspired by the awareness that women's reproductive and productive roles were closely linked to the political, economic, social, cultural, legal, educational and religious conditions that constrained the advancement of women and that factors intensifying the economic exploitation, marginalization and oppression of women stemmed from chronic inequalities, injustices and exploitive conditions at the family, community, national, sub-regional, regional and international levels (UN, 1986).

The Third World Conference on Women to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held in Nairobi in July 1985 adopted the Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, to be implemented by the year 2000. The Forward-looking Strategies reaffirmed the international concern regarding the status of women and provide a framework for renewed commitment by the international community to the advancement of women and the elimination of gender-based discrimination. There has been important progress in achieving equality between women and men. Since 1975, knowledge of the status of women and men, respectively, has increased and is contributing to further actions aimed at promoting equality between women and men. In several countries, there have been important changes in the relationships between women and men, especially where there have been major advances in education for women and significant increases in their participation in the paid labor force. The boundaries of the gender divisions of labor between productive and reproductive roles are gradually being crossed as women have started to enter formerly male-dominated areas of work and men have started to accept greater responsibility for domestic tasks, including child care. However, changes in women's roles have been greater and much more rapid than changes in men's roles. In many countries, the differences between women's and men's achievements and activities are still not recognized as the consequences of socially constructed gender roles rather than immutable biological differences. Moreover, ten years after the Nairobi Conference, equality between women and men has still not been achieved. On average, women represent a mere ten percent of all elected legislators world wide and in most national and international administrative structures, both public and private, they remain

underrepresented (UN, 1995). For this reason, commitment has been done at global level to take all necessary measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and the girl child and remove all obstacles to gender equality and the advancement and empowerment of women.

The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995 adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment. It aims at accelerating the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of women and at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. The means that the principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities. Besides, one of the millennium Development Goal (i.e., MDG-three) is promoting gender equality and empowering women. Despite the commitments made, defacto or systematic vertical and horizontal occupational segregation of the work force keeps most women in a few low-paid occupations, while men have access to a wider variety of jobs. Horizontal division in to male and female employment sectors has historically been combined with vertical segregation, where by senior positions have been almost exclusively held by males and females have been concentrated in low-status, poorly paid jobs (Giddens, 2001).

In line with this, the Ethiopian government has demonstrated its willingness to uphold the cause of Ethiopian women by ratifying and signing as many conventions as there are both at the international and regional levels, all of which are aimed at promoting the advancement of women, gender equality and respect for human rights. The Convention to Eliminate All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) is one of the major ones among these, and it focuses specifically on women's human rights and contains detailed provisions on gender discrimination. Some other international conventions signed by Ethiopia that have direct bearing on the rights of women are: The Convention on the Political Rights of Women; The Convention on Discrimination in Employment, and the International Labor Organization's Equal Remuneration Convention. At the regional level, Ethiopia is signatory

to the African Charter on Human and people's Rights, which contains provisions that protect women (Panos Ethiopia, 2003).

In order to demonstrate these International Conventions signed by the Ethiopian government, the 1995 Constitution of Ethiopia provides in Article 9(4) that "all international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land". In addition, various national policy declarations have stressed the need for women to take part in various economic, social and other sectors in order to bring about the desired change. These policies have indicated women as beneficiaries of available opportunities with equal footing with men.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution has a special article for females. Article 35(3) states as: "In recognition of the history of inequality and discrimination suffered by women in Ethiopia, women are entitled to special consideration and affirmative measures. The purpose of such measures is to enable women to compete and participate on the basis of equality with men in political, economic and social life and to gain access to opportunities and positions in public and private institutions." In this regard, the Second article of the National Women's Policy (1993) states "government shall facilitate conditions conducive to the participation of women in decision-making process as regards to community developments, social welfare, division of land property, education and basic social services." The article is pertinent and allows women to have access at various sectors of development in which case women are now taking responsibility in management and decision-making areas although the number is still insignificant. For instance, the number of women in parliament has increased. During the first election, the number was 15 while during the second the number was raised to 42. However, taking the percentage it is low as compared to men. It was 2.5 percent in the first and 7.6 percent in the second elections (Panos Ethiopia, 2005).

In the same policy document, Article 5 states "the right of women to get career and vocational guidance at any institution of education, to have access to the same curricula as that for men and to choose their field of study shall be ensured." It is true that there is a common curriculum for boys and girls but in higher education many of the girls still opt for the soft courses. Their number is negligible in the science and technology fields. For

example, in Addis Ababa University in 2005/6, only 367 (23.53%) females were enrolled in the technology fields in regular undergraduate programs (MOE, 2007).

Furthermore, the Fourth article of the National Policy on Ethiopian Women states that: “The Government shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure that the right of women to work in the civil service in any capacity they prove to be competent for, their right to equal pay for equal work—and to perform public functions, including decision-making in both their local communities and at the national level, are respected.” In this regard, in recruitment of staff in the government organizations, affirmative action has been taken to get more women. Nevertheless, the number of women who get jobs through the country’s two employment organizations (the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the Civil Service Commission) is very low as compared to men. Besides, women today are still clustered in traditionally “female” occupations. Sex discrimination, both blatant and subtle, still blocks women’s entry in to some professions. In particular, women continue to substantially underrepresented in engineering, management, and law fields in higher education institutions (MOE, 2007). Consequently, women have been almost absent or disproportionately represented in managerial and professional occupations. By contrast, they are concentrated in jobs characterized by low wages, little mobility and limited prestiges; this shows women are not paid for their labor (FCSC, 2005). For instance, in 2004, civil servant women by type of occupation constituted about 11.29 percent and 15.02 percent in professional and administrative occupations, respectively, at the federal level. While women comprised of 67.38 percent of the clerical and fiscal occupations at the federal level in the same year (FCSC, 2005).

To implement the policy a structure is put in place. The machinery for enforcing the National Women’s Policy had been the Women’s Affairs Office operating under the Prime Minister’s Office with various departments in the different line ministries and federal agencies and commissions, but now it is the Women’s Affairs Ministry. In line with this, there are regional Women’s Affairs Offices that are in charge of policy matters in the respective regions and administrations.

Thus, advancing the lives of females in general, and improving their representation in managerial and professional fields in particular, is a timely issue. To this end, identifying and critiquing the sources of women's disproportionate representation in managerial and professional posts; and devising strategies to improve their representation in these occupations was one of the rationales for undertaking this study.

Science is popularly held to be "value free," but an examination of scientific institutions and processes show this assumption to be false. Science revolves around values of objectivity, prediction, and control. From Aristotle's notion of "women as defective man," through the Freudian explanation of most of feminine behavior as a reaction to the lack of a penis, to the current insistence that "work" means paid employment and that "productivity" excludes unpaid household labor, social science has revealed a consistent proclivity to use men as the norm and define women as "different" (Kolmar and Bartkoski, 2000). The entire enterprise of scientific research, as currently constructed, can not help reflecting an androcentric approach, since it has been developed in a culture dominated by masculine values and most of the participants in the scientific enterprise have been men. For instance, a great deal of sexist research ignores gender as a fundamental social division, uses males as a point of reference, and assumes traditional gender roles. Furthermore, many of the researches have been done based on deficit model that implies that females must lack some cognitive skills, personal characteristics, or experiences that prevent them from achieving as well as males. This perspective reflects the conservative bias of functionalist theory: Locating causes with in individuals, in their characteristics and deficiencies, while over looking the structural factors influencing women's disadvantaged economic situation. In spite of a growing body of data and theory that mitigates against continued acceptance of functionalist assumptions concerning social roles, research on females (women) has historically reflected and frequently continues to reflect these assumptions. A number of models of the women worker that reflect functionalist assumptions have not only become popular images, but also serve to constrain what is studied in the area of work and occupations, what questions are asked and what explanations researchers provide. These assumptions also frame social policies regarding women and work (Blau and Ferber 1992; Giddens, 2001).

Such sexist approach (assumption) defends the status quo that females are intellectually inferior to males and females are incapable of managerial and professional responsibilities. Thus, the prevalence of such biases and pitfalls in the research literature (social science) regarding the problem provide the other rationale for conducting this study.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Employment that pays well provides opportunities for women and men both social and intellectual stimulation in positive environment and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationship between women and men. In particular, professional and managerial occupations command a great deal of respect, authority, and prestige. Those working in these occupations can expect a high degree of economic reward and recognition for their work.

In spite of this, the underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional fields is a disturbing and undisputable fact. This differential representation of females and males in managerial and professional specialties is indicated by achievement patterns in schools and colleges (or universities). The schools and higher educational institutions are sometimes blamed for this state of affairs. In this regard, the following questions can be addressed: Why are women strikingly underrepresented in managerial and professional occupations? Do women's disproportionate representation in managerial and professional occupations simply reflect their interests and abilities, or are there external factors such as education, the economy, polity, and culture that play a role in their experiences? How do work organizations interface or connect with other basic societal institutions—the family, the school system, the law, and the religion—to contribute to the underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional positions? What can be done to improve their representation in managerial and professional occupations?

1.3 Objectives of the Research

1.3.1 General Objectives

To identify, describe, reveal and produce an analysis of the interacting underlying mechanisms that account for the underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional fields; and

to develop a critical science explanation that helps to empower women and improve their representation in managerial and professional occupations.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The research sought to determine:

- i. The nature, extent and effect of individual factors on the representation of women in managerial and professional occupations, including personal characteristics, and family responsibilities and multiple roles.
- ii. The nature, extent and effect of socio-cultural factors on the representation of women in managerial and professional positions, such as gender–role socialization, gender-role stereotypes, myths and cultural expectations, values and biases, and patriarchal ideologies.
- iii. The nature, extent and effect of organizational factors on the representation of women in managerial and professional posts, including occupational segregation by sex, organizational culture, policies and practices, and sexual harassment and organizational romances.
- iv. The nature and influence of socio-economic factors on the representation of women in managerial and professional fields, such as access to and control over resources (like money, information, education, status, time, decision-making power and authority).
- v. How patriarchal arrangements within basic societal institutions– that is ,the organization and practices of the economic institutions, the family system, the educational system, and religious and legal institutions–perpetuate women’s disadvantaged position in the professions and management.

1.4 Significance of the Study and Dissemination of the Research Findings

This study was about women’s unequal share of managerial and professional occupations. The rationales for the study have been quite clear from the beginning: women are strikingly underrepresented in managerial and professional fields. Moreover, dominant assumptions and practices throughout society are based on the idea that men are the norm, and women some kind of optional extra and intellectually inferior. Given this “normality” of man–made

standards and disproportionate representation of females in managerial and professional fields, it will be very difficult to improve (advance) women's representation in managerial and professional occupations in the near future and realize gender equity and equality in the long run. Therefore, this study will help to devise more effective strategies and formulate gender-friendly policies (legislative change) for addressing the disproportionate representation of women in managerial and professional posts.

The norm of the scientific community is to make findings public. On the top of this, the results will be presented to professional groups and produced in a postgraduate thesis which will be made available in the Institute of Gender Studies library. In addition, special efforts will be made to supply community action groups, government organizations and social movements with the findings.

1.5 Definitions

Critical Social Science (CSS): defines social science as a critical process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves (Neuman, 1994, 1997; Bryman, 2004).

Individual Factors: refer to individual characteristics of women, such as women's training, credentials, their particular interests, innate abilities, and preferences (Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993). It also includes situational factors (e.g. the prevalent allocation of household responsibilities) influencing women's relative status in professional and managerial careers.

Interpretive Social Science (ISS): is the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds (Neuman, 1994, 1997; Bryman, 2004).

Management: refers to executive, administrative, and managerial work in both the private and public sectors of the economy (Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993).

Occupation: is any form of paid employment in which an individual works in a regular way (Giddens, 2001).

Paradigms: are theoretically derived world views that provide the categories and concepts through and by which we construct and understand the world (Giddens, 2001).

Positivism: sees social science as an organized method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observations of individual behavior in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human activity (Neuman, 1997).

Profession: is an occupation (like engineering or law) that is characterized by the practice of a systematic body of theoretical knowledge, with its own language and symbols (Witz, 1992).

Social-Structural Factors: are constraints imposed by the structural features of society—in particular, its economic, legal-political, familial, and educational institutions (Lott, 1987; Blau and Ferber, 1992; Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993).

Underrepresentation: is a term used to describe the disproportionate (that is, too small or none) representation of women in managerial and professional specialty fields.

1.6 Limitations

Knowledge is gathered and opinions formed in a social context. Early research on male-female differences took place in a context in which, for instance, it was often taken for granted that women's chief purpose in life was to bear children, and that men were naturally better suited than women to take on public roles outside the family. It is largely under the impetus provided by the feminist movement that social scientists have begun to consider gender as something that is socially constructed rather than biologically inevitable. Yet our present social context continues to limit the study and understanding of gender and work, and important gaps remain in the information that is available. Two of these gaps have been

particularly noticeable to me as I compiled information for this study. The first is the very small proportion of local research on women and work that focuses on managerial and professional women, and the scarcity of sex-disaggregated data. Where possible in this study I have tried to include international information that its basic arguments are applicable to Ethiopian society and most other societies. However, information on every group (e.g., class, ethnicity, marital status, and age) for every topic is not always readily available. This may place restrictions on the conclusions of the study and their application to other situations.

A second gap in the knowledge base about the study stems from the approach to social research (that is, methodology). Feminist social research is still embryonic having gained visibility only in the late 1980s. Consequently, differences still exist among feminists on the approach to feminist social research and use of research methods (techniques). Although gaps remain in this area, many feminist researchers tend to adopt a more critical approach and advocate social change more assertively. For this reason, I have tried to employ this approach (critical social science) for this study.

1.7 Delimitations

As noted earlier, the study is concerned only with women's underrepresentation in managerial and professional occupations in the civil service organizations. Accordingly, the conclusions are not to be extended beyond this population sampled.

1.8 Structure of the Report

As noted before, the primary focus of this study is on the underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional specialty occupations. The report is organized into six chapters. Chapter One defines the research problem. It includes the statement of the research problem and the rationales for the research. It also sets out the objectives, explains the significance of the study, and defines key concepts. Chapter Two provides the background to the research question, which is obtained from the literature and personal experience. Chapter Three describes how the researcher designed the study and collected the data. It sets out the

description of, and justification for, the chosen methodology and research methods. Chapter Four presents the data—it does not discuss, analyze, or interpret the data. Chapter Five gives the can did discussion of what is in the results section. Lastly, Chapter Six restates the research question and summarizes findings in the conclusion. It also sets out the list of clear recommendations which have been developed from the research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Sex and Gender: A Conceptual Framework

In the past, the words sex and gender were often used interchangeably. However, many feminists have insisted on making a clear distinction. According to this, sex is equated with the biological characteristics of males and females, and contrasted with gender, which refers to the socially produced attributes of masculinity and femininity and the social arrangements based upon them. This distinction leads to the argument that although there are some fixed biological differences between men and women, many other observable differences are the manifestations of gender; as such, they are amenable to change.

Nevertheless, no clean, absolute separation of sex and gender is possible. Cultural expectations for women and men (gender) are not separable from observations about women's and men's physical bodies (sex). Thus, cultural constructions of gender include sex, in some sense. Conversely, history illustrates that even the most obvious biological "facts" about sex are susceptible to misperception and misinterpretation when they violate investigators' assumptions about gender. Thus, our understanding of biological sex differences is likely to be shaped by our culture's notions of gender.

We cannot, then, use the terms sex and gender to represent separate, nonoverlapping concepts. Often we do not know whether a particular difference between females and males arises from biology or culture. In fact, what we do know is that many differences are the result of biology—environment interactions (Hyde, 1994). In this paper, gender is used as the more inclusive term when discussing female male differences that may be caused by any combination of environment and biology. Sex is reserved for discussions of anatomy and the classification of individuals based on their anatomical category. Gender is also used as a label for the system of expectations held by societies with respect to feminine and masculine roles.

2.2 Gender Differences in Intellectual Ability

Many of the popular stereotypes of women and men are based on the assumption that the two sexes approach the task of thinking in very different ways. It is widely held, for instance, that men are logical and women are intuitive, that it is a rare woman who has a “head for figures” and that men are more quickly frustrated and bored than women when performing simple repetitive tasks. Is there any basis to the idea that males are better suited to the task of calculating formulas or that females are better at spelling and typing? Researchers in this area have found a few gender differences in performance, but they tend to be smaller than the stereotypes would lead us to expect.

Despite the field of psychology’s long history of searching for intellectual differences between the sexes, such differences have, for the most part, proved relatively small and elusive. There is some evidence for male-female differences in sensation and perception: Females outscore males on tests of perceptual speed and accuracy, show more sensitivity to touch in their fingers and hands, and are more sensitive than males to changes in sound intensity. Under lighted conditions, males seem to be more sensitive than females to changes in the intensity of visual stimuli. Male and female infants have been found to differ in the kinds of stimuli to which they pay the most attention, with females showing stronger responsiveness to faces and males responding more to blinking lights and other novel objects (see Lott, 1987).

Most of the recent research attention has, however, concentrated on cognitive rather than perceptual performance differences. Traditionally, males and females have been thought to differ in their performance on verbal, quantitative, and visual-spatial tasks. Generally speaking, research now shows a tendency for females to outscore males on tasks that require certain verbal skills, and small differences favoring males on mathematical problem-solving tasks and tasks requiring spatial perception. A somewhat larger difference favoring males is found for visual-spatial tasks that require rapid mental rotation of pictures or objects. For these broad areas of cognitive performance—verbal, quantitative, and visual-spatial—the presence and magnitude of a gender difference depends on the specific aspect of performance being tested and the specific population being studied. Given the current state of the research,

it is no longer appropriate to make general statements about one gender outperforming the other in one of the three broad areas. And of the specific differences that have been observed, none are nearly large enough to explain the disproportionate number of males, as compared to females, in the scientific and technical professions (see Lott, 1987; Bem, 1993, for an overview of this literature).

Psychologists have spent a great deal of energy trying to explain the observed small gender differences in certain aspects of verbal, mathematical, and visual-spatial performance. A number of biological mechanisms have been postulated as causal factors: genetic linkage of particular abilities to the X chromosomes, direct action of circulating sex hormones, sensitizing effects of prenatal hormones on the developing brain, and the degree of lateralization of specific functions in the left and right hemispheres of the brain. At present, evidence for the X-linkage explanation is very weak, new evidence is emerging in support of some aspects of the circulating-hormones hypothesis, and, under the glare of a great deal of research attention, the hypothesis linking cognitive performance differences to greater lateralization of functions in the male than female brain has begun to look overly simplistic. Some evidence suggests, however, that some particular abilities may be organized differently-some more diffusely and some more focally-in female and in male brains.

Several social affective factors appear to play interlocking roles in helping to produce gender differences in cognitive performance. Some verbal tasks are gender-typed as feminine, while mathematical and certain visual-spatial tasks are labeled masculine. As a consequence of this labeling, boys and girls receive different amounts of direct training and parental encouragement for achievement in these areas. The labeling, training, and parental support all influence children's self-confidence and the value they attach to success on particular tasks, which, in turn, influence performance. These social/affective factors, in interaction with whatever biological predispositions toward gender differences exist, help to increase gender differences in performance. Yet despite all these pressures in the direction of differences, the result is only a small to moderate gender gap on a few cognitive tests. For tasks in all three cognitive areas, the gap is most noticeable at the top extreme of the performance distribution, and appears to be decreasing. Sizable gender differences continue to be observed in curricular and career choices; however, it appears that these differences

have little to do with cognitive abilities and a lot to do with gender-related expectations and cultural barriers to participation.

