

*Addis Ababa
University*

(Since 1950)



**The Role of Women in decision-making process in
Federal Ethiopia: the Case Study of the House of
Peoples' Representatives**

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Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Throughout the history of Ethiopia the political participation of women is very low especially in the decision making process however woman's participation in Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia show promising progress in the HoPR. The percentage of woman parliamentarians shows steady increment in every election period. However the decision making abilities of women is relatively low as compared to men. In this thesis the decision process of in which women participate is studied.

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Acronyms

CCPR:-Convention on Civil and Political Rights

CEDAW:-United Nations Convention on the Elimination all forms of discrimination against women

CSO:-Civil Society Law

ERC:-Equal Remuneration Convention

FDRE:-Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia

HoPR:-House of people's Representative

IPU:-Inter Parliamentary Union

MDGs:-Millennium Development Goals.

MoWCYA:-Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs

WCN:-Women Councilors Network

KPPI:-

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

There is no universally accepted definition of political participation, what many definitions share, however, is the limitation to activities that are addressed towards (influencing) the 'state' i.e., the political authority that exercises legitimate monopoly control over the means of coercion, whether in a democratic or non- democratic society. Scholars like Verba et al and Nye (1972) define political participation as activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies. Huntington and Nelson (1976) also define political participation as activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision making. Others also define political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and association the ability to take part in the conduct of public affairs and the opportunity to register as a candidate to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government(Richard E,1998a).

The issue of political participation has been a substantive area of interest for political scientists mainly because it pertains to the act of democratic citizenship. It is obvious that, political participation cannot be realized without the active participation of women. It is a truism that women play important leadership roles in the community and informal organizations. Understanding that women's representation in public office remains considerably lower than that of men internationally ,it is generally accepted that a more equitable representation of women political participation in parliament and other public offices is required. This made a number of commitments to the representation of women in parliament. For example, the equal participation of women and men in public life is one of the cornerstones of the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of which many countries are a signatory.

According to Cooper (1995) though women in Africa constitute more than half of the population, they have still lower position in the society due to lack of good governance and effective leadership. There are also different factors like, poor status given to women by the community, lack of resources, political participation (experience), education and political connection to run for office. Popular perception often suggests that women's 'proper' place is still in the kitchen rather than in politics and etc., strictly lagged behind the role of women in decision making process.

Even if African women faced difficulties to actively participate in decision making process due to the above factors, the period 1990s can be taken as the benchmark for a greater number of African women to aspire for political leadership at the national and local levels (Stephanie, 1995). In the 1990s women began to form political parties on their own, partly because existing parties in the multiparty context had not adequately addressed women's concerns. In many cases women had a different political vision that was not accommodated in existing parties. A case in point is Dr. Inonge Mbikusita-Lewanika started the National Party in Zambia in 1991; Margaret Dongo began the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats in 1999; while in Lesotho, Limakatso Ntakatsane formed the party, Kopanang Basotho. Likewise, in the 1990s Charity Ngilu and Dr. Wangari Maathai headed parties in Kenya; Ruth Rolland-Jeanne-Marie led a party in Central African Republic and Amália de Vitoria Pereira led an Angolan party and Sara jibra from Nigeria (Hazwell,1999).Although their roles are not as such limited, these new female faces and began to be seen and heard (Gisela, 1983).

Ethiopia with population of around ninety million people in 2013 is the second most populous country in Africa. The country has a very young population due to rapid rate of population growth 2.3 million population join Ethiopia every year (Aynalem Adugna, 2014). According to the 2008 Census, woman constitute 49.5 % of the population. However, like many African countries, the majority of women in Ethiopia hold low status in the society. They have been denied equal access to educational training and gainful employment opportunities and their involvement in policy formulation and decision making process has been minimal if not absent. In addition to this, Ethiopian women experiences hardship through their lives which involves carrying loads over long distances, gridding corn manually, working in the homestead, raising children, and cooking. Ethiopian women traditionally have suffered socio-cultural and economic

discrimination and have had fewer opportunities than men for personal growth, education and employment (Haile Giorgis, 2008). Even the civil code affirmed the women's inferior position, and such rights as ownership of property and inheritance varied from one ethnic group to another. However, the today's Ethiopian constitution provides that women shall enjoy equal treatment in the inheritance of property (Abate, 1991).

Following the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, the *Derg* to some extent put women on the agenda, in the Constitution, and in jobs within its institutions, although not many women came to higher posts. The revolutionary Ethiopia women's association (REWA), which claimed to have over 5 million members, took an active part in educating women. It encouraged the creation of women's organization in factories, local associations, and in the civil services. However, the role of women was even limited at the national level. In 1984, for example the government selected only one women as a full member of the central committee of Worker's Party of Ethiopia, of the 2,000 delegates who attended the party's inaugural congress in 1984, only 6 percent were women (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009). On a more positive note, Derg could claim success in increasing literacy among women. The enrollment of women in primary and secondary school increased from about 32 percent in 1974/75 to 39 percent in 1985/86, although the rate of enrollment of urban women far exceeded the rate for rural women (Gemma Burgess, 2013).

After the downfall of the Derg regime in 1991, the country put in place of federal state with parliamentary form of government which composed of nine regional states and two City administration. With this system by devolution of decision making power and responsible to regional states, an increasing trend of women participation in local authorities have also been seen. Even though it is not satisfactory, woman participation in local authorities as well as federal and state level greatly improved from time to time (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009).

The FDRE constitution also clearly stated the rights of women under Article 35 and made the provisions of conventions an integral part of the law of the land. Equally, the family and other laws were given due consideration. In addition to this, the government also prepared a national policy of women which ensure equal representation of women with men in decision making process. In order to protect the right of women, the Ethiopian government has signed and ratified a number of agreements like that of Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women

(CEDMA), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the suppression of traffic in person and the exploitation of prostitutions, etc(*Ibid*). Ethiopia is also one of the countries that embraced the principle of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A task has also been set up to realize MDGs in Ethiopia. A national action plan for gender equality is also under way to make the gender specific goals of the MDGs reality in Ethiopia. For Example, broadened gender disparity to the higher education level and empowering women across regions etc are among others (Ethiopia MDGs Report, 2012). During the 2000 election, about 42(7.7%) of the candidates for parliamentary seats at federal level were women and the number of women representation also increased to 117(22%) in 2010. Furthermore, at the level of international representation among the 28 ambassador that Ethiopia appointed at different mission abroad only 4 (14.3%) are women (Ishiyama, 2005). Even if the government was committed to promote women's political participation, the existing situation now in the ground is still not enough. Women have not been adequately represented at all level. Still it needs a lot to be done. It needs further improvements and commitment. Therefore, this study will be devoted on discovering and examining the extent to which women participation in decision making in the House of Peoples' Representatives (HOPR) on one hand and the existing gaps on the other hand.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia introduced the federal political arrangement since the fall of the military dictatorship in 1991. Addressing historic grievances of the nation, nationalist and peoples of Ethiopia and with no less or greater degree than them, taking into consideration the multifarious issues of women has become the fundamental task of this incumbent government. Consequently, gender discrimination has been and still become a point of discussion by scholar, practitioners and observers. The federal system has to address this major and historic gender inequality in Ethiopia.

Women of Ethiopia today have many reasons to smile about. Many sources commonly agree that the new millennium has witnessed a significant change and attitudinal shift in both the women and society's mindset about women's equality and decision-making power. Never before has so many Ethiopian women been elected for parliament, regional and city councils. This gain has to be strengthened further. However, there are still some problems in association with participation in decision making which need to be studied.

Among the many, women's political participation in decision making process at all levels of government is essential. As hinted in the background section, in Ethiopia the role of women in decision making process is very limited. Even today, the women's role is not as promised and expected from the new socio-economic and political arrangement (federal system) in Ethiopia. Regarding this, to the best of my knowledge there are very limited sources (published and unpublished) which discuss the role of women in decision making process, above all in the House of Peoples' Representative (hereafter HoPR). Only some aspects of their role have been discussed. Literature survey reveals that a research gap exist in this regard. Hence, to address this gap, this study is devoted to women's role in decision making process in the house of people representatives in Ethiopia since 1991 from different perspectives. For instance, the need for women participation in decision making, socio-economic, political and cultural participation and their status in parliament. Hence, the central problem of the study is –To what extent woman's participation has been ensured in federal Ethiopia since 1991? In the subsequent chapters, the following specific research questions were addressed.

- What is the status of women in the HOPR representative?
- How could women's political participation be realized?
- What are the challenges that set back women's in the role of decision making?
- What should be done to improve women's political participation in general and in the House of Peoples Representative in particular?

1.3. Objectives of the study

The study has both general and specific objectives

1.3.1. General objective

The general objective of the study was to assess and investigate the extent of women's participation in decision making both in number and quality in the House of Peoples' Representative in Ethiopia and suggest mechanisms of improvement.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

More specifically, the study aims to fulfill the following objectives.

- To assess the status of Ethiopian women in politics
- To explore women's political participation and decision making in the HOPR
- To explore challenges that women face in the role of decision making process
- To forward recommendations that can accelerate the role of women in decision making process and contribute their best for development
- Identify gaps and loopholes in the current electoral system to address gender and decision-making
- Identify key social and economic barriers to women's representation in Parliament and all levels of decision makings in HOPR

1.4. Scope of the Study

The study would be limited to the role of women in decision –making in the House of People's Representatives of the FDRE but will discuss the role of women in the whole political process as background.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Since women's political participation was one of the fundamental issues for our world in general and for Ethiopia in particular the research would contribute to

- A better understanding of the area and would clarify the existing bizarre attitudes and illusion
- The outcomes of this study might provide useful information for policy-makers for the improvement of women's role in decision making in HoPR.
- The study would be a good opportunity for the researchers in terms of acquainting theoretical and practical knowledge.
- The study would be used as sources and serve as springboard for those who want to study on the same or related areas in the future.

1.6. Research Methodology

The research employs both qualitative and quantitative analysis that enable the research to collect, analyze and interpret the data/information obtained from both primary and secondary sources.

1.6.1. Research Design

This study was more of descriptive. It was used because it was a fact finding study with adequate and accurate interpretation of the findings. It described what the reality is. It does what actually exists within a situation, such as current practices, situations, etc of different aspects of the research. Since the present study is concerned with assessing about women participation and decision making in the HOPR in the FDRE, the researcher has assumed that the descriptive type of research was the most appropriate method to be used. However, I would also apply analytical approach to a lesser degree in data's which require personal interpretation.

1.6.2. Methods of Data Collection

To attain the aim of this study, data were gathered from respondents which were chosen through sampling from the total study population. Secondary Data Sources: The main sources used for secondary data are government and non –governmental reports on Ethiopian women, different books, articles, unpublished materials and internet sources about leadership and participation of women in parliament and other documented sources from HOPR, Women's Affair office and other concerned bodies. The data collection tool would be questionnaire and interview.

1.6.2.1. Questionnaire

This data collection instrument used to obtain quantitative data from two groups of subjects (30 female and 5 male parliamentarians). Initially questionnaires were prepared for 25 parliamentarians in the HOPR to investigate their attitude and views towards women's political participation and gender based quota. However, it was found that it is only 20 female and 5 parliamentarians were accessible to fill out the questionnaire, and with regard to male parliamentarians all the dispatched questionnaires were returned.

According to Bridget and Lewis (2005) attitude is one of the most common areas where scales have been developed. Therefore, Likert Scale (The Summating Rating) model questionnaire along a five point scale or fixed alternative expressions (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree) was utilized to measure the attitude of parliamentarians. The rationale to employ Likert scale format is due to the fact that it is an appropriate instrument to measure knowledge, attitude, sentiments, and judgments (Derrheim and Painter, 2006). The Likert scale instrument contained two parts. The first parts of the Questionnaire were prepared to get background or personal information of participants. The second part prepared to measure their attitude and views towards women's political participation and gender based quota. Finally the questionnaires were administered in "Amharic" language to tackle the barriers of language. The questionnaire contains both closed and open ended formats. The questionnaire was selected because; it helps to gather data with minimum cost faster than any other tool. Moreover, all the respondents would be literate. So, they can read and answer the questionnaire more freely to express their idea on the issue.

1.6.2.2. Interview

Interview questions were prepared for 10 participants, that means 7 female participants and 3 male Participants from different organs of government and non-governmental organizations like HOPR, Electoral board, Ministry of Women and Defense University College as well as former member of parliament became parts of the interviews to obtain qualitative information concerning gender balanced representation within their party, their attitude and views towards the role of quota in enhancing Ethiopian women's political participation and the performance and participation of quota receiving women parliamentarians. The interview was held in Amharic language in order to reduce language barriers and the data was translated into English.

1.6.3. Sampling Techniques

Sampling method: To select respondents from total study population, both probability and non-probability sampling methods would be employed. The probability sampling method is selected because it avoids biasness and helps to generalize data gained from sample respondents. While applying it (systematic sampling would be used to choose at regular interval from the sampling frame) would be used. Moreover, purposive sampling would be used. It is decided to use this

method in order to include (participate) unique position that women have in both governmental and non-governmental organization and to participate those management bodies and gain relevant data. Data from the Ministry of women helps out to understand about the political environment while data from the electoral board may be important as an input to know about women participation in the HOPR both in number and quality. This helps either directly or indirectly infer about factors affecting the participation of women in leadership and decision making in HOPR of the FDRE under study.

Sample size: In order to get detail and accurate information from the interviewees, the researcher was used a total of 35 informants 25 for questionnaire as well as 10 for interview.

1.6.4. Method of Data Analysis

Kerlinger (1986) defines data analysis as categorizing, manipulating and summarizing of data in order to obtain answers to research questions. As it was stated under the sub topic of ' research methodology', this research was of descriptive type. Accordingly, for realization and successful accomplishment of the study, data collected from different primary and secondary sources would be recorded, edited, organized, analyzed, interpreted and presented in relation to research questions. This was done both quantitatively and qualitatively by using descriptive statistical tools such as tables, figures, percentages, graphs and charts for data collected through questionnaires, whereas description of finding was used for data collected through interview, and other sources.

For reliability and validity of this research, the respondents' information would be crosschecked with the available sources and issues that need more clarification would come to either separate interview or group discussion session.

