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Challenges of Women's Political Participation and Representation: In
the Case of Raya Kobo Woreda, Amhara National Regional State

A Thesis Submitted to Center for Federalism and Governance Studies of
Addis Ababa University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master of Arts in Federal Studies

By

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Thesis Approval Page

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLAGE OF LAW AND GOVERNANCE STUDIES

Challenges of Women’s Political Participation and representation: The Case of
Raya Kobo Woreda, Amhara National Regional State

By Atala Ayalew

Approved by Board of Examiner

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Declarations

This thesis is my original work and it has not presented for other academic award in any university institution of learning

Atala Ayalew

Signed: -----

Date-----

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Acronyms

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and People's Right
ADP	Amhara Democratic Party
ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
APP	Amhara Prosperity Party
BPA	Beijing Platform Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms Of Discrimination Against Women
CDU	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
EDHS	Ethiopian Demography and Survey
DLDP	District Level Decentralization Program
EGM	Expert Group Meeting
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERA	Equal Right Amendment
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HoF	House of Federation
HoPR	House of People Representatives
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Right
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KIs	Key Informants
MoWA	Ministry Women's Affairs
MoWCYA	Ministry Of Women, Children and Youth Affairs
NAPGE	National Action Plan for Gender Equality
NDI	National Democratic institute for International Affairs
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NEWP	National Ethiopian Women's Policy
NOW	National Organization for Women
ODP	Oromo Democratic People
PDRE	Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
REWA	Revolutionary Ethiopian Women's Association

SNNP	Southern nation, Nationalities and Peoples
TPC	Transitional Period Charter
TPLF	Tigrean People's Liberation Front
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
UN	United Nations
WCYA	Women Children and Youth Affairs
WEF	World Economic Forum

Abstract

In recent year women's political participation and representation in local politics has gain significance attention around the world. The central objective of this study is to examine the challenges of women's political participation and representation in Raya Kobo Woreda. Women's in study area were not politically empowered. To conduct this study, descriptive survey method was used. Data were collected from primary and secondary sources. Finally, the research came up with the following major findings.

The proportion of women at Woreda council was 25 %, while, at Kebele council, women constitutes 20.2%. The share of women at Woreda and Kebele executive has 18.5 % and 14.3% respectively. There are different challenges that have narrowed women's political participation and representation at local level of study area. These are weak women institutional structure (WCYAs, women association, women league)that advocate women's political issue, low level of commitment and coordination between concerned body (such as APP, Council office, agriculture and education sectors)that translated women right in to practice. Economic, social and cultural influences were also contributed low political participation and representation in study area. Women political participation and representation was not full of challenges but there are some opportunities, the formation of women institution, international and regional agreements and national women policy were considered as an opportunity. It could be concluding that women's political participation and representation was constrained by different challenges at local council. Therefore, performing awareness creation and implementing international conventions and women policy to empower on political participation and representation

Key Words: Federalism, Women, Political Participation and representation

Chapter – One

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Women constitute half of the world population, and their contribution to the social and economic development of societies have vital role by virtue of their dual roles and the reproductive and productive spheres (Farzana, 2005:2-6). However, decisions' regarding the use of societal resource remains low. Currently, women's political participation and representation in national legislator around the world were only 24.9 percent, 21 percent are cabinet ministers and 10 percent administers and managers (WEF, 2012, 2019 and IPU, 2020:1).

As Lucy (2001:6), in almost all countries, women have a right to vote on paper, to be eligible for election, appointment to public office, and to exercise public functions on equal footing at local, national and international levels. Different international and regional legal instruments also recognized women's political right. Yet, many countries' trend shows that, political participation and representation of women were remains low (Awuor, 2013:7). Their participation and representation in the highest level of decision-making positions is being marginalized. A global survey of women's participation and representation in politics found that the pattern was pyramidal everywhere with many of them at the bottom and a few at the top (Lucy, 2003; O'Neil and Domingo, 2016:18). This evidence is not geographically or culturally distinct but it extends all over the world. In Africa, for instance, due to a large extent to tradition, women has continually considered as minors and secondary citizen's (Awuor, 2013:8).

According to Inglehart and Norris (2000), women's role in majority of the countries is confined mostly to performing household duties, and it makes it difficult for them to participate and represent in the politics at the national level. Hence, the author state that, the local arena of governance is best situated and can serve as the most appropriate level for women's political participation and representation by pushing government to local level of government (Beall Jo,2005:6-11). It is evident from a number of federal countries' (such as Switzerland) experiences engaged in the decentralization process that the process has helped the marginalized groups (especially the women) in societies to participate in the local government.

The Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) took political power and brought in federal system of government since 1991, and the decentralization process took place to increase the efficiency policy implementation (Sang Lee, 2013:1-2). The country shows its commitment to women issue international, regional and domestic levels. According to the Ministry of Women Affairs report (2006), the county ratified international human and democratic treaties such Universal Declaration of Human Right (UDHR), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA). The country also formulated the National Women Policy for the aim of promoting women's participation in political, social and economic affairs of their country (FDRE Women Policy, 1993). As a result, now, the Percentage of women at National legislative was 38.8 % (IPU, 2019).

The transfer of significant portion of power in Ethiopia started in 1991 at regional and in 2001 at district level (Jin Sang, 2013:5). According to the Proclamation No.59/ 2001 the revised constitution of Amhara National Regional State Article 84 article 96, *Raya Kobo Woreda* has established its own necessary institutions, such *Woreda* and *Kebele* council and executive to run government functions. Currently, the proportions of women in *Woreda* and *Kebele* council were 22.6% and 19.9 % in respective order (PP, 2020). Therefore, the challenges of political participation and representation of women in *Raya kobo woreda* are same as those faced the rest of the African women as mention above.

The rational for women's political participation and representation is the major indicator of democratic participations. Without greater participation and representation of women in politics, it is hard to attain participatory, accountability and transparency of governance that can ensure political, cultural and economic goals of one's country (Melesse, 2014:8). In order to influence the ways in which rights and resources are distributed and accessed, women need to be part of legislative, policy and decisions on implementation and service delivery processes (O'Neil and Domingo, 2016:17-18). The meaning full political participation and representation of women at national, local and community level has become an important focus of global development policy .Therefore, the main purpose of this study was to examine women's political participation and representation in Ethiopian federalism, *Raya Kobo woreda*, *Amhara National Regional State*.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Despite the ongoing global socio-economic and political changes since antiquity to the present, women's active participation and the role in such a dynamic world, especially in political arena, is not as such developed and satisfactory enough (IPU, 2018:1). As a result, international institutions and various states' of the world have been taking a number of measures to improve the political roles and participations of women at local level. Ethiopia has taken a number of steps to reform its legal and institutional framework in order to promote women's greater inclusions in politics and increase their overall political participation and representation at the national and local level (FDRE Constitution, 1995 and FDRE annual report, 2019:5-6).