None of the research reviewed provides any justification what so ever for sex discrimination in education, employment, the law, or any of our social institutions, or for the segregation of jobs according to gender. The finding that gender differences in abilities are so few in number and so small in size indicates clearly that individual differences rather than gender differences are the ones to be kept in mind when deciding what educational programs are best suited to various people, what roles each spouse should play in a marital relationship, or who is the best person for a particular type of job.

2.3 Gender Differences in Social Behavior

Expectations for women and men are still so different in some domains that observers are surprised, even shocked, when an individual woman or man "crosses the line" to behave in a way that is thought normative for the other group. Women and men are, in fact, often described as "opposite sexes." How different are we really? A look around Ethiopia quickly shows that, in terms of how we spend our time, women and men are very different indeed: Women do most of the housework, men play most of the football, women do most of the typing, men run most of the corporations, women do most of the child care, men commit most of the violent crimes. Small wonder if the casual observer were to conclude that human males and females differ dramatically in abilities, motivation, and temperament.

However, an observed gender difference in behavior can often be shown to result from a complex interaction between characteristics of the individuals involved and characteristics of the social environment. The observation that men commit more violent crimes than women can not automatically be interpreted as proof that males are always and under all conditions more aggressive than females; the fact that women do most of the child care does not itself prove that women are generally more nurturant than men. This section surveys the research evidence for the existence of gender differences in several areas of social behavior: aggression, influenceability, dominance, nurturance, empathy, and altruism. These particular behavioral areas are chosen partly because they are all aspects of the qualities stereotypically assigned to women and men in our society. Men are supposedly more aggressive, dominant,

and independent of influence than women are; women are believed to be more nurturant, empathetic, and altruistic than men are. Perhaps because each of these qualities is stereotypically either feminine or masculine, they have been the focus of a good deal of research aimed at exploring gender differences. Our overview of this research will show, however, that while large gender differences sometimes exist in the probabilities that people will perform particular behaviors, sweeping statements about general differences, such as "Women are more altruistic than men," are usually difficult to justify.

What do we know about the differences and similarities between women and men? The research provides us with limited answers. Despite the popular habit of referring to women and men as "opposite sexes," psychological research finds little evidence for such dramatic distinctions in many areas of social behavior. Men are found to be more aggressive and dominant than women, but women are aggressive and dominant too under certain circumstances. Women show a small but reliable tendency to be more easily influenced than men; this difference appears in some situations but not others. Women self-report more nurturance and empathy than men do; no across-the-board differences in behavior are found, but the range of behaviors studies has been small. Gender differences in altruism seem to depend on the circumstances (see Bem, 1993).

2.4 Gender Differences in Leadership Styles

Leadership is interpersonal influence exercised in order to guide people toward goal achievement. The person exercising this influence is called a leader.

Studies reveal that leaders use leadership styles that are consistent with their personalities. The style reflects the leader's desire to be efficient, not the need to be autocratic. Leaders are not born but developed. Autocratic, participative, and free-reign are the three general classification of leadership styles (Govindarajan and Natarajan, 2005).

Do female and male managers differ? The research evidence suggests the answer, "They differ in some ways and at some times, but, for the most part, they do not differ."

Women and men do not differ in their effectiveness as leaders, although some situations favor women and others favor men. In the three global measures of managerial behavior, a gender difference is present in the tendency to exhibit democratic versus autocratic leadership; gender differences in task and interpersonal style are confined to laboratory studies and not present in the leadership styles of actual managers. Specific behavioral differences, such as responses to poorly performing subordinates or influences strategies, tend to favor male managers. However, as one study suggested, these differences may be caused by the initially lower self-confidence of women managers and alleviated by the acquisition of management experience (see Vinnicombe and Colwill, 1995).

Thus beliefs about the inferiority of women managers that lead many people to prefer male managers reflect gender stereotyping on their part but not reality. The stereotype that men make better managers is simply not true.

However, as we reject this stereotype, we should not necessarily conclude that female and male managers are completely interchangeable. The leadership roles that women and men hold in organizations typically provide clear guidelines for acceptable behavior. Managers become socialized in to their roles early in their careers. In addition, they are selected by their organizations to fill leadership roles (and select themselves in to these roles) because they are seen as meeting a specific set of attitudinal and behavioral criteria. These factors decrease the likelihood that women and men will differ substantially in their leadership styles, even if they are initially inclined to act differently as leaders. Given the strong pressures on women to conform to standards based on a stereotypically masculine view of managerial effectiveness, the finding that women tend to exhibit more democratic and less autocratic leadership than men is noteworthy (see Kanter, 1977; Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993; Dugassa, 2004, Tariku, 2004, for a review of this literature).

2.5 Women and Work

2.5.1 The Economic Roles of Women and Men: A Historical Perspective

For vast majority of the population in pre-industrial societies (and many people in the developing world), productive activities and the activities of the household were not separate. Production was carried on either in the home or nearby, and all members of the family participated in work on the land or in handicrafts. Women often had considerable influence within the household as a result of their importance in economic processes, even if they were excluded from the male realms of politics and warfare. Wives of craftsmen and farmers often kept business accounts and widows quite commonly owned and managed businesses.

Much of this changed with the separation of the workplace from the home brought about by the development of modern industry. The movement of production in to mechanized factors was probably the largest single factor. Work was done at the machine's pace by individuals hired specifically for the tasks in question, so employers gradually began to contract workers as individuals rather than families.

With time and the progress of industrialization, an increasing division was established between home and workplace. The idea of separate spheres—public and private—became entrenched in popular attitudes. Men, by merit of their employment outside the home, spent more time in the public realm and became more involved in local affairs, politics and the market. Women came to be associated with 'domestic' values and were responsible for tasks such as childcare, maintaining the home and preparing food for the family (see, Blau and Ferber, 1992; Giddens, 2001).

2.5.2 Perspectives on Women and Work

2.5.2.1 The Functionalist Paradigm

A dominant paradigm within the field of sociology is functionalism. With regard to gender, this paradigm's basic assumption reflects the separation of men and women in to a public and a private sphere. Functionalism was developed in the 1940s and 1950s, but still remains a theoretical force in sociology today-though it is rarely called by this name.

To the functionalist, society is a social system composed of interrelated parts, each of which contributes to the maintenance of the others. Men and women play specific roles and hold specific statuses within the social system. Women's roles are defined in terms of the family, as wife and mother; men's roles are defined in terms of work in the outside world, the key role being that of breadwinner. Men perform task-oriented, public, and visible roles, while women perform socio-emotional, private, and invisible roles. Women's status is determined by the social and economic position of the male "head of house hold." This theoretical perspective, which has both bio-social and cultural origins, is made explicit by sociologist Talcott Parsons (quoted in Giddens, 2001). However, recent writings on working women are casting aside functionalist assumptions concerning the traditional roles of men and women. These writings now acknowledge that women have always "worked," and that by their traditional neglect of women's non paid work, functionalists have perpetuated the artificial divisions between so-called public (male) and private (female) spheres (see the World's Women, 1995).

2.5.2.2 The Structural Approach

Many observers argue that structural rather than individual factors are most critical in determining women's labor force position (see Blau and Ferber, 1992). The structural approach focuses on the policies and practices of basic societal institutions-the economy, the legal system, the family, the educational system, religion-which tend to confine women to particular jobs characterized by low wages, little mobility, and limited prestige. This approach blames the structure instead of the victim and suggests a different strategy for improving women's labor force status. Even at the level of specific jobs, for example, we may find that the characteristics of the job are more blameworthy than characteristics of the individual who occupies the job. From a structural perspective, it appears that even if women were to increase their "human capital" they would meet with resistance-due not to the nature of their qualifications, but instead to their structural position in the labor market. Individuals work within a setting that determines educational and occupational attainment. The structure of the labor market (its hierarchy, its hiring and firing practices) largely determines women's status in the labor force.

2.6 Gender Inequalities in the Work Place

Because work defines an individual's place in society—social standing, life style, prestige, and respect—it is not surprising that many of the battles for gender role liberation has been fought in the work place. And the reasons for the battles are many. Historically, women have been kept out of many areas of employment. Women earn less than men in nearly every occupation. Defacto vertical and horizontal occupational segregation of the work force keeps most women in a few low-paid occupations, while men have access to a wider variety of jobs. Occupations with a high percentage of women and minority workers are likely to have a high percentage of low-wage workers. Even in the face of unemployment, women fare worse than men (Blau and Ferber, 1992; Tsehai, 1991).

Although both women and men have always worked, the traditional division of labor in industrialized societies has mandated that they work in different spheres: women in the private sphere of the home, men in the public (and paid) sphere of employment outside the home. Until very recently, when women ventured into the world of paid employment they were automatically relegated to low-status, low-paid jobs.

A strong factor in the maintenance of the division of labor along gender lines has been discrimination. Sex discrimination has been manifested in a tendency to pay women less than men for the same or comparable work, to evaluate women's work performance less highly than men's, and to give preference to men over women when hiring. Some research suggests that men also can sometimes be the victims of sex discrimination in evaluation and hiring when the job is defined specifically as female appropriate. Legislation has been introduced to counteract sex discrimination in hiring and to promote pay equity between women and men. Although these legislative approaches have solved some problems (for instance, by making it more difficult for employers to practice obvious sex discrimination), they have opened the door to others. Controversies now rage about the extent to which male-dominated and female-dominated jobs are comparable in worth, and women who have been hired in to male-dominated occupations find themselves dealing with all the pressures that go with token or minority status (see Lott, 1987; Blau and Ferber, 1992; Powell, 1993).

A second factor that helps to maintain gender-based occupational segregation is the assignment of most homemaking and child-care tasks to women, even in dual-career families. Many employed women carry a double burden of responsibility; the consequent stress, fatigue, and time pressure may well limit their capacity to take the steps necessary to move out of female-dominated occupations. However, research indicates that both women and men benefit when they take on a balance of occupational and family responsibilities. A small but growing minority of two-career couples are dividing family tasks more equitably and trying to place equal priority on the careers of both partners. Under pressure from such people, some employers are beginning to make structural changes that acknowledge and allow for the family responsibilities of their employees (Giddens, 2001).

A third barrier to gender equality in the workplace has been the emphasis on sexuality in male-female relationships. Concern over the development of sexual liaisons at work has been the reason sometimes voiced for resistance to the integration of women into male-dominated occupations. Some people have little practice relating to members of the other gender on an equal footing, in ways that are task-oriented and business like, and they fear the necessity of doing so. When sexual liaisons do develop between people at work, problems sometimes result-and those problems can lead to job loss for the member of the couple (usually the woman) who has the least seniority. Moreover, sexual harassment is a common problem in the workplace, especially for women, and even more especially for women in token or “pioneer” positions. Such harassment can serve to keep the gender-based division of labor in place by forcing the victims from their jobs or interfering with their job performance (Kanter, 1977; Lott, 1987; Fagenson, 1993).

2.7 Women in Professions and Management

Professional and managerial occupations command a great deal of respect, authority, and prestige. Those working in these occupations can expect a high degree of economic reward and recognition for their work.

2.7.1 Professions and Semi-Professions: A Historical Overview

Occupations considered “professional,” such as law, are characterized by the practice of a systematic body of theoretical knowledge, with its own language and symbols. This knowledge is acquired through a high degree of education and training. A profession generally has a service orientation, and its members are bound by a strict occupational code of ethics. Usually they belong to a professional association, which involves a network of formal and informal relationships. In their practice, professionals often have a great deal of autonomy, power, and authority—as is recognized by their clientele and by the community at large. The profession as a whole has the ability to select and train new members, as well as to watch over and discipline them.

Law and medicine are the professions that come closest to this “ideal type.” However, even these professions “have never achieved the complete power over clients or the freedom from government regulation that we often imagine and such professions can experience loss of power and deprofessionalization” (Stromberg, 1988:207). While the professions are generally occupations with a high degree of autonomy and control, this is not always reflected in reality. Women in the professions, even those who work in law or medicine, are often defined autonomy due to their gender (Witz, 1992).

The older, “core” professions, such as medicine and law, began as medieval guilds. Over the centuries, through professional associations and informal networks, there developed a set of occupational practices to control the internal workings of the professions, including routes of entry and access to the skills, knowledge, and credentials necessary to practice in a given field. This created a system that tended to systematically exclude groups such as women and minorities (Witz, 1992).

Of course, societal expectations concerning women’s roles as wives and mothers have also dictated the type of work that women, especially highly educated women, should pursue outside the home sphere. Given these expectations and with limited access to the “core” professional fields, women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century forged a new set of female-dominated professions, which eventually came to be termed the “semi-professions”: secondary-school teaching, nursing, social work, and library work. Women’s work has

characteristically been in service to the needs of others, and these occupations followed in the same vein. Indeed, in some cases (social work in particular) they developed from volunteer activity women were doing for charitable organizations. These occupations were logical extensions of the role of wife and mother.

Semi-professions require less training. Whereas there has been considerable emphasis in the professions on further developing their knowledge base, the semi-professions remain primarily concerned with the application—rather than the development—of knowledge. Increased specialized knowledge has tended to render the professions even more autonomous, while those in the semi-professions tend to be subordinated to these professionals or to other hierarchical authorities. Typically, men in professional occupations have sought to control the semi-professions with which they were closely aligned. The females in these occupations thus became “handmaidens” to the male professionals (Sokoloff, 1992). Nursing is a prime example of this. There is a difference also in the ways in which men in the professions practiced. While they too served the public, they tended to create a more hierarchical relationship with their clients.

With the development of semi-professions and the funneling of women into these positions, the traditional gender roles in society were maintained even though women were working as professionals. Women did not have the autonomy or the prestige that the male professionals had. They existed in a hierarchical structure that placed them in a subordinate role to their white male “professional” counterparts (Witz, 1992).

2.7.2 A Brief History of Women in Management

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2000), a manager is “a person who is in charge of running a business, a shop /store or a similar organization or part of one.” Management, as we think of it today, was established in the late nineteenth century when the development of bureaucracies in organizations required such specialization (Galambos and Pratt, 1988; cited in Fagenson, 1993). Women’s participation in management came even later because of assorted societal, personal, and structural factors.

In recent history, women made few significant inroads in to such occupations before the 1960s. Middle-and upper-middle-class women in the nineteenth century were caught in a “functionalism paradigm” concerning a woman’s role. The nineteenth century concept of a lady was a fragile, ideal, pure creature–submissive and subservient to her husband and to domestic needs. Managerial occupations, in strong contrast, were from the earliest days identified with the masculine domain: “Managers were stereotyped as strong, assertive, and rational–traits ascribed to men. For a woman to hold a managerial position–especially one that involved supervising men–violated the belief that male dominance was both natural and desirable (Fagenson, 1993).

Earlier, within the pre-industrial economy of the American colonial period, women worked outside the home in a range of occupations, many of which we would consider managerial, even though that term was not used. Women’s managerial skills are often hidden under different names over time. Women who demonstrated these skills have been called deputy husbands, she Merchants, women of business, business women, proprietors, managers, entrepreneurs, settlement house workers, private secretaries, advertisers, governmental administrators, and executive women. Other women who worked as managers were hidden as well–but for a different reason. They worked as managers alongside their mates or fathers in small family businesses. Women’s managerial roles can easily be hidden under a husband or father’s work (Powell, 1993).

Though comprehensive data are not available in the Ethiopian context, various historical, societal, personal, legal, and structural factors have helped and hindered women in their access to the managerial and professional specialty positions (Amort, 1998; Jalalie, 2006; CERTWID, 1995; Adeyabeba, 1998; Christian Relief and Development Association, 1997). It is also difficult to put a more accurate figure on the numbers of women in management and professional positions in Ethiopia, first because there is no clear definition for a ‘manager’, and second because there are no regularize systems of gathering statistics in these areas.

2.7.3 Major Sources of Women's Underrepresentation in Managerial and Professional Occupations

2.7.3.1 Individual Factors

There is range of factors we need to consider in understanding why women have failed to attain the top jobs within managerial and professional occupations and why persistent wage differences by gender and race (ethnicity) remain. One reason can be found in the specific individual-level characteristics women bring to the bargaining table: their level of human capital investment in such things as education and job training, as well as their attitudes, values, and expectations about the role of women vis-a-vis work and family issues. An “individualist” argument might readily assume, for example, that women’s lack of representation in the professions and management can be attributed to women’s lack of ambition or success (Horner, 1972). Current research reveals otherwise. For example, studies of women and men managers reveal that they “have similar values, traits, motivations, leadership styles, and skills and that women perform better than or equal to men” (Fagenson, 1993). Others point out that women’s inability to obtain employment in the executive occupations partially stems from the fact that they have only recently made significant gains into middle management. More time is required for women to gain enough experience to move into executive positions. The “human capital theory” approach does not explain away the existing inequality in women’s earnings and the sex segregation that women experience within and among occupations. Individual qualifications apart, society still holds on to many of the gender assumptions that place women at the bottom of the professional hierarchy.

The individual approach assumes that women themselves are responsible for the fact that they wind up in low-paying, dead-end jobs. Human-capital theory is an example of the individual approach. It argues that women are concentrated in such jobs because they do not have the qualifications for better-paying positions with higher responsibility, commitment, and prestige. Women are less well qualified than men, it is assumed, because women have invested less in their human-capital assets, such as education and on-the-job training-assets that lead to the better jobs. Women's prior socialization fosters their choice of jobs requiring

little training or expertise; such jobs allow more flexibility, which permits women to spend more time with their families.

This approach in effect blames the victims for their own predicament and ignores the influence of the wider context-the structural features of the labor market and the economy.

2.7.3.2 Social-Structural Barriers

The structuralist perspective, on the other hand, questions the assumption that the choice is free and points instead to the constraints imposed by society. For instance, the structural approach focuses on the structural aspects of the economy and labor market that constrain women's work situation. Even if women were better qualified for the higher-paying jobs typically held by men, they would meet with resistance related to their position within the structure of the labor force.

A. Organizational Culture, Policies, and Practices

The policies and practices of an organization often encourage sex segregation and depress wages. These "structural" factors are part of an organization's cultural climate and are important to our understanding of women's lack of success in reaching the top of professional and managerial occupations.

I. Organizational Culture

The blocking of women's opportunities in the professions and management has come to be known as the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Kanter, 1979; Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993; Jalalie, 2006). How individuals in an organization act, what assumptions govern their actions, and what loyalties hold the organization together are, in large part, determined by organizational culture. Certain elements of organizational culture discriminate against women. Organizational theorist Edward Schein (1990) envisions this culture as operating at various levels of visibility. The least visible is the "preconscious" level. It constitutes the basic assumptions held by an organization concerning its relationship to the environment, the nature of reality and truth, and the nature of human relationships. These are often things an organization "takes for granted." They are its "mental model" or deeply held beliefs and assumptions. This preconscious level of culture can be likened to a paradigm, or a way of thinking. A paradigm provides categories and concepts through which individual members of an organization can understand their reality. A "functionalist paradigm," defining women's culture, they are powerful in structuring the day-to-day operations of the organization. Deeply ingrained traditional assumptions about the role of men and women are gender stereotypes that can serve to influence employers' behavior in a variety of ways—from hiring and evaluation to promotion practices and policies. Research has demonstrated the presence of stereotypes regarding managers within organizational environments. More specifically, "both men and women [perceive] successful managers to possess more characteristics typically associated with males than characteristics typically associated with females ... [W]omen managers are perceived as less aggressive and independent than their male counterparts, though typically possessing better interpersonal skills" (Northcraft and Gutek, 1993 quoted in Fagenson, 1993: 220-221).