1.7. Ethical Considerations of the Study

In relation to ethical issues, before filling out the questionnaire and holding interviews the objective and purpose of the study have been clearly explained to get the consent of these study participants and increase the response rate of the study. Respondents' names were also kept anonymous for the reason that these informants are members of one political party. So, for their safety reason, their attitudes and views towards some issues were kept confidential.

1.8. Definitions of key Terms

Attitude:- is the way one thinks and behaves towards a person, thing, event, place, idea or situation. (From Internet)

Parliament:- refers to an assembly in which a group of people makes the laws, policies and strategies of the country. (From Internet)

Politics:- refers to exercise of power and authority; a process of decision making and allocation of scarce resources. (From Internet)

Quota:- is a system that allocates a given percentage of seats in the higher office for women. It is an aspect of expression of measures taken to compensate for the manifest absence of women in elective offices and senior position of politics. (From Internet)

Women's political participation:- refers to women's participation in the formal political office, political institutions (parliament and political parties) which paved the way for women collective mobilization.(From Internet)

1.9. Organization of the Study

The study has five chapters. In chapter, this introduction, presents background of the study, statement of the problem, objective of the study, scope of the study, significance of the study, organization of the study and ethical consideration of the study. In chapter two, this study focus on the literature pertains to international women's instruments and issues, African instruments and experiences, history of women's role in pre-1991 Ethiopia, FDRE constitutions, laws and institutions, positive and negative developments in the implementation of the constitution and laws and the role of civil society. It also provides the need for women participation in decision making, socio-economic challenges and the impacts of the massive educational and infrastructural activities and the different recommendations provided by various researches. In general, the available literature on women and political participation in Ethiopia and their role in the decision making processes in the HOPR is explored in detailed. Here there would be a tiny coverage on the major concepts and theories of political participation. Chapter three would be research design, methods of data collection (questionnaire and interview),sampling technique

and methods of data analysis. Chapter four presents the data analysis and interpretation of the study. Chapter five concludes based on the discussions.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1.Introduction

It is imperative for gender equality advocates to focus on the gendered nature of development and challenge the capitalist paradigm of international development that creates and recreates gender disparities, while at the same time working towards creating an enabling environment for women's participation in development. Women's mere participation in mainstream development cannot automatically lead to their advancement and gender equality unless the contradiction in the development claim for equality and justice and the practice is eliminated. The level and nature of participation is equally important to determine whether women are able to share development gains. Another contextual issue in women's political participation relates to the nature of politics in general and the liberal democracy in particular(Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009).

Democracy has historically served men better than women. As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it has built on the public private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship(Abdo & Abegaz,2009). Women have been kept outside the public domain of politics as most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Lock, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for roles in the private sphere and maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. The public private divide remains as the foundation of the various forms of world democracies (Phillips, 1998, Rai, 2000).

This is one of the reasons that the normative political theory considered private sphere as non-political and did not make any effort to explore the political nature of the private life. The ancient and modern democracies failed to recognize women as citizens. Therefore, they sidelined them from their concerns in its theory and practice (Bathla, 1998:39). It was only the liberal political philosophy of the 19th century that promoted the idea of 'free and rational' individual which was used by suffragists to demand for the right for vote. However, as Rai maintains the conceptual basis of liberal theory is inherently gendered in ways, which perpetuates patterns of patriarchy and ignores gender subordination in both polity and society (Rai 2000:2). Feminist theorists also

challenged the notion of abstract individual in liberal theory and argued it is not a gender neutral category. This is why despite women had the right to vote they were not able to impact public policy and could not bring private sphere in the preview of the public. Even western democracies left them dislocated on many fronts. When women enter politics within this patriarchal context of modern democracies, they are unable to play a role to radically change the sexual politics rather they largely play political roles on male's terms. The fundamental assumption in liberal democracies needs to be changed in order to create genuine political space for women within. In relation to this, this chapter contains the theoritical and empirical reviews to elucidate the desicion-making role of women in general and contextualize it in our domestic scontext. In what follows, the author presents factors that influenece woman political participation, either negetively or positively, and other relaevant issue to the research problem.

2.2. Factors Hindering Women's Political Participation

Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries. There is a steady upward trend in women's political participation and representation in developed countries particularly in Nordic countries. Out of twelve countries where women representation in parliament is more than 33%, nine of them are ranked in the high human development category (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009, p.17). However, the improvements in medium and low human development countries are not significant. The structural and functional constraints faced by women are shaped by social and political relations in a society. The common pattern of women's political exclusion stem from social and political discourses, political structures and institutions and the socio-cultural and functional constraints that put limits on women's individual and collective agency. These challenges can be grouped into three, namely; ideological factors, political factors and quota system.(Ibid)

2.2.1. Ideological Factors

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

A familial social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the

division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play in which the female is in the kitchen subsumed under the male(Rich1977: 57).

The gender role ideology is used as an ideological tool by patriarchy to place women within the private arena of home as mothers and wives and men in the public sphere. This is one of the vital factors that shape the level of women's political participation globally. However, this ideological divide is not reflective of the reality. The boundaries between public and private are often blurred in the daily lives of women. Nonetheless, domestic domain continues to be perceived in the global North as well as in the South as the legitimate space for women while public space is associated with men. Women have to negotiate their entry into and claim on public space according to the discursive and material opportunities available in a given culture and society. Although the gender role ideology plays a significant role and remained in a flux while intersecting with economic, social and political systems of a particular society, women continue to be defined as private across countries which resulted in their exclusion from politics (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009).

2.2.2. Political Factors

The nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Robert Dahrl defines politics as “the process of who gets what, when and how....rule or authority”, which is in contrast with the traditional view of politics that defines it as an activity, a conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated among citizens. This conception of politics restricts political activity only in public arena and the private sphere of family life is rendered as apolitical. This public-private dichotomy in traditional definition of politics is used to exclude women from public political sphere and even when women are brought into politics they are entered as mothers and wives.

Male domination of politics, political parties and culture of formal political structures is another factor that hinders women's political participation. Often male dominated political parties have a male perspective on issues of national importance that disillusions women as their perspective is often ignored and not reflected in the politics of their parties. Also women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership. Meetings of councils or parliamentary sessions are held in odd timings conflicting with women's domestic responsibilities. The larger democratic framework and level of democratization also

impact women's political participation. Secular democracies in Europe and also in some of the developing countries have created relatively more space for women's participation in politics as compared to countries where religious orthodoxy has been shaping politics and democracy (Abdi, 2007).

2.2.3. Quotas

Gender quotas emerged as a global fast track strategy to redress the historic exclusion of women from the formal arena of politics. Over the last half of the 20th Century, many countries have instituted gender quotas either voluntarily or through legislation. The gender quota is marred with discursive controversy. Without debating the two distinct opposing views, this section summarizes some of the issues highlighted in comparative studies on gender quotas. There is a clear consensus in literature that gender quota is an effective tool in addressing women's exclusion and ensuring their presence in formal structure of politics. However, the controversy starts around the vital question as to what extent women's presence in political structures has led to an effective mainstreaming of gender concerns in politics.

This has raised issues on the nature and modalities of gender quotas and its limitation to empower women in politics. Gender quotas are instituted within the context of gender disparities, which are structural and systemic. Without addressing the structural constraints to women's political exclusion, their inclusion through gender quota cannot lead to an effective representation. Rai (2005: Page17 has emphasized the same point by arguing that

while quotas are important in addressing the exclusion of women from the public political sphere, they can only form one part of a multi-faceted strategy for empowering women, which must together with increased political participation also involve a redistribution of socio-economic resources within societies.

Women who lack civil and economic rights are unable to exercise their political rights fully. The gender quotas, therefore, need to be linked with the social and economic redistributive justice in the society.

Gender quotas are also riddled with essentialist assumptions of women as a distinct group with a distinct perspective and the universalization of women as a category. Women are not homogeneous groups. They are divided along the line of class, ethnicity, religion and rural/urban

background. The domination of elite women in political structures due to state quotas calls for locating the gender quota within the framework of diversity and difference to ensure women's political empowerment. The gender gap in politics cannot be redressed simply by bringing more women in the system. It is also a policy and outcome issue, which cannot be addressed unless supportive mechanisms are put in place and provided with an enabling environment to work effectively. This makes the nature and process of quotas systems central to an affirmative action measures. Experience shows that quota modalities must be direct, empowering and enable women to develop their constituency. Lastly the wider context of politics and democracy is equally important to determine the success of gender quota. Quota debates are globally located within the framework of liberal democracy and citizenship. The extension of citizenship to all, irrespective of their color, creed and gender, has become the basis of modern liberal democracies (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009).

Within this political context when gender quotas are instituted, they do not necessarily bring gender equality because this is a way some these states negotiate with modernity and pluralism by bringing marginalized to the mainstream on the terms of male patriarchal elite. When women enter through quotas in politics on these terms, they are unable to transcend the public-private divide and are compelled to do politics only in the public arena. Women in politics have failed to make family a part of public arena, despite the fact that when they enter public space of politics they do not cease to be private individuals. My contention is that within this patriarchal context of modern democracies when women enter politics through gender quotas, they are unable to transform the sexual politics in the state institutions. Rather, they are forced to play on male's terms. Therefore, it is concluded that without the transformation of the wider politics, gender quotas cannot lead to women's political empowerment (Ibid).

2.3. Networking of Women Politicians

There is an extensive documentation on experiences of collective power through networking. From the field of politics, the author would like to share a success story from Pakistan where women councilors formed a network and later an election alliance. Women's representation in governance structures has been extremely low during the fifty-five years of Pakistan's history. During the National Assembly, women's representation was merely 3.2 percent. Within this context of exclusion and marginalization, affirmative action measure is seen and promoted as the

key strategy to redress gender imbalance in politics. The regime of Pavez Musharaff took a landmark decision and ensured women's representation in political structures of the country through the reservation of 33% seats for them in all three tiers of local government and 17% in the national and provincial legislatures. Reserved seats for women are filled through direct election at the union council level and indirect election at the tehsil and district level. At the national and provincial level, proportional representation system¹ has been adopted to fill the reserved seats for women. The reservation of seats for women brought more than 40,000 women to the local government institutions and 205 in the national and provincial assemblies and the Senate. A majority of women who entered local government were the first time entrants in local politics. They had no prior affiliation with political parties, women's groups or civil society organizations. They also lacked political understanding of Local Government Ordinance/System. Women councilors across the three tiers of local government faced similar institutional and social constraints to perform their roles effectively despite differences among them along the lines of class, rural/urban divide and political affiliations. They shared the commonality of experience of patriarchal resistance they met from male members of district, and union councils.

The share of women's reserved seats for each party was determined on the basis of general seats won in the election ignored women councilors, treated them with contempt, denied them development funds and expected them to confine themselves only to women's issues created a strong oppositional consciousness among women councilors. This resulted into increased awareness among them of their own gender identities as women. They were able to clearly see the interconnection between public and private patriarchy. Their gender consciousness, which has evolved not necessarily within any feminist framework, has brought them together as women. They realized that a lot of the problems/constraints they faced as councilors in order to perform their political role more effectively is primarily due to their gender identity as women. Therefore, women belonging to different political parties decided to create a common forum where women councilors could come together to combat these problems, share their experiences, learn from each other, find ways to become more effective in their newly assigned political roles, resist patriarchal backlash and assert themselves to have their right to access political power. With the help of a NGO Pattan Development Organization, women councilors formed a common platform with the name of Women Councilors Network (WCN) at the provincial level to institutionalize the support functions and use it to negotiate for better working environment for

women councilors. The WCN had chapters in 16 districts in the province of Punjab with a membership of more than 2,000 councilors from UC, tehsil and district levels.

The WCN worked effectively with its democratically elected working committees at district and provincial levels to articulate the problems faced by women councilors on various public areas. They resisted the reduction of seats at the UC level and raised voice against the gender biases of their male colleagues. In the absence of constituency for tehsil and district councilor, WCN as a collective body provided them with a power base. In the process, WCN helped raised the political profile of its members. In the local government election of 2005, WCN decided to negotiate maximum seats and support from male politicians and political parties. The WCN formed an election alliance with the name of Women Unity Group. The main purpose of the establishment of election platform was to enhance women's bargaining power at the local level to negotiate with political parties and the local power elite to take women more seriously as political actors and give them more slots in the category of general and nazims seats. The four point agenda of the Group included:

- ❖ To work on violence against women
- ❖ To work for the repeal of all legislation that discriminates against women
- ❖ To work for the elimination of poverty and to work for women's economic empowerment
- ❖ To promote peace in interpersonal relations at family, community, national and international levels and to fight extremism.

There were more than 500 women who joined the Group and contested election in the first and second phase of election from this platform. Thirteen of them contested on the seats of nazim (head of local council). One of the electoral panels fielded by the Group 1203/11/2005 comprised all women just to get the point across that women are entitled to contest on all seats in the local institution.

Another important element in the enabling environment relates to the nature of democracy and the level of democratization in society. The participative and decentralized form of governance creates greater space for citizens to participate in governance processes and structures. It also creates space for greater interaction between the state and the society. Human capacities are dependent on the availability of resources such as education, health and employment that build

capabilities and enlarge human choices. Access to education, health and employment is directly linked with women's ability to create space for themselves in politics and development. Women's consciousness of their political rights is another critical element for women's individual and collective agency. Political consciousness through building transformative communities is the sustainable way to transform politics and development.

A strong women's movement and civil society is another condition of enabling environment that can influence the direction of politics and development in favor of women. Triple roles of women in productive, reproductive and community management spheres must inform the efforts for creating supportive environment for women's political participation. Provision of childcare and care work is vital to enabling women to participate in the development processes.

Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved(Beijing Platform ,1995). In the next chapter, this study will throw light on the different books, monograms, unpublished materials and articles view on women political participation in Ethiopia with particular focus on the role of women in decision making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives of FDRE.

It would review literatures categorizing on the following themes: international women's instruments and issues, African instruments and experiences, history of women's role in pre-1991 Ethiopia, FDRE constitutions, laws and institutions, positive and negative developments in the implementation of the constitution and laws and the role of civil society, the need for women participation in decision making, Socio-economic challenges and the impacts of the massive educational and infrastructural activities and the different recommendations provided by various researchers.

Despite the fact that international law guarantees women and men equal rights in the enjoyment of all human rights, women and girls continue to face *de jure* (in law) and *de facto* (in practice) inequalities in almost all societies. Even if continuing gender inequality is a worldwide phenomenon, significant differences exist at regional and country levels (UNDP and NDI, 2011).