Considering the importance of women's political participation for overall societal transformation, on the one hand, and their underrepresentation and weak participation on the other hand, the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has also adopted a 30 % candidate quota system in 2004 (IPU, 2015:1). These efforts have made significance improvement in the representation of women in parliamentary share and executive decision-making positions. In 2015 election, EPRDF won all 547 seats in House of People Representatives, among these seats women holds 38.8 % of seats (IPU, 2019). Representation of women in ministerial positions were limited to 5.9% and 7.4% in 2005 and 2010 respectively (Melesse, 2014:9), but the recently introduced new political change which grownup the representation of women in ministerial level to 50% in 2018 (Paul C., 2016:2). However, the recent studies indicate that these new symptoms of practical changes are limited to the federal level (James, 2020).

In connection with this, Melesse (2014:8-9) on his "Assessment of Gender Equality in Ethiopia: The position of Ethiopian women's political representation from the Sub-Saharan countries of Africa, in the eastern Africa" argue that women were under represented in federal executive position and no proportional regional share of in national parliamentary (both houses) seats. Therefore, he suggested that, the government has needs to take measures to improve women's involvement in politics. Eden (2017:20-21), in her work entitled "Parliamentary Participation of Women in The Post 1991 Ethiopia" also highlights that, due to absence of strong competitive political parties , representation of women in national parliament has not been significantly

changed ,and the nomination of women were simply depend on the will of the political parties that established by member of a society. Furthermore, Gudata (2016:13-15), on his work “Assessment of women political empowerment and political representation in public decision making: in regional government of Benishangul Gumuz,” asserted that, due to insufficiency of access to participation in politics, women were less emphasized and marginalized in any decision-making activities within government structures. As Kassa (2015:6-7) on his study of “Challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia” argue that, the level of political participation and representation of women in Ethiopia has still an emerging stage and remains underrepresented in higher level of decision-making positions.

Most of the studies decentralization in Ethiopia has more or less silent on the impact of the process of women political participation and representation at local level, available studies reveal that, women political participation within the decentralization process has not been as expected (Zenebework,2001; Yigeremew,2005). Even in situations where women do participate in local level, their involvement is restricted to electoral politics as they participated mostly as voters rather than electoral candidacy at local level (Zenebework, 2001). In case where they run an office, Zenebework stated that they mostly do it through membership of the EPRDF, it as this ensures them easy access to offices.

Raya Kobo Woreda had a total population of 221,958 from which women constitute 103,353 (CSA report, 2008:21). However, this large segment of *Woreda*’s women were not politically empowered and not adequately represented at local council. Due to this, the *Woreda* has criticized that, the voice of women were not listen in local council and women issue considers as secondary matter, which in turn women were exposed to different types of problems.

Hence, albeit, local governments are the base for participatory and representative democracy, almost all of the previous studies have focused on the women’s political participation and representation at national level. No previous studies have conducted in *Raya Kobo Woreda*. In addition, the relevance stakeholders in the process of women’s political participation and representation in local level have not well discussed. Therefore, this study aims to examining the challenges of women’s political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*.

1.3. Research Questions

Based on the statement of the problem this study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- ✓ What are the contributions of Ethiopian federal system by encouraging women to join local politics in study area?
- ✓ What is the role of political parties in advancing of women's political participation and representation at local level?
- ✓ What opportunities are there, these enable to improve women's political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*?
- ✓ What are challenges that *Raya Kobo Woreda* have been facing in ensuring equal political participation and representation of women?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to examine the challenges of Women's Political Participation and Representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*, Amhara Regional State.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine the contribution of Ethiopian federalism for women's political participate and representation at local level
- To examine the role of political parties for women's political participation and representation;
- To examine opportunities for political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*
- To identify the challenges of women's political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*

1.5. Research Methodology

1.5.1. Research Design and Approach

The study was applied descriptive research. The purpose to adopt descriptive research is to identify and obtain real information from respondents on effects of women's political participation and representation at *Raya Kobo Woreda*, and can describe what she found under the study. Ranjit k. (2011:30) stated that, descriptive research is design to obtain information concerning the current situation and phenomena whatever possible to draw valid conclusion from the facts discussed. Beside, case study was adopt to allow the researcher to keep the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events that help the researcher to understand the complex social phenomenon that affect women`s participation and representation in the local governments (Yin, 2009:12-14).

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches were used to examine the determinants of women political participation and representation in study area. For this study, methodological triangulation such as interview, questionnaires and documents were employed. Because triangulation method has important for data processing and validating to guarantee the reliability of information and increase rationality of outcomes (Denzin, 2005:30; Creswell, 2014:35-40

1.5.2. Source of Data

The researcher was collect data both from primary and secondary sources. From primary source, data was collected from *Woreda* government officials, political parties (ADP/currently PP). Office of women association (both *Woreda* and *Kebele*), members of *woreda* council, *woreda* and *kebele* women league, office of *woreda* and *kebele* WCYAs are included concerned to participant demographic data, members of female councilor, organizational supporting and follow up activities. Moreover, the 2004 EPRDF party program, election report, which revolves around on number of women participants for local election on 2008 and 2013, and for general election, the years 1995,2000,2005,2010 and 2015. Additionally, data on evaluation minute at *Woreda* council office on women's participation and representation, list of *Kebele* and *Woreda* female councilors. In case of secondary source, the data gathered from *Woreda* council revised annual plan and unpublished revised quarterly council meeting report.

1.5.3. Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

1.5.3.1. Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaires: To acquire adequate information from respondents, open and closed ended questionnaires were applied. Closed-ended questions are used to gather short and specific piece of information from respondents. Whereas, open-ended questions are those, which require further information and more than a simple one word answer and allow the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher (Foddy,2003:5-9).

The data, which gathered through questionnaires, were demographic data of respondents (age, education, marital status) and the level of women political participation and representation at local level. The questionnaires has translated into Amharic and distributed for respondents. For illiterate respondents, the researcher was read questionnaires and writes respondents response without misinterpreting their ideas. As a result, the researcher collected 224 questionnaires from four kebele female councilors.

Interview: The Interview has held by Key Informants using semi-structured interview in order to obtain qualitative data that couldn't otherwise be gathered by the survey questionnaire. The interview has ended when the data was saturated with 36 (11 male and 25 female and the researcher acquires similar information from key informants.

The Informants were chosen purposively by considering the positions, assumed they have an information and knowledge about the study purpose (on the issue of women political participation and representation as well as the federalism/decentralization process in the study area). Accordingly, as presented in the table 1 below 36 interviewee was selected in this study.