A second and more perceptible level of organizational culture is comprised of the values espoused by the organization—as reflected in its mission statement, official documents, policies, and procedures. A third, most visible level, is that of artifacts—the technology and creations of the organization (e.g., organizational symbols, designs, and ceremonies). At these more visible organizational levels women are also often downplayed or exclude.

The impact of organizational culture on women’s advancement is a product of all these levels. Some organizations realize that their cultures have deleterious impacts on women, but make only cosmetic changes at the more visible levels. Unfortunately, this type of change is often of the “add women and stir” variety. What is needed is an examination of these deep-rooted and subconscious assumptions, those that seem so “natural” on the surface, and of how these are reflected in an organization’s structure, policies, and leadership.

II. The Clockwork of Male Careers

Professional and managerial occupations appear wedded to a particular view of success based on a traditional male life cycle. This “sprint” model assumes early and intense devotion to career, with employees expected to devote countless hours pursuing it. Men have been able to devote this time because they have wives at home who take care of family demands. The sprint model of career success is a deeply rooted part of most organizational cultures. Women in these occupations find that if, as they encounter the heavy demands of both work and family, their career path veers off a “sprint” model—they, not the organizational culture, are the target of blame; it is concluded that women are less motivated, less committed to their jobs. Such “individualistic” explanations regarding women’s presumed “insufficient commitment” are used by some to account for women’s lack of upward mobility.

III. Networking

Among organizational policies and practices that tend to block women’s achievement or stifle their desire to work is the existence of “old-boys networks”—important informal networks of communication that have grown up in and around the male-dominated workplace. These informal networks are vital communication links for exchanging information and conducting business deals that are necessary for overall advancement within

organizations (Ragins and Sundstrom, 1989). A long line of research demonstrates that women are excluded from these networks (Kanter, 1977; Fagenson, 1993). They there by miss out on important client referrals and the like. They also miss out on important ways of learning how to behave and conduct themselves. These networks are not formally recognized by the organization, so there is no way to officially mandate the inclusion of women. In many ways it is impossible to integrate women, since women are not permitted entrance into some of the places where these connections are made, such as men's locker rooms.

IV. Mentors

In most organizations, positions are arranged in the shape of a pyramid—the higher up one goes, the fewer the number of positions and the greater the authority, prestige, and salary. How fast an employee rises up the pyramid is partly dependent on the degree to which he or she is “groomed” for success and the degree to which he or she “networks” with influential people both within and outside the organization.

Being groomed for success means that an employee receives competent instruction on the ins and outs of doing well—not only in the technical aspects of the actual work involved, but also in the “politics” (who has influence) and “culture” (what are the unwritten rules of social interaction, what are the values that underlie these rules) of the company. This training often involves one or more “mentors”: that is, seasoned colleagues, supervisors, or bosses who take special interest in the employee and give him or her the guidance needed for success. Moreover, mentors often provide the employee with opportunities to demonstrate his or her abilities. They may “cover” his or her mistakes to minimize their negative repercussions. They typically nominate the employee for promotions. Mentors are motivated to play this role because they expect their protégés to work hard and thereby make the department look good. Mentors also expect loyalty, for the protégé has become a member of the mentor's team.

V. Tokenism

Indeed until recently, and still in many organizations, women often have only a token presence, and they have had to deal with difficulties due to their lack of numbers and lack of acceptance. Because of their lack of numbers, these women stand out and are therefore

watched closely; any “mistakes” they make tend to be attributed to their gender (being female) rather than to their individual personalities (e.g. “Didn’t I say that a woman was too weak for this job?”) Moreover, in an attempt to interpret the gender changes in their work environment, men often begin exaggerating differences between themselves and female workers. They test these presumed differences with sexual innuendoes and other forms of teasing, to see how the women will respond. The close scrutiny and the frequent teasing make these pioneering women feel very self-conscious and add stress and misery to their jobs (Kanter, 1977: 209). Token women try to cope with performance pressures in a variety of ways. Some “overachieve” in comparison to their peers. This may work for those women who are exceptional in their fields, but it is unlikely to work for those without extraordinary skills. Still other women will try to use tokenism to their advantage, by stressing their difference. This strategy, however, may alienate the dominant group (“For a woman, she did a great job securing that contract, she must have received help from her boss”). Others may try to make themselves “invisible”; they may go out of their way to avoid recognition for their accomplishments at work.

There are other, more successful strategies for coping. Token women sometimes establish a particular area of competence and make themselves invaluable to their organizations because of their expert knowledge (Fairhurst and Snavely, 1983). The attention they receive is focused on their "area of expertise," their competence and knowledge, and not their "gender." This is perhaps the best way to escape the negative labeling that comes with tokenism.

VI. Positionality

Even in companies with more than token representation, where a woman is structurally placed in the hierarchy of an organization or profession has profound consequences for her present and future performance and her promotion possibilities. For example, a woman placed in a structurally powerless job will take on attributes associated with her position. Over time, her level of motivation will decrease, she will become less aggressive, avoid taking risks, and so on (Kanter, 1977). Women who are placed in positions with few resources to distribute are locked into powerless roles. They often find their work less central to their organization. They have little contact with senior-level officials.

Since the majority of women occupy powerless jobs, it has been assumed that women's lack of advancement must be due to their traditional gender-role attributes (e.g., wanting to devote more time to family over work, fear of success, wanting to work fewer hours). However, behavior is a function of position. If you placed men in a structurally powerless position, they too would exhibit the same traits thought to belong to women as a category (Fagenson, 1993; Kanter, 1977).

To more fully understand these phenomena, Fagenson (1993: 270-271) argues that we need to look beyond position to the whole "organizational context, a broader concept than structure The organizational context includes such factors as the corporation's culture, history, ideology, policies ... as well as its structure." Organizations are embedded in the wider society with "particular cultural values, histories, societal and institutional practices, ideologies, expectations, and stereotypes regarding appropriate roles and behaviors for men and women." As this wider society can also impact the ways women are viewed and treated within an organization, with this approach, more variables in women's ascension up the corporate ladder are accounted for and a more accurate picture is drawn. For example, affirmative action laws and maternity leave policies can directly impact women's chances for advancement and how women are viewed within their organization.

B. Societal Factors

Societal factors such as legal requirements, government programs, and social mores are behind the influence of many of the organizational and personal factors on women's career development. These factors affect women's success in both career and relationships as well as their emphasis on career versus relationships.

Both legal and social changes in recent years have caused women's work to be more highly valued. Laws such as the Equal pay Act, the Civil Rights Act, and a variety of executive orders prohibit sex discrimination in employment. Women have greater access to managerial positions and now populate many traditionally male dominated occupations in greater proportions than before. However, sex-role expectations and discrimination continue to operate. Social mores still suggest that the woman must bear the primary responsibility for childraising even if she pursues a full-time career. Despite the movement of women into

many male-dominated occupations, there has been little movement of men in to some female-dominated occupations, probably because these occupations continue to receive the lowest wages (see Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993; Amrot, 1998; Jalalie, 2006).

The division of labor by sex will not subside until men enter female-dominated occupations in large numbers. If history repeats itself, men's entry into female dominated occupations will raise the status of the jobs and the salaries of the incumbents, but not without pain for the men who are treated as gender-role deviants and for the women whose jobs are lost. Only when this transition is complete—only when jobs cease to be identified as "men's work" and "women's work"—will it be possible to objectively evaluate the contribution to the labor market made by any particular occupation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

3.1 Research Methodology

The three competing approaches to social research are positivism, interpretive social science (ISS), and critical social science (CSS). Each approach has its own set of philosophical assumptions and principles and its own stance on how to do research. Nevertheless, in addition there are two additional approaches that are still in a formative stage and are less well known than the three major ones. They are feminist and postmodern social research. Both criticize positivism and offer alternatives that build on interpretive and critical social science (Adler and Clark, 1999; Bryman, 2004).

What we try to accomplish when we do research (i.e., discover laws, identify underlying structures, describe meaning systems) will vary with the approach to social science we choose. Since this study sought to uncover (expose) hidden underlying structures that account for the underrepresentation of women in professional and managerial occupations, a critical social science approach was adopted to achieve the objectives of the study.

In sum, a critical social science approach was employed to study the problem. This is because critical explanation does more than describe the unseen mechanisms that account for the disproportionate representation of females in managerial and professional fields; it also critiques conditions and implies a plan of change. In addition, CSS is often associated with conflict theory and feminist analysis, and better fits with most of the characteristics of feminist social research. Feminist researchers, like Sherry Gorelick (1991), as cited in Neuman (1994), advised feminist researchers to adopt a more critical approach and to advocate social change more assertively. For example, feminist social research favors action-oriented research that seeks to facilitate personal and societal change. Moreover, like the critical approach, it allows incorporation of the researcher's personal feelings and experiences in to the research process.

3.2 Research Methods

Critical researchers differ from the others less in the research techniques they use than in how they approach a research problem, the kinds of questions they ask, and their purposes for doing research. In addition, there is no one-to-one correspondence between research techniques and the approaches to social science.

By taking the above into consideration, a multi-strategy approach was adopted for the present study with the assumption it will offer the prospect of being able to combine both elements from quantitative and qualitative strategies. More specifically, a multi-strategy approach was employed for this study with the assumption it will help to accomplish the following purposes:

- to fill in the gaps;
- to gather two kinds of data: qualitative data that will allow the researcher to gain access to the perspectives of executive women; and quantitative data that will allow the researcher to reveal the mechanisms that account for the disproportionate representation of women in professional and managerial positions; and
- to study different aspects of the issue under consideration (that is, macro and micro levels of reality).

In doing so, the researcher attempted to diverge from strict positivism and applied theory in a different way, gave the historical context a major role, and revealed deep structures of social relations.

Qualitative data may give critical researchers the potential to break through assumptions implicit in quantitative approaches. Qualitative research, such as case study, can be combined with quantitative techniques, such as survey research. Such a combination helps the critical researcher engage in praxis. In accordance with this, a combination of feminist interviewing (which was similar to qualitative interviewing) with questionnaire survey were employed. In this integration, the case study approach opened an opportunity to gather a large amount of information on a few cases, to go in to greater depth, and to get more detail on the cases that were examined. While the survey study improved the generality of the results and verified field observations and interpretations; and gave a picture of what many people think about the issue under investigation.

3.3 Data Collection Techniques Used

Each individual technique has advantages and disadvantages, so it is useful to employ more than one data-gathering tool when ever it is practical. For this reason, feminist interview coupled with self-administered survey questionnaire, and existing statistics/documents were employed to elicit the required qualitative and quantitative data that led to identifying and demystifying the structures that account for the underrepresentation of women in professional and managerial fields. Moreover, qualitative content analysis technique was used for gathering and analyzing the contents of texts such as books, articles, advertisements, and photographs. The qualitative content analysis helped to reveal messages in the text that are difficult to see with causal observation. Besides, unnoticed qualitative observation/personal experience was used as supplementary evidence. Such use of a mix of evidence is consistent with the critical science approach and feminist social research.

3.4 Procedures and Quantitative Measurement

3.4.1 Procedures

The following procedures were followed in order to collect the necessary information (data) about women's disproportionate representation in the professional and managerial posts.

- Related and relevant literatures were assessed to get more information on the issue under study.
- Available statistical data from various sources were collected and analyzed (manipulated).
- Appropriate data-gathering tools (instruments) were constructed and pilot tests were conducted to check their reliability (clarity and appropriateness).
- The instruments (measures) were corrected based on the information obtained from pilot testing.
- The instruments were administered to the identified sample members for the study.
- The data obtained from the sample members (primary data) as well as the data obtained from existing statistics/ documents (secondary data) were coded, organized, analyzed and interpreted using appropriate quantitative statistical techniques (tools),

qualitative data analysis techniques, and theory in order to reveal things of interest about the problem under investigation.

3.4.2 Levels of Measurement (measures)

The discrete variables (sex and opinion /attitude) were measured at the nominal and ordinal levels of measurement, respectively. While the continuous variable (age) was measured at the ratio level and then turned in to ordinal level of measurement.

Scales and indexes increase reliability and validity, and they aid in data reduction, that is, they condense and simplify the information that is collected. As result, indexes were also employed in order to produce a composite score from opinion measures. The composite score was used for content and convergent validity. The indexes were measured at the ratio level.

3.5 Population and Sampling Strategies

Keeping both practical and ethical considerations in mind, one of the first parts of the planning process is the decision about who or what to study. Selecting an element or sampling unit involves determining which individuals, organizations, institutions, or collectives will be the focus of the study. Accordingly, the study was conducted in Dire Dawa provisional administration. It is selected as the study place because it is least touched in research work and due to the researcher's experience in the area for which collection of data would be at ease.

The target population consisted of the 1999 Ethiopian Fiscal Year managers and professionals, in the civil service in Dire Dawa provisional administration. The population had 417 professionals and mangers, out of which 86.33 percent (360) and 13.67 percent (57) were males and females respectively. Thus, the population parameter was a sex ratio of 86.33 to 13.67. Besides, the sampling ratio for the survey type study (questionnaire) was $125/417=0.30$, or 30 percent. While, the sampling ratio for the case study (interview) was $20/417=0.05$, or 5 percent.

Selecting a specific population and sample means determining which particular sampling units are of interest. Thus, it is not feasible to study all the elements of the population.

Because of considerations of time, money, and access, purposive (judgmental) and stratified sampling techniques were employed to select the samples from the target population. On the one hand, the purposive sampling technique helped to identify particular types of cases (in this study executive women) for in-depth investigation (for interview). This is, because the researcher believed that executive women are especially informative. On the other hand, the stratified sample gave an accurate representation of each type of position (that is, professional, administrative and executive). A rule of thumb method was employed to determine the sample size in each stratum. This is because it gave sample sizes close to those of the statistical method (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

TABLE 3.1 Sample of 125 Professionals and Managers of Dire Dawa Provisional Administration, Stratified by Position.

Position	Population (Sampling frame)		Stratified Sample n
	N	Percent	
Professionals	231	55.39	69
Administrators	72	17.27	22
Executives (appointees)	114	27.34	34
Total	417	100.00	125

Note: Traditionally, N symbolizes the number in the population and n represents the number in the sample.

TABLE 3.2 Sample of 20 Executive Women of Dire Dawa Provisional Administration, Selected by Judgment (purpose).

Position	Sub Population		Purposive Sample n	Reason for selection
	N	Percent		
Professionals	25	43.86	-	-
Administrators	12	21.05	-	-
Executives	20	35.09	20	-This groups of women were believed to be especially informative or most preferable for in-depth investigation.
Total	57	100.00	20	

3.6 Techniques of Data Analysis and Interpretation

Since critical social researchers may use any research technique, both quantitative and qualitative data analysis techniques were used to organize and analyze data. As a result, quantitative data coding, and univariate statistics were used to organize and analyze

quantitative data. Where as, qualitative data coding and analytic memo–writing techniques are generic and used to analyze qualitative data. In addition, ideal types (analogies) and data displays (visual presentation of qualitative data) were employed in conjunction with analytic comparison, network analysis, flow chart and time sequence techniques as specific methods of qualitative data analysis.

Last but not least, a fundamentally multi–causal approach (structural explanations with pattern theory) was adopted for this study, which is neither a deductive theory to test, nor an inductive, problem–specific theory.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND TABLES

This chapter provides the data analysis techniques that summarize the data and permit to answer the research questions. Nonetheless, it does not give a complete picture of the data rather it provides the minimum number of charts, tables, or themes of texts. For this reason, the questionnaire and the interview guide are placed in appendices (see Appendices A and B), and the researcher also remind readers that you can write for the raw data (if you are interested). The data were organized by their types and sources, and/or analytic tools such as univariate statistics, general ideas, themes, or concepts in a way convenient for analysis and interpretation.

4.1 Dire Dawa Provisional Administration: An Overview

4.1.1 Population

This section provides the population size of Dire Dawa provisional administration.

TABLE 4.1 Total Population of Dire Dawa Provisional Administration by Sex, Urban and Rural (July 1, 2007)

Urban			Rural			Both Sexes		
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
154,000	154,000	308,000	52,000	52,000	104,000	206,000	206,000	412,000

Source: CSA, 2007

4.1.2 Labor Force

The data under this section include the human power (civil servants) of the administration by status of employment.

TABLE 4.2 Number of Employees by Status of Employment (November, 2006).

Permanent					Temporary/ Contract					Total				
Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total	Male	Percentage	Female	Percentage	Total
2854	64	1612	36	4466	156	69.33	69	30.67	225	3010	64	1681	36	4691

Source: Dire Dawa Provisional Administration Civil Service Commission, 2006

4.2 Personal Profile (Information)

TABLE 4.3 Characteristics of the survey questionnaire Respondents by Sex and Age (Female and Male Professionals and Managers)

Item		Frequency	Percentage
Sex	Female	50	40.98
	Male	72	59.02
	Total	122	100.00
Age	Under 30	34	27.87
	30-45	77	63.11
	46-60	11	9.02
	Total	122	100.00

N.B: Even though the sample size for the questionnaire was 125, practically the data were collected from 122 respondents.

Note: These social survey questions were asked solely to understand the sex and age composition of respondents.

TABLE 4.4 Characteristics of the Interview Participants (female executives) by Marital Status

	Item	Frequency	Percentage
Marital Status	Single	5	31.25
	Married	9	56.25
	Divorced/Separated	2	12.5
	Widowed	-	-
	Cohabiting living with someone	-	-
	Total	16	100

N.B: Though the sample size for the interview was 20, in practice the data were collected from 16 interviewees.

4.3 Factors that Account for the Underrepresentation of Women in Managerial and Professional Occupations

A. Primary Quantitative Data

This section presents the quantitative data in the form of numbers collected using the questionnaires regarding the mechanisms that account for the disproportionate representation of women in managerial and professional positions.

TABLE 4.5 Opinion of Respondents toward Individual Factors Influencing Women's Participation in Professional and Managerial Posts

Item	Opinion									
	SA (5)		MA (4)		UD (3)		MD (2)		SD (1)	
	Freque ncy	Percent age								
The sources of women’s underrepresentation in professional and managerial occupations are located in the women themselves.	24	19.67	44	36.07	2	1.64	14	11.48	38	31.15
Women’s poor innate (inborn) intellectual capacities have directed women away from professional and managerial fields.	6	4.92	7	5.74	5	4.10	15	12.30	89	72.95
Women prefer “supportive,” nurturing occupations such as secretary, nursing, and kindergarten or elementary school teaching.	24	19.67	49	40.16	6	4.92	19	15.57	24	19.67
Women are too emotional to take decisions.	36	29.51	40	32.79	4	3.28	20	16.39	22	18.03
Women make poorer leaders than men.	7	5.74	11	9.02	3	2.46	16	13.11	85	69.67
Women see themselves as helpers–nurses and secretaries rather than as leaders or creators.	27	22.13	39	31.97	4	3.28	25	20.49	27	22.13
Women often do not act as good professionals and managers.	11	9.02	10	8.20	2	1.64	24	19.67	75	61.48
Women in the professions and management do not devote to their work the same number of hours as their male counterparts.	12	9.84	25	20.49	2	1.64	21	17.21	62	50.82
Girls are less competitive than boys.	13	10.66	14	11.48	3	2.46	28	22.95	64	52.46
Females are not as motivated as males are to get to the top professional and managerial positions.	30	24.59	42	34.43	4	3.28	18	14.75	28	22.95

SA= Strongly Agree MA=Moderately Agree UN=Undecided MD=Moderately Disagree SD=Strongly Disagree

Note: Values in parenthesis () represented the scores of Likert scaled attitude indicators.