Lets us take a look at major international instruments that have addressed women's equal political participation. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948) articulates that every person is entitled to participate in his/her country's government. In addition, Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, under the United Nations Resolution 34/180, asserts the nonexistence of all forms of discrimination against women in terms of equal political participation. This article draws attention to take all measures necessary to protect women against inequality by the state parties. Furthermore, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 calls on all actors involved in negotiating peace agreements or writing constitutions to ensure that women's equitable participation in all institutions are fully addressed (CEDAW, 1979).

There has been a series of global endeavor to alleviate the low status of women since the 1990s. The main agenda in the general conferences held in Cairo (1994) and in Beijing (1995), was targeting largely on the removal of all obstacles to gender equalities. The result of these conferences was that the need to integrate gender issues into the general development plan and program of a country is crucial and unavoidable step for overall sustainable development and that needs to get proper attention by governments. At international level, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 2 and 7), the Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the main strategies and conventions that have in common the conviction of achieving gender equality by improving the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments. However, any one of them has helped out women succeed in attaining the target of 30 percent of seats in parliament throughout the world (Emebet Mulugeta, 2010:71-77).

A report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) indicates that the global average of female parliamentarians in 2010 was 19.1 percent (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2010) as compared to the 2000, the average was 13.1 percent. In Ethiopia, for instance, a 30 % quota is only targeted to be achieved in this year's election (The FDRE Report, 2012:37-57).The IPU report further indicates that the election of female heads of state in some countries has not brought about increased parliamentary representation. An example of this situation is the Philippines. While they have

had two female presidents in the last 25 years, only 22 percent of the lower house is made up of women and the upper house is home to only 13 percent. Affirmative and quota are intertwined concepts (Myakayaka-Manzini, 2003:23-35).

The rising force of women organized at all levels of society throughout the world has given greater impetus to the 30 percent target for women in political positions originally promoted in 1995. Introducing quotas for electoral seats is considered a system of reserved seats, guarantees that women candidates will be elected and achieves a specified level of representation in the targeted political institution. Indeed, positive action is a necessary tool to maintain at least 30 percent of women at all levels of decision making. However, currently among all national parliaments, Rwanda is now closest to reaching equal numbers of men and women: 48.8 percent of seats held by women, surpassing even the proportion in the Nordic countries and South Africa accounts for 44.5% ranked third in the world (Tefera, 2010:9).

The Fourth World Conference on Women put forward gender mainstreaming as a means to diminish inequalities between women and men. Gender mainstreaming, known also as mainstreaming a gender perspective, is "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action including legislation, policies, and programmes', in any area and at all levels"(Beijing, 1995).

It calls for the entire world governments, actors & concerned bodies to promote & encourage a lively visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programs, so that prior to making decisions, an analysis is conducted as to whether it has effects on women and men, respectively. In other words, it is concerned with urging the aforementioned entities to place human relations, as manifested in their "male" and "female" roles, at the centre of all programming, action, and evaluation, instead of treating these as marginal or even "ghettoized" phenomena (Dmitri Sanga, 2008:1-24).

Gender mainstreaming thus underscores the principle that there can be no sustainable development as long as discrimination of one of the two sexes/genders exists. The injustice created by inequalities based on gender/sex discrimination threatens in the long run not only the discriminated gender but the entire society (*Ibid*).

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action focuses on twelve areas of critical concern, but the one among them is redressing inequality between men and women in the sharing of power and decision-making at all levels. Thus, it gives serious attention to the involvement of women in parliaments (Beijing, 1995).

A series of international agreements and conventions have been meaningful in encouraging women to take up political offices and influence policy making in different African countries. Tripp (2001:4) asserted that “although the driving forces for these changes have been internal, international pressures and norms have given added impetus to these new demands”. This explains the role that has been played by the international agreements and conventions in supporting internal efforts from various angles.

A range of conventions have been ratified by the majority of African governments and these include Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Convention on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), Equal Remuneration Convention (ERC), Dakar Platform for Action, Beijing Declaration of 1995, Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender and Development (1997) with its addendum on Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children (1998) and the Millennium Declaration of 2000 among other (*Ibid*).

These conventions have brought to the forefront the matter of gender equality and rights which include political participation. This has gone hand in hand with the provision of donor funds to support women in politics. The accessibility of donor funds, channeled through International and local Non Governmental Organizations, Religious bodies, Embassies, and International foundations has played a crucial role in stimulating the intensification of national level organizations that support women's political activities. They have supported efforts of women to participate in civic education, constitutional reform, legislative reform, leadership training, and programs for women parliamentarians. All these have been essential in increasing women's political participation in Africa (*Ibid*).

2.4. Challenges of Women Political Participation in Africa: Human Rights Instruments and Multiculturalism

Throughout the world, efforts by states to hold cultural pluralism vary both in appearance and strength. Some multi-culturalist states, they have not provided rights to women to decide on many issues, for example, on formulating family law other than leaving it for customary legal system. According to feminists, this leaves women within those minority communities vulnerable to discrimination (Johanna E. Bond, 2010: 509-518). As far as my observation is concerned, women engaging with and reformulating cultural policy has received insufficient attention in many literatures.

By viewing African women almost exclusively as victims of their culture, the international human rights community has historically undervalued the potential for African women to reformulate cultural policies within their communities. Amazingly, the twin human rights treaties for the promotion of gender equality in Africa, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW or the Convention) (CEDAW, 1979:) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Charter, 1981) are indifferent to culture and gender equality, respectively. They privilege culture over gender equality. For instance, CEDWA in Article 13, which provides that "women should enjoy an equal right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life" and leave changing culture as the states' obligation (CEDAW, 1979).

If we take the Ethiopian case, despite Ethiopia's ratification of CEDAW in 1981, the government effort has failed to comply with its basic tenets and provisions. As a result, in Ethiopia, discrimination and violence against women persists. For example: "Domestic violence is highly prevalent in Ethiopia and widely socially condoned. A study conducted by the World Bank in July 2005 concluded that 88 percent of rural women and 69 percent of urban women believed their husbands had the right to beat them. Moreover, the courts do not tend to consider domestic violence as a serious justification for granting a divorce" (The Coalition of the Campaign, 2010:1-5).

On the contrary, there are sources which advocate the strong role played by the Protocol to the African Charter or CEDWA on the Rights of Women in Africa (the Protocol, 2003).It attempts

to remedy the shortcomings of CEDAW and the African Charter and put forward new expectations for promoting gender equality on the continent. More than strong substantive rights, the Protocol provide imperative practical rights to ensure that women have a voice in the ongoing examination and reformulation of cultural practices and customary law. Article 17 of the protocol states, “Women shall have the right to live in a positive cultural context and to participate at all levels in the determination of cultural policies” (the Protocol, 2003). This means that women would be able to evade traditionally damaging laws or practices which are targeted on them either in parliament or local levels (Johanna E. Bond, 2010: 509-518).

At organizational level, the AU’s commitment to gender equality is rooted in the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. This commitment is reinforced by the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) and the Post Conflict Re-construction and Development adopted by the Heads of State and Government in 2006. All of them help member States to advance their own legal, administrative and institutional frameworks to make progress on women’s rights and gender equality (*Ibid*).

Concerning the role of civil societies, since the last decade, women’s parliamentary representation in “long-standing democracies” has increased. It is mainly attributed to the strong influence of women’s organizations both inside and outside political parties. Women’s organizations are sensitive to the effect of single-member electoral districts on women’s candidacies. They work with political and government institutions to make safe and sound electoral changes to facilitate women’s nomination and election (Civicus, 2011:12-13).

However, in “new democracies” there is almost fewer contact and cooperation between women politicians and women’s organizations. Although governments firmly announce their determination to bring democratic forms of change, it is, however, unreasonable to look forward to governments single-handedly to secure women’s rightful place in all spheres of society (Dimitri Sanga, 2008:1-24). As far as my observation is concerned, civil society in general, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women’s groups, should play a role in moving forward women’s representation. Faith-based women’s organizations are also critical allies.

Most sources which the author have consulted display the role of civil societies in increasing to bring equality in all affairs seems to be limited in Ethiopia after January 6, 2009(*Ibid*, 11-20; Center for International Human Rights, 2009:1-19; Francis Oleson, 2009:1-10). In the mean time, the Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 of Ethiopia (Civil Society Law or CSO law) was enacted. Although its preamble states that the CSO law is aimed at ensuring “the realization of citizens’ rights to association enshrined in the constitution... as well as ...to aid and facilitate the role of [civil society] in the overall development of the Ethiopian people” (CSO, 2009), key provisions of the proclamation believed to severely weaken the work of independent civil society organizations, particularly human rights defenders and advocates of democratic governance (Gemma, 2013:11-20).

Civil society activism is on the increase all over Africa. Governments and international agencies are highly soliciting non-governmental organizations to run projects and complement government activities. Apart from service delivery, civil society is also significantly playing an “advocacy role – pressing for legal reform and implementation, ensuring nondiscrimination in government policy and advocating for the protection of human rights” (Civicus, 2011:12-13).

It is widely recognized that gender has now become not only a moral issue but also, and more importantly, a development issue. The lack of dependable gender information has been an obstacle to the development of sound policy formulation, decision making, planning, program formulation, implementation and monitoring with respect to gender inequalities and the empowerment of women. Unfortunately, lots of the African National Statistical Systems have registered little progress in dealing with gender issues in the making and use of statistics. This has emanated from the fact that the ability to bring the needed quality and timely gender oriented information is so weak(Dimitri Sanga, 2008:3-5).

This information is known as gender sensitive data. It includes analysis of women’s and men’s participation in and contributions to all social and economic areas. Gender-sensitive information on environmental sustainability, for example, examine the extent to which members of the local community, particularly women, participate in the planning and decision making of environmental programs(*Ibid*,7-9).

With regard to the statistics of women participation in decision making in Ethiopia's parliament, it seems to have been well organized. The government report on 2012 displays this. It says "Data on the representation of women on major portfolios such as parliamentary representation, participation in executive and judicial bodies are regularly documented and publicized (through websites). Studies are also undertaken through academic institutions as well as women's machineries to assess the participation of women in power and decision making positions" (FDRE, 2012:33-36).

Moreover, one can recognize that genuine gender statistics is essential for making true gender analysis in planning and monitoring, the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs (MoWCYA) forged at a national level women data base which is set-up among all Regional Women Affairs Bureaus so that data could flow from all regions to the national system and vice-versa. In addition to this, MoWCYA has recently produced the National Women Development Index which shows the status of women's participation and benefit in social, economic and political life. MoWCYA also carries out data collection, analysis and reporting system assessment on all line Ministries (*Ibid*, p.38).

2.5.Challenges Women Face in the Political Participation

Many literatures display that lack of party support, for example, limited financial support for women candidates, lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade (labor) unions, lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership in general, and for orienting young women towards political life are obstacle for women political participation in parliament and leadership¹.

From socio-economic factors, education plays a prominent role. In countries where women have greater access to educational opportunities, more women are found in their parliaments than in countries where female access to education is more limited (Paxton, 1997: 442-464). In Ethiopia, for instance, Female adult literacy 1997-2007 was 22.8% whilst male adult literacy was 50 % (Emebet, 2010:71-77). For me if there is no education, there is no employment and no chance for

representation. Thus, literacy level is a bottleneck which forces them not to involve in large numbers in politics.

On the other hand, there are scores of researches which put aside literacy as not a major obstacle. Literacy rates in developed countries are about 99 percent, as opposed to 84 percent in less-developed countries. There is no consistent correlation between literacy rates and women's political representation, but many candidacy nomination procedures require a minimum level of literacy. Many women lack the political training required to participate effectively in the political arena. An expansion of the pool of women who are qualified for recruitment to political careers is therefore needed (Matland, 1998:109–25).

Another influential socio-economic factor that determines a nation's share of women in parliament is a country's share of *female economic activity*. As women move from unpaid to paid labor, from ordinary to higher position, their status and rank usually increase and therefore there will be a greater probability of women playing a part in the political process and electing other women to the legislature (Rule, 1987: 477-498).

The percentage of women in overall economic activity is surprisingly high with that of 2004 as a reflection of the Ethiopian government's recognition of the economic empowerment of women would help Ethiopia prosper nationally. That is why many efforts are made to gain loan from international organizations to organize women into various cooperative societies so as to ensure their economic benefit. All these endeavors seem to increase women participation in decision making at all levels (The World Bank International Development Association, 2008:1-10).

Lastly, cultural factors especially associated with religion can be serious issue. A country's dominant religion can reveal a great deal about the expected role of women within a society. Women often have a higher presence in national legislatures in countries where the dominant religion is Protestant than Catholic or Islamic (Ahmed, 1992:1-30; Paxton, 1997: 442-464).

The dominant religions in Ethiopia are Ethiopian Orthodox, Protestant, Islam and Catholic. Ethiopia is predominantly a Christian nation where the majority of Christians are Orthodox Tewahedo Christians. In 2007, approximately 43.5 percent Ethiopians identified as Orthodox, 33.9 percent identified as Muslim, and 18.6 percent identified as Protestant. Especially under

Islamic law, since female activities are restricted, their status is considered low (CIA World Fact book, 2011). The timing of country's ratification of the U.N. Treaties such as CEDAW etc., has impact on increasing women participation in the legislature or other organizations. Usually, the early you accept, the better will be for protecting women's equality right. Ethiopia has good culture in this regard (Alemu, 2002:20-40).

A country's *fertility rate* may also influence a country's share of women in parliament. In countries where the birthrates are lower, women can devote more time to careers in public life. Ethiopia has the highest fertility rate with 5.97; it has affected women not to hold so many shares of seats in the HOPR and HOF (CIA World Fact book, 2011).

Culturally, international studies on public opinion also showed that the majority of Ethiopian people never want to see females coming into leadership. In a 47-nation Pew Research Poll on global attitudes towards women in leadership in 2007, researchers found that 49 percent of Ethiopian saying men make better political leaders than women. The data were less favorable elsewhere, with majorities in Mali (65 percent), the Palestinian territories (64 percent), Kuwait (62 percent), Pakistan (54 percent), Bangladesh (52 percent). However, this data collection was not representative of all sections of the society at large (<http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/12/05/how-the-world-rates-women-as-leaders/>). The countries of Western Europe, North America and Latin America generally include the highest proportions of respondents who rate men and women as equally good political leaders.