Table 1: Characteristics of Key Informants

Informants Position	M	F	T
Member of <i>Woreda</i> Council	2	5	7
Member of <i>Kebele</i> Council	4	0	4
Head of <i>Woreda</i> Women Association	0	1	1
Head of <i>Kebele</i> Women Association	0	2	2
Head of <i>Woreda</i> WCYAS and Gender experts	2	4	6
Head of <i>Kebele</i> WCYAS	0	4	4
<i>Woreda</i> APP manager and vice manager	2	0	2
Representative of <i>woreda</i> administrative	1	0	1
<i>Woreda</i> female cabinet	0	5	5
<i>Kebele</i> Female Cabinet	0	2	2
<i>Woreda</i> APP Women League	0	1	1
<i>Woreda</i> APP member of Youth League	0	1	1
Total	11	25	36

Document analysis: Quarterly council meeting reports, annual plans from *Woreda* administration and APP office, annual report from council office and APP office, *Woreda* budget ledger, National and Amhara regional state constitution, national youth policy were consulted in order to substantiate the validity and reliability of the primary data that generated through sample survey and interviewing Key Informants. Data obtained through documentary search and interviews are analyzed qualitatively using quotations and thematic/reflective interpretations.

1.5.3.2. Sampling Techniques and Procedures

In this study, to select sampling respondents from each *kebele*, the researcher was applied simple random sampling with lottery method. The purpose of choosing lottery method is, to providing equal chance for respondents to be being selected and it avoids personal biasedness.

Moreover, the target population was member of female *Kebele* councils; hence, they are homogeneous target group, and have list of names with identification number in *Raya Kobo*

Woreda council office and each *Kebele* council, due to this, it is preferable to use this type of instruments.

To acquire relevant information from interviewee, the Key Informants were selected purposively by taking in to account their positions and knowledge on the issue of women political participation and representation. Moreover, the sampling *kebele* also selected by purposive sampling techniques by considering old history of its establishment, proximity to the *Woreda* town, availability of access to infrastructure and high level of women in number.

1.5.4. Sampling Size

Despite the total population of the study was cover all women in the *Woreda* level, several reasons like experience of the researcher and it is costly in terms of finance and time. Therefore, it is better to take a well representative portion of the targeted population.

According to the data gathered from *Raya Kobo Woreda* council office (2020), the *Woreda* has 45 *Kebele* councils with total household of 2229 female councilors. In order to gather the relevant data from the households of female councilors, the sample size was determining through two stages.

In the first stage, the researcher was purposively selected four representative *Kebeles* (Robit, Gobiye, Buhoro and Dur-Lebes) with a total of 525 female legislator's as target population. Old history of *Woreda* establishment, access to infrastructure, number of women and proximity to *Woreda* city were used as a criterion to select representative *Kebeles*. Accordingly, *Robit Kebele* was selected due to old history of its establishment; *Gobiye Kebele* was selected because of its proximity to the *Woreda* town and availability of access to infrastructure. *Durlebes* and *Buhoro Kebele* were selected due to *Kebeles* high level of women's in number.

The second stage was determining the sample size of household's from representative four *Kebeles* covered by the survey. Then, the sample size for the study selected based on Yamane's (1967) sample size determination formula as follows:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n = sample size; N = Total population under the study; e = level of precision which chosen by the researcher which is put 0.05 and 1=constant

✓ Therefore, $n = \frac{525}{1+525(0.05)^2} = 227$ women were selected within four kebeles.

✓ Finally, to know the share of each (4) *Kebele* sample size respondents from 227 sampling size, the researcher also used the following formula formulated by (Yemane cited in Yalew, 2006).

$$p = \frac{t}{T} \times 100$$

Where: p = common multiple

t = sample size, and

T = total population

$$\text{Hence: } p = \frac{227}{525} \times 100 = 0.432\%$$

<i>Kebele</i>	Total Population	Common multiple	Sample size
Robit	135	0.432	$0.432 \times 135 = 58$
Dur-Lebes	150	0.432	$0.432 \times 150 = 65$
Gobiye	90	0.432	$0.432 \times 90 = 39$
Buhoro	150	0.432	$0.432 \times 150 = 65$
Total	525	0.432	$0.432 \times 525 = 227$

N.B

- The data, which is the total population of the study area, have been gain from office of *Raya kobo Woreda* council
- To get the sample size of each *Kebele* respondents; the total population of each *Kebele* has multiplied by the common multiple.

1.5.5. Methods of Data Processing and Analyzing

The data was processed, edited, analyzed and presented in line with the objective of the study. In qualitative data analysis, the researcher used descriptive theme analysis through combining similar ideas and perceptions and make interpreting the meaning of the data descriptively. While in the quantitative data analysis, the data was code first before it was enter in to the computer.

The data entering into the computer and analyze using a computer program called Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS-version 24). Under this program, the data has analyzed by using the method of descriptive statistics such as frequency whereby tallies/counts, their corresponding numerical device like percentages, charts/figures and tables was generated and the result were analyzed and interpreted. Finally, conclusions were drawn from the major findings and possible recommendations were suggested for solutions.

1.6. Significance of the Study

To give recognition and attention to women's political participation and representation is an important issue at national level. Therefore, this study is examining to what extent women are participating and representing politically in local level (*woreda* and *kebele*). At end, particular attention has made to examine the determinants of women's political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo woreda*. By doing so, this research were try to enabled and fill the existing research gap in the study area. It is also hoped to provide some information to policy makers and women right advocates interested to uphold the political situations of women in lower level of administration. Moreover, it may provide solutions and recommended idea to bring over through on the area. it might be benchmark for researchers who investigate further and in-depth study in same problem or other similar studies in the future.

1.7. Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is limited to the effects of women's political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda* within four *Kebeles* council, which have 525 households by participating 224 members of female legislators. Even if, there are *Kebeles* that are faced similar problems in *Raya Kobo Woreda*, the study has limited to the above-mentioned *Kebeles*. The time framework of the study though ideally ranges from the period from since the launching of Women's Affairs has a full-fledged Ministry and become a member of the national cabinet in 2005. Because, it is a period of the restructured of *Raya Kobo Woreda Women Affairs* office in Cabinet level comes in to effect. More specifically, the study touched women's participation as a *voter*, participation as an *elected representative*, their participation in the *actual decision-making* processes and political influences from the legal political framework perspectives. As such, the

assessment has made on the formal political contexts, institutional frameworks and organizational strategies of political participation and representation from women's angle.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

The researcher did not finish this thesis without any defects. Some of the shortcoming of this research is shortage of financial during data collection, unwillingness of some government key informants (like head of *Woreda* council) to provide information on time, due to case of COVID19, the researcher do not address all *Kebeles* at regular schedule are some of limitations that faced in the study. However, the researcher has tried to minimize the problem. Instead of COVID19, the researcher was revised data collection schedule to address all representative *Kebele* respondents. In case of head of *Woreda* council key informants, the researcher has interviewed another interviewee from *Woreda* deputy council office to collect necessary information.