TABLE: 4.6 Opinion of Respondents about Social-Structural Mechanisms Limiting Women's Status in Higher-prestige and Higher-Paid Occupations

Item	Response									
	SA (5)		MA (4)		UN (3)		MD (2)		SD (1)	
	Frequ- ency	Perce- ntage								
Women’s underrepresentation in professional and managerial positions results from exclusionary practices that reflect discriminatory attitudes.	48	39.34	55	45.08	2	1.64	11	9.02	6	4.92
In our culture, females are valued more for their appearance and good behavior than for their competence and intellectual skill.	56	45.90	41	33.61	4	3.28	14	11.48	7	75.74
Women doing competent intellectual work have been told “You think like a man”.	48	39.34	42	34.43	1	0.82	11	9.02	20	16.39
Gender discrimination (sexism) continues to set up barriers for women in the professions and management.	58	47.54	42	34.43	5	4.10	12	9.84	5	4.10
Socialization plays a significant part in packing women in to relatively low-paying and low status jobs.	54	44.26	42	34.43	2	1.64	9	7.38	15	12.30
Women are reared to believe they lack competence in subjects like engineering, law and management.	37	30.33	36	29.51	3	2.46	19	15.57	22.13	27
Females have less support than males for choosing professional and managerial occupations.	54	44.26	39	31.97	3	2.46	11	9.02	15	12.30
The policies and practices of an organization often encourage sex segregation.	35	28.69	44	36.07	4	3.28	21	17.21	18	14.75
The professional or managerial man usually prefers a male candidate.	53	43.44	37	30.33	1	0.82	18	14.75	13	10.66
Men have more access and control of resources (such as money, status, and time) than women do.	63	51.64	27	22.13	2	1.64	8.20	20	20	16.39

SA=Strongly Agree MA=Moderately Agree UN=Undecided MD=Moderately Disagree SD= Strongly Disagree

Note: Values in parenthesis () represented the scores of Likert scaled attitude indicators.

Table 4.7 Composite Scores of Individual and Social-Structural Factors (Comparison)

Factor	Opinion (Response)										Index score	Standard deviation
	SA (5)		MA (4)		UN (3)		MD (2)		SD (1)			
	Frequency	Score	Frequency	Score	Frequency	Score	Frequency	Score	Frequency	Score		
Individual Factors	190	950	281	1124	35	105	200	400	514	514	3093	370.882
Social-Structural Factors	506	2530	405	1620	27	81	136	272	146	146	4649	980.257

SA=Strongly Agree MA=Moderately Agree UN=Undecided MD=Moderately Disagree SD=Strongly Disagree

Note: Values in parenthesis () represented the scores of Likert scaled attitude indicators

B. Some Selected Secondary Quantitative Data

This section focuses on some relevant existing information/ data obtained from government and non government documents or previous surveys.

TABLE 4.8 Trainees Enrolled in Evening Program in Government in Dire Dawa Provisional Administration by Field of Specialization, 2004/2005 Academic Year

Specialization	Male		Female		Both Sexes
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Accounting	49	41.18	70	58.82	119
Secretarial science	-	-	141	100	141
Information technology	45	37.82	74	62.18	119
Electricity	37	94.87	2	5.13	39
Auto mechanics	4	100	-	-	4
General mechanics	3	100	-	-	3
Electronics	6	100	-	-	6
Total	144	33.41	287	66.59	431

N.B: Percentages were later calculated by the researcher.

Source: MOE, 2007

TABLE 4.9 Students Enrolled in Regular Undergraduate Programmes in Addis Ababa University by Faculty /College, 2005/2006 Academic Year

Faculty/College	Male		Female		Both Sexes
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
Technology	1420	76.47	437	23.53	1857
Business and Economics	1049	68.34	486	31.66	1535
Law	372	59.52	253	40.48	625
Medicine	879	66.09	451	33.91	1330
Commerce	3332	70	1428	30	4760
Total	7052	69.77	3055	30.23	10107

Note: Percentages were later calculated by the researcher

Source: MOE, 2007

TABLE 4.10 Distribution of Male and Female Employees (Civilian Workers) by Major Occupational Categories in the Federal Government (June, 2004)

Occupational Category	Male		Female		Both Sexes	Index Of Occupational Segregation
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Professional and scientific	4015	78.25	1116	21.75	5131	
Administrative	883	72.44	336	27.56	1219	
Sub-professional	4606	68.76	2093	31.24	6699	
Clerical and fiscal	2806	32.62	5796	67.38	8602	
Trade and crafts	3938	64.18	2198	35.82	6136	
Custodial and manual	6175	50.74	5994	49.26	12169	
Appointee	100	84.03	19	15.97	119	
Total	22523	56.2	17552	43.8	40075	13.67

Note: Percentages and the index of occupational segregation were latter calculated by the researcher.

Source: FCSC, 2005

TABLE 4.11 Distribution of Male and Female Employees in the Federal and Regional Governments by Selected Professional Specialty Occupations (June, 2004)

Occupation	Male		Female		Both Sexes	Index of Occupational Segregation
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage		
Educational administration	968	82.31	208	17.69	1176	
Theology	17	89.47	2	10.53	19	
Economics	905	82.57	191	17.43	1096	
Political science	158	87.78	22	12.22	180	
Management	2643	85.23	458	14.77	3101	
Physics	1271	92.03	110	7.97	1381	
Medicine	1127	64.07	632	35.93	1759	
Mechanical engineering	192	97.96	4	2.04	196	
Home economics	230	27.81	597	72.19	827	
Midwifery	99	37.64	164	62.36	263	
Secretarial science	317	12.52	2214	87.48	2531	
Total	7927	63.27	4602	36.73	12529	31.86

N.B: Percentages and the index of occupational segregation by sex were later calculated by the researcher.

Source: FCSC, 2005

**TABLE 4.12 Fulltime Ethiopian Teaching Staff in Addis Ababa University
by Academic Rank, 2004/2005 Academic Year**

Academic Rank	Male		Female		Both Sexes
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Professor	30	100	-	-	30
Associate Professor	123	95.35	6	4.65	129
Assistant Professor	233	95.10	12	4.9	245
Lecturer	353	87.16	52	12.84	405
Assistant lecturer	55	85.94	9	14.06	64
Graduate Assistant	67	95.71	3	4.29	70
Others	93	72.09	36	27.91	129
Total	951	88.96	118	11.04	1069

Note: Percentages were latter calculated by the researcher.

Source: MOE, 2007

C. Summary of Qualitative Data

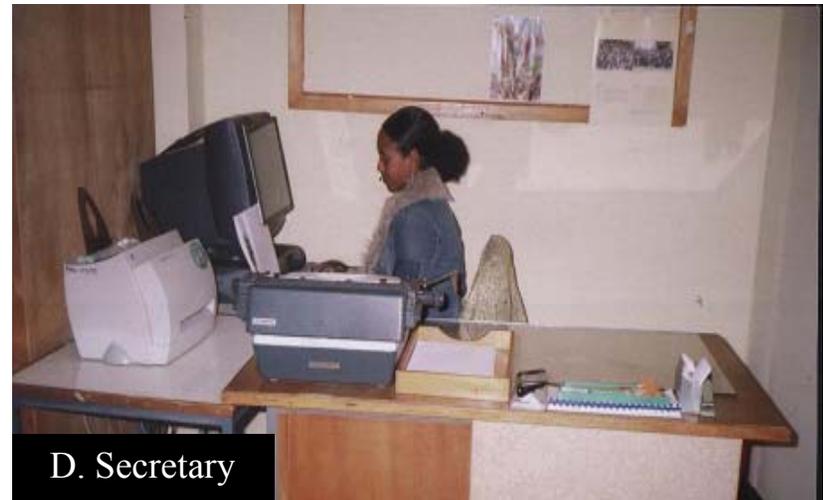
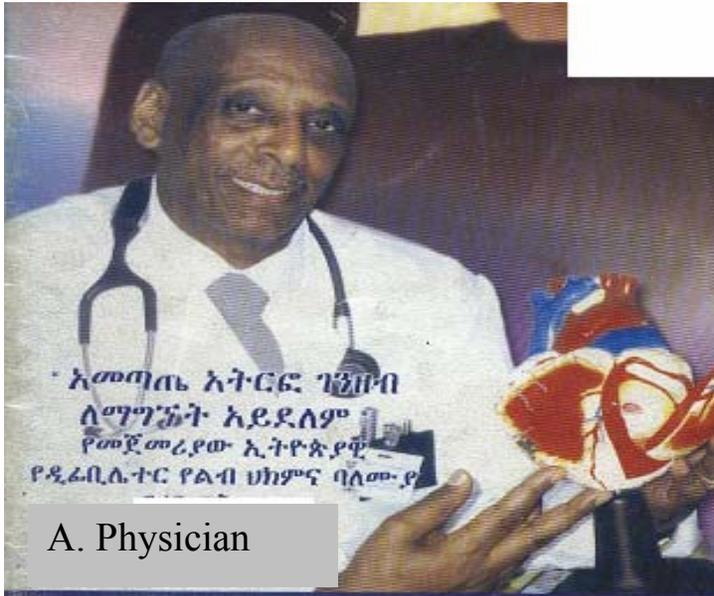
The chief purpose of this section is on providing a condensed picture of some selected qualitative data (both primary and secondary) in the form of text, written words, or phrases. The raw data was organized on the basis of themes, concepts, or similar features. Here, the emphasis is on qualitative data about a text's content. These data were obtained from interview participants, unnoticed (and unstructured) observation / personal experience, and from the content of texts such as books, advertisements, and photographs.

TABLE 4.13 Major Factors Considered (emphasized) by the Semi-Structured Interview Participants in Determining Women’s Position in Professional and Managerial Careers. See Appendix B for the Interview Schedule.

Individual Factors	Social-Structural Factors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Females' occupational choices which are rooted in the social structure (such as the socialization process) but not products of any individual’s personality problems. - The double burden of responsibility (that is, the work–family challenge). - Females’ lack of confidence in their right to select a professional or managerial field which is rooted in the patriarchal ideology. - The prevalent allocations of household responsibilities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The contradictions posed by images of the females role, occupational and professional values and norms and, Ethiopian society’s values of equality and achievement. -The prevalence (existing) occupational segregation by sex. -Discrimination by educational institutions and work organisations. -The socialization process which emphasizes different roles, norms, and values for male and female. - Sexual harassment and organisational romance. -Harmful tradition practices like rape, abduction and early marriage.

N.B: Figure 4.2 provides an interesting illustration of role-and value-conflicts in pictorial form.

Figure 4.1 Illustrations of “Proper” Male Versus “Proper” Female Roles



Note: In which photograph does the man's role seem appropriate? In which does the woman's? The overall impression males create is one of power, dominance, and high status, particularly in contrast to the overall impression females create, which is one of submissiveness, subordination, and low status. While some women have, in recent years, moved into important decision-making positions, recognition of this has been slow and hampered by continued portrayal of stereotypes in media advertisements. The photos on this page (B and C), for example, showed men and women in their traditional roles in the office, as at home: managers are wise men and soap advertisers are beauty women.

4.4 Strategies to Advance Women’s Representation in Professional and Managerial Occupations

This topic presents the strategies suggested by the survey questionnaire respondents in order to improve women’s participation in professional and managerial careers (posts).

TABLE 4: 17 Coping Strategies Proposed by Respondents

Item	Individualistic Resolutions		Structural Solutions	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Kindly describe in order of importance to you at least five strategies that you would consider most important for improving women’s representation in professional and managerial fields?	101	31.56	219	68.44

Note: Each respondent was asked to suggest at least five strategies for this item.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

The discussion is not a selective emphasis or partisan interpretation; rather, it is a candid explanation of what is in the results section.

5.1 Women’s Relative Status in the Current Labor Force

5.1.1 Occupational Differences

There has been a dramatic increase in women’s labor force participation (that is, from 18% in 1975 to 32.86% in 2004) that has occurred since 1975 (FCSC, 2005). Although there have been important recent gains, these substantial increases in women’s participation in paid work have not been accompanied by comparable improvements in their economic status as compared with men.

Women today are still clustered in traditionally “female” occupations. Although women are represented in most occupational groups, they remain concentrated in the clerical and service occupations—a situation that has not changed over the most recent decades. Women are much more likely to become receptionist, typists, secretaries, pre-school teachers, and nurses. Indeed, scanning the vast list of occupational titles that currently exist in the Ethiopian economy, we find men and women segregated into different kinds of jobs (“men’s jobs”; “women’s jobs”), and we also find men holding down many more types of jobs. This phenomenon, in and by itself, would be of little concern if it were not for the fact that across the gamut of the occupational prestige scale—that is, at every level (low, middle, high)—we find “men’s jobs” paying more. Indeed, there is a strong statistical relationship between the concentration of women in given occupations and the wage levels there in (FCSC, 2005).

Table 4.10 summarizes the strong degree to which the occupational world is still sex segregated and the repercussions for gender inequality thereof. Not evident in these tables, however, is another phenomenon that tends to depress the wages of women compared to men; that is, women tend to be toward the bottom of the wage/prestige scales of those

predominantly male fields that they do enter. Women represent only 15.97 percent of the appointee (executive) positions in the nation's Federal Civil Service Organizations (see Table 4. 10).

As the available data indicate, there have been many improvements in female opportunity in many careers that have been traditionally male-dominated. Among the more prominent examples are college teaching, agricultural economics, and town planning. Yet, in the high-paying professions, we still find men predominating: the ratio of men to women managers 4.16 to 1; for specialist surgeons-4 to none; general surgeons-10 to none; and for international lawyers-7 to none (see Table 4.11 and FCSC, 2005). Furthermore, in many traditional "men's" fields, especially those in the high-paying areas of blue-collar work and the highly technical professions such as chemical and mechanical engineering, females are finding entry tough. This is partly because of socialization and partly because of the different educational tracks taken by males and females. To these factors can be added organizational policies that encourage sex segregation (for instance, the policy of only hiring women as typists and secretaries) and the resistance put forth by men.

To sum up, the figures in Table 4.10 and Table 4.11 amply demonstrate that considerable gender differences in occupational distributions remain.

5.1.2 Occupational Segregation by Sex

One way of determining the extent to which males and females do different types of work is to compare the distribution of male and female workers across occupational categories. These distributions are shown in Table 4.10. In both cases, females tended to be concentrated in administrative support (including clerical) and nurturant occupations. In the case of federal government in 2004, for instance, 33.02 percent of all women civilian workers were in clerical and fiscal occupational category, compared to only 12.46 percent of men. On the contrary, men were more highly represented than women in professional and managerial positions.

So far we have discussed gender differences in occupational distributions in a rather general way. Occupational segregation refers to a situation where two groups, in this case men and

women, tend to work in a different set of occupations. The index of segregation is a widely accepted measure of the degree of such segregation. It gives the percentage of female (or male) workers who would have to change jobs in order for the occupational distribution of the two groups to be same. The index would equal zero if the distribution of men and women across occupational categories were identical; it would equal 100 if all occupations were either completely male or female. In terms of the data in Table 4.10 the index of occupational segregation by sex was 13.67 in 2004. This confirms our earlier observation that there are greater differences in occupational distribution between men and women.

However, data on major occupational categories do not reveal the full extent of occupational segregation by sex. Information is available on a far larger set of detailed occupations. The proportion of women in these more narrowly defined occupations within the broader groupings examined earlier does indeed tend to vary considerably. This is illustrated in more detail in Table 4.11, which shows a selection of professional specialty occupations, chosen because we tend to be familiar with the nature and function of the various professions and because both men and women are substantially represented in the category as a whole.

In 2004 in the federal government, for example, 64.65 percent of all women civil servants were in three predominantly female occupations shown in the Table 4.11 home economist, midwifery, and secretary. Here, the index of occupational segregation by sex was 31.86 (which is greater than the earlier).

5.1.3 Hierarchies within Occupations

In addition to differences in their distribution among occupations, men and women also tend to be employed at different levels within occupations. This is often referred to as vertical segregation.

A good example of this is the hierarchy on university faculties, because they generally use a clear and widely understood set of titles. Table 4.12 provides data on the distribution of men and women by rank in academic year 2004/2005 for Addis Ababa University. The data do suggest women were over represented at the lower end of the occupational hierarchy, as Lecturers, and “Others” (unstated), where as men were more highly represented at the upper

ranks, as Professors, and Associate Professors—the categories that tend to have job security in the form of tenure.

The case is not unique. Although women have increase their share of managerial jobs, their representation in top positions is still exteremely sparse. For example, in Dire Dawa provisional administration in 2006, of the 10 highest executives (cabinet members), only 2 (20 percent) were women. Similarly, data of the nation’s cabinet (2003) as quoted in Eshetu (2005), revealed that women comprised only 11.54 percent (or 6 women) of cabinet members.

5.2 Individual Factors

5.2.1 Personal Characteristics of Females: Their Motivations, Aspirations, Credentials, Qualifications, and Abilities

5.2.1.1. Women’s Occupational Choices

Males and females are brought up to behave in particular, culturally prescribed ways. Their respective social responsibilities involve a division of labor where by females assume the role of wife and mother and men the role of provider. The sex segregation of the labor market reflects this broader division of labor. The occupations held predominantly by women (such as secretarial work), nursery school teaching, nursing, reception) are those that reflect the traditional female nurturing and supportive roles. The more task-oriented and intellectually demanding jobs—such as doctor, lawyer, executive, engineer—have traditionally belonged to men (see Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.11). Even when females enter male-dominated occupations such as medicine, gender roles and family responsibilities may influence the specialty areas they select.

Furthermore, women often seek employment that allows them the flexibility to spend time with their families. Their putting–family-first frequently prevents their obtaining the training and other credentials they would need to compete more effectively in the job market. Thus it is possible to say that females end up concentrated in “women’s jobs” partly because they choose to do so. The present survey lend some support to this belief. For example, more

than half of respondents (59.84%) agreed that women tend to prefer “supportive,” nurturing occupations such as secretary, nursing, and nursery school or elementary school teaching.

The essence of the individual model is that women’s preferences—for traditionally female typed jobs, and thus the types of training they receive, the types of work for which they apply, and the occupations they wind up in—are the primary determinants of women’s labor force position. This model assumes women’s freedom of choice in the selection of a given occupation.

But many observers (like Lott (1987), Fagenson (1993), and Blau and Ferber (1992)) question whether a woman’s choice is so free. They point to the constraints imposed by society that serve to limit a woman’s ability to choose freely. Critics also note that explanations emphasizing female choice rely on “an elusive factor termed tastes to explain why women ‘chose’ to enter a given occupation or to have a given preference for non-market work, without providing an underlying theory that explains the choice. Moreover, it is not clear why only women should have such tastes, nor is it clear why a large proportion of women should exhibit the same set of tastes—as demonstrated by their occupational distribution” (Blau and Ferber, 1992).