Having attained political office, women may need additional skills, knowledge and self-confidence to perform their jobs effectively. Elected women often have little or no opportunity to develop the type of specialized skills necessary to succeed in public office, and many women cite a lack of confidence as a barrier to their full participation in political activities because of social and cultural attitudes towards females (<http://www.ndi.org/womens-political-participation>). To be sure, the state can be an extremely hostile environment for women, particularly in conditions of violent political conflict. In these conditions, women may exit the political arena altogether and 'leave the dirty game of politics for men to fight out' (Nason'o and Ayot, 2007: 189).

There is a growing body of literature that seeks to explain the increases in the numbers of women elected. It is apparent that changes do not happen automatically. Conscious acts by actors such as

political parties, with the specific aim of getting more women elected, are an important factor behind the increases. However, in Ethiopia, literatures show the opposite. Most if not all Ethiopia's political parties do not have active women' sections and do not employ appropriate strategies to promote women representation (Tefera,2010:16-35& Jalele, 2005:21).Furthermore, almost all political parties (except the ruling party) are weak in the sense that they seem totally unaware and unwilling to deal with specific gender issues. They simply do not try to incorporate a significant number of women into regularized forms of party membership (*Ibid*). In the next chapter the current trend of Political parties will be investigated.

Finally, let us take a look at the different recommendations provided by different research findings. According to Tefera Awotash (2010), who made a comparative study between Ethiopia and South Africa contends that the major effective mechanisms used for increasing women participations in parliament is political knowledge about representation, effective campaigning, increasing the number of women parliamentarian, legislations on equality including gender sensitive electoral law and affirmative action through quotas.

Women participation in politics in at the beginning of the 21st century, over 95 percent of all countries in the world has granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to be elected. However, relatively the low level of women's representation in some European parliaments signifies a violation of women's fundamental democratic right. Some researchers also display that women representation level in Africa is so small. But others argue that women representation in parliaments of Sub –Saharan Africa is slightly increasing because measures were put into use by governments and political parties. Such measures include the setting of affirmative- action type mechanisms known as quotas (Camissa and Rheingold, 2004:181-220).

A country's constitution provides its governing framework and can have a profound impact on a woman's ability to participate in public life. The electoral system in which a female candidate seeks office can impact the results of women's political participation (IPU, 1989:3-15). Research has indicated that list proportional representation (PR) systems are not only the best systems for enforcing special temporary measures such as quotas, but also outperform other electoral systems in the representation of women. If two or more individuals are elected per district, there

is more flexibility and less risk in new players representing a party, making it likely that balanced tickets may be encouraged and more women and more candidates from minorities will be successful (<http://aceproject.org/aceen/topics/es/esd/esd02/esd02e/esd02e01>).

Individual citizens or civil society organizations can play a key role in increasing women's political participation by supporting women candidates and those that support women's rights, advocating for legislation that increases equality and holding their elected leaders accountable for their campaign promises and good governance. Organizations have helped women candidates through public education campaigns, the training of women candidates and financial support. In Haiti, for example, the "Elect Haitian Women" television and radio campaign was run by a local women's group throughout Haiti in 2010 to encourage voters to support women candidates, showcasing local women leaders and using slogans such as, "If we can run our families, we can run our country."

Lack of confidence is one of the main reasons for women's under-representation in formal political institutions, whether parliaments, ministries or political parties. With confidence and determination women can reach the highest levels in the political process. That is why women should believe in themselves and should do away with the widespread perception that men have to be their leaders. Women are equal to and have the same potential as men, but only they can fight for their rights. Women are very good campaigners, organizers and support-mobilizers, but fear sometimes prevents women from contesting elections and from participating in political life." But in Ethiopia this not applicable because of low attitudes on women by the society and by government too. Campaign workshops hosted by international organizations bring together potential candidates with women who have run for office successfully elsewhere. Others such as building the skills and capacity of women party activists and potential candidates, as well as reinforcing among party leaders the value of women as voters, party leaders and candidates. Training workshops focus on campaign skills such as public speaking and organizing voters through social media (UNDP and NDI, 2011).

In general, all sources agree that although governments might declare their commitment to democratic forms of change, it is nevertheless unrealistic to expect governments alone to secure women's rightful place in all spheres of society. Civil society in general, including non-

governmental organizations (NGOs) and women's groups, must play a role in advancing women's representation. Faith-based women's organizations and unique outreach networks are also critical allies (*Ibid*). It is wise to take for granted that women can better take the issue of women if they join parliament and many problems can be redressed.

2.6. Strategies for Increasing Women's Participation

While creating the ideal conditions and institutional structures for women's participation can be difficult and take time, concrete strategies can be implemented in the short term that can contribute to greater numbers of women in public life. Support is needed from both international and local groups to encourage women's participation in politics as well as to continue to pressure political institutions to reform or implement policies that remove roadblocks to women's leadership.

Individual citizens or civil society organizations can play a key role in increasing women's political participation by supporting women candidates and those that support women's rights. EMILY's List in the United States does a combination of all three supporting activities by recruiting and training women candidates, introducing them to key donors and the media and helping them raise funds for their campaigns. Citizens and civic organizations can also support women in political parties and elected office by creating partnerships that can help advance a common agenda. Without much institutional support, women in office need the information that issue-focused groups already have and the public support that membership-based groups can rally. In return, those that support women's rights can introduce legislation and raise the profile of issues that might not be otherwise addressed. The KPPI was founded in Indonesia in 2000 and includes representatives from 17 major political parties including women members of the National Assembly, as well as non-partisan representatives from civil society groups and academic institutions. A major achievement of the group was the enactment of a law that institutionalized a 30 percent quota for women candidates on party lists for the national, provincial and district legislatures. By helping build networks of women, developing relationships and sustaining communication between citizens and government officials at the grassroots level, a cycle can be created that both empowers citizens and makes democracy deliver for all of the population.

Strategies for working with political parties focus on building the skills and capacity of women party activists and potential candidates, as well as reinforcing among party leaders the value of women as voters, party leaders and candidates. Training workshops focus on campaign skills such as public speaking and organizing voters through social media. Multiparty and/or single party programs assess the parties' strengths and weaknesses in recruiting, retaining and promoting women; help parties reform their internal policies and practices to be more transparent and inclusive; and create effective strategies that attract, retain and promote women as members and voters. In Mexico, a coalition of women's organizations advocated for the "2 Percent Law" that mandates that at least 2 percent of the public funding of political parties be used specifically for programs aimed at the training, promotion and development of women's political leadership. In 2012, NDI and UNDP published *Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties: A Good Practices Guide to Promote Women's Political Participation*, looking at a variety of strategies political parties can use throughout the electoral cycle to increase women's political participation.

Strategies to overcome this particular barrier included the creation of a birth certificate registration "drive," bringing the registration officials and paperwork out into communities to make it easier for women to obtain this foundational document. In electoral observation groups, women are often underrepresented and may advocacy backgrounds but lack direct electoral observation experience, making them "unqualified" to be partners in domestic observation coalitions where prior participation is regularly required. One strategy to consider is to review nomination or recruitment processes to ensure that the partnership criteria do not automatically disqualify valuable groups from the outset. To monitor gender as a crosscutting issue in the Ugandan electoral process, NDI provided technical support to the Democracy Monitoring Group (DEM Group) as they developed questions about women's participation in checklists and reporting templates for its observers, conducted focus groups and analyzed public opinion and voter register data. They produced a comprehensive gender analysis on the 2011 elections and recommendations to promote women's political participation in Uganda.

Having attained political office, women may need additional skills, knowledge and self-confidence to perform their jobs effectively. Elected women often have little or no opportunity to develop the type of specialized skills necessary to succeed in public office, and many women cite

a lack of confidence as a barrier to their full participation in political activities because of the attitudes of the society towards women Parliamentary caucuses have helped harness the power of women legislators to increase their influence, add a gender perspective into the policy development process and introduce legislation that address priority issues necessary for the achievement of gender equality. These groups frequently represent a unique space within legislatures for multi-partisan debate, and as such, the ability of the women's caucuses to be effective has reverberations on larger legislative, civic and political processes.

In Macedonia, the Women's Parliamentary Club is a multi-ethnic group of legislators that works across party lines on quality of life issues. The Club has championed measures to improve conditions for women in the workplace that included guaranteeing the right to maternity leave, passed an amendment to Macedonia's Health Care Law mandating free mammograms and presented a legislative initiative to strengthen the Law on Domestic Violence.⁷⁵ IPU has studied gender-sensitive reforms to political institutions, including parliaments, that increase the likelihood that the women who are elected will be able to succeed and seek reelection.

Recently, with the awareness of the "youth bulge" in the Middle East and Africa, a strategy growing in practice is that of bringing young men and women together as activists and party members. As they gain skills and experience, both groups become accustomed to working side by side as equals. Finally, there is the need to better understand and increase women's political participation at the local level.

TO sum up, the discussion of the chapter reveals that the participation of woman in politics remains the same despite some progress. Above all, in Africa woman political participation is challenged by the existence of cultural pluralism which is contravenes with international Human Rights instruments. Education can be considered as one of the factors for women's under representation in key positions of politics. In support of this, Rita (2008) argues that education plays a crucial promising role in women's political representation. This also reveals that most female PMs in the HoPR are less matured in terms of age and they are less trained in terms of their educational status. Therefore, it is possible to say that poor representation of Ethiopian women in the parliament, also relates to the low educational level of women who could be potential candidates to hold key positions of power in the parliament and other decision making

positions in the country. This supports the argument made by Sablewongel (2005) that women as a group are not a small minority but constitutes of half of humanity. So, one cannot speak of democracy, good governance and development, and without women in politics, taking charge of their own destiny, there can be no good governance. In further assertion of this, she said that it is a contradiction to see what a country suppose to achieve while all it's actions are directed away from women so much, so that one would question even the society's' perception and the understanding of the very concept of democracy, good governance and development. The next chapter devoted to the Ethiopian case from historical perspective in detail.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ROLE IN ETHIOPIA: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Pre-1991 Period

A patriarchal society keeps women in a subordinate position (Hirut, 2004). Let us first take a look at the history of Ethiopian women participation in decision making both in parliament and other public offices. Mentwab Zelelew in her study on “Women in Leadership and Decision Making: the Ethiopian Perspective”(2005) made a comprehensive attempt to address the history of women’s participation in decision making. In her assessment of women’s participation in the pre-FDRE government, Mentewab(2005:14-16) indicated some exceptional occasions in the pre-Emperor Hailesillase I regime where women had assumed some kind of leadership and decision making opportunities. Those who were the wives of the rulers, and those who have blood relationship either directly or indirectly with royal families participated in politics. Cases in point were the times of Meskel Kibra(Wife of king Lalibela), Seble Wengel(wife of king Lalibela), Mintewab(Wife of Bakfa), Batti Dill Wonbera (wife of Gragn Ahmed) and most of all Taitu(wife of MenelikII) and empress Zewditu.

In the same vein, according to Meaza (2009:14-50), women have played important political roles mostly by wielding proxy power through birth or marriage. Although there are many women who have played important political and leadership roles in the history of Ethiopia, only few are visible in the existing literatures. For instance, Taitu was acting as the chief advisor of Emperor with particular influence in the area of foreign relations. She holds high profile in the history for patriotism and uncompromisingly pursuing Ethiopia’s independence (Meaza, 2009:15-56).

While probing the Hailesillase’s regime, it was the revised constitution of 1955 that initiated the first merely female parliamentarian. As a result, two women in 1965 and five in 1969 had joined the emperor’s parliament (Mentewab, 2005:19).

In a research article Gemma Burgess(2013)examines the role of women activists who confined in the urban areas in pre-FDRE and FDRE period. The first nation-wide organization was the

Ethiopian Women Welfare Association, set up in 1935. The Association was founded under the suzerainty of Empress Menen with membership drawn mainly from the upper stratum of urban society in Addis Ababa. Its activities were limited mainly to raising funds and subsidizing projects for urban women. It was an organization of elites and closely aligned to the state and in this sense it was similar to the formal women's organizations sometimes referred to as 'first lady' organizations found elsewhere in Africa (Helen, 1992:15-35).

Concerning the Derg period, Mentewab and Gemma(2013) noted that the 1987 constitution and the subsequently proclaimed electoral law had guaranteed the equality of citizens and hence women were entitled to elect and be elected. The regime had also realized the establishment of the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association (REWA) on July 17, 1980. It was a large state organization having almost 5 million members on paper. Based on Gamma's conclusion we can learn that Women during the Derg period in effect had little or no impact on government policies, laws and regulations.

3.2. Post-1991 Period

With regard to the FDRE government, in response to myriad imbalances and problems women encountered in pre-EPRDF Ethiopia, as Mentewab and many others mentioned in the discussions below, the Government of Ethiopia has made a number of efforts to address gender equality issues. These include the provisions in the country's constitution, the Federal Constitution (1995) which guarantees equality between women and men and is appreciably gender sensitive. National laws on the rights of women such as the Family Law (2000) raised the minimum age of marriage to 18 and provided for the fulfillment of essential conditions of marriage including consent of both spouses. Electoral laws assure non-discrimination and provide fertile ground for the participation of women in political life. For example, political parties that give room for female candidates obtain higher portions in the sharing out of government financial support. Institutionally, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) also practically encourages women's political participation (The FDRE Report, 2012:1-60).

Ethiopia has also ratified and domesticated major international and regional human rights instruments: both general as well as women specific to ensure gender equality since 1991. International instruments such as UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which was ratified in September 1981, the Beijing Platform for Action by the government in 1995, and regional such as DEVAW and AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa are the major ones. Moreover, the National Policy on Ethiopian Women (1993), the National Population policy (1993), Education and Training Policy (1994) and the Health Policy (1993), HIV/Aids (1998) policies all provide good examples of gender mainstreaming (*Ibid*).