1.9. Ethical Consideration

Any information that received from the participants has been kept in secret. No information have disclosed without their consent. Create awareness to respondents about the purpose of the study, and its potential use of research findings. More of this, the researcher creates close relationship between the researcher and the respondents to obtain tangible information, and gave more consideration and acknowledgements to respondents for their contributions.

1.10. Organization of the Thesis

The study has five chapters. Chapter one contain historical background of the study, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, research questions ,significance of the study , scope of the study and limitation of study. Chapter two contains conceptual and theoretical framework. Chapter three devoted to the general overview of women's political participation and representation at national and sub-national level in Ethiopia. Chapter four includes findings and analysis of data for women's political participation and representation in Raya Kobo *Woreda*. Finally, chapter five contains summary conclusion and recommendation.

Chapter Two

2. Review of Related Literature

Introduction

This chapter focused on theoretical perspectives on women political participation and representation mainly in the context of federal state set up and local level council. In the first part, the researcher has attempted to provide definitions on the basic concepts of political participation and representation. The second part focuses on theoretical frame and the third part deals about Empirical literature of the study.

2.1. Political Participation and Representation –Conceptualization

Universally there is no similar accepted definition of political participation. As Muhammad (2015:4-7) defines political participation as “the involvement of individual at various levels in the political system”. Women’s Political participation and representation is not simply as an academic interest/will, but it brings several aspects equally significant in the political sphere for all citizens (Emelie, 2010:13-15).

According to Joanna, Eulalia and Ionel (2019:2-4), participation in electoral process involves much more than just voting. Political participation, drives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate the ability to take part in public affairs and the opportunity to register as a candidate, to be elected and hold office at all level of governments. Under international standards, men and women have an equal right to participate fully in all aspects the political process. In practice, however in most case all over the world, it is often hard for women to exercise their rights and they hold only a few decisions making positions in both public and private organizations (ibid).

As Awuor (2013:17-20), Political participation has categorized in to legal and illegal participation and conventional means and non-conventional methods. Legal forms are these sanctioned by the law, while illegal has prohibited. Conventional means the mainstream forms, while non-conventional considered outliers. Some of the conventional form includes voting, work on election campaigns, and participate in public affair, standing for office, entering to

political party or members of political campaigns of the political parties and influence in decision making through community discussion with the representative elected, donating money to political candidates and contacting political officials (Ann Sofie; Andreas & Mans 2012:4-15).

Conventional means: entails political activities that are routine and use representative channels of government. They can be categorized into two (a) supportive- where participants ceremonially show loyalty to a government or a country, (b) influencing-where participants aim to modify or revise a particular government stand or policy. Influencing behaviors can occur through voting or through initiative that aims to attain benefits for a group. Supportive behavior by participants may be targeted at obtaining a specific benefit from the government (Awuor, 2013:19-20).

Voting: It is unique in that it allows the view of more people than any other activity to be represented. It is an equating factor in that everyone gets one vote irrespective of his /her social and power status. This legitimizes political office holders and ensures that winners in an election are acceptable to majority of the populations where free and fair election prevail (Awuor, 2013:20).

Election campaigns: Democratic elections required an informed, free vote and a fair chance for competitors to win support and motivate supporters to help them gain office. Therefore, election campaigns are important to achieving these goals.

Conduct public affairs: The right to participate in public affairs has been enshrined in international law in article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and article 25 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Furthermore, in articles of other international treaties such as CEDAW were taken special measures to ensure equal participation and representation of women in public affairs not only genuine elections (UDHR, 1948; ICCPR, 1976 and CEDAW, 1981).

Most of the time political participation and representation has been measured by three different ways: (1) their participation as a voter, (2) their participation as an elected representative and (3) their participation in the actual decision making processes (Shanker, 2014:3-5). Women political participation, particularly in terms of voting, has dramatically increased. It is largely applied in most developed nations, especially in the United States of America (USA). In fact from the

world total population, almost half of the voters has females, however, in terms of equal share of representation, women has fall behind to men (Emelie, 2010:5).

2.2. Theoretical Framework of the Study

In the literature of politics, women political representation in the parliament has mainly classifies in to two, namely, the descriptive and substantive perspectives (Kazuki, 2008). The descriptive and substantive representation have been seen broadly in section 2.5 of the “Critical Act and Critical Mass Approach”. From the perspective of women representation in politics, there are different arguments for why women should be represent in an elected political institution (Childs, Sarah, and Joni, 2012:4-8). These arguments are as follows:

The powerful *justice* argument: it opposes that over representation of men and strongly claims that women have equal right to represent half of the seats since they make up half of the population, as well as, the *democratic* argument asserts that the equal representation of women and men has promoted democracy (Sarah D., 2014:6-12). Moreover, women have different leadership style than men. “Men and women differ in attitudes to decision-making: women are more focused on consensus and more democratically oriented (ibid). Whereas the *interest* argument believed that women and men have different interests, hence men cannot represent these interests (Sarah D., 2014:9-14). Generally, those different arguments has categorized into two kinds; first those women will bring a different style and approach than men, secondly, women are a heterogeneous group who demands and requires fair descriptive representation if their heterogeneity is to be reflected in decision-making (Childs, Sarah, and Joni, 2012:8-10).

2.2.1. Federalism and Women’s Political Participation

There is no common theory about the impact of different governance models on the advancement of women political participation and representation. Indeed, different practitioners have divers opinion as to whether a federal system (a government system where power is shared national and sub national level has a greater capacity to promote women equality (Daniel and Manon, 2015:5)

Federalist literature show that, federal arrangement has both an opportunity and as threat for women political participation and representation, and those opportunities and threats vary according to the type of the federal system and the context in which they are applied(Jill

V.,2010:1). For instance, some gender scholars argue that, federal model of governments allow devolution of power to more local level and it provides more opportunity for women political participation and representation of women at local level (Susan H., 2018:5-7). While, other scholar argue that, federal system of government creates multiple governance sites; yet, this multiple access points divided government fragment state structure & political processes making it hard for women to promote reform in multiple decision making sites(Jill V.,2010:7-8).

Federalism may create inequality among women, because some groups of women have fewer accesses to policymaking (Lee Ann and Laurel, 2011). However, observers on both side of this debate have identified the same three basic characteristics of federal system, each of which has both advantage and disadvantage to women's political activism (Susan, 2018). These three characteristics are :(1) "the fact that federal system provides multiple access points for political activism (at a minimum the two different levels)",(2) "the fact that federal system decentralizes power more local levels" and (3) "the fact that federal systems generally involve multiple sub national entities"(ibid).