5.2.1.2 Women’s Job Related Credentials: Education,

Training and Work Experience

A related argument, one that shifts the focus only slightly, comes from “human-capital theory.” As a result of socialized attitudes and values, females are said to invest less in their own “human capital.” That is, they do not invest in those qualities—education, training, or job-related experience—that lead to a “return on investment” in the labor market. Males do invest in their own human capital; they are therefore able to make a greater economic contribution to society. Their occupational opportunities and their rewards are correspondingly greater. Men’s and women’s positions in the labor market are said to reflect these differences in human-capital investment.

The results of this study (the survey study) also lend some support of the above belief. For instance, some of the respondents (55.74%) agreed that the sources of women’s

underrepresentation in professional and managerial occupations are located in the women themselves. Besides, the available data reveals that, on average, females in the labor market have less educational level, formal training, and work experience than males (see FCSC, 2005).

Nevertheless, the available data also indicate that even if females equaled men in human-capital investment and achievement, their earnings would still be markedly lower. Accordingly, the human-capital theory does not adequately explain the wage or prestige differences between men and women; the sizable earnings gap or prestige difference can not be explained simply by differences in the characteristics of the workers, such as their educational level and their job experience.

5.2.1.3 Motivation

A. The Achievement Motive

Research on the achievement motive has followed much the same pattern as that for power. In general, there is no reason to believe that women and men differ in the strength of their basic motivations toward success. However, the research stimulated by the fear-of-success concepts has shown clearly that individuals are sensitive to the social consequences of their achievement behavior, and that such consequences are perceived to be different for women and men in particular situations. Perceived institutional and social barriers rather than motivational ones are responsible for the different achievement behaviors of women and men.

Gender differences in patterns of achievement attribution are certainly not inevitable. First, different patterns can be learned. Second, the gender differences are not apparent in all cultural and ethnic groups. Third, the differences are apparently affected by a variety of factors, are often small in magnitude, and are not always found. Yet even small differences can translate into major consequences if they mean, for instance, that girls are more likely than boys wish to withdrawal from achievement situations. A serious of apparently minor decisions to avoid challenging tasks (e.g., taking no more mathematics courses, avoiding

“advanced” classes) can snowball by the end of adolescence into a situation in which the individual’s life choices have been considerably narrowed.

B. The Power Motive

Early research was conducted on male subjects, but when female subjects were eventually studied, it was found that the two gender groups did not differ in their power motive scores under neutral conditions. Also, both women and men responded with increased power motivation scores to power-arousing procedures (Winter & Stewart, 1978). For both women and men, a high need for power is associated with acquiring formal institutionalized power through leadership roles or offices, and with choosing careers that involve having direct, legitimate interpersonal power over others (Winter & Stewart, 1978). Once again, then, it appears that the difference in men’s and women’s ascendance to positions of prestige and influence can not be attributed to gender differences in motivational variables.

5.2.1.4 Intellectual Ability

Many psychologists and educators of the early-20th-century held firmly to the belief that men as a group, were more variable than women—that men were more likely than women to be found at the high and low extremes of intelligence. Men were more likely than women to be geniuses; they were also more likely to be mentally subnormal. Women, on the other hand, were most likely to be average intelligence.

The belief in greater male variability was congenial to those who were interested in maintaining the status quo between the sexes. In the first place, the greater variability claimed for the male sex was considered a positive quality—a progressive force in the evolution of the human species. Greater variability was one more plank in the platform of male superiority, as was the idea that the greater male variability meant most geniuses would be male. It was an idea that provided ammunition to those who wished to exclude women from graduate and professional schools and to channel educated women into low-paying, low-status jobs.

Social-environmental factors clearly overshadow ability differences between women and men in determining achievement in various fields. One way to get a feel for this is to examine the distribution of prestigious awards such as the Nobel Prizes in science and in literature. Males have dominated these awards in the areas of science, in which women have won only 11 of the total number of prizes in physics, chemistry, and physiology and medicine since the awards began in 1901- a male-to-female ratio greater than 41 to 1. Some might argue that this distribution reflects male superiority in quantitative and spatial abilities, but these ability differences are far less dramatic than the ratios of male to female prize winners. However, in literature—a field based on verbal abilities, which are not claimed to be superior in men-women have won only 7 of the Nobel Prizes awarded over the century—a ratio greater than 12 to 1 in favor of men (Lips, 1996). Men’s domination of both sets of awards is so striking that it is impossible to attribute it only to gender differences in cognitive abilities-particularly since, in the case of literature, there is no indication at all of superior male ability.

5.2.2 Situational Determinants

5.2.2.1 Family Responsibilities and Multiple Roles

No serious examination of gender related issues in the work place can ignore the fact that when women and men leave the workplace and head for home, they are faced with different amounts and kinds of responsibilities.

A. Women’s Multiple Roles

Certain ascribed statuses—sex status and ethnic status, for example—are central in controlling the choices of most individuals. The status of “woman” is one such dominant and often salient status. For a woman, sex status is primary and pivotal and it inevitably determines much of the course of her life, especially because of rigid cultural definitions which limit the range of other statuses she may acquire.

In addition to her sex status of female, the woman’s other statuses are usually linked closely; she is a wife and a mother, a daughter and perhaps a sister; although she may become a

physician or engineer, this is not likely. If she does acquire a professional status then it is likely that her sex status will become salient in the professional context, and her professional status may become salient in her family life. Around each of the female associated statuses a woman acquires revolves a complex network of roles that is likely to prove a formidable problem to the woman seeking to acquire or maintain a professional status (see Tables 4.13, 4.14 and 4.15).

B. Family Responsibilities

Most women, including those with careers, are also wives and mothers. Those who leave jobs or interrupt careers in order to assume primary responsibility for child care run the risk of having to start all over again when they return to the world of paid employment, since there is no legal protection against loss of job or job status. The woman who drops out of the work force for parenthood will more than likely lose her place. When she returns she may be told by prospective employers that her skills and knowledge are no longer up to date and that there are more experienced persons competing for the job, and she may have to the low pay and status of an entry-level position.

Women who work outside the home tend to work inside of it almost as much, in terms of chores done, as women who are full-time home makers. An employed woman who is also a wife and mother remains primarily responsible for the good health, comfort, cleanliness, and happiness of her husband and children. Regardless of her type of employment—blue-collar, white-collar, managerial, or professional—the average woman with children tries to find ways to accommodate her schedule to the needs of her family.

5.3 Social—Structural Factors

5.3.1 Historical Factors

To understand the position of working women today, or on professional and managerial women in particular, we need to understand how their present-day experiences have been shaped by historical factors.

5.3.1.1 Traditional Sex Roles

Traditional sex roles, as the term is commonly used, emphasize the differences rather than the similarities between women and men. These differences are typically assumed to be innate. Traditional sex roles also suggest that women should behave in a “feminine” manner, in accordance with their presumed feminine attributes, and that men should behave in a “masculine” manner, in accordance with their presumed masculine attributes (see Table 4.14 for some examples). To deviate from these prescriptions, according to traditional thinking, is to engage in abnormal behavior. These sex roles have had a profound impact on relations between women and men in our society in all spheres of life—in the family, the educational system, and the workplace; and in both professional and managerial ranks within the work place.

Evolutionary theories (functionalism and sociobiology) propose an evolutionary framework to explain differences between human females and males, arguing that observed differences between the sexes have a genetic basis and have arisen through adaptation. However, the evidence accumulated by anthropologists suggests that no one pattern of sex roles prevails across all societies. If sex roles are dictated by the lessons of evolution, different lessons have been learned by different societies. Therefore, it is unlikely that our “traditional” conceptions of sex roles are the result of principles of evolution at work.

In addition, the dissolution of the division of labor by sex as well as the establishment of a gender-friendly culture by the “Awra-Amba” society in Ethiopia would have provided a disproof to such evolutionary theory (assumption). Thus, power and status differences between women and men and the division of labor by sex are important factors in maintaining gender differences in behavior, though there is less agreement on the factors determining women’s relative position.

5.3.1.2 Women’s Double Day

Inequality in the labor force is closely linked to women’s double day. Because women’s second shift at home is extremely costly in time and energy, men’s employment, not hindered by responsibilities at home, becomes proportionally more important and rewarded. The wage gap thus obtained then guarantees men’s commitment to work and

discourages women's. Because men will earn on the average more than women will, a family's prospects will be improved when the man devotes his time and energy to paid employment. Therefore, the division of labor in the home is in part structured by the workplace. Labor force segregation, the wage gap, and employer expectations and policies promote the notion that housework and family are women's responsibilities, not men's. Once this is established, children grow up expecting this pattern to be repeated for them. This further re-creates a gendered division of labor in the home and perpetuates women's economic dependence on men.

5.3.2 Political and Economic Barriers

A common retort to advocates of equality between the sexes is, "If women are as men, why are there so few great women scientists or managers? Where are the eminent women novelists, philosophers, economists, lawyers, engineers, politicians?" Writer Virginia Woolf would have provided a swift and decisive answer to such questions. In her haunting essay, *A Room of One's Own* (1929), she describes the obstacles of prejudice and economic hardship that beset women would-be writers until the 20th century.

Woolf is only one of many individuals who have argued persuasively that women's invisibility relative to men in terms of recognized achievements is due not to a lack of talent, but to barriers imposed by discrimination and other external factors.

Although women have made considerable progress in gaining access to the labor force in recent years, they have been relegated mainly to traditionally feminine occupations or to the lower ranks of male-dominated occupations.

An understanding of the large gender gap in positions of eminence, prestige, and influence requires that we examine the psychological and social issues surrounding power and achievement. Females and males are socialized differently with respect to achievement, that males are often automatically accorded more status than females, and that women and men frequently differ in their access to the resources on which power is based.

5.3.2.1 Differential Access to Resources

Power and achievement merge to some extent in to a single concept when power is conceptualized as the ability to get things done (Goodchilds, 1979). The exercise of power depends on access to certain types of resources: the capacity to reward or punish others, credentials of expertise, legitimacy of authority or position, being identified with or liked by others, and information (see Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000 for the overview of this literature). Within these categories fall such specific resources as money, education, employment, physical health and strength, status, legal rights, and time. Individuals differ widely in their access to resources, but the group differences between women and men are consistent. In almost every category of resource, men have more access and control than women do. In addition, when women try to increase their access to these resources, their efforts are often regarded as illegitimate because they are violating established norms. In Ethiopia, although women constituted about one-third of the labor force (in the civil service) in 2004, they were clustered in low-status jobs with little chance for advancement. Women also do considerably more unpaid household labor than men do, a situation that puts women at a disadvantage with respect to the precious personal resources of time and energy to accomplish other things (e.g., professional and managerial studies and advancements). Women are much more likely than men are to live below the poverty line (this is due to the growing problem of women's poverty—"The feminization of poverty").

Females' and males' access to schools is about equal in theory (policy); however, from a practical perspective, the situation with respect to education is less egalitarian. There are more illiterate women than men in every part of Ethiopia and in every sector of our economy (FCSC, 2005; CSA, 2007; MOE, 2007). These statistics could go on for pages, but the ones already listed make the point: Men as a group have more access than women do to the resources on which power is based. Yet women who complain about these inequities are still frequently treated as if they are being unreasonable, and those who have pioneered women's entry in to the many arenas that have been closed to them have been, at every stage, the subject of disapproval and ridicule. Sometimes this disapproval has come, and continues to come, from other women. For instance, in our country, many individuals, both men and women, see no inherent problem in gender inequality. They believe that it represents the

natural order of the world and the most efficient division of labor for society in general and within the family in particular: Men should work, provide for their families, and keep matters outside of the home running smoothly, while women should keep matters within the home running smoothly.

5.3.2.2 Differential Access to Power

As we have seen in the above, women seem outlandishly unequal to men with regard to rewards—e.g., power, privilege, prestige, wealth, and income. Power is one of the two primary divisions in social and economic life decided on the basis of sex; the division of labor is the other. Any analysis of women's situations and conclusions is grounded in the assumption of power's asymmetrical division.

Power comes in many forms, and women and men may tend to use it differently. Men hold more of the concrete resources, such as wealth, than women do. Thus, men have more opportunities than women to wield power that involves threats or rewards based on these resources and to wield that power openly and directly. Women, on the other hand, may often find themselves in positions where the only way they can exert influence is through subtle manipulation or an appeal to personal, relationship-based resources. However, there is not necessarily any built-in gender difference in styles of influence. Rather, the difference is a result of a social structure that awards men higher status and stereotypes them as more competent than women.

A. Differential Access to Political Power

Patriarchy in Ethiopia is seen in the unequal distribution and use of power in government, community and the family. Society is ruled by decisions made and executed solely or preponderantly by men at all levels. Various studies establish the same for the family.

For some people, the word power is synonymous with politics. However, power is located “everywhere” as Michel Foucault (1989), as cited in Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000, pointed out, in all aspects of the public and private realm. Although its definitions are varied, politics has been defined as the exercise of power or authority, as a process of decision-making, as

the allocation of scarce resources, or as an arena of deception or manipulation, and so on (Panos Ethiopia, 2005).

In a democracy, one of the most basic political behaviors is voting in elections. In most countries, women have had to fight for the right to vote. In Ethiopia, women have had the right to vote since 1955 (through international suffrage). When suffrage for women was new, some women still felt that voting was inappropriate, and women's participation in elections lagged behind men's. In addition, women tended to be less educated than men, and studies show that education is related to political participation. However, the gender differences in voter turnout disappeared years ago, and women's voting rates have increased (or even exceeded those of men) in every national parliamentary elections. Women are also now as active as men in grassroots-level politics ("Kebeles"); both groups do a lot of campaigning and behind-the-scenes work for political parties. At the citizen level, then there is little difference between the political participation levels of women and men. Politics is still seen as a masculine endeavor by many people, however.

At levels of politics above the grassroots level, gender differences are quite dramatic. Women make up only a small percentage of the holders of public office and are less likely than men to be in leadership or elected governmental positions. A power analysis suggests many reasons why women's and men's relatively equal participation in citizen-level politics does not translate in to more equal participation at the higher levels. First, gender ideology and custom still give men more legitimacy than women as leaders, political or otherwise. Women also tend to have less access than men to the power base of expertise (or skills). Third, when women do run for office, they are often hampered by a lack of access to funds, a concrete resource that is now the *sin qua non* of an effective campaign.

B. Power Differences in Institutions

In looking at the larger culture that provides the setting for organizations, it is not difficult to see how the ideology surrounding gender contributes to the maintenance of male dominance of them. Since men have shaped society's institutions, they tend to fit the value structure of such institutions. Thus, for example, the masculine gender role matches certain professional and managerial roles (lawyer, executive, university president) better than the feminine gender

role does. In a pattern that would be comic if it were not so aggravating, women trying to fit their behavior to the requirements of such roles are sometimes accused of acting masculine.

Certain institutions are imbued so strongly with the notion of male dominance that women are barred from even trying to fit into leadership roles. Many religions, for example, are built on the idea of a male god ruling the universe from outside. Such an image serves to legitimize male control of worldly institutions and acts very specifically as a barrier to women's participation in such formal and ceremonial leadership positions as priest, or ayatollah.

5.3.2.3 The Structure of Work and Organizational Barriers

As previously noted, females are influenced in their decisions about work by several factors aside from their own interests and capabilities. First, they are influenced by society's norms about who should or should not work. According to traditional norms, women have been discouraged from entering the workplace. Second, females are influenced by others' expectations of their interests and capabilities. Third, they are influenced by the choices that the market place presents as they consider various occupations. Fourth, they are influenced by the decisions made by organizations about their applications for employment. Let us begin by examining the occupational choices available to females as they contemplate entering the world of work.

A. The Prevalent Sex Segregation in the Work Place

Sex segregation exists when females and males are not similarly distributed across occupations. The extent of sex segregation in the workplace at any time may be measured by a segregation index, as shown in Table 4.10, and 4.11. An index value of zero indicates complete sex integration, whereas an index value of 100 indicates complete sex segregation.

In the Table 4.11, for example, the segregation index value of 31.86 means that 31.86% of the male labor force would have to change occupations for the distribution of males across occupations to match that of females, or vice versa.

We have portrayed a workplace that to a large extent is sex-segregated, generating employment patterns that convey a powerful message to young people as well as adults who are planning to enter or reenter the job market. The message is that although all occupations are theoretically open to all qualified individuals, (a) the lower-paying, less-valued occupations are more appropriate for females; (b) the higher-paying, more-valued occupations are more appropriate for males; and (c) men's work is often rewarded more than women's work for the same job. Furthermore, the anticipation of or experience with labor market discrimination may indirectly influence women's choices via feedback effects.

In summary, when individuals make choices about the occupations in which they would like to work and expect to work, they are likely to be influenced by the distribution of male and female workers across occupations and by their own socialization experiences. The fact that expectations mirror the sex segregation of occupations more than aspirations, particularly for females, shows the constraining nature of these influences. In turn, such aspirations and expectations act to maintain the existing level of sex segregation. Changes in occupational aspirations are to be expected, as the increased labor force participation of women affects the socialization of children. However, aspirations and expectations would have to change considerably for sex differences in them to disappear.

B. Sex Discrimination in the Workplace

There is no doubt that women in male-dominated occupations suffer discrimination from people who feel that their reach exceeds their grasp, and women in female-dominated occupations suffer from association with that which is female, and therefore low in prestige. But the few men who enter the female-dominated occupations—nurses, homeeconomists, and secretaries can sometimes have an even tougher row to hoe. To emulate one's status superiors, as women do when they enter male-dominated occupations, is a forgivable deviation from the norm in an achieving society, but to emulate one's status inferiors, as men do when they enter female-dominated occupations, gives cause for alarm. It appears that even when men do enter female-dominated occupations, the division of labor along sex lines is maintained through the clustering of men in the higher-status, higher-paid segments of these occupations.

C. Devaluation of Women's Competence and Performance

A strong conviction persists that women just can not do certain jobs as well as men (see Tables 4.14 and 4.17). For example, about 62.3 percent of the respondents of this study believed that women are too emotional to take decisions. Moreover, not too long ago a male colleague asked me in all seriousness if I really believed that a woman could handle the responsibilities of a university vice president. That he is the father of daughters who may someday be asked the same question is illustrative of the difficulty we have in overcoming the strong perceptual and cognitive habits that make up our gender stereotypes.

Related research has also found that the success of a woman is likely to be explained by others as due to such unstable factors as luck, effort, or easiness of the task or job. A man's success, on the other hand, is more likely to be attributed to high ability. The reverse is true for explanations of failure; men are said to fail because of bad luck, a difficult task, or low effort, whereas a woman's failure is more likely to be attributed to low ability. In addition, some research has found that competent women are more likely to be judged as having fewer stereotypically "feminine" qualities (that is, to be stronger or harder) than less competent women.

Clearly, women who try to achieve in areas outside the home, particularly in nontraditional fields, begin with a handicap of serious proportions, namely with negatively biased perceptions of their competence for the job. Nevertheless, the objective data that exist on the comparative quality of men's and women's work in various fields suggest that competence varies only with individual characteristics and not with gender. Women who achieve distinction in fields like engineering, science, art, business, or politics have been found to be similar to men who achieve distinction in these fields and different from persons who do not. In addition, I know of no evidence in any field that indicates a gender difference in competence among similarly trained and functioning persons.

D. Sexuality in the Workplace

Feminists have theorized sexuality as both a site of women's domination and a potential resource for resistance, self-definition, and subjectivity (see Bryson, 2003; and Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000 for a review of this literature). Men and women have learned ritualized

ways of relating to one another, often adopting reciprocal gender roles based partially on sexuality, and these roles are not easily shed at the entrance to the workplace. It would be extremely naive to ignore the impact that sexuality can have on our perceptions of and responses to the people with whom we work.

I. Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment has become a problem in every field of the work place. Although both female and male workers can be sexually harassed, females are the most frequent victims. According to the present study, nearly all (93.75 percent) of the interview participants (executive women) mentioned that they had experienced incidents of sexual harassment; and the people doing the harassing are preponderantly males (senior officers, workplace peers, or even subordinates).

II. Organizational Romances

Organizational romances are relationships between women and men working together that are characterized by mutual sexual attraction and made known to others through the participants' actions (Mainiero, 1986; cited in Powell, 1993).

In general, although not posing a legal threat, organizational romances represent concerns involving productivity and morale that are similar to those of sexual harassment. Most individuals have to deal with both the need for intimacy and the need for accomplishment. Because the workplace is a particularly convenient setting for meeting attractive people of the opposite sex, individuals are frequently faced with situations where they have to choose which need, if not both, they will fulfill. While recognizing that romantic relationships pose problems for their organizations, they still have their own needs that may conflict, and must be reconciled, with the needs of the work organization.

E. The Glass Ceiling

The blocking of women's opportunities in the professions and management has come to be known as the "glass ceiling" phenomenon (Fagenson, 1993; Powell, 1993).

As revealed in Table 4.10, civilian women held 21.75 percent of professional and 15.97 percent of executive (appointee) jobs in 2004. On the face of it, it appears that Ethiopian women are gradually reaching parity with men in acquiring the most prestigious jobs in the occupational structure. However, the gross figures in Table 4.10 mask much detail. Most importantly, they do not reveal that men hold the best paying and most influential managerial and professional jobs. As already noted, women held only 11.54 percent of the cabinet ministries in our country (Cabinet of ministries, 2003; quoted in Eshetu, 2005). The gross figures also mask the significant income inequality between men and women even when controls are made for education and type of occupation.

The barrier that prevents most women from attaining the most powerful, the most prestigious, and the highest paying jobs in work organizations has been labeled the “glass ceiling”. The metaphor of “glass” implies that the barrier is invisible; there are no obvious obstacles barring women from these jobs—no advertisements saying “women need not apply” for the company’s (organization’s) highest level positions. Rather, women face organizational cultures that favor men. These cultures often serve to exclude women from the necessary “networking” and “mentoring” that it is required for promotion to the top positions in the organization; they also fail to recognize—and make adjustments for—women’s greater care giving responsibilities.

F. Organizational Culture, Policies, and Practices

I. Organizational Culture

As noted in Chapter 2, how individuals in an organization act, what assumptions govern their actions, and what loyalties hold the organization together are, in large part, determined by organizational culture. Certain elements of organizational culture discriminate against women or have deleterious impacts on women. For instance, one executive woman I interviewed noted that how difficult it was to be part of the male-centered culture there (in that prestigious organization), for deep-rooted assumptions about women’s traditional role were pervasive. Continually confronting these assumptions and behaviors is frustrating and discouraging. Professional women often defy stereotyped traditional gender expectations by their performance in the workplace. However, like this executive, they often still find

themselves outside the “male culture” there. Like this executive, they may not be interested in playing the same “hierarchical games” that men often do. This may sometimes be perceived by male colleagues as lack of motivation or a personal flaw of the female professional, when in truth women many times do not view these as necessary or desirable on-the-job behaviors.

II. Organizational Power

As indicated in the preceding discussion of occupational segregation by sex, even when women’s and men’s access to particular work organizations is nominally, or almost so, women are more likely than men to be relegated to marginal positions within the organization and to wield relatively less power. As organizational sociologist Kanter (1977) has argued that an important correlate of a woman’s achievement, beyond personal characteristics, background factors, or role models, is her location or position in the work structure. According to Kanter, it is more likely that “the job shapes the person” than vice versa, and one’s position within an organization has more relationship to one’s productivity, self-esteem, and competence than socialization or background factors. She studied a large corporation and found that a woman’s success within it depend upon whether she was (a) a lone woman among men, and thus highly visible and vulnerable; (b) able to reward and punish subordinates; and (c) perceived as having such power.

Sometimes it is suggested that men have more of “What it takes” to hold leadership positions than women do. However, the reasons for the gender differences in organizational power are more complex than that. They are built in to the structure of the organizations themselves, and into the social context in which these organizations exist. For example, the present survey reveals that most respondents agree with the proposition that “the practices and policies of an organization often encourage sex segregation,” as well as that “women’s underrepresentation in professional and managerial positions results from exclusionary practices that reflect discriminatory attitudes” (see Table 4.6).

III. Mentoring

Many work organizations give recognition to mentors for helping to nurture young talent. The impacts of mentoring on career success are real and well documented (for a review of this research, see Powell, 1993; Fagenson, 1993). Unfortunately, women in many organizations find themselves on the outside of this system also, with no recourse to combat their outsider status. A fundamental principle of sociology is that likes are attracted to likes: individuals of the same social backgrounds who have had similar experiences are more likely to form and sustain relationships than individuals from differing social backgrounds with differing experiences. Thus, males—who predominate in senior management—are more likely to feel comfortable around males. In sum, women are less likely than men to find mentors, which in part accounts for the glass ceiling many women hit in the corporate world.

Women denied mentorship are unprepared for many aspects of their working environment. In general, the lack of mentorship and the denial of access to a network of important connections has historically left many female professionals in a bind. While men had networks of their counterparts to whom they could turn with questions or use for important connections, women more commonly have lacked this support. Since there were so few women in the ranks of professional workers, they were often left to fend for themselves.

IV. Tokenism

Women and men in occupations for their sex often find themselves holding token positions—positions in which they are treated as symbols or representatives of their sex.

The special treatment that tokens receive in skewed groups is detrimental to their performance in several ways. First, because they are highly visible, tokens face additional performance pressures. Second, the differences between tokens and dominants tend to be exaggerated. Third, the characteristics of tokens are often distorted or misperceived because of the dominants' tendency to stereotype them.

VI. Positionality

Even in companies with more than token representation, where a woman is structurally placed in the hierarchy of an organization or profession has profound consequences for her present and future performance and her promotion possibilities (see Kanter, 1977).

Women may have less power in organizations even as “managers,” or “professionals,” due to the fact that they are more likely to work in departments that do not have as much power as the male-dominated occupations: A woman who is offered the highest ranking position in the lowest-ranking department is not likely to be on her way to the top of the company. Such problems are quite tangible (evident) in women’s machineries in Ethiopia. As noted before, power and status within organizational structure is most frequently determined in terms of control over resources. Nevertheless, there is a consensus that all women’s machineries (that is, Women’s Affairs Departments/Bureaus/ or Ministry) are severely under funded, with participation in their organization’s budgetary planning marginal, if present at all. Besides administrative problems, there are more fundamental political and ideological reasons for the severe budgeting constraints so widely experienced.

5.3.3 The Legal Context

The legal context is one of the critical structural influence on gender inequality. Law, both customary and statutory, legitimizes the ruling norms and beliefs of a society (Eshetu, 2005). For example, in the 1960 Civil Code of Ethiopia, there were a number of direct outcomes of the unequal legal positioning of the wife and the husband. For instance, the Code states that the wife owes to her husband obedience while the latter was given the power to discipline his wife (Article 635). It also stipulates that when the husband is unable to hire a servant the wife is obliged to accomplish house making (Article 646).

In recent years, we have seen an escalation of efforts, international in scope, to achieve equal rights under the law for women and men. A major push has been made toward the adoption by all countries of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. This convention includes, among other things, the assurance that women and men will be equal before the law, including laws governing property and

contracts, have equal rights to family benefits and bank credit, have the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and its dissolution, and have equal pay for work of equal value. At this writing, more than 100 countries, including Ethiopia but not including the United States, have ratified this convention. Moreover, the 1995 Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has indicated all the laws prejudicial to women in toto. Instead it has recognized their equal rights with men and incorporated in its provisions the principle of “affirmative action” for them. But it has also recognized religious and customary laws.

A. Protective Legislation

In the not too distant past, it was considered perfectly acceptable to pay females less than males for the same work. Anyone arguing against the unfairness of such a system was told that supporting a family was the primary responsibility of the man of the house, and that even single men must prepare financially for that responsibility.

Protective legislation had a dual advantage for men: it drove women out of certain occupations, while it gained reduced hours for men in those occupations in which women remained. Protective legislation not only contributed to sex segregation of occupations, but also served to reduce women’s wages compared to men’s. The crowding of women into a limited number of occupations creates an oversupply of employees for a small number of opportunities, and this in turn reduces wages in these female-typed jobs.

B. Domestic-Relations Laws and Other Legislation

Beyond protective labor-legislation laws, domestic-relations laws also reinforce women’s traditional role and perpetuate sex segregation in employment. Perhaps the most fundamental of these domestic-relations laws is the marriage contract.

In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as quoted by Bryson (2003), foresaw the subtle ways in which the marriage contract could undermine women’s rights by perpetuating and reinforcing the existing inequalities between men and women. The marriage contract, as interpreted by the courts, clearly gives higher status to men.

Until the recent decade, the marriage contract and other domestic-relations laws (for example, those concerning maternity-leave policies and benefits) have reinforced and perpetuated “women’s place at home” and “men’s place at work”. This legislation also made it more difficult to counteract employers’ attitudes concerning the ability of women workers.

C. Sex Discrimination and Equal Opportunity

The Equal Pay Act and the equal employment-opportunity laws and regulations nullified the protective labor laws and provided a different legal environment one that legally prohibited overt sex discrimination.

I. The Equal Pay Act

It stipulates that men and women must receive equal pay on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions. Differences in pay rates are allowed only in relation to a nondiscriminatory seniority system, a merit system, or a system that measures earnings by quality or quantity of production, as well as a differential based on any factor other than sex.

The Act’s major objective was to help women who were doing work substantially equal to that done by men but who were being paid less for it-and in this it has been a success. However, the Act did not address the more pervasive discrimination affecting women whose work, though different from work performed by men, is perceived to be of equal value-the issue of “comparable worth”.

II. Comparable Worth

As we have already seen, the Ethiopian occupational structure is highly segregated by sex, and those jobs women are most likely to hold generally pay less than those jobs men are most likely to hold. Pay differences between the sexes for the same job have been illegal since the Equal Pay Act. Although such different-pay policies no longer exist with regard to specific jobs, they still exist with regard to broad categories of jobs, and proponents of gender equality have long fought for the enactment of “comparable worth” laws that would grant equal pay for broad categories of jobs when it can be shown that the skill, responsibilities, effort, risk, and economic contribution levels to the company are essentially the same. In

short, the doctrine of comparable worth challenges the dual occupational and wage structure of “male” and “female” jobs. However, work organizations have not been overly energetic in their support of comparable worth proposals.

III. Affirmative Action

Beginning in the mid-1990s the legal context began a gradual shift from prohibition of discrimination to affirmative-action laws. Employers were required to seek out and give preference to women and minorities for those occupations in which they were underrepresented, even if male candidates appeared to have better credentials. This practice, of course, invites charges of “reverse discrimination.”

Many critics of affirmative action feel that women and minorities ought not to be hired under affirmative-action policies because they would thus end up in positions for which they are not qualified. These critics, in accordance with their assumption that the causes of inequality lie within the individual, suggest that women and minorities instead need to become better prepared for jobs.

5.3.4 Other Societal Influences

5.3.4.1 Socialization: The Influences of Family, School,

Peers, the Media, and Role Models

In this sub topic, we will examine the ways in which socialization for gender roles ultimately generates inequalities between the sexes in income, prestige, or power, and life chances in general.

A. Agents of Socialization

Taken together, biologic and cross-cultural anthropological research demonstrate that gender roles are malleable and that there are no inherent or universal reasons why current social and economic arrangements should involve so much gender inequality (for example, see Sandy, 1981; Kessler and McKenn, 1985). Indeed, such research make it clear that the fountainhead of gender role expectations is socialization. This is the process of learning how to think about and act in particular situations and particular social roles. By way of gender

socialization, individuals learn what males are supposed to do and what females are supposed to do. Such socialization is entwined with almost every aspect of society, but five domains in which it occurs are especially important: the family, the educational system, peer groups, the media, and role models.

I. The Family

An individual's first gender socialization experiences happen at home. Parents transmit gender information both directly (e.g., "big boys don't cry") and indirectly by way of the toys they buy and the activities they encourage their children to pursue. Such transmission may sometimes be unintentional (e.g., encouraging nurturance in girls to a far greater degree than in boys) (see Lott, 1987; Giddens, 2001, for reviews of some of this literature).

The effects of gender socialization in the family are cumulative. Gender-role expectations and stereotypes increase with age, and within the home many—if not most—children learn that boys and girls, men and women, differ in the levels of independence, aggression, activity, strength, fearlessness, dominance, obedience, expressiveness, concern with physical appearance, nurturance, intellectual ability, and mechanical competence. Moreover, even though race, ethnicity, and social class can influence gender socialization, such influence is often relatively minor (see Lott, 1987; Giddens, 2001, for detail of this issue). In other words, children from a wide variety of social and economic backgrounds develop many of the same gender stereotypes.

In summary, in their creation of household environments and in their encouragement or assignment of activities, parents contribute to the arousal of different interests and development of different abilities in their daughters and sons. In so doing, they both convey and reinforce the message that girls and boys are different.

The family is also the locus for decisions as to where and how children will be educated, and schooling had enormous consequences for gender socialization.

II. The Educational System

What parents teach their children and what children read, see, and learn from adults, one another, and the media, is also what teachers typically model in the schools and reinforce in the behavior of the children in their classes. If we look at the jobs done by women and men in the school system, we see that as in books and on television, men typically have more power and authority, and higher status (see Kenaw, 2006).

Prior to the early-1990s, virtually all aspects of the curriculum and of extracurricular activities reinforced traditional gender roles. Textbooks and readers showed males in many occupations and females mainly as house wives and mothers. Sentences referring to both sexes used the male pronoun almost exclusively. Both fiction and nonfiction tended to focus on male characters and their exploits; females were usually depicted in supportive and ancillary roles. Boys were encouraged (or required) to take metal-and wood-working shop; technical-vocational education prepared them to work as carpenters, plumbers, mechanics, auto-body repairmen, and in other skilled trades. Girls were encouraged (or required) to take courses in home-economics; those not headed for college were trained to take dictation, to write in shorthand, and to do filing and typing. Guidance counselors encouraged girls to pursue traditional female occupations (typist, secretary, elementary school teacher, nurse) and boys to pursue traditional male occupations (mechanic, engineer, lawyer, white collar office worker). Girls' sports were treated as much less important than boys'.

Although blatant sex-typing in schools has been reduced sharply in recent years, the subtler forms of socialization pressures remain. These originate from the attitudes and behaviors of the teachers themselves. Teachers act as feeling differently toward girls and boys or treating them differently. However, classroom observations at all grade levels reveal considerable differences in both male and female teachers' interactions with students. In general, boys receive more attention, encouragement, and "air time" than girls. In addition, several studies have found that teachers have lower expectations for the academic performance of females than males. Accordingly, almost all of the survey respondents agreed that in our culture, females are valued more for their appearance and good behavior than for their competence

and intellectual skill (see Table 4.6). In so doing, teachers have a significant effect on what girls and boys think of themselves, and on what they learn about how to function in society.

III. Peer Groups

Child and adolescent peer groups are powerful agents of socialization. Even though there are many cross-gender activities and many cross-gender groups, peers from the earliest ages (2 or 3) on through high school tend to congregate in same-sex groups and to engage in gender-appropriate behavior (see Lott, 1987).

Studies of single-sex schools have revealed that one of the reasons for their success is their de-emphasizing youth cultures and the kinds of peer pressures involved there in. Such cultures are imbued with traditional gender stereotypes—boys are to be athletic, tough, and not overly expressive; girls are to be beauty-oriented and demure. For both sexes, to be “cool” is to be physically attractive and heterosexually popular. Youth cultures generally yield more favorable results for males in the long run (see also Lott, 1987). With the greater emphasis on sports for males and “looks” for females, the message being sent is that a woman’s status is determined by her appearance, a man’s by his accomplishment.

IV. The Media

Images of gender in the mass media—newspapers, magazines, television and the motion pictures—partly reflect the relationships and behavior of males and females in the dominant society. However, the media also act as an agent of gender socialization that can shape our expectations and perceptions. Very often the media reinforce traditional gender stereotypes (e.g., men as aggressive, active, problem-solvers versus women as passive and more interested in relationships than in work, politics, and power) or overemphasize certain aspects of them to the point of distortion (e.g., promoting the notion that many men use their fists and guns on a daily basis to solve problems, which makes women love these men a lot more than they otherwise would) (see Kenaw, 2006).

Studies of peer interactions reveal that females learn to act in ways that suggest they are less powerful and more vulnerable than males. Females learn that to get along with males they must be willing to accept interruptions and to defer to male decisions on the choice and

character of conversations (see Lott, 1987; Bem, 1993; Giddens, 2001). They also learn that to be successful in heterosexual interactions their body language must send out signals that they are demure: they should not sit with their legs wide apart; they should not recline with their hands behind their head and elbows thrusting outward; during conversation, they should smile often, tilt their heads, be attentive looking, avert their gazes, and nod their heads often. In the words of social psychologists, to be successful in social interaction, a female must learn “to be passive, accommodating, affiliative, subordinate, submissive, and vulnerable.” These traits are exactly opposite to those encouraged in males, those that produce success in the professional and managerial world—that is, being active, dominant, aggressive, confident, competent, and tough.

Magazine advertising has conveyed similar messages. Until recently, ads rarely showed women in working roles and never showed them as executives or professionals. Several stereotypes of women’s roles occurred regularly: (i) women’s place as in the home; (ii) women as not making important decisions; (iii) women as dependent and in need of men’s protection; and (iv) men regarding women as sex objects, not as people. Women most often were portrayed as happy and diligent homemakers, beautiful and dependent social companions, or most concerned with being blond, thin, or having other physical characteristics they did not possess. Figure 4.2 displays four photographs starkly illustrating traditional sex roles that we have learned to expect from males versus females.

Other forms of mass media (such as songs, novels, theatres, and other arts) also perpetuate gender stereotyping to a greater degree. Males are shown in wide variety of roles, and as leaders, heroes, and critical thinkers and superiors. By contrast, females are depicted as “sweet young things” (whether shown in the work world or not) or as sex objects, or as housewives and mothers.

Critical observation (analyses) of few advertisements, editorials, local songs, and stories in the newspapers, novels and magazines reveal the themes of getting and keeping a man and making oneself beautiful are still dominant; moreover, women’s achievement in the work world is “often presented as being dependent on physical attractiveness, e.g., ‘dressing for success,’ applying the right make-up, or fixing one’s hair a particular way”. Besides, despite

women being shown in recent years as working outside of the home and doing nontraditional jobs (e.g., police officer), they are portrayed much more often than men as submissive and unsuccessful. When they are successful, they become so at the risk of being failures with men and in their domestic levels. Stories involving women very often include descriptions of their physical appearance and family status. Females demonstrate household or cosmetic products in advertisements, depicted as sex objects in local music (e.g., “Sewnetua”, “Wubetua”, and “Yefikir Nigist”), and represent submissive and supportive or nurturing characters in theatres.