Besides, the government established the national machinery for addressing gender issues. The government of Ethiopia established institutional structure dedicated for the advancement of women. This Government's commitment to gender equality is evidenced through the establishment of Women's Affairs in 1993 and as of 2005 as a full-fledged Ministry and a member of the national cabinet. It has Department's in all Ministries and Bureau's in all regions, responsible to initiate, coordinate and monitor gender responsive development. The Ministry of Women's Affairs was restructured with extended mandates as the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs (MoMCYA) in 2010. Accordingly, at Regional States Bureaus of Women, Children & Youth Affairs exist and extend to zonal, woreda and kebele levels. Despite improvement, women are still under-represented in political decision-making at all levels (*Ibid*: 37)

Women's Associations both at federal and regional level have been set up with the main objective of safeguarding the rights of women. The associations are destined to provide the provision of free legal services for women. Legal literacy, promotion and advocacy work is also carried out by these associations(*Ibid*, 37-38).

According to the 2012 government report, "within the legislative branch, there are institutional structures that are dedicated to promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women. The women affairs standing committee and the women's caucus in parliament are mentionable in this regard. These structures play the role of watchdog, holding the various sectors within the executive account for the implementation of the gender equality objectives set within the national policy frameworks." They also go further to mainstreaming gender issues in three fold ways: in the workings of other standing committees, examining the adequacy of mainstreaming in sectoral plans and field observations to assess sectoral activities and the handling of gender

concerns within the two houses as well as inspecting budgets from a gender stand point(*Ibid*,38-39)

The country has developed a national human rights action plan with a special section of women and children at Article 3 of the constitution which gives women the right to vote and be elected (the FDRE Constitution, 1995).The government also grants Leadership training plus scholarship opportunities for available women candidates for decision making and leadership positions both in the parliament and other offices to obtain the required educational qualifications (1st and 2nd degree)(The FDRE Report, 2012:35-37).

The government has laid down the required structure encouraging the association of women in platform such as federations; “trade unions; professional associations and government these subsequently help to produce emerging women leaders. “Women and youth federations at regional and national levels, women leaders and groups in trade unions contribute to building critical mass of women leaders”(*Ibid*).The national development plans give particular emphasis to pro-poor sectors such as education, health, agriculture, water and roads. More investment gears towards health, education and agriculture means the burden of women in the reproductive sector might decrease while their access to productive resources might increase (*Ibid*).

Various measures are articulated within policy and legal frameworks to adequately implement these commitments. A case in point is the one which is temporary special measure, i.e., affirmative action. It is applicable in recruitment and promotion as well as in education and training to increase the representation of women in decision making positions. The Constitution clearly provides for the application of affirmative measures both in public and private institutions (*Ibid*).The Civil Service Reform Programs also contributed a lot to women's participation in decision-making. Article 13 (1) of the Civil Service Proclamation No 262/2002 prohibits discrimination among job seeker on the basis of sex. The proclamation also incorporates an affirmative action by stating that preference shall be given to female candidates who have equal or close scores to that of male candidates (the Civil Service Proclamation No 262/2002).

Despite the above provisions and steps, Mentewab believes that women have no meaningful participation in decision making bodies at federal and regional levels. Her point of views is sound and strong as she has refereed the past two national and regional elections of 1995 and

2000 under the FDRE. For instance, in the 1995 election, 77 out of the 1432 members of the regional council were women, 8 out of the 126 members of the House of Federation were women, and out of 547 House of People's Representative (HOPR) members only 13 were women. From this figure we can understand that in the mean time about half of the population of the country, women were under represented in higher positions of the public and the government. She has also compared the situation with other countries that have registered remarkable results in promoting the involvement of more women in decision making. Cases in point are Uganda 39% and Sweden 40.4% women were members of the parliament (Mentewab, 2005: 20-21).

Other sources also confirmed similar justification. Looking at proportion of women in the parliament which is entitled to be the highest legislative body of the nation, though it may seem increasing from time to time, it is still minimal, according to the information gained from international Parliament Union (IPU), in 2005 National election women accounts 21.3%, where as in 2010 national election, their number has increased to 152(27.8%) out of the total 547 seats of HOPR members, with compared to Rwanda (56.3%), and South Africa (45), Angola (37.3%), Mozambique (34.8%), Uganda(30.7%), Burundi (30.5%) and the united Republic of Tanzania (30.4%) (<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>).

The government report also admits that women are not represented in equal proportion with that of men in the legislative arm of government. However, in terms of fulfilling the 30% quota and in comparison with the past governments, Ethiopia has exhibited a lot of progress. Accordingly, there is a growing trend since 1995 all through the four consecutive elections. For instance, the number of elected women in the HoPR was 2.83% in 1995, 7.7% in 2000, 21.4% in 2005 and 27.9% in 2010. The exact number of women in the HoPR and HoF is summarized in the following table.

Table 1: Women's Representation in Federal Parliaments

	2000			2005		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
House of People's Representative	502	42	544	413	117	530
House of Federation	110	70	190	91	21	112
Total						

Similarly, the number of elected women has also increased at regional level with some differences. In Oromiya from 537 seats 199, in Amhara out of 250 seats 84, in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) from 347 seats 95, in Tigray 76 seats out of 157, in Afar from 82 seats 8, in Somali from 160 seats 5 and in Harari from 36 seats 7 are women. The highest representation is in Tigray regional state with 48% women in the regional council. The figure is above 30% in six of the nine regional states. Besides women representation has reached 50% in woreda and kebele councils (The FDRE Report, 2012:35-37).

The increment in the parliament is not just in numbers but is also seen in women occupying important positions. In the past parliament (2010-2015 period), the post of deputy house speaker is occupied by a woman. Women have good representation in parliamentary structures like permanent committees (4 women chairing committees and 91 women members) and advisory committees (4 women members) as well as 9 women members of coordinating committees (*Ibid*).

According to the federal civil service agency, women representation in the executive branch is expressed as follows: (*Ibid*,16)

Table 2: Women representation in the federal executive organ

Positions	2000			2005		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Ministers	16	1	17	20	2	22
Deputy Ministers	12	4	16	30	5	35
Ambassadors	16	4	20	35	3	38

Source: Federal Civil Service Agency

Gender differences in politicians' attitudes have been studied rather frequently. This attitude would be represented if women could get the opportunity to involve in parliament. This study summarized this review around attitudes, priorities, and policy promotion because these dimensions capture the bulk of recent empirical research. There is an agreement in research that gender has an impact; what varies between studies is the strength of the impact.

Women in parliaments tend to be more unique than men, and they tend to be more favorable toward new policies, such as those concerned with environmental protection. Differences also appear on issues that can be defined as women's interests, such as social policy (women support more permissive policies); pornography (women are more skeptical); and affirmative action's such as introducing gender quotas (women are more in favor)(Sawer Marian, 2000:67-69).One limitation in the aforementioned result is that the lack of good cross-country comparative research. It merely conducted and works in Sweden and other European countries. The results presented here should not be interpreted to mean all women in parliament in all country necessarily promote the same kinds of solutions to social problems. The case of Ethiopia needs to be investigated. Moreover, Men and women have different interests, priorities and needs in society; therefore, one group cannot represent the lawful interests of the other. A woman's voice

is indispensable for democracy to embrace the plurality of needs and interests of the whole society (*Ibid*).

Research also shows that women tend to be deeply committed to peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction and have a unique and powerful perspective to bring to the negotiating table. Women often suffer disproportionately during armed conflict and often advocate most strongly for stabilization, reconstruction and the prevention of further conflict. Peace agreements, post-conflict reconstruction and governance have a better chance of long-term success when women are involved. Furthermore, establishing sustainable peace requires transforming power relationships, including achieving more equitable gender relations (<http://www.womenwarpeace.org>).

Women who want to enter politics find that the political, public, cultural and social environment is often unfriendly or even hostile to them. categorize the problems into three areas: political i.e., patriarch which means males superior on females, Socio-economic, and ideological (there is saying "women's place is at home" which shows women's inferiority and psychological (or socio-cultural i.e., women's are considered as less than men's by knowledge and lack confidence).These are the assumptions that many people mention before which affect women's readiness on the work at different positions.

Women in Sub-Saharan African society have been the subject of myriad studies in the United States during the past three decades. While many feminist scholars have examined the “integral role” women have played in local politics of Sub-Saharan Africa for generations. Few works have examined factors that influence the percentage of women in the national parliaments of Sub-Saharan African countries. I will give emphasis on those sources or case studies targeted on examining the increased percentage of women in the HOPR and in the House of Federation of Ethiopia only. This is because it is difficult to make comparison as it takes a lot of space at this specified topic.

While numerous factors can possibly explain this increase, but to summarize, political, socio-economic and cultural factors have been found to significantly affect the percentage of women serving in national parliaments in Ethiopia. When we see political factors, the adoption and implementation of *political quotas* have been found to considerably have an effect on a country's

share of women in parliament. (Zakiya, 2008:1-5).The *timing of suffrage* make share of women in parliament so *small* as Ethiopia granted female suffrage first in 1955 and elected its first female parliamentarian, *Woizero Sinedu Gebru*,in 1957 (Ethiopian Review, 2009). Now it has increased since education and way of thinking improved (Nation Masters Statistics for Suffrage, 2011:1-4).

On the contrary, another research displays that Ethiopian women have a tendency to perceive politics as a man's world or a "no women's land", a domain exclusively constituted by and for men. This prevalent *masculine model of politics* puts a stranglehold on the participation of Ethiopian women who either distance themselves from it or leave all forms of political activity for men(Jelele,2005:21).Also, more alarmingly, the few bold women who get elected or appointed are not able "to share their experience ,challenges and success story"(Meron,2005:77).

The Masculine Model of Politics means all the ins and outs politics is largely being dominated by men; men mostly formulate the rules of the political game; and often determine the standards for evaluation. Moreover, political life is prearranged in accordance with the norms and values of male and in some cases even male lifestyles. It makes difficult for women to come and compete in their style by opposing the status quo (http://www.developmentgoals.org/Gender_Equality.htm).

3.3. Concluding Remarks

The male-dominated working pattern is further reflected in the parliamentary work schedule, which is often characterized by lack of supportive structures for working mothers in general, and for women members of parliament in particular. The succeeding chapter provides concrete analysis based on statistical data.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

As hinted in chapter one, the study focused on Women and political participation in Ethiopia. More particularly, this research emphasize on the role of women in decision making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives of FDRE. The data was collected through questionnaires and interviews that were formulated and guided by the main objectives and the operational variables of the research. This chapter presents the findings of the survey and indepth interview largely conducted in the HoPR.

4.1. Demographic Profile of Participants: General Background

The data below show in Table and present the personal profile of informants such as age, marital status and educational level.

4.1.1. Age of Participants

Table 3: Age of Participants

Age	Male		Female	
Range	N0	%	N0	%
20-29	1	4	4	16
30-39	1	4	10	40
40-49	2	8	5	20
50-59	1	4	1	4
Total	5	20	20	80

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2016

The above Table (Table 3) illustrated that 4% of the Female Parliamentarians and 40% males are within the average of 20-29 ages where as 4% males and 40% females of 30-39 years and 8% males and 20% females while 4% males and 4% females 40-49 years.

With regard to the age difference between male and female parliamentarians, most of the members of Parliamentarians are above the age range of 36-45 years, while more than half of the women Parliamentarians are below 45 years old. This data reveals, women at this age are married and engaged in child a bearing activity which is a double burden to involve in politics unlike the men folks are. This finding of the study is also supported by the data on the marital status of parliamentarians in the HOPR which is shown below. But this result of the study is contrary to Fox (1997) assertion that women are more likely to enter in politics at advanced age than men.

4.1.2. Marital Status of Women Parliamentarians

Table 4: Respondents' Marital Status

Marital Status	Male		Female	
	NO	%	NO	%
Married	3	8	13	50
Divorced	1	4	1	4
Single	1	4	2	6
Total	5	16	16	60

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2016

As can be seen in the Table above 50% of the female and 8% of males in the PMs were married while 4% males and 4% were single. About 4% males and 20% of the men PMs from the ruling party were also were divorced. As the data in table 2, illustrated, majority (75%) of the FPMs are married. In relation with this finding, Jalele (2005) said that women are responsible for domestic tasks such as household and family responsibilities at home. While it is not possible to argue that

a woman's engagement in marriage does not necessarily imply a challenge for all women PMs. In further assertion of this, Rita (2008) explains that married women politicians made an extra effort to prove they are politically capable, earn respect and to be competent with men.

4.1.3. Educational Status of Participants

Table 5: Respondents' Educational Status

Educational status	Male		Female	
	NO	%	NO	%
BA/BSC	3	12	17	68
MA	2	8	3	12
PHD	-	-	-	-
Total	5	20	20	80

Source: Survey conducted in March 2016

The data in the above table indicates variation of educational status of female and male parliamentarians. When the educational ladder of participants goes from the lower to the higher level the number of women parliamentarians get lesser and lesser. So, education can be considered as one of the factors for women's under representation in key positions of politics. In support of this, Rita (2008) argues that education plays a crucial promising role in women's political representation. This also reveals that most female PMs in the HoPR are less matured in terms of age and they are less trained in terms of their educational status. Therefore, it is possible to say that poor representation of Ethiopian women in the parliament, also relates to the low educational level of women who could be potential candidates to hold key positions of power in the parliament and other decision making positions in the country.

4.2. Perception of participants about woman Political participation

Table 6: Assessment of Political Participation and Decision Making of Women in Ethiopia

Issues	A bit agree		Partially agree		Highly agree		A bit disagree		Partially disagree		Highly Disagree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
I am eager in political issues	-	-	-	-	25	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100
Women are equal with men	-	-	-	-	25	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100
Women in Ethiopia hold low status in society	-	-	18	72	7	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100
The political representation of women is still small in Ethiopia	-	-	4	16	21	84	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100
Women's political participation & decision making in Ethiopia's politics is very important aspect as it enhances the welfare of our society	-	-	5	20	2	8	-	-	-	-	7	28	25	100
Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Educational & Economic barriers'	4	16	4	16	-	-	3	12	-	-	14	56	25	100
Women in Ethiopia are/were not given the opportunity to	-	-	2	8	3	12	2	8	8	32	10	40	25	100

participate in decision making processes at all levels														
Women's participation in the decision making process will have a great impact to safeguard their interests	2	8	8	32	12	44	-	-	-	\\ \\-	3	12	25	98

This shows the finding above that all of the respondents 100% said 'highly agree' to the question 'whether she/he was eager about political issues and women are equal with men'. One could grasp from this that all of the respondents were eager about political issues and concerning the equality of men and women. For the question "women in Ethiopia hold low status in the society" 72% of the respondents said 'partially agree' while 28% of the respondents said 'highly agree'. This indicates that less concern was given to the status of women in Ethiopia.