In general, federalism by itself has neither positive nor negative consequences for the promotion of women political equality. Because federal characteristics and its effects differ between institutions, across institutional arenas, policy or issue sectors and within time and space. Moreover, it also depends on the circumstances in the country's political, cultural, socio-economic and the characteristics of particular federation could be either advantage or disadvantage. Indeed, it may be both at the same time, in different ways (Jill V., 2013 and Susan, 2018).

2.2.2. Women's Movements and Its Impact on Women's Political Participation and Representation

As Barrie (1993:1-2), defines women's movement as "an analysis of women's subordination for the aim of figuring out how to change it." This definition draws together three key elements: it stress on women and their experience, women has subordinated or oppressed and commitment to ending that unjust subordination (Kudu, 2019:6-7). According to Robin (2015), the first wave of feminism as a collective movement took place in the 19th and early 20th centuries to open up

opportunities for women, with primarily focused on gaining political power, particularly the right of women's suffrage.

At the time of 1960s and 1970s, all industrialized nations begun the spread of 2nd wave women's movement (mostly to the radical feminism of the women's liberation movement), women were highly demanding equal right and ending discrimination on their different issue ,among them greater participation and representation in politics has the main concerns of 2nd wave feminist movement (IDEA, 2013:7-10).

According to Rampton (2015:2), in this phase (Second wave), sexuality and reproductive rights were main issue ,and many of the movement's energy were focused on passing the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing social equality regardless of sex. It seeking sisterhood and solidarity, "Women's struggle is class struggle." Thus the concept of women's political participation and representation was emerged from several significant argument and debate generated by the women's movement all over the world during the 1980s, when feminists show highly dissatisfaction with largely a political spheres (Tanu, 2016:2-7). The interest of feminist has concerned with equal footing political power men with women (Valerie, 2003:13-16), hence, they ask their right and struggle how it can be resolved and changed the existed situations.

2.2.3. Legal Frameworks on Women's Political Rights

To guarantee women political right, there are multiple international, regional and national instruments call for the inclusion of women in leadership roles .Those legal frame works are as follows:

2.2.3.1. International Human Rights Instruments

Majority of world countries has signatory to the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (UDHR) and other agreements that promotes equal right of women (Tawanda and Takura, 2019:2-9). At the international level among many, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1976:art. 3; 25 (a, b)) guarantees political right of women. Furthermore, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Against Women (CEDAW) is the main agreements and strategies that support the principle of gender equality in the political arena and

promotes non-discrimination regarding to sex, race and religious. It demands its member of state parties take positive remedial action to ensure women equality in political participation and representation policies and administrative actions (CEDAW, 1981:art.3 & art.7 (a -c)). Likewise, the 1995 Beijing Platform Action signed universally by all UN member states that recognized women's full participation in decision-making and leadership role by putting minimum benchmark and critical mass of 30 % of parliamentary seats (Caroline, 2008:5;IPU,2020:1). Yet only a small number of local government bodies have touched the critical mass of 30%. For instance, according to Caroline (2008:2-8) in India, where 33% of Panchayat (village) seats has kept for women by law.

2.2.3.2. Regional Instruments

Regionally, the African Union is promoting equal representation of women in decision-making, and AU's show its commitment for inclusiveness of gender equality in the African Charter on Human and People right (Muammar, 2001:7-21). This commitment has further reinforced by the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Right of women in Africa, the Solomon Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) and the Post Conflict Resolution and Development 2006 are some of the landmark of African leader decision for Women's political right (AU, 2006).

The African charter on human and people right (ACHPR) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development has crucial regional instruments that promote political right of women within the region (ACHPR, 1981 and Etsegenet, 2016:6-7). Accordingly, most African state has incorporated women political right through their constitutional, legislative and electoral reforms by adopted quota law (Caroline, 2008:2-3), however, only few African countries have better performance by representing women in higher government position. For instance, in South Africa national parliament, out of 393 seats 168(42.7%) were women (IPU, 2019).

2.2.4. Critical Act and Critical Mass Approach of Representation

Critical mass and critical act approach is associated with the concept of descriptive and substantive representation (Sarah and Monan, 2008:2-10). Descriptive representation refers to numeric similarity between lawmaking bodies and the voters they represent based on common

features or background in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, or other geographic characteristics; women have achieving equal percentage of representation in legislatures (Pamela, Sheri and Melanie, 2007:2-15). The reason behind descriptive representation is “the representative possesses particularly attributed the characteristics of the group they represented, by virtue of that identity, thus, women legislature represent women, black legislature represent black people and so on” (Meseret, 2010:9).

Whereas substantive representation which is termed as “acting in the interest of the represented in a manner responsive to them”(Katrine,2016),and “acting for favors an emphasis on whether the representative is able and willing to act on behalf of the interest of those represented ”(Alexandra,2016:7-15). Therefore, when elected women increases in legislature, it would be expected to women politicians give more attention on ‘women’s issue’ (ibid). Generally, the idea of substantive representation is that, there are certain interests and issues that arise from women’s experiences and these interests are not adequately address in a politics. .

2.3. Empirical Literature of the Study

Women’s political participation and representation worldwide has been challenged task to achieve despite the efforts made by most countries in embracing democracy. As a result of long struggle to ‘women issues’ in some part of the advanced society (such as USA, 1920; Britain, 1928; Belgium, 1948) the right of women in politics has been a feature of development assistance (Toke S, Bianca and Eyob, 2008).

Switzerland

Switzerland was the last country (which compared to USA, Britain and Belgium) that granted the right to vote for women (Toke S; Bianca, 2008:3-13 and Lee Ann; S.Laurel, 2015:4-15). Consequently, the Swiss feminist movement had been struggled the political right of women by organized half of a million women throughout the country to safeguard gender equality for a long period (ibid). In 1909, a number of associations for women’s suffrage come together to form the Swiss Association for women’s suffrage (ASSF). Women Associations had to pressure the Federal Council and work tirelessly to get a majority vote among the people and the cantons.

As a result, after 100 years of feminist struggle, male voters accepted women to vote and stand for election in a popular vote and women suffrage was accepted at the federal level by 65.7% majority vote since 1971 (Fabrizio, 2014:5). In the 2019 parliamentary election, 83 (41.5%) of women won out of 200 seats in the National Council and now women holds key positions in politics (IPU:2020). Now Switzerland puts in the top 20% worldwide and 35% in Europe (ibid).

United State of America

In USA, during the period 1869-1920, some US states voluntarily guaranteed women's the right to vote for state elections, while others did not introduced women's suffrage until it was forced up on them by federal legislation in 1920 (Toke S and Bianca, 2008:12). An adult while women denied their right with a century, due to this discrimination, some feminist have struggle for an equal rights amendment (ERA) to transcend this legacy (Jill V, 2010:3-4). Accordingly, in the mid-19th century, the question of women voting becomes "women question" (Reva B., 2002:31-32). As a result, in 1920 American women were got a right to vote (Jill V, 2010), however, women's voter turnout did not equal with men until the 1980s (Pamela, Sheri and Melanie, 2007).