There is sufficient evidence that the mass media, especially advertisement and motion pictures, portray females and males in more stereotypical roles now than in the past. Women’s bodies are continually reshaped, covered, and uncovered according to prevailing ideology through fashion, corsets, diets, exercise programs, or veiling, among other things. They are displayed in art, film, advertising, and even pornography.

Overall, the central theme of Ethiopian art/mass media is a nurturant, beautiful, and subordinate female figure; or a proud war hero, physically strong, and dominant male figure.

V. Role Models

The socialization that begins in infancy to mold females to cultural images continues through childhood and adolescence in to adult life. One of the agencies of socialization is, of course, the presence of adequate role models, those who provide examples for a young person to follow.

Sociologists have long recognized that much social learning occurs via role models. And despite the huge increase in women’s labor force participation, the role models in many families support traditional gender stereotypes. In particular, regardless of the work status of their mothers, many children see household chores still predominantly done by their mothers. Children are also likely to witness power imbalances in the interactions between their fathers and mothers.

The lack of motivational models for the female, either in life or in fiction, has become a matter of concern to educators, some of whom have begun to translate the need into proposals for action. For instance, Lott (1987:223) has stated: “When we do not see others like ourselves occupying certain positions or visibly achieving in particular occupations or careers, we are not encouraged to feel that it is suitable or advisable to train for and aspire to them.” Role models for boys and men are found in large areas of human endeavor, covering the spectrum from brawn to brains, from the active to the sedentary, the risky to the safe, and the routine to the creative. But girls who look outside the home for the presence of women find them primarily in a relatively small number of fields that do not offer much in the way of personal growth or advancement, and see only a small minority in non traditional fields and high-status jobs. And among the latter, women are largely absent from positions of great corporate and political power. While some women have, in recent years, moved in to important decision-making positions, recognition of this has been slow and hampered by continued portray of stereotypes in media advertisements.

Similarly, the importance of role models and the deleterious effect of their absence on the motivation of young women toward professional or managerial career was stressed by interviewees. Thus, although there are some women who do achieve a successful combination of role and serve as models for the young, few positive examples exist in Ethiopian society, and role models remain a limited agent of socialization for Ethiopia’s young women.

B. Consequences of Gender Socialization for Career Choices

Gender socialization in each of these domains—the education system, the family, the peer group, the media, and the religion—undoubtedly strongly influences choice of career. Most of the survey respondents (78.69%), for instance, agreed that socialization plays a significant part in packing women into relatively low-paying and low status jobs. Here we focus on the effects of such socialization in the schools.

As we have already noted, one reason why schools have historically been so important in creation and maintenance of gender roles is sex-based curriculum tracking. Boys not oriented toward college either were placed in or encouraged to take courses that would

prepare them for blue-collar jobs; girls either were placed in or encouraged to take courses that would prepare them to be typists, receptionists, file clerks, cashiers, or sales workers. Blue-collar occupations, which are and always have been predominantly male, traditionally and presently pay considerably better wages than low-level office and retail work. Moreover, despite the manifold changes in Ethiopia schools over the past one decade that was intended to equalize opportunities for the sexes, we still find males more likely than females to be taking “trade and industrial” vocational-education courses (MOE, 2007; Table 4.8).

Now if females are more likely to be enrolled in college preparatory programs in high school, are more likely to go on to college, and are more likely to graduate from college, why then is there a wide discrepancy between the incomes of men and women? Put differently, why do women appear to be getting less monetary/prestige return on their investments in education?

Part of the answer rests in the types of education men and women pursue, both at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. At the undergraduate level (see MOE, 2007), women are significantly more likely than men to major in traditional “female” fields of study (elementary education, nursing, and Ethiopian language) — all of which lead to careers that pay substantially less than careers arising from those majors men are significantly more likely to choose (business, computer science, engineering, the physical sciences, medicine, dentistry, and law). Moreover, just as at the undergraduate level, women are more likely to be enrolled in graduate programs that will put them in careers that pay less (see MOE, 2007).

Why women are less likely to go into the professions, engineering, and the hard sciences undoubtedly is related to the socialization influences that occur in the contexts of high school, the family, peer groups, and the media. And when looking at postgraduate programs (the Ph.D. and professional degrees), we can include the additional factor of women being more likely to be married and more likely to be involved in the care of their young children—there by determining them from enrolling and completing degrees in these programs.

5.3.4.2 Myths and Gender Stereotypes

This main section focuses on the cultural perceptions of femininity and masculinity and on the ways that theory and research in social sciences (especially in sociology and psychology) have been influenced by and have affected (perpetuated) these stereotypes.

A. Traditional Attitudes about Women and Men

People have also strong beliefs about whether there are fundamental differences between the capabilities of females and males. In fact, some gender differences represent beliefs that have been stable over time and held by a large proportion of the population. In particular, men have been believed to be high in “masculine” traits such as independence, aggressiveness, competence, and dominance, and women have been believed to be high in “feminine” traits such as gentleness, sensitivity to the feelings of others, and tactfulness (see Table 4.14; Lott, 1987).

B. Science, Androcentrism, and Misogyny

There is much to suggest that science has served as a source of justification for the status quo with respect to women and men, that its theories have been shaped by misogyny (hatred of women) and have been instrumental in promoting and maintaining male dominance over women, that it has been for most of history a male-centered institution (see Witz, 1992; Bem, 1993; Harding, 1986 and Minnich, 1989, cited in Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000). Science has influenced women’s lives without allowing women a voice in the process; its findings have often ignored or distorted women’s experience. The science of psychology specifically has been accused of furnishing support for stereotypic beliefs about women and men—beliefs that, in turn, supported patriarchal ideology and political, legal, and economic inequalities between the sexes (Bem, 1993).

In general, the whole scientific enterprise—its accepted way of doing things, its values, its areas of focus—have been shaped by generations of mostly masculine input, and that its rewards are still reserved mainly for men. In addition, women have been excluded from sites of knowledge production—education, government, the church, arts, and the professions—and they have been omitted from the knowledge produced as well as denied the authority as

knowers (see Witz, 1992; King, 1993; Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000, for the review of this literature).

C. Gender Stereotypes and Social Theory

As reviewed in Chapter 2, theoretical assumptions have a profound impact on popular and scientific thinking about the differences between women and men. Conversely, scientific theories about sex and gender have also gained and lost favor in conjunction with popular attitudes about women and men. Thus, in formulating our questions about women's working conditions and in pondering solutions to such pressing issues as the gender gap in earnings, the continued pervasiveness of sex segregation at work, the lack of adequate childcare for working parents, and the growing feminization of poverty across the globe, we need to be vigilant with respect to the assumptions or models we hold up as windows through which we view women and work. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that the study of women and work has a political dimension.

The history of the study of sex and gender provides many examples of a problem that always besets the scientific process: Theories that fit well with the accepted assumptions at a particular time and place tend to receive a lot of attention and generate research, while those that seem to be at odds with accepted notions are frequently ignored. Thus, for example, the basic cultural notion that men were intellectually superior to women was frequently accepted as a given by psychologists, who then set out to construct theories to explain why this was so.

Before anyone had ever heard of psychology, theories about gender were being offered by the early philosophers. Within these early theories lies an idea that influenced psychologists for years afterward: woman as incomplete man.

The idea of equality between the sexes can be found in the early writings of the Greek philosopher Plato, who described women and men as having the same nature and worth and deserving the same education and legal treatment. This idea fades out in his later writings, however, in which female weakness and inferiority are used as justification for assigning different social roles to men and women. Later, in the writings of Aristotle, the idea of feminine inferiority and "incompleteness" was developed in detail. Aristotle claimed that the

female state was an “ordinary” deformity and that a woman was, in some respects, a defective man. Female inferiority lay in the fact that women supposedly had less “soul heat” than men, and so could not process their menstrual blood to what he deemed the “final stage,” semen. Women’s inability to produce semen meant that, in the process of conception, they could contribute nothing but formative material to the embryo, and made no genetic contribution to its distinctive character (Bem, 1993).

The Aristotelian notion that women were inferior because of a shortage of intrinsic heat received a later expression in the work of Juan Huarte, a 16th-century Spanish writer expounding on individual intellectual differences. He argued that the testicles were responsible for maintaining the “heat and dryness” characteristic of the male principle. Since “dryness of spirit” was necessary for intelligence, and since the testicles maintained this quality, obviously men, who had testicles, were more intelligent than women, who did not (Shields, 1975).

Theories that viewed women as lesser beings than men—because of their inability to produce enough heat to process body fluids into semen—did not view women as opposites to men. Women and men were thought to be similar, but differently developed. In fact, proponents of these theories often argued that women and men had similar bodies: There were many early medical references, for instance, to the male uterus, to female testicles, and to the “fact” that the female reproductive organs were the same as the male’s only “inside out,” with the scrotum equivalent to the uterus, the penis to the cervix and vagina (Laqueur, 1990).

The “woman as defective man” motif affected theories of gender, inside and outside the field of psychology, for centuries, appearing in the writings of men from Thomas Aquinas to Sigmund Freud (Beauvoir, 1952). The strength of the idea is not surprising, given that these theorists, encountering women mainly in subordinate positions, developed their theories to explain and justify what seemed to them a natural and inevitable situation. However, by the 19th century, the hierarchical approach to male-female differences had been supplanted to some extent by the “opposites” approach, an approach that treated the two sexes as irreconcilably different. Echoes of both approaches can be found in psychological theories of gender. As briefly seen in the above, perspectives on gender differences have shifted

dramatically over the centuries between a hierarchical one that looks at women and men as essentially similar though differently developed, and one that looks on the sexes as opposites. Missing, of course, is a perspective that views women and men as very similar and equally well developed.

D. Gender Stereotypes and Social Research

The myth that women and men are simply “doing what comes naturally” when they behave according to accepted gender roles has even influenced the researchers who have studied male-female differences, and vice versa as seen in the following sub sections.

I. Gender Stereotypes and the Research Process

The history of psychology shows that it has indeed been far too easy to frame research questions and to interpret findings in ways that were consistent with gender stereotypes. For instance, countless studies of achievement motivation were carried out on boys and men before anyone thought of seriously studying it in women. But perhaps the most clear-cut example of the biasing effects of gender stereotypes on the research process can be found in the history of psychology’s attempts to measure femininity and masculinity.

The field of psychology, along with the large culture, has held historically to the implicit assumption that adherence to gender stereotypes is normal and desirable: that women should be feminine and men masculine. This assumption has shaped psychological conceptions of masculinity-femininity and attempts to measure it. In particular, it has, until recently, trapped psychologists in the idea that masculinity and femininity must be thought of as the opposing poles of a single dimension. According to this tradition, by definition, a low masculinity score automatically meant high femininity, and vice versa.

II. Dualistic Distinctions: Nature /Culture and Body/ Mind

There are dangers in the pat acceptance of either an extreme “nature” or an extreme “nurture” view. However, “man” is considered to separate from and destined to dominate the natural world. Interestingly, the term man rather than humanity is probably the more accurate term in this context, both because nature is characterized as feminine (e.g., Mother Nature) and because women have historically been excluded from participation in science. Even in the

social sciences, where the main focus of study is not some aspect of nature distinct from the human species but human behavior itself, women have often been treated as somehow separate from the mainstream of human activity, deviants from the male norm.

Moreover, in Western thought (which has been influenced our social system or decided our development model), bodies have historically been distinct from minds; the mind is privileged and the province of men/ rational beings, where as bodies are denigrated and associated with woman. Because women have been linked with the material world through their bodies, they have become objects, property, and valuable for their exchangeability among men. Because they have been identified through their bodies with nature, they have become in Judeo-Christian discourse part of that over which “man” has dominion (see Ortner, 1974, in Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000). Because of the construction of their genitalia, their lack of a penis or phallus, psychology after Freud has viewed women as inferior to men in their mental and moral development. Because of their reproductive capacities, their pregnant bodies and monthly cycles, culture marks women as mysterious, taboo, or dangerous, thus societies assign them to the private sphere, denying them access to education, training, employment, and civic life (see Lott, 1987; Bem, 1993; Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000; and Bryson, 2003, for the review of this literature).

III. Biases and Pitfalls in the Study of Sex and Gender

Although the idealistic view of science is that it is an objective search for truth, conducted by unbiased researchers, the reality of the scientific endeavor seldom approaches the ideal. The research process can not be completely objective or separate from the social context in which it occurs: The existence of a “value-free science” is now commonly recognized as a myth (see Neuman, 1997; and Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000, for an overview of this literature).

The study of sex and gender, which touches on an issue that is basic to self-perception and social relationships, is virtually impossible to approach in a completely unbiased way. Although all researchers are bound to be influenced by personal and cultural values, most of the problems stem from biases that are not merely personal but cultural in nature (Harding, 1986; cited in Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000).

Problems of bias abound in the research on sex and gender. Cultural stereotypes about masculinity and femininity influence the research at many levels and stages, from the choice of the research topic to the research instruments to the behavior of the experimenter to the language and concepts used in the interpretation of findings. There is a pervasive tendency to look for differences rather than similarities between females and males, not only because of stereotyped preconceptions by the researchers, but also because findings of differences are more likely to be published than findings of similarities.

In fact, some would argue that the largest scope for the expression of bias lies in the interpretation of findings. A prime pitfall here is making generalizations that are too broad: drawing conclusion about human beings from the study of other animals, about all human beings from the study of one sex, or about adult gender differences from the study of children. Many other problems are less easily recognized, however, including the differential evaluation of the behaviors of males and females, the use of andocentric (male-centered) norms to evaluate female behavior, and the automatic assumption that observed gender differences have biological causes.

When we look at the reliance on biological determinism, there is a distressing tendency among researchers of sex and gender to postulate biological bases for observed gender differences whenever other explanations are not obvious. Such hasty falling back on biological explanations to fill gaps in our understanding, even when the biological mechanisms that might be involved are not apparent, is something like attributing our observation to magic—“We do not know how it happens, so it must be magic (or hormones).” Exactly this type of reasoning has sometimes emerged in the interpretation of gender differences in mathematics achievement. Although researchers (like Camilla Benbow and Julian Stanley, 1980, noted in Lott, 1987) may eventually understand the ways that biology interacts with environment to influence the gender-mathematics relationship, it is probably premature to attribute the differences with any certainty to hormonal influences.

The issue of gender differences in mathematics achievement services as a good example of the tendency to attribute gender differences to biology. One additional problem with over

reliance on biological explanations is faulty evolutionary theorizing. Researchers may be too quick to conclude that observed gender differences exist because they are adaptive for survival. As discussed earlier in this Chapter, it is difficult to prove that particular gender differences in humans offer evolutionary advantages. It is probably safe to assume that if there is a genetic basis for a particular difference, it is at least not maladaptive enough to have been selected out. However, it is important to consider all the possible reasons for an apparently stable difference, including environmental and social learning factors.

E. Implications of Myths and Gender Stereotypes

This section will consider the implications of myths and gender stereotypes on the social world (especially on the professional or managerial work). Feminine and masculine gender roles are not simply sets of qualities developed by individuals, they are part of the rules of a social system in which these individuals live. Built into that system is a hierarchy in which males, in general, have more power than females.

I. Prejudice

Gender stereotypes are socially shared beliefs that certain qualities can be assigned to individuals, based on their membership in the female or male half of the human race. They are pervasive, interacting with other stereotypes to shape social perceptions of persons of various ethnics (races), ages, abilities, and appearances.

Stereotypes about women and men, like stereotypes about racial, ethnic, religious, or other groups, do not exist in a social vacuum. In the case of women and men, there is in many cultures, including our own, a long history of a hierarchical relationship between the groups: men have held more social power than women; men have been dominant and women subordinate (for comprehensive overviews of power and gender, see Lott, 1987; Kolmar and Bartkowski, 2000; and Bryson, 2003). One function of stereotypes is to bolster the status quo, so it is not surprising that dominant groups are stereotypically credited with more competence and intelligence than subordinate groups are, and that groups with low social power are more likely to be stereotyped as emotional and incompetent than their higher-power counterparts are. Indeed, stereotypes are often perpetuated simply because they justify prejudice against a subordinate group.

II. Sexism in the Evaluation of Work

The evidence that sexism plays a role in reactions to and treatment of women is long-standing and comprehensive. One need not be familiar with the psychological research to detect evidence of sexism either in our history or in our everyday lives. For years, women in Ethiopia and other countries were denied the vote, denied equal access to higher education, and routinely and openly discriminated against in hiring and salary. More importantly, popular (local) stereotypes of women emphasized their helplessness and compared them to children, and such views were enshrined in a multitude of laws and legal practices that restricted women's access to jobs (see Table 4.16; Kefyalew, 1996; Eshetu, 2005).

One of the most obvious manifestations of sexism directed against women is in the undervaluing of their work. Although both women and men are subject to the restrictions of gender stereotypes, the masculine stereotype is associated with higher status. Moreover, while members of either sex may suffer discrimination based on views that their gender renders them unsuitable for a task or position, women are the targets of more discrimination in this respect than men. Not only are almost all the high-status jobs defined as more suitable for men, but high-status jobs that become female dominated quickly lose their prestige (see Witz, 1992; Powell, 1993).

5.3.4.3 Impacts of Religion

Religion, as well as other ideologies, appears to play a significant role, though indirectly, for the disproportionate representation of women in professional and managerial positions. This is because churches and mosques with their ideologies have traditionally been one of the strongest arenas in which gender-role socialization has occurred.

Sexism has been defined as an exclusive ordering of life by way of sex. At present sexism is endemic in our social, political, educational and religious institutions. Women are kept in subordinate positions almost every where whereas men hold most, and often all, positions of authority and power. It is not only the economic (work) institutions but the religious organizations (churches and mosques) and many other institutions too which deny full equality and space to women. Such lack of outer and inner space dehumanizes women; it warps and maims by not allowing them to develop their full potential. This inturn lowers

women's aspirations and achievement or power motivations toward professional and managerial positions.

The two dominant religions in Ethiopia (i.e., Christianity and Islam) developed out of slave-owning societies (i.e., the Ancient Roman Empire and seventh century Kuraish Arabia), both see husband-wife (man-woman) relationships in terms of master-slave/servant forms. Both are misogynous; both Christianity and Islam rule that men should govern women and that the latter should subject themselves to the former.

The Christian religion is a resolutely male affair in its symbolism as well as its hierarchy. While Mary, the mother of Jesus, may sometimes be treated as if she had divine qualities, God is the Father, a male figure, and Jesus took the human shape of a man. Woman is portrayed as created from a rib taken from man. There are many female characters in the biblical texts, and some are portrayed as acting charitably or bravely, but the prime parts are reserved for males. This is also characteristic of Islam. Like Jesus in Christianity, Muhammad was the founder of Islam. While Kedijja, the spouse of Muhammad, played a decisive role in early Islam, and Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad, occupies an eminent position among Shia Muslims, Muhammad took the human shape of a man. Unlike Christianity, Islam allowed men to marry two, three or four wives, not more. Besides, Muslim women are required to cover themselves from feet to head to preclude men's temptation (Surah IV). Thus, women cannot determine even their own clothes!

The scriptures of both religions contain passages expressing the subordination or inferiority of women (see for instance, the myth of Genesis of the Bible (2/18) and (2/22); and the Koran (Surah II and IV)). It must be added that both Christianity and Islam exclude women from service in their organizations. Both the church and mosque are manned by men.