For the question 'the political representation women is still small in Ethiopia', 48% said 'highly agree', 16% while 28% said 'Highly disagree'. One can conclude from this that, women occupy a little place in politics. Everina (2010) on the changing status of Ethiopian women in the country's politics. According to her, women's representation in Ethiopian politics is improving through time. The numerical growth of women's representation from one parliament during the Feudal regime to the present Federal parliament indicates the gradual recognition of the importance of women's political participation in the country (2010:36).

During the monarchy there were very few women politicians but due to their parental and marital tie with top government officials such as the king and landlords they were free to take part in politics. When we come to Dergue the same thing was true; women's political participation was cosmetics. This situation of women gets worse in the current government(Federal). It is only those women who are loyal for the ruling party who get the chance to hold seats in the parliament and other decision making positions of politics but there are women who are competent even if they are few in number.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the descriptive representation of Ethiopian women is improving from one election season to the other. But this argument does not mean numerical progress in women representation is a guarantee for equal participation of women in the decision making positions of the country's politics, not only that the proportional seats held by FPMs in the parliament is not comparable with the desired and the total Female population in the country.

For the question "Women's political participation & decision making in Ethiopia's politics is very important aspect as it enhances the welfare of our society" 20% of the respondents said highly agree, 72% of the respondents said 'highly disagree' while 8% of the respondents said 'partially agree'. From this, one can recommend that, attention must be given for women's political participation & decision making in Ethiopia's politics context. To answer the question "Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Educational & Economic barriers". Approximately 56% said 'highly disagree', 16% responded 'partially agree' while 16% responded 'a bit agree' and 12% responded 'a bit disagree'. This reveals that women's face challenges to to become independent and involve in the politics. According to the table 4 above, most of respondents acknowledged that 40% 'highly agree', 32% 'partially agree' while 8% 'a bit agree'. It can be inferred that, most women lack an adequate governmental policies, strategies and laws that addresses the negative customs and practices, which foster women's marginalization and disfavor able political sphere. For the question "Women in Ethiopia are/were not given the opportunity to participate in decision making processes at all levels" 40% of the respondents said 'highly disagree' 32% responded 'partially disagree', 32% responded 'highly agree' while 8% of the respondents said 'partially agree'. This indicated that there was less opportunity for women to participate in decision making processes. While further affirming this, Kahan and Coldenberg (1991) cited in Fox (1997) said that female candidates receive less news coverage and even the coverage they do receive concentrates more on their viability and less on their issue positions. In addition, for him medias often employ traditional gender stereotypes that has two manifestations:

One, the existence of direct media coverage. This often involves the act of gender based discrimination in which journalists and editors choose to portray female candidates negatively because of their gender. Two, this bias also occurs when female and male candidates are portrayed in the media through gender stereotyped manner. In this form

of bias the media depict male and female candidates in terms of the stereotypical social inequalities that compose traditional sex roles which impact their ability to win the mind of the electorates (1997, p.183).

To answer the question, “Women’s participation in the decision making process will have a great impact to safeguard their interests”. 44% of the respondents said ‘highly agree’ while 32% of the respondents said ‘partially agree’, 32% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’ and 8% said ‘a bit agree’.

Table 7: Feedback to Assess the Political Participation and Decision Making of Women in the HoPR

Issues	Agree		Partially agree		Highly agree		I don’t care		Partially agree		Highly disagree		Total	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Men and women have different interests, priorities and needs in society that should be reflected in the HoPR.					10	40	2	8	2	8	11	44	25	100
The participation of women in decision making both in HoPR and HoF is meager.			3	12	15	60					7	28	25	100
The ratification of laws in the HoPR guarantees the respect of women right.	-	-	4	16	21	84	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100

According to table 7, for the question “Men and women have different interests, priorities and needs in society that should be reflected in the HoPR” 44% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’, 40% of the respondents said ‘highly agree’ while 8% of the respondents said ‘partially disagree’ and the rest 8% of the respondents said ‘I don’t care’. From this, one can deduce that both have no different interests, priorities and needs in society that should be reflected in the HoPR.

For the question, “The participation women in decision making both in HoPR/HoF is meager” 28% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’, 60% of the respondents said ‘highly agree’ while 12% of the respondents said ‘partially agree’. From this one can examine that, women participation in decision making both in HoPR/HoF was not fair enough. For the question “The ratification of laws in the HoPR guarantee the respect of women right”, 84% of the respondents said ‘highly agree’ while 16% of the respondents said ‘Partially agree’. This implies that the right of was guaranteed in the HoPR.

Table 8: Feedback to Assess the Level of Challenges Facing Women in the Political Participation and Decision Making Process in the HoPR

Issues	A bit agree		Partially agree		Highly agree		A bit disagree		Partially disagree		Highly disagree		Total	
	N0	%	N0	%	N0	%	N0	%	N0	%	N0	%	N0	%
I perceive politics as a man’s world or a “no women’s land’and ‘Since women has no majority in the seats of the HOPR, women’s voice is unheard”											25	100	25	100
Women have less membership number in the political organizations/parties									2	8	23	92	25	100
Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, for this reason women can’t make their self-assertions and lose their self-confidence									9	36	16	64	25	100
Women lack communications and access of information in decision making process									16	64	9	36	25	100
The only means in which women can overcome their political challenges is to get political empowerment such as leadership trainings, financial supports, awareness and mobilizations	7	28	10	40					3	12	5	20	25	100

For the question “I perceive politics as a man’s world or a “no women’s land’ and ‘Since women has no majority in the seats of the HOPR, women’s voice is unheard” 100% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree. This reflects that women have their own share in the politics of a given country like men. As it is shown in the Table above, 92% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’ while 8% ‘partially disagree’, for the question “Women have less membership number in the political organizations/parties, which limits women to have an equal opportunities in candidacy for the election. 64% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’ while 36% of the respondents said ‘partially disagree’. This implies that less number of women did not affect their opportunities in candidacy for the election. This supports the argument made by Sablewongel (2005) that women as a group are not a small minority but constitutes of half of humanity. So, one cannot speak of democracy, good governance and development without women in politics, taking charge of their own destiny, there can be no good governance. In further assertion of this, she said that it is a contradiction to see what a country suppose to achieve while all its actions are directed away from women so much, so that one would question even the society’s’ perception and the understanding of the very concept of democracy, good governance and development.

From the above table it can be observed that 64% said ‘partiallydisagree’, while 36% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’ for the question‘Women in the decision making positions feel isolated, for this reason women can’t make their self-assertions and lose their self-confidence’. The finding shows that women are confidential and did not feel isolated. In further assertion of this, Phillip (1980) cited in Randall (1991) said that any woman in politics is at a distinct advantage in which there are a lot of men around. For her if someone is a woman, she can realistically articulate and can state her case, can be noticed and remembered much longer than men.

The finding above shows that 40% of the respondents said ‘a bit agree’, 28% of the respondents said ‘a bit agree’, 12% of the respondents said ‘partially disagree’while 20% of the respondents said ‘highly disagree’ for the question‘Women lack communications and access of information in decision making process’. From this one can grasp that, to some extent women lack communications and access of information in decision making process. For the question “The only means in which women can overcome their political challenges is to get political empowerment such as leadership trainings, financial supports, awareness and mobilizations’,

40% of the respondents said 'partially agree', 24% of the respondents said 'highly agree', 20% of the respondents said 'highly disagree' while 16% of the respondents said 'partially disagree'. This indicates that women's need different training and support to take part in the political system.

Table 9: Feedback to assess measures to be taken so as to increase the political participation and decision making of women in Ethiopia in general and women in HOPR in Particular

Issues	A bit agree		Partially agree		Highly agree		I don't care		Partially disagree		Highly disagree		Total	
	NO	%	N	%	NO	%	N	%	NO	%	N	%	NO	%
The adoption of electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation	-	-	8	32	8	32	1	4	3	12	2	8	25	100
Women's civic education and economic empowerment are significant for their political participation & decision making in the HoPR	6	24	6	24	9	36	-	-	-	-	4	16	25	100
Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing the public misperceptions towards women's political participations and decision making rights are another means that use to empower women'	1	4	9	36	14	60	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	100

For the question 'The adoption of electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation. 32% of respondents said 'Partially Disagree', 32% said 'highly agree', 12% said 'Partially disagree' while 8% said 'highly disagree', 8% said 'I don't care'. It can be deduced that, adoption is the best way to allow women in political participation. According to one informant from interview;

Quota alienates women's psychological readiness to compete actively with others, It's positive impact on women's political participation is minimal. It makes them apathetic. It will not helps women to political knowledge rather it makes them dependent on the

reserved seats leaved for them. Not only that, quota provision underestimates the performance of non quota beneficiary female and male politicians.

Regarding the question “Women’s civic education and economic empowerment are significant for their political participation & decision making in the HoPR”. 36% of respondents said ‘highly agree’, 24% said ‘Partially agree’, 24% said ‘A bit agree’ while 16% said ‘highly disagree’. It can be inferred that education and economic empowerment plays a great role for Women’s political participation and decision making in the HoPR. Interview analysis supports this view in that civic education and economic empowerments facilitates more changes, and pave the way for more spaces to women; calls for the efficient, maximum and equitable utilization of human, financial, material and information resources by all human beings. Concerning the question ‘Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing the public misperceptions towards women’s political participations and decision making rights are another means that use to empower women’. 60% of respondents said ‘highly agree’, 36% said ‘Partially agree’ while 4% said ‘A bit agree’. From this one can understand that awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing the public misperceptions towards women’s political participations & decision making rights are the best mechanisms to empower women.

4.3. Findings of the Interview

As the data obtained from the interview indicated that in many societies’ women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions. As to the case of Ethiopia, women’s status in the political and public sector is very recent phenomena and still their participation is very low. They are still largely underrepresented in decision-making positions at all levels. They have also not made major progress in attaining political power in legislative bodies. The number of elected women representatives is still low. More and more women are engaged in formal employment, but are underrepresented in middle and higher management positions. The number of women leaders and decision makers at the various level of the decentralized government structure is still very low. They have been depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hear say, utterly incompetent and less intelligent. This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to

pursue their political rights as an active participant. For a woman to enter politics, such patriarchal attitudes make it even harder. The truth is that such attitudes are not a thing of the past. Such attitudes towards women still exist in societies all over the world today – in both developed and developing countries.

There was a cross section of factors that hinders women's access to political participation in Ethiopia. However, the government of Ethiopia has declared its commitment to gender equality and empowerment of women by stipulating the rights of women in its constitution, issuing the women's policy of the country and National Action Plan for gender equality to put gender mainstreaming into action in Ethiopia and in its regions across the various policies. Despite all these, women are still at the subordinate position and women in the country occupy low status in the society. Their involvement in policy formulation and decision making processes has been minimal. But, if half of the world's population remains vulnerable to economic, political, legal and social marginalization, the hope of advancing democracy and prosperity will remain in serious jeopardy. In spite of the fact that world over today, democracy has become a vital tool for attaining sustainable development; the impact of the definition of democracy remains elusive. Political participation, which is the manifestation of democracy and allows for diversity of opinion and participation of both men and women cannot thrive by excluding the women folk that constitute half of the world's population. Without equal participation of women to political process, the hope for democracy and democratization is none sense. While further affirming this, Kahan and Coldenberg (1991) cited in Fox (1997) said that female candidates receive less news coverage and even the coverage they do receive concentrates more on their viability and less on their issue positions. In addition, for him, medias often employ traditional gender stereotypes that has two manifestations.

Traditionally the roles assigned for women in the society influence their behaviors and personality at early age. For him, this negative perception of the society considers Ethiopian women as inadequate, incompetent and insufficient in leadership activities. Similarly, for Almaz (1991) many sayings and stereotypical proverbs portray women as stupid, unreasonable, untrustworthy and evil which be little women and makes their inclusion in politics and decision making insignificant. In line with this, Wright (2002)cited in Rita (2008), explains that the assignment of Ethiopian women to household chores and men to other prestigious jobs outside

home restrain women to take part in politics while political participation demand both time and energy to win the mind of voters. Concerning the electoral system of Ethiopia as a prospect for women political participation, 72 (90%) of the FPMs, 57 (86.36%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 24 (38.1%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or 153 (73.21%) of the parliamentarians expressed their agreement that the electoral system of Ethiopia is encouraging for women's political participation but about 32 (50.79%) of the MPMs from opposition parties contradict the same view.

The method of voting employed by a given political system has a significant impact in supporting and hindering women's political representation. Electoral systems like Proportional Representation System encourage women's participation and relatively promote women for a position of power but systems of Simple Plurality somehow associated with women's low representation (Currel, 1974). On the basis of this it is found necessary to study the view of parliamentarians. Coming to Ethiopia the type of electoral system which is followed by the government is Plurality or Simple Majority. As it candidates win seats on the basis of the majority vote they obtain from voters. Supporting the opinion of male parliamentarians from opposition political parties, Alemu (2007) said that the electoral law of Ethiopia is not encouraging because the law does not give special place for women candidates and is not gender sensitive rather the working of the electoral laws is on the belief of equality of opportunity for all competent citizens. But the opposite is true for FDRE (2008) the Revised Political Parties Registration Proclamation No.573/2008, Article 45 the criteria for the government support of political parties is based on *The number of female candidates by the political parties, among others*. In further assertion of this, according to NEBE (2010) the accepted budget formula stated that:

55% of the total state financial subsidiary be distributed on the basis of seats parties have in the federal and regional councils; 25% of it to be on the number of candidates the parties fielded for the federal house and regional councils; 10% of it on the number of women candidates fielded by the political parties; and the remaining 10% distributed on equal basis to legally registered political parties (2010:25).

As it is stated above there is a pattern of improvement in considering gender as one aspect of government support of political parties which directly or indirectly initiate political parties to maximize their female nominees. With regard to the newly adopted conventions on the rights of women, 65 (81.25%) of the FPMs, 62 (93.94%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 35 (55.56%) of the MP from opposition parties or a total of 162 (77.51%) participants agreed that the adopted international conventions on the rights of women are enhancing women's political participation in Ethiopia. So, as the respondents of this study are members of the highest political organ of Ethiopia their positive attitudes to these conventions will be helpful for better implementation of the conventions on the rights of women.