The National Organization for Women (NOW) has established in 1966 with the aim of prohibiting any discrimination for women, and NOW were one of significant assembly that struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment (Christopher and Saeid, 2015). Indeed, in 1970 the body of sex discrimination doctrine, which were developed by the American court has play a crucial role in modernizing fourteenth revision jurisprudence for equal protection clause by recognizing women right to vote (Reva B. 2002:15-32).

2.4. Challenges of Women's Political Participation and Representation

In many countries, right of women are enshrined in law, and there no formal legal barriers to women political participation and representation in election process. In practice however, women have faced by some serious challenges that constrain their ability to engage in politics. Countries socio economic development, culture and the type of political system has greater influence that facilitates or hinders women's access to decision-making bodies and represent government bodies (Awuor, 2013).

Structural factors: It is categorized under the supply side of variables (Pamela, Sheri & Melanie, 2007 and Sajjad, 2011:8), among the variables country's socio economic structure factor have great impact on women political participation and representation (IDEA, 2013:38). These includes, lack of financial income ,access to education and training, dual responsibility of family and full time job has almost difficult for women enter to politics (Sarah D., 2014:11). Let as seen these factors one by one:

Economic factors: Historically, women have no adequate their own resources, due to this, women isolated them from politics. Absence of financial resource can limit the participation and share of women in national parliamentary seat given the cost related with elections (Courage etal, 2019:6). As Awuor (2013:20) stated that, people that have higher economic status can participate more fully than people of lower economic status can. This assertion has supported by many researches, which has looked at people's income and their activities in politics. For instance, during the 2004 presidential campaign in the United States, men donated more money than women did, but women were just as likely to volunteer to participate in an election (Pamela, Sheri, and Melanie, 2007:3-5). As Awuor (2013:27), Elizabeth Dole who withdrew from the republican presidential nominations in 2000 because, she could not have enough money to run nomination campaign.

Women involve non-monetary return and it does not counted by as an economic activity (unpaid domestic labour), underrepresented in technicians, legislators, senior officials and managerial positions (JICA, 2006 and WEF, 2012). As Mulatu (2016) said that, from 1999-2010, the maximum ratio of females that engaged in the informal economy, thus, 60% of women had been engaged in small businesses that require small capital ,relatively low number of female entrepreneurs (16.5%), and requires none sophisticated management in general (ibid).

Educational factors: According to Tam O'Neil and Pilar (2016:20-21), access to education has clearly related to women decision-making power. Leaders have commonly expected to be knowledgeable. Education considered as an important tool for women to have the confidence and skill to see them as a potential leader and to be seen as credible by others. Women need more than basic education and technical knowledge to influence high-level decision-making (Tam O'Neil and Pilar, 2016:8). Oppositely, Low education level discourages some groups in society

from running for higher positions in government. Education also considered as a precondition for the responsible exercise of political rights.

In the case of Ethiopia, the majority of Ethiopians have little or no education; women are generally less educated and illiterate (EDHS, 2005). For instance, the educational attainment of the female household population in 2016 show that, in Tigray 44.2 %, Affar 61.8% ; Amhara 52 %; Oromiya 51.5 % ;Somali 66.3 %, Benishangul-Gumuz 46.5 % ; SNNPR 47;Gambela 30.7 ; Harari 40.2 % respectively (EDHS,2017:61). Despite some major achievements had made, still the majority of women have limited access to education and training in leadership and they remain expose discrimination in regards to stereotypical attitudes towards women in decision-making role (UN WOMEN, 2014).

Cultural factors: Political participation and representation has considered as male oriented and thus, positioning women separately (Akhlaq etal, 2019:2-4). Societies they perceive as women has more socialized gender roles, they are passive and more private oriented job (West & Zimmerman, 1987:4). Moreover, Voters expect politicians and leaders to have masculine traits rather than feminine to run higher offices (Connell, 2005:3-9; Anne M.etal, 2011).

In Ethiopia, societal traditional beliefs and stereotypical attitudes against women are still now remain strong, gender identity has largely considered as being domestic in nature, and continue to act as a barrier to women's entry into formal politics (Etsegenet,2016). For instance, in 2007, in a "47 nation Pew Research Poll on global attitudes towards women in leadership, researchers found that 49 percent of Ethiopian saying men make better political leaders than women" (ibid: 37).