Women have always been deeply involved with religious beliefs and practices, but they have rarely (seldomly) held positions of institutional authority in both Christianity and Islam. Churches and mosques are religious organizations with defined systems of authority. In these hierarchies, as in the labor force and other areas of social life, women are mostly excluded from power. Not only women are excluded from sacred authority and secular authority (like sheikh, prophetic and priestly activities) but also from the main institutions of theological education.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

While the numbers of women working in the “professions” and “management” have grown substantially in recent years, the aggregate data are deceiving. The jobs and sub-specialties in which women work and the treatment that they face continue to reflect a “gendering” of work based on traditional stereotypes of men’s and women’s roles.

Women in the professions and management often face “job resegregation” that places them in positions having the least amount of money, job prestige, and security. In addition, women may find they are hired only as tokens without mentors. Women in professional and managerial occupations may be subject to gender-based discrimination from their male colleagues. They may experience a “glass ceiling,” and lack the power or resources with which to move up the organizational ladder.

These organizational barriers are quite tangible, though they are often dismissed as unreal. This dismissal has the effect of removing the focus of analysis of the problem from the institution onto the individual. Women who do not advance are pronounced unable, unwilling, or insufficiently motivated. An “individualistic” explanation of women’s lack of advancement permits organizations to continue to simply “add women and stir,” without addressing the deeply engrained traditional gender-role assumptions that affect women’s employment opportunities.

The individual approach to explaining women’s inferior economic position implies that the individual is the locus of the problem and that therefore, the solution to the problem lies within the individual. One of the quotation in this survey is typical of this approach. Clearly, efforts to provide women with better education and information, increased access to job training, and help for their various “personality deficits” would be useful in improving their labor force status (especially their professional and managerial status). However, by concentrating solely on individual deficits, and by focusing on changing the individual—that is, locating causes within individuals, perceiving their characteristics and deficiencies as causes—the structural factors influencing women’s disadvantaged economic situation are

overlooked. Overlooking the structural factors precludes consideration of structural changes that are necessary to improve women's labor market position. Of course, many in any society have vested interests in making the status quo appear chosen—especially those who are presently in a privileged position. And indeed the individual perspective is inherently conservative. But we need to look further, beyond the individual, to fully comprehend—and grapple with—the complexities of the problem of gender inequality.

There is a large difference in the visibility of women and men in positions of eminence and power. Research has established that no gender differences in basic achievement or power motivation account for these differences in visibility. It has indicated, however, that social barriers against achievement and power are often different for women and men, and that both sexes are sensitive to these barriers and tend to adjust their behavior accordingly. Consequently, attempts to change patterns of gender-related achievement without altering the social structure in which these patterns are embedded will probably not be overwhelmingly effective at getting more women into positions of visible eminence of power.

Structural change is often effected through legal means. Until the early-1990s, however, laws more often supported the status quo and thus were an additional source of structural resistance. These laws sanctioned discriminatory practices that perpetuated the occupational segregation and earnings differentials between men and women. Protective legislation is a case in point. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution (in industrialized nations) and women's entrance into the workforce, protective laws and regulations governed the hours women were permitted to work and the type of work they could perform.

Protective legislation was overridden by the Equal Pay Act, the Civil Rights Act, and the Education Amendments Act. Ethiopia is signatory to these laws. In addition, Ethiopia has been one of the oldest members of the International Labor Organization (ILO) and has since become party to some of the important ILO conventions.

These laws helped overcome some of the more blatant forms of discrimination, but their effectiveness has been limited, in part because they did not address the problem of “comparable worth,” and in part because of the underfunding, understaffing, and

underreinforcement capacities of the women's machineries (such as Women's Affairs Departments, Women Affairs Offices, and recently Women's Affairs Ministry). In the mid-1990s, the legal climate shifted from antidiscrimination legislation to affirmative-action laws that require employers to seek out and give preference to women and minorities in hiring for those occupations in which they have been underrepresented. Affirmative action brought much success to women, but is being dismantled in many situations and is under attack in many cases.

The political, economic and legal contexts are but three of the important structural influences on gender inequality. The institutions of the family, religion, education and the media have also contributed to women's inferior labor market position (their underrepresentation in prestigious professions and management).

It is not biologic determinism but the socialization of individuals, which occurs within the context of the family, the educational system, the peer group, and the popular media, that ultimately has dramatic influences on gender inequality and the fates of working women. Although in recent years each of these contexts has become much more egalitarian, the framework for interpreting reality that is created and encouraged is one still strongly favoring many traditional stereotypes of desirable behavior for men and women. Such stereotypes reinforce traditional gender arrangements—arrangements that result in men being much more likely than women to become economically successful.

In sum, though individual characteristics of women—their motivations, aspirations, and abilities—are important, various external social-structural constraints imposed by society have restricted women's participation in male-dominated (lucrative) professions and management. As modeled in Figure 6.1, the structure of work (that treat women as a cheap source of labor, while still viewing them as primarily wives and mothers), work organizations (many of which continue to operate as if workers have no families, and many of whose hiring and promotion policies and practices serve to discriminate against women), and other basic societal institutions—the family system (which assumes there is a full time wife/mother who will take care of the children), the educational system (which often tracks women out of math and science pursuits), and religious and legal institutions (which often convey the patriarchal message that women's role is primarily that of wife and mother)—have operated in a web of interconnected, mutually reinforcing and interlocked fashion (pattern) and hindered women in their access to the managerial and professional specialty positions.

SOCIAL SYSTEM

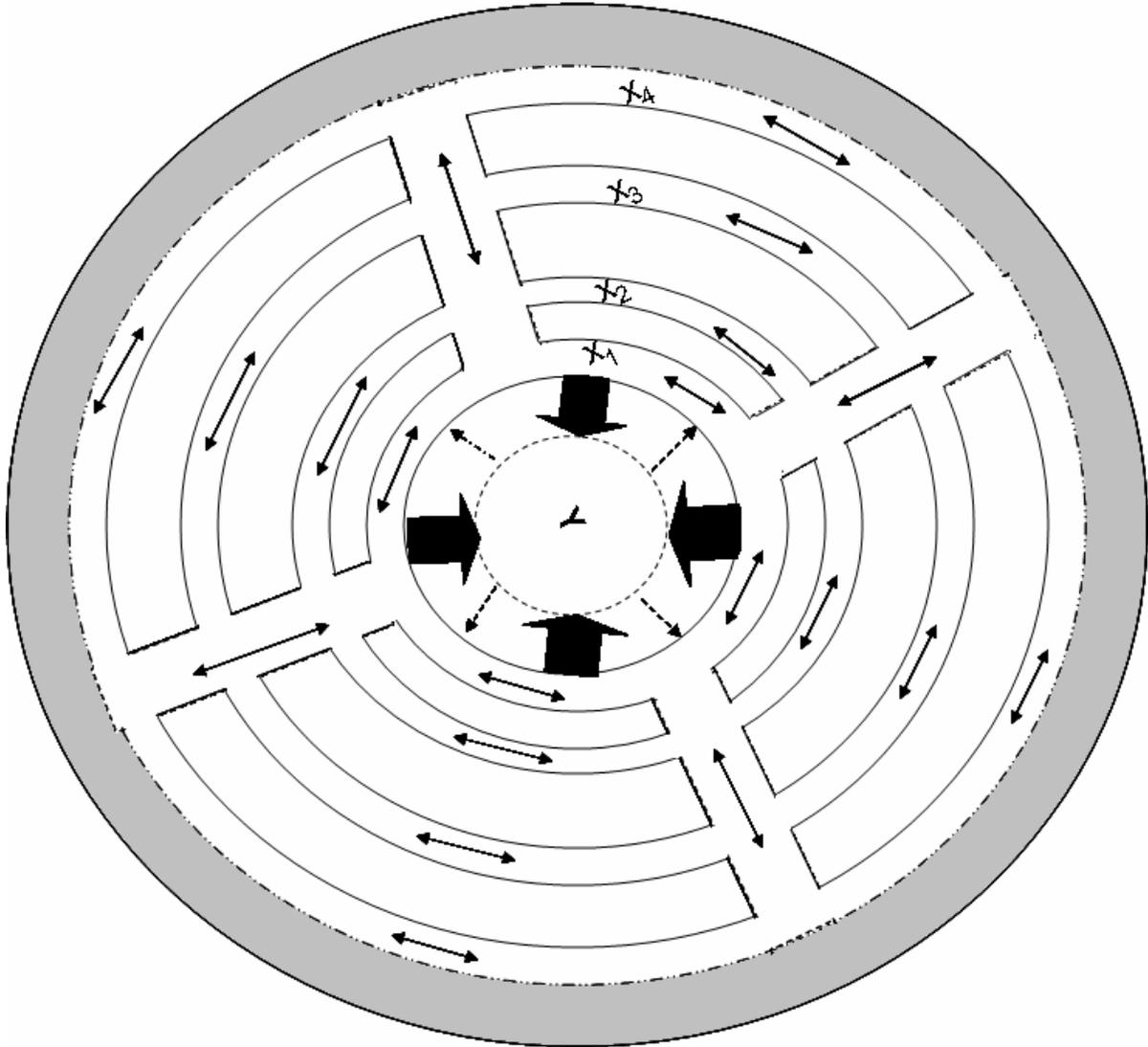


Figure 6.1 Social World (System), Social Structures and Relations, and Visible Reality: A Conceptual Model

KEY

- = Centripetal exercise of power involving a process of subordination.
- = Centrifugal countervailing exercise of power by women involving resistance (effort).
It also represents the feed-back effects of women's lower labor-force status.
- = Web of interconnections (linkages) among structures of a mutually reinforcing and interlocked social system (world).
- Y** = Women's subordination and their underrepresentation in managerial and professional specialty jobs.
- X₁** = Patriarchal knowledge produced by social research, or gained from alternatives to social research—authority, tradition, common sense, media myths, and personal experience.
- X₂** = Patriarchal social-political ideology.
- X₃** = Androcentric and misogynic (sexist) theory (e.g., functionalist or psychoanalytic theory).
- X₄** = Patriarchal arrangements (structures, relations or processes) within societal institutions.

6.2 Recommendations

The following strategies are suggested for improving women's status in managerial and professional specialty occupations.

A. Awareness Raising

A deep and clear awareness of injustice must precede action to correct the injustice. Before society can get very far with grand schemes for equality between women and men, individuals within society must be made aware of the fact that gender inequalities exist and affect them personally. People are simply more likely to mobilize for change if they feel that the current system is unjust, particularly if it is seen as disadvantageous to themselves.

How best to raise awareness of discrimination? When trying to demonstrate that sex discrimination exists in a particular setting, it is more effective to present an overall view than a trickle of case comparisons. Cognitive factors, the way human beings process information, can have an impact above and beyond such attitudinal factors as prejudice or misogyny or the desire to see the world as a just place, on people's readiness to see discrimination. Attempts to rectify sex discrimination must take this factor into account.

B. Solving the Work/ Family Dilemma

The growing tensions and challenges posed by work and family are met only in part by individualistic strategies. And the existing structural solutions are far from adequate. Where do we go from here? To solve the work/family dilemma, we as a nation need a coherent approach to corporate and public policy, as well as a radical shift in cultural values and attitudes. We need to recognize that to live in a more humane society and to improve the quality of our lives, we need to alter our sex-role attitudes and behaviors, bringing them into balance with the reality of labor-force participation for both sexes. We need to adapt the institutions for work and family and our attitudes about them to the realities of modern life.

Solutions to issues of balance and equality in work and family will be found only when we rethink our basic gender-role assumptions and offer choices of life scripts open to both men and women. This entails revising the assumption that housework and child-caring are women's responsibility. In so far as women enter the labor force "with their house on their heads," women will be at a disadvantage in the work place and consequently in society. For women to achieve equality, effective structural resolutions must be adopted. These involve the creation of policies and services that change both the workplace and the family, and make

them equally the domains of both men and women. Housework would then not be seen as “women’s work” and men be free to “father” without sanctions from the workplace. We need to recognize that our family life must be protected and promoted, and that care-giving, one of the most basic human acts, must be cherished and equitably shared.

C. Disarming the Gender Stereotypes, Mutual Support and Legislative Change

Challenging the gendered assumptions is the first step to gaining any true advances for women beyond tokenism. Change, however, must take place at the structural level of the corporation and profession. The glass ceiling that blocks women’s advancement must be shattered. Females in the professions and management need to be given equal resources and on-the-job training. They must have access to mentors and the informal routes of communication within the organization, both of which are essential to upward mobility within and among organizations.

In addition, women professionals and managers need to come together to create a system of mutual support. This is not to suggest the creation of an “old girls network” that might further divide the workplace between women and men. A women’s support system could, however, create a way in which women who have been left out of a mentorship system could “learn the ropes.” It could be an important step toward the dissolution of the old-boys network and the creation of a sense of community in the workplace instead of a divided workforce.

These changes will not occur in a vacuum. Stereotypes in the wider society must change as well. As long as society views women in terms of their traditional gender roles, they will not be able to escape this labeling within the institution. The assumption that women are to bear the most responsibility for housework and childcare burdens women in society, and also within the workplace. Placing these responsibilities almost entirely on women oppresses female professional and managerial women, as well as others, with the double duty of work and domestic labor.

There must also be a commitment by work organizations to enforce the statutes that mandate equal treatment for women and a workspace free from sexual harassment. Corporations can no longer be permitted to “get by” with token female representation or a lax policy toward sexual harassment. Corporations that go out of their way to be “family friendly” should also receive societal recognition for their efforts to help families combine work and family

obligations. Corporations that only put up a facade of equal employment and opportunity, without genuinely following through on these commitments, need to face public reprisal, perhaps even being branded as “dead-beat corporations.”

All of this will come about only if there is a commitment by society in tandem with corporations to challenge traditional gender stereotypes and an effort by the individuals within and around the corporations to force this change.

D. Self-Empowerment

While changes are occurring, they seem to be in small steps primarily because we continue to use the male model as the generic model. When we do this, women try to fit in and become "male" women. If, instead, we view women's personal lives as positive contributions, we change paradigms. If we are to learn anything from history, we must realize that all too often women simply fit themselves in to the jobs men have designated for them; too many women are not the determiners of their own fates. Self-empowerment—not blindly accepting the traditional model—appears to be the answer for women, whether they remain inside governmental organizations or strike out on their own entrepreneurial endeavors.

E. Transformation of Institutions

Just as the individual approach implies individual change, the structural approach implies structural change. Structural change is often effected through legal means, but legal institutions and practices also reflect the prevailing social and economic structure. Though we might assume that we can have reliable recourse to the law to make amends, we may find instead that the law more often supports the status quo. Moreover, many feminists have argued that society's institutions must be fundamentally transformed rather than simply made more open to women's participation. They argue that the hierarchical, competitive, and individualistic values that permeate most institutions are fundamentally opposed to the designing of a system that would stress equality among groups. That women suffer from current cultural, social, and economic arrangements reminds us of the central thesis of this paper—that the causes of women's underrepresentation in management and professions are deeply rooted in the basic institutions of society and thus, consequently, the most successful strategies for resolving it must involve changing these institutions. The author believe that making benefits (governmental, nongovernmental, or private) universal is the best path for encouraging such change, as it obviates the backlashes from those being denied benefits and eliminates the condescending attitudes that are encouraged by programs directed only at women (or any other disadvantaged group).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIEX A

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF GENDER STUDIES**

This questionnaire is designed for a research thesis under the title “**The under-representation of women in managerial and professional Specialty fields**”.

The purpose of this study is to describe, explain, and critique the underlying factors that account for the under representation of women in managerial and professional occupations. Thus, your input would be invaluable in achieving the purpose of the study. I would like for you to answer the following questions as truthfully as you can. For the sake of your anonymity, please do not write your name anywhere on the survey. Your cooperation is very much appreciated. And your urgent reply will be wondered.

Thank you in advance.

Addis Ababa

May, 2007

CODE _____

PART ONE
PERSONAL PROFILE

1. Sex: (Check One)
 Female
 Male
2. Age: _____ years.

PART TWO
FACTORS FOR THE DISPROPORTIONATE
REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN MANAGERIAL AND PROFESSIONAL
OCCUPATIONS

The following statements represent opinions, and your agreement or disagreement will be determined on the basis of your particular convictions. Kindly check your position on the scale as the statement first impresses you. Indicate what you believe, rather than what you think you should believe.

- | | Strongly agree | Moderately agree | Undecided | Moderately disagree | Strongly disagree |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 3. The sources of women's underrepresentation in managerial & professional occupations are located in the women themselves. | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 4. Women's poor innate (inborn) intellectual capacities have directed women away from professional and managerial fields. | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 5. Women prefer "supportive," nurturing occupations such as secretary, nursing, and Kindergarten or elementary school teaching. | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 6. Women are too emotional to take decisions. | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |

	Strongly agree	Moderately agree	Undecided	Moderately disagree	Strongly disagree
7. Women make poorer leaders than men.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. Women see themselves as helpers–nurse and secretaries–rather than as leaders or creators.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. Women often do not act as good professionals and managers.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
10. Women in the professions and management do not devote to their work the same number of hours as their male counterparts.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
11. Girls are less competitive than boys.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
12. Females are not as motivated as men are to get to the top managerial and professional positions.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
13. Women’s underrepresentation in managerial and professional positions results from exclusionary practices that reflect discriminatory attitudes.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
14. In our culture, females are valued more for their appearance and good character(behavior) than for their competence and intellectual skill.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
15. Women doing competent intellectual work have been told “You think like a man”.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
16. Gender discrimination (sexism) continues to set up barriers for women in the professions and management.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
17. Socialization plays a significant part in packing women in to relatively low- paying and low–status jobs.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
18. Women are reared to believe they lack competence in subjects like engineering, law and management.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
19. Females have less support than males for choosing managerial and professional occupations.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
20. The polices and practices of an organization often encourage sex segregation.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
21. The professional or managerial man usually prefers a male candidate.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
22. Men have more access and control of resources (such as money, status, and time) than women do.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

PART THREE

The following questions are about the strategies to improve the participation of women in managerial and professional occupations.

23. Kindly describe in order of importance to you at least five strategies that you would consider most important in improving women's representation in managerial and professional occupations.

24. Add comments if you wish.

Thank you for your cooperation!

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEW)

My name is Mihrete walle, I am a postgraduate student in Addis Ababa university , Institute of Gender studies (IGS). I would like to ask you some questions about the Underrepresentation of women in managerial and professional fields. The interview should not last more than 30 minutes and your answers will be kept confidential.

Addis Ababa

May, 2007

**FOR FEMALE INTERVIEWEES
(Executive Women)**

1. What are the forces that have directed Ethiopian women away from the economically and intellectually rewarding work of society?
2. When does the distinction between the occupational roles of women and men begin? What are the consequences of this distinction? Specifically, what role does the socialization process (early socialization) play on girls' aspirations(visions) and motivations toward professional and managerial fields?
3. How do you evaluate the availability of formal and informal networks as well as mentors for women in managerial and professional careers?
4. How frequently do you face sexual harassment?
5. What are the sources of females' poor achievement or failure in managerial and professional fields, especially in the college level?
6. In the college level , why few Ethiopian girls (or women) choose to enter engineering, medicine, law, management, or the physical sciences?
7. Why are organizations finding it so difficult to include women in executive ranks?

Thank you for your participation.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work. It has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Mihirete Walle Fentie Signature: _____ Date: _____

I confirm that this thesis has been submitted with my approval as the supervisor of the same.

Name: Tamire Andualem Signature: _____ Date: _____