In connection to this, one informant from the parliament suggested that, in Ethiopian societies, continuing uneven distribution of family care responsibilities means that women spend far more time than men in home- and child-care. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that women pay a "motherhood penalty," across fields relating not just to the time, effort, and medical care of pregnancy and child birth, but to the far greater maternal involvement necessary for breastfeeding, and to the persistent tendency of women to do a larger share of child areas the child grows. Anyone deeply involved in childcare, whether male or female, would face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position; because the work is rarely equally shared, women are more disadvantaged.

There is a belief that women are docile, submissive, patient, and tolerant of monotonous work and violence, for which culture is used as a justification (Hirut, 2004). Like many African Countries, the majority of Ethiopian women hold low status in the society. Different studies indicated the low status of women in developing countries in general and in Ethiopia in particular (Almaz, 1991; Hirut, 2004; Mukuria et al., 2005). They have been denied equal access to education, training, and gainful employment opportunities, and their involvement in policy formulation and decision making processes has been minimal. Obviously, women play a vital role in the community by taking care of all societal activities. However, they do not enjoy the fruits of their labor and suffer from political, economical, societal, and cultural marginalization. According to Meaza (2009), although there are many women who have played important political and leadership roles in the history of Ethiopia, only few are visible in the existent literatures (Meaza, 2009). The same source has indicated that women have played important

political roles mostly by wielding proxy power through birth or marriage. In support to this idea, as Teshome (1979) stated, in Ethiopian history, women did great contributions in both out and in door activities especially in battles and other activities. They have been actively participating in rural area in agriculture, commercial, undertaking reproduction and social responsibilities. However, their misfortunes of living in the shadow of men have hidden from view such highly notable performances. They have been forced to lose confidence in themselves and so have been unable to act on their own action directly concerning themselves.

Many other women, in Ethiopia women are traditionally in charge of domestic chores, while men are responsible for activities outside the home. Hence, men often spend their free time socializing outside the home, while women take care of the household responsibilities which makes them difficult to engage in politics. One key informant from the parliament. As expressed by him, As expressed by one of key informant from the parliament, the party he is working for is against quota. In further assertion of this he said:

Quota is the principle of Revolution, and it is symbolic. It was Dergue who initially introduced the quota system for it's cheap political advantage under its slogan of Democratic Revolution and EPRDF in the name of Revolutionary Democracy, their policy in one way or another is the same. it is a matter of change of name....Quota alienates women's psychological readiness to compete actively with others, It's positive impact on women's political participation is minimal. It makes them apathetic. It will not helps women to updates their political knowledge rather it makes them dependent on the reserved seats leaved for them. Not only that, quota provision underestimates the performance of non quota beneficiary female and male politicians.

He added:“Quota and loyalty should be separated. Otherwise politics will be the arena of women who held key positions of politics for nothing.” Generally, as the data obtained from survey questionnaire and in-depth interview depicts the response of MPMs from opposition parties was supportive for the arguments made against quota compared to those Female and Male participants from the ruling party.

The finding of this study is supported by interview conducted with key indicated that:

Most committee leadership positions in HOPR are held by men, even the two committees which are lead by women: the Social and Women Affairs controlled by those around the ruling party. Former by the first lady, it is no what she get it because she is competent it is rather because of the fact that she is the wife of the Prime Minster, and the later by a woman from the ruling party.

One of the committee which entirely works on women is Women Affairs Standing Committee. This committee has a mandate to monitor the following institutions and departments:

- ❖ The Ministry of Women's Affairs-The ministry has the power and the duty, among others, to initiate recommendations on the protection of the rights and interests of women at national level and follow up the implementation of the same by devising strategies and follow up mechanisms, to ensure that the preparation of policies, legislations, development programs and projects by federal government organs give due consideration give due consideration to gender issues. Moreover, the ministry has the mandate to undertake students to promote the well being of mothers and children and implement the same in cooperation with other organs.
- ❖ Women's Affairs Department of the Environmental Protection Authority— one of its objectives includes ensuring that all developmental activities are carried out in a number that will protect welfare of human beings.
- ❖ Women's Affairs Department of Ethiopian National News Agency-has the power to issue, suspend and cancel a broadcasting service license. It also has the power to issue permits and control the manner of use of radio waves allocated for broadcasting.
- ❖ Women's Affairs Department of Federal Civil Service Agencies-has the mandate to prepare laws and policies relating to civil servants as well as to adjudicate cases involving violations of rights of civil servants.
- ❖ The Ethiopian Women Development Fund (HOPR, 2009)- is empowered to assist in the capacity building of women and in the promotion and protection of the rights of women. This implies that the committee was not as such active in bringing new policy legislations for parliamentary session to be approved by the members of the house. With this regard the agreement of parliamentarians on women

parliamentarians' participation in the committees does not consider the activities of the committee and the role of women parliamentarians within them.

Generally, one can deduce that women's equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved. Women exclusion from political and public leadership and decision making structures and processes is observed as the result of multiple socio-cultural, individual, and institutional factors. As a result, women are denied their right over resources (economical resources, such as income generating skills, tools and opportunities; political resources such as representative organizations, education, public spheres experiences, self confidences and credibility; and time resources).

4.4. Concluding Remarks: The Synthesis

It is concluded that women are not only kept away from higher leadership positions, but also from access to higher education which makes them develop skills, and capacitate them with managerial decision making techniques, help them develop confidence in holding leadership positions. The finding of the study indicated that the majority of respondents confirmed that if favorable conditions are set at place and women are provided the position to lead, they areas effective and successful as or more than that of their male counterparts. This indicates that there is some encouraging but needing strengthen attitudinal changes among the role of women in HOPR in Ethiopia towards leadership and decision making. Most women lack an adequate governmental policies, strategies and laws that address the negative customs and practices, which foster women's marginalization and disfavor able political sphere. The Ministry of Women's Affairs-The ministry has the power and the duty, among others, to initiate recommendations on the protection of the rights and interests of women at national level and follow up the implementation of the same by devising strategies and follow up mechanisms, to ensure that the preparation of policies, legislations, development programs and projects by federal government organs give due consideration give due consideration to gender issues. In addition, awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing the public misperceptions towards women's

political participations & decision making rights are the best mechanisms to empower women. In Ethiopian societies, continuing uneven distribution of family care responsibilities means that women spend far more time than men in home- and child-care. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that women pay a “motherhood penalty,” across fields relating not just to the time, effort, and medical care of pregnancy and child birth, but to the far greater maternal involvement necessary for breastfeeding, and to the persistent tendency of women to do a larger share of child areas the child grows. Anyone deeply involved in childcare, whether male or female, would face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position; because the work is rarely equally shared, women are more disadvantaged.

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political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

In this chapter summary of the major finding of the study, conclusions drawn on the basis of the findings and recommendations that are considered to be useful to assess Women and political participation in Ethiopia: the role of women in decision making process in the house of people representatives of FDRE.

5.1. Summary

The main purpose of this study was to find out the participation of women in the political arena of Ethiopia. Above all, the role of women in decision making process in the house of people representatives of FDRE. The central question addressed in this study was examine the trend of woman participation in politics by taking the HoPR as a case study. So, the main purpose of the research was to uncover the situation of the formerly disadvantaged woman in the present day federal Ethiopia and propose possible solutions to address the root of the problem. To do so, the researcher consulted the available primary and secondary data sources. The Primary data presented in this thesis stems from questionnaire and in-depth interviews. To corroborate these primary data sources, the investigator has also made use of published and unpublished secondary sources.

The study found out that

- ❖ The lack of economic power, Women consider themselves as the sexual property of their husbands.
- ❖ Women's decisions are ignored due to their minority in decision making positions
- ❖ Women have no full participation because of their low self-esteem
- ❖ Women are lose their confidence and would, due to their lack of political experiences which are based on traditional way of life

Women are loyal for this reason men are not want to them. They opposed women to hold a public positions and if they hold they don't give support rather than resists Since male are dominant, women lacked communications due to social stigma

- ❖ As it is shown in the finding and the observation of the researcher the current quota system lacks follow up which is manifested on male domination of parliamentary standing committees which is clearly prevail in the parliament.
- ❖ Male members of opposition parties and some other MPMs from the ruling party are against gender based quota which makes the adoption of quota to increase Ethiopian women's political participation a difficult task to get acceptance by other parties.
- ❖ As it is supported by participants, the possibility of women to hold 40 % - 50 %seats in the parliament would not be achieved in the coming May 2010 National Election, as the current political dynamics of the country can be taken as a true indication that the number of women will not reach to the above mentioned percent in the HOPR.

5.2. Conclusions

Overall, From the findings of this study it can be concluded that woman's participation in federal Ethiopia show promising progress in the HoPR. The percentage of woman parliamentarians show steady increment in every election period. Women's participation in the HoPR standing committee was also quite impressive. Besides, there is a Woman Affairs Standing Committee and Women's Coccus in the HoPR that stands exclusively for woman's rights and other awareness creation activities. Yet, the number of woman in key decision-making positions is insignificant. Still, man's dominance is very visible.

5.3 Recommendations

In order to increase women's substantial representation and meaningful participation in decision-making in politics in general and in the HoPR in particular, we need to;

- ❖ affirmative action measures such as quota for women politicians needs to receive due recognition by political parties and their members (both male and female) as political parties are the gatekeepers of women political participation.
- ❖ Male members of the parliament and quota non receiving female parliamentarians should be supportive of quota receiving female parliamentarians and need to encourage them. Because the negative attitude towards them might affect beneficiaries' aspiration of key positions in the parliament.
- ❖ Quota receiving women politicians should be aware of the fact that quota is not a last long solution for women's ill political representation. So, they have to work together with other PMs(Members of Parliament) and quota non receiving women politicians to develop the society's level of awareness about the importance of women's political participation through advocacy programmers'.
- ❖ women politicians and public officials in the lower level of government have to create awareness among young girls in schools through Civic and Ethical Education about the importance of women's political representation, so this enables them to have good background and develop cope up mechanisms to resist the barriers for women's political aspiration.
- ❖ The HOPR needs to build that capacity of women parliamentarians through the provision of special assistance for them in the form of trainings and other methods to make them competent politicians.
- ❖ The "*Caucus Group*" in the parliaments needs to work with men members of the parliament as it is evidenced and known that assuming gender equality is a difficult task without men who are sympathetic for women's political participation.
- ❖ Regulations which govern committee membership should be amended to enable women parliamentarians to raise gender issues in the committees through double and triple memberships in various committees.

- ❖ The implementation of the varying laws on the rights of women to achieve gender equality must be mandatory. The parliament as it is the highest political organ of the country needs to oversee the activities of concerned bodies to enforce the laws and made them accountable.
- ❖ Clear guidelines for modalities and implementation of affirmative measures that lead to empowering women and creating their ability to critically engage with the state and the society for a social change and gender equality should be developed.
- ❖ Research, documentation and dissemination of successful experiences in the world is needed to promote women's participation in politics and development.
- ❖ As far as my observation is concerned, civil society in general, including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women's groups, should play a role in moving forward women.

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የተከበሩ /ክብርት

ጤና ይስጥልኝ!!!!

በቅድሚያ ውድ ጊዜዎን ሰውተው ይህንን የምርምር መጠይቅ ለመመለስ ፈቃደኛ በመሆንዎት እጅግ አመሰግናለሁ። የዚህ የምርምር መጠይቅ ዋና አላማ “ ሴቶችና ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ በኢትዮጵያ፡ሴቶች በኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ ህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ያላቸው የውሳኔ ሰጭነት ሚና ” በሚል ርእስ የማስተርስ የመመረቂያ ፅሁፍ እያዘጋጀሁ ስለሆነ ለዚህ የሚረዳኝን መረጃ ለመሰብሰብ ይረዳኝ ዘንድ ነው። የሚሰጡኝ መልስ ለአካዳሚክ ጉዳይ ብቻ የሚውልና ሚስጥራዊነቱ የተጠበቀ ስለሆነ ዘና ብለው እንዲሞሉ አሳስባለሁ። የርስዎን ፕሮፋይል ማዎቅ ደግሞ የተለያዩ የህብረተሰብ ክፍልን የሚወክሉ ሰዎች ያላቸውን ምልክታ ለማዎቅና ለማድነቅ ይጠቅማል። ስለዚህም ፈቃድዎ ከሆነ ስምዎትን ፣ ልምድዎትን ና ሌሎች ያለፉ መረጃዎትን እንደጥያቄው ይዘት መሰረት ይመልሱልኝ ዘንድ እጠይቃለሁ። በተቻለዎ መጠን ሁሉንም ጥያቄዎች ይመልሱልኝ ዘንድ በአክብሮት እየጠየኩ ጊዜዎን ሰውተው ለሚያደርጉልኝ ላቅ ያለ ትብብር በድጋሚ አመሰግናለሁኝ።

አጠቃላይ መመሪያ፡ይህ መጠይቅ አራት ክፍሎች አሉት ። የእነዚህ ጥያቄዎች ትክክለኛውን መለስ በማክበብ ወይም እንደየአስፈላጊነቱ ደግሞ በክፍት ቦታው ላይ በአጭሩ በመጻፍ ይመለሱ ። ምንም አይነት ጥያቄ ሰይመለስ እንዳይቀር በአክብሮት እጠይቃለሁ።

የፍት ለፊት ገፅ፡የመላሾች አጠቃላይ መረጃ

1. ሙሉ ስምዎት (ፈቃደኛ ከሆኑ) _____
2. ያጠናቀቁትን ክፍተኛውን የትምህርት ደረጃ ያመልክቱ
 - A. ሁለተኛ ደረጃ ትምህርት ያጠናቀቀ ወይም ተቀራራቢ
 - B. የሙያ /የ-ቴክኒክ ትምህርት ያጠናቀቀ
 - C. ኮሌጅ ዲፕሎማ
 - D. ዲግሪ
 - E. ማስተርስ ዲግሪ(ኤምኤ/ኤምኤሲ)
 - F. ዶክትሬት ዲግሪ
 - G. ሌላ ካለ _____
3. የታዎ A.ወንድ B.ሴት
4. እድሜዎት A.ከ20 በታች B. 20-29 C.30-39 D.40-49 E.50-59
5. የሚሰሩበት ድርጅት የትኛው ነው
 - A. የህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት
 - B. የፌዴሬሽን ምክርቤት
 - C. ህጻናትና ወጣቶችና ሴቶች ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር
 - D. ሲቪል ሶሳይቲ ፡ ከሆነ ስሙ ይገለፅ _____
 - E. ሌላ ካለ ስሙ ይገለፅ _____
6. በመስራቤትዎ ያለዎ ሃላፊነት _____