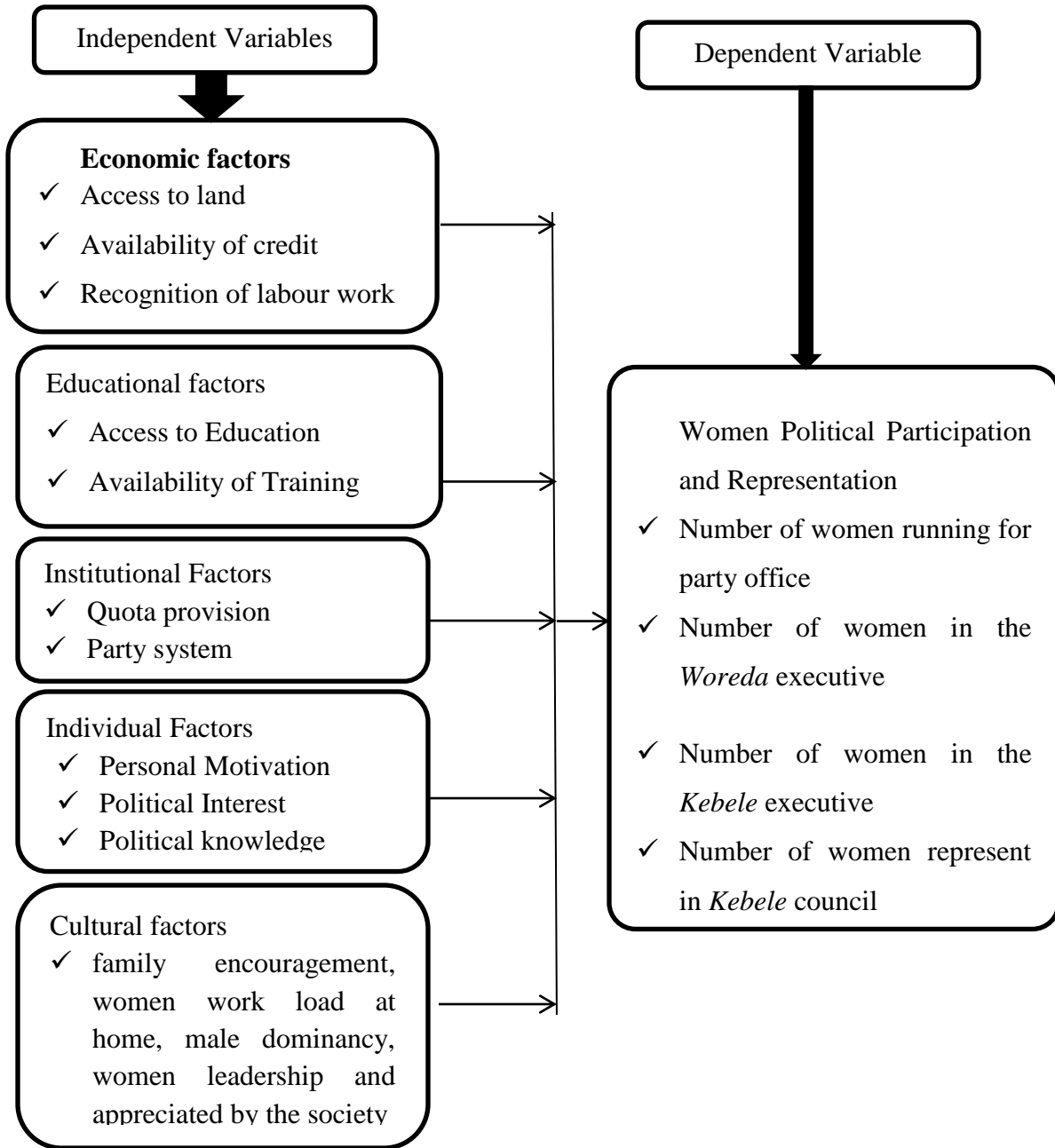
Institutional factors

✓ **Party system** -political will have great factor that determines women to enter parliament and increased their numbers (IPU, 2018:1-10). Political parties have gatekeepers: for an individual a man or a woman, who administered political institutions, first, political parties have willing to select and propose an individual to run their party office and he or she must be supported and approved by a political party (Pamela, Sheri and Melanie, 2007:7-9).

- ✓ **Quota system:** It creates conducive environment for female candidates by providing a given number /percentage of seats, whether it is a candidate list, a parliamentary assembly a committee or a government official for women (Meseret, 2010:24). According to the report of IPU (2018:1-5), in 2018 election, countries that did not apply quota system they achieve an average of 18.8% in lower chamber and 16.2% in upper chamber, oppositely, countries that have quota system, the ratio of women were 27.7% in lower chambers and 36.1 % in upper chambers (ibid).

Media: The media coverage of female candidate also adversely affect women’s aspiration and electoral success .Data from the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the most available worldwide source of media coverage from a gender perspective, show that, women make up 24% of news subjects (Amanda and Lena W, 2018). According to Teklay (2016:14-23), in 2000, among women aged 15-49 only 1.7% read newspaper at least once a week. Regarding women’s access to television, among the 25 countries, Ethiopia was the second from the last with only 4.4% of women aged 15-49 watching television. Moreover the survey conducted in 2005, Sub-Saharan African countries, Ethiopia was the last with respect to percentage of women who have access to newspaper. The majority of women (53.7%) did not have access to any media, that. newspaper/magazine, radio, television or any other channels such as effective women organizations.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Study



Source: Researchers' Design, May 2020

Chapter Three

3. An Overview of Women's Political Participation and Representation in Ethiopia

Introduction

This chapter presents the trends of women's political participation and representation in Ethiopia by dividing it into seven sections. The first section examines women's political participation and representation in the post 1991 Ethiopia. The second section has been discussed Women's Representation in the National Legislature and Executive level. The third section also assesses federalism and women's political participation and representation. Finally, the last section examines women's political participation and representation at local governance level has been discussed.

3.1. Women's Political Participation and Representation in the Post 1991 Ethiopia

3.1.1. Women's Political Participation and Representation in the Transitional Government

As soon as after the collapse of the Derg regime in 1991, the transitional government of Ethiopia has introduced with a new political and socio-economic orientation. In 1992, the newly Ethiopian government has established a structure of women with Affairs offices (WAO) within the prime minister Office and run by a woman with the position of ministerial level (Burgess, 2013:4). Moreover, the government of Ethiopia shows its commitment to gender equality by formulating the National policy on Ethiopian women (1993) which aimed at ensuring democratic and human rights of women. This policy has encompasses with the objectives among others are: "to enable women to hold public Office and to participant decision-making processes at all level and support to participant in politics on equal footing with men and ensuring their political rights(FDRE Women Policy,1993) .

3.1.2. Political Rights of Women in the FDRE Constitutions and Related Legislations

The 1995 FDRE constitution introduced the commitment to the gender policy and clearly expressed legislative support for women through its various articles. The constitution in article

35(3) was promise to gender equality in a country where women to marginalized due to their sex. Furthermore, these provisions has recognized women's right to affirmative action and provide special attention to enable competition and participation in all shares of life. Besides, Article 38 (1) of the FDRE constitution provides equal opportunity for women to participate in public affairs and chosen their representatives, they have equal right to vote and to be elected. Sub article of Article 38(2) also provides equal right to join member of political organization. Furthermore, article 88 has also a direct bearing on the encouraging of the political right of Ethiopian citizen's.

According to the FDRE Human Right action plan (2013-2015), national action plan for Gender equality (NAP-GE) is the main commitment document to transform gender mainstreaming into action and focus on the attainment of equal political rights between men and women in decision-making . The Ethiopian women Lawyer Association (EWLA) which is established by a group of women lawyers in 1995, to advocate women's right through the legal system, to create public awareness about the right of women, and promoting gender equality by reforming traditional attitudes towards women (Burgess, 2013:8).

Additionally, the Ethiopian government has become part of signatory to the many international convention .Article 9(4) in the 1995 constitution specifies, "All international agreements ratified by Ethiopia are an integral part of the law of the land" (FDRE constitution, 1995).

However, according to Meseret (2010:32-33), even if the number of women that represent in parliament show positive trend, still majority of Ethiopian women could not be get significant attention. They excluded from higher position such as policymaking process rather they are restricted in domestic tasks at home. Furthermore, as Mignot (2017:48) state that, women have no meaningful participation in decision making within government structure by referencing result of 1995 and 2000 national and regional elections(see section 3.2 table 2 and table3).

3.1.3. Women's Participation and Representation in Political Parties

Actually, change does not occur immediately. It requires effort by actors, such as political parties, with the aim of increasing more women in political space (Mignot, 2017:36-38). However, in Ethiopia, most of political parties lack suitable strategies to maximized women's

political participation and representation in local council (Awotash, 2010:20-21). With the intention of improving the political participation of women and their representation, EPRDF introduced 30% voluntary quota provision in 2004 and it establishes its organizational structure of women League from national to *Kebele* level (EPRDF program, 2004 and IPU, 2015). Consequentially, after the introduction of the quota system, the share of women in the national parliament has increased. For instance, the percentage of women in the national legislative has grown from 21.4% in 2005 election to 38.8% in 2015 election (IPU, 2019).