7. የጋብቻ ሁኔታ A. ያገባ B.የፈታ C.ላጤ
8. የስንት አመት የስራ ልምድዎ አለዎት? A.< 5 B. 5 -10 አመታት C. 11 - 15 አመታት D. 16 - 20 አመታት E. 21 - 25 አመታት F. ከ25 አመታት በላይ
9. ብሄርዎ _____
10. ሀይማኖትዎ ምንድን ነው? A. ኦርቶዶክስB. ካቶሊክ C.ፕሮቴስታንት D. ሙስሊም E. ባህላዊ ሀይማኖት F. ሌላ ካለ ስሙ ይገለፅ _____

ክፍል 1: የሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ና ውሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና በኢትዮጵያ ግምገማ

ትእዛዝ: የሚሰማው በት መልስ ላይ የራይት ምልክት (✓) በማስቀመጥ በሰንጠረዥ ላለው ሀሳብ ደረጃ ይሰጡ :

ጉዳዮች	በጥቂቱ እስማማለሁ	በከፊል እስማማለሁ	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እስማማለሁ	ምንም ዓይነትም አይደለም	በትንሹ አልስማማም	በከፊል አልስማማም	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ አልስማማም
የፖለቲካ ጉዳዮች ትኩረቱን ይስባሉ?							
ሴቶች ከወንዶች ጋር እኩል ናቸው							
ሴቶች በኢትዮጵያ ማህበረሰብ ዘንድ ዝቅተኛ ስፋር ይሰጣቸዋል							
የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ በኢትዮጵያ አሁንም ድረስ ዝቅተኛ ነው							
የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ና ውሳኔ ሰጭነት ሚና በኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ በጣም አስፈላጊ የሆነው የማህበረሰቡን ደህንነት ከፍ ስለሚያደርግ ነው							
ሴቶች በኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ የመሳተፍ ሀይላቸው የሚገደበው ባላቸው የትምህርትና የኢኮኖሚ አለመሳካት ነው::							
ሴቶች በኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ የመሳተፍ ሀይላቸው የሚገደበው በተሳሳተ ሀይማኖታዊ መረዳት ነው							
የሴቶች ድርጅቶች ሴቶችን ስልጣን መስጠት ና ከነርሱ ጋር ህብረት የመፍጠር ጉድለት ይታይባቸዋል::							
በሴቶች ድርጅቶችና በሴት ፖለቲከኞች መካከል ያለው ትብብር ከፍ ያለ ነው							
ሴቶች ራሳቸውን ዝቅ በሚያደርጉና በፖለቲካው መስክ ያላቸውን ተሳትፎ በሚገድቡ ጎጂ ባህላዊ ልማዶችና ተግባራትን በመከላከል ላይ ትኩረት በሚሰጡ የመንግስት ፖሊሲዎች ስትራቴጂዎችና ህጎች ያላቸው ግንዛቤ በቂ አይደለም							
ሴቶች በኢትዮጵያ በሁሉም							

መስክ በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ሚና ተሳትፎ እድሉ አይሰጣቸውም ነበር አሁንም ድረስ							
ሴቶች በኢትዮጵያ በሁሉም መስክ በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ተሳትፎ ማድረጋቸው ፍላጎታቸውን ለማስጠበቅ ትልቅ ተፅእኖ ያሳድራል							

ክፍል 2: በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የውሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ግምገማ

ትእዛዝ የሚሰጣቸውበት መልስ ላይ የራይት ምልክት (✓) በማስቀመጥ በሰንጠረዥ ላለው ሀሳብ ደረጃ ይሰጡ :: የማብራሪያ ጥያቄዎችንም ይመልሱ::

ጉዳዮች	በጥቂቱ እስማማለሁ	በከፊል እስማማለሁ	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እስማማለሁ	ምንም ዓይነትም ለኛም	በትንሹ አልሰማማም	በከፊል አልሰማማም	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ አልሰማማም
ሴቶችና ወንዶች የተለያዩ ፍላጎቶች አላቸው:: እኒህ ፍላጎቶቻቸውና ቅድሚያ የሚሰጡዎቸው ጉዳዮችም በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት መንፀባረቅ አለበት							
በህዝብ ተወካዮች ሆነ በፌደሬሽን ምክር ቤት ሴቶች በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ያላቸው ተሳትፎ አናሳ ነው							
በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የህጎች መጽደቅ የሴቶች መብት እንዲከበር ዋስትና ይሰጣል							

1. የሴቶች ሚና በህዝብ ተወካዮች ሆነ በፌደሬሽን ምክር ቤት ምንድን ነው?

2. ሴቶች የፓርላማ አባላት በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ሚና በህዝብ ተወካዮች ሆነ በፌደሬሽን ምክር ቤት እየተሳተፉ ነው ብለው ያምናሉ?
 A /አዎ B/አይደለም
 መልስህ አዎ ወይም ደግሞ አይደለም ከሆነ ምክንትዎትን ባጭሩ ያብራሩ

3. የሴቶች ጉዳይ ቁአሚ ኮሚቴ ና የሴቶች ካጢከር በፓርላማ ውስጥ ያላቸው ሚና ምንድን ነው?

ክፍል 3: ሴቶች በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና ውሳኔ ሰጪነት ወቅት የሚገጥሙአቸው ተግዳሮቶች ግምገማ

ትእዛዝ: የሚሰማውበት መልስ ላይ የራደት ምልክት (✓) በማስቀመጥ በሰንጠረዥ ላለው ሀሳብ ደረጃ ይሰጡ:: የማብራሪያ ጥያቄዎችንም ይመልሱ::

ጉዳዮች	በጥቂቱ እስማማለሁ	በከፊል እስማማለሁ	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እስማማለሁ	ምንም ዓይነትም አይደለም	በትንሹ አልስማማም	በከፊል አልስማማም	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ አልስማማም
ፖለቲካ የወንዶች ብቻ አለም ወይም ለሴቶች ያልተፈቀደ ስፍራ አድርጌ እመለከታለሁ							
ሴቶች በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት ብዙሃን ስላልሆኑ የሴቶች ድምጽ አይሰማም							
ሴቶች በፖለቲካ ድርጅቶች /ፓርቲዎች ያላቸው አባላት ቅጥር አናሳ ስለሆነ ከወንዶች ጋር ሲነፃፀር ተመጣጣኝ ቁጥር ያላቸውን እጭዎች ለምርጫ ውድድር የማቅረብ እድል አሳጥቷቸዋል							
ሴቶች በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ቦታዎች የመገለል ስሜት ስላላቸው ስለራሳቸው ያላቸው አመለካከትንና በራስ መተማመን ጎድቶታል							
ሴቶች በውሳኔ ሰጭነት ዙሪያ ተግባራትና የመረጃ እጥረት አለባቸው							
ብቸኛው ሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተግዳሮቶቻቸውን የሚያሸንፉበት ዘዴ የፖለቲካ ስልጣን ማግኘት ነው እነርሱም የአመራር ስልጠና፣ ገንዘብ ድጋፍ ማግኘት፣ የግንዛቤ ፈጠራ ና ንቅናቄዎችን መፍጠር ናቸው							

1. የሀይማኖት ተቁዋሚት በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት ዘንድ ባለው በፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ና ውሳኔ ሰጭነት ዙሪያ በመልካም ሆነ በመጥፎ ጎኑ የሚያበረክቱት አስተዋጽኦ ምንድን ነው?

ክፍል 4: በአጠቃላይ በኢትዮጵያ የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና ውሳኔ ሰጪነት እንዲሁም በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ያላቸውን የወንበር ቁጥር ለመጨመር መደረግ ብላለበት

ጉዳዮች	በጥቂቱ እስማማ ለሁ	በክፊል እስማማለሁ	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ እስማማ ለሁ	ምንም አይመስለኝም	በትንሹ አልስማማም	በክፊል አልስማማም	በከፍተኛ ደረጃ አልስማማም
የምርጫ ኮታ ስርአቱ መተግበር ለሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ መጨመር አይነተኛ መንገድ ነው							
ሴቶች የሰነዬጋ ትምህርትና እኩኛ ሚናዎች ለህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ላለው ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ አቸውና ውሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ቁልፍ ነገር ነው							
የማህበረሰቡን በሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውሳኔ ሰጪነት መብቶቻቸው ዙሪያ ያለውን የተሳሳተ ግንዛቤ ለመቅረፍ መሰረት አድርጎ የግንዛቤ መስጫ ድጋፍና የማንቃት ስራዎች መስራት ሌላኛው ሴቶችን ስልጣን የመስጫ ስልት ነው							

አጠቃላይ ግምገማ

ትእዛዝ የሚሰጠው በት መልስ ላይ የራደት ምልክት (✓) በማስቀመጥ በሰንጠረዥ ላለው ሀሳብ ደረጃ ይስጡ፡፡ የማብራሪያ ጥያቄዎችንም ይመልሱ፡፡

1. ሴቶችን በውሳኔ ሰጪነት ማበቃት ዙሪያ የተሰጡ ስልጠናዎች ላይ ተሳትፈዋል ?
 A/አዎ B/አይደለም
 አዎ ከሆነ መልስዎን ከነዚህ ስልጠናዎች ምን አገኙ?

2. ህገመንግስት አለማቀፋዊና አሁጉራዊ በሴቶች ዙሪያ የሚያጠነጥኑ ልዩልዩ ድንጋጌዎች ሴቶችን በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት በላቀ ቁጥር በውሳኔ ሰጪነት እንዲሳተፉ ያደርጋል ብለው ያምናሉ ?
 A/አዎ B/አይደለም
 ለምን _____

3. የሴቶች ተሳትፎ በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት እየጨመረ ነው ብለው ያምናሉ ? A/አዎ B/አይደለም

4. የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ወሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና በፓርላማ ለማሳደግ ምን መደረግ አለበት?

5. የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የወሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ከፍ ለማድረግ ሚዲያው ሊጫወተው የሚገባው ሚና በአጠቃላይ በኢትዮጵያ እንዲሁም በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ምንድን ነው?

ቃለ መጠይቅ

1. የሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና ዉሳኔ ሰጫት ሚና በኢትዮጵያ ግምገማ

1.1. የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የሴቶችን የዉሳኔ ሰጫት ሚና በኢትዮጵያ ዕንዴት ታየዋለህ/ሽ?

1.2. በትጥቅ ትግል ወቅት የሴቶች ተሳትፎ/ሚና ምን ነበር?

1.3. የትምህርት የመንገድ የመብራትና የሌሎች መሰረተ ልማት አገልግሎቶች መስፋፋት ለሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና የዉሳኔ ሰጫት ሚና ያበረከተዉ አስተዋጽኦ ምንድነ ዉ?

1.4. የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የዉሳኔ ሰጫት ሚና በወረዳ በዞን እንዲሁም በፓረላማ ደረጃ እንዴት ታየዋለህ/ሽ? እንዴትስ ተፈፃሚ ይሆናል?

1.5. በሴቶች እና በህጻናት ጉዳይ ላይ ያለዉን ፖሊሲ እንዴት ታየዋለህ/ሽ?

2. በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት የሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የዉሳኔ ሰጫት ሚና ግምገማ

2.1. የቁአ ሚኮ ሚቴዎቹን ቁጥር ልትነግረኝ ትችላለህ/ሽ?

- በቁአ ሚኮ ሚቴ ውስንት ሊቀ መንበሮች አሉ?
- ሁሉም የኮ ሚቴ አባላቶች በሁሉም ጉዳዮች ላይ ንቁ ተሳታፊ ናቸዉ?
- ሁሉም እኩል ተሳታፊ ካልሆኑ ለምን አንዳንዶቹ ንቁ ተሳታፊ ሌሎቹ ደግሞ በንቃት የማይሳተፉ ሆኑ?

2.2. ካዉከስ እንዴት ስራዉን ያከናዉናል?

2.3. ስለ ሴቶች ጉዳይ የሚያጠና ልዩ አካል አለ? ካለ እስከምን ድረስ ነው ስራዉን የሚያከናውነው?

2.4. በተለያዩ ኮ ሚቴዎች ዉስጥ የሴቶች ትሳትፎ በቁጥር እና በጥራት (በትምህርት ደረጃ) ምን ያህል መሆን አለበት?

2.5. እስካሁን የኮታ ስርአቱ ምን ያህል ግቡን መቶ አል? ለምን 50% አልደረሰም?

2.6. የምርጫ ስርአቱን እንዴት ታየዋለህ? በቁጥር ምን ጠራትም የሴቶችን ተሳትፎ ለማሳደግ የምርጫ ስርአቱ እንዴት መሻሻል አለበት?

3. በሴቶች የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና ዉሳኔ ሰጪነት ወቅት የሚገኙ ጥራቶች ወይንም ተግዳሮቶች ግምገማ

3.1. ሴቶች ወደ መሪነትና ዉሳኔ ሰጪነት ሃላፊነት እንዳይመጡ እንቅፋት የሚሆኑባቸውን ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች ዘርዘር/ሪ?

3.2. በብዛትና በላቀ ደረጃ ሴቶች በዉሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ላይ ንቁ ተሳታፊ እንዳይሆኑ ተግዳሮት የሚሆኑባቸውን ነገሮች ዘርዘር/ሪ?

4. በአጠቃላይ በኢትዮጵያ የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና ዉሳኔ ሰጪነት እንዲሁም በህዝብ ተወካዮች ምክር ቤት ያላቸውን የወንበር ቁጥር ለመጨመር መደረግ ስላለበት ነገር ግምገማ

4.1. በአጠቃላይ የሴቶችን ተሳትፎና የዉሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ለማሳደግ ይጠቅማል የምትለው/ይዉ የመፍትሄ ሃሳብ ምንድን ነው?

4.2. የሴቶችን የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎና የዉሳኔ ሰጪነት ሚና ወደ ፖርላማ ከገቡ በሁዋላ ለማሳደግ ምን መደረግ አለበት?