3.2. Women’s Political Participation and Representation in the National Legislature and Executive

National legislature: the share of women in national parliament has significantly increase when it’s first parliamentary election held in 1995 up to 2015,yet it requires greater effort to minimize the gap between men and women in higher position (Mahlet, 2019:1). As Melesse (2014:8-18) states that, the numerical representation of women in the HoPR had placed the country in the 109th, 47th, 52th and 33rd ranks in 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010 respectively from the world countries.

Table 2: The Share of Women in the National Parliament of FDRE (1995-2015)

Round(Parliamentary Term/Election Term)	Election year	Female	
		No.	%
1st	1995-2000	15	2.74
2 nd	2000-2005	42	7.7
3 rd	2005-2010	117	21.4
4 th	2010-2015	152	27.8
5 th	2015 election	212	38.8

Sources: adopted from (Birikti, 2014 :34-35 ;Melesse, 2014 :8-18 ; UN WOMEN, 2014:15 -24 ;Teklay,2016:42; Mignot, 2017:49; IPU,2019; 2020 and FDRE national report on the implementation of the Beijing declaration and platform for action (1995):pp. 39-40).

Women in Executive level

In 2006 out of 65 high levels of government positions (ministerial, sub ministerial and commission), the ratio of women has only 14 percent (JICA, 2006:15-22). According to UN WOMEN (2014), in 2010 women constituted 20 percent (1 woman) of Commissioners, 11.33 percent of ambassadors, furthermore, in 2014, the ratio of women in national executive was 16.5 percent. None of women has represented in the house of deputy speaker since 1995-2010 (Melesse, 2014:10). Therefore, it shows that there is existence of wider gender gap in the representation among women and men in the executive levels.

Yet, after 2018, the political commitment has reflected in the recent appointment of a gender gap 50% of national women cabinet (Agegnagn, 2020:4). Beyond the cabinet position, the country has appointed the first female head of state, the president of federal Supreme Court and National Electoral Board have run by female for the first time in the nation's history.

Table 3: Women Representation in Ministerial/Executive level (1995-2018)

Election year	Number of Female	%
1995	1	5.9
2000	2	9.5
2005	2	7.4
2010	3	9.7
2018	20	50

Source: adopted from (Birikti, 2014:34-35; Melese, 2014:15-16; UN WOMEN,2014 :23-24; Mignot, 2017:48-51; Agenagn, 2020:4; WEF, 2020; IPU, 2020:1)

3.3. Federalism and Women's Political Participation and Representation

Following the overthrow of Derg rule in 1991, a Transitional Government of Ethiopia was set up to manage the affairs of the country and prepare a new constitution. The new draft constitution set up a federal form of government in a way that allows accommodation of the interest of various nationality groups in the country (Habib, 2010:8-9). Hence, Ethiopian federalism attempted to enforce political decentralization with the election of sub national politicians at the

regional and district (*Woreda*) level. “The Transitional Period Charter (TPC) Proclamation Number 1/1991 Article 13 and the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (1995) Article 39(3) and Article 50(4) was lays the foundation for autonomy and introducing decentralized government systems ”(Zemelak,2011:7-13). The first phase of decentralization process starts in TPC in 1991, while the District Level Decentralization Program (DLDP), which known as the second wave of the decentralization process, was came into being in 2001 at local level of government (ibid).

Below the regional state, there are *Woredas* (districts) in rural area and city administration in urban areas and they have representative council in each *Woreda* and city administration whose members are directly elected by the local people(JICA, 2006:15-17). Indeed, in accordance with the decentralization framework, the federal government has established institutional machineries at all government structures up to the grass root level to promote women’s interest and combats all discrimination against women (ibid). Based on the sovereignty regional states, it was the right of regions to institutionalize their own women’s serves in accordance to their mandate. Therefore, the ministry of women, children and youth Affairs (MoWCYA) institutionalized at regional, *Woreda* and *kebele* levels of administration to attain political, social and economic empowerment of women (Burgess, 2013:7-8).

The 2001-revised constitution of Amhara regional state declared the establishment of *Woreda* and *Kebele* administration, as well as it guarantees the establishment of *Woreda* council and *Woreda* administration council. The same as in *Kebele* level, there have been right to established *Kebele* council and *Kebele* administrative council. Furthermore, the Amhara regional constitution article 35(1) give equal rights of women with men in all aspect of their life, as well as, article 35(3) of the constitution also promise to political right of women by providing affirmative action. The regional constitution Article 38(1(a)) also promotes political right of women’s by participating in public affairs that directly chosen their representatives. As well as sub article 1(b) of article 38 guarantees the right to vote in the age of 18 and to be elect in the age of 21 and sub article 1 (c) of article 38 has provides the right to vote and to be elected in each elections to any level of state administration.

Regional political Participation and Representation of Women

Despite, devolution of power and decentralization had made in each government structure, women have still underrepresented in regional council. For instance, in 1995 general election, only 5.4% women were represent at regional council (Mignot, 2017:48).But, in 2000 general election, the number of members increased to 1891 candidates, there were 12.9% women (Agenagn,2020:4). Moreover, according to House of People Representative and state council election final report (2010), in 2010, women accounts only 15.3% of candidates to the different state councils , this figure has actually low with compared to the 2005 election, where women candidates 27.5% of the total (9 regions) of state council candidates.

In Amhara region, like other regions, women have still underrepresented still underrepresented. Four instances in 1995/96 from 138 seats in national parliament, the share of Amhara women have only 1 %(Nigist, 2008:34-36). While in 1996/97, the ratio of women at *woreda* and *kebele* council, woman holds 13.7% and 21.5% respectively (ibid: 34), while, during the fourth round (2010) election term, the share of Amhara female representatives in the HoPR were 33.3% (Melesse, 2014:16). As well as, the share of regional women's representation in the house of federation of the FDRE during 2005-2010 parliamentary terms was only 11.8 % (ibid: 18). Currently, the numbers of women in regional council has 47%, whereas the number of women who represented in regional cabinet is only two (16.7%) (ADP, 2019).Therefore, in the absence greater participation and representation of women in politics within the region, it is difficult to attain gender equality.

3.4. Women's Political Participation at Local Governance Level

With the introduction of a federal system of government by devolution of power to regional governments, women's participation has increasing and become a majority voter at local administrative unit (JICA, 2006:16). In 1992, from an estimated 34.5 million qualified electorates has resisted to votes, at the time of local elections; from this total number, around 48 percent of the registered electorates were women (ibid) . In the next election in 2000, at *Woreda*/distinct council, from 70, 430 council members, the ratio of women were 6.6%, whereas, at the *Kebele* administrative unit, only 13.9% of women has constituted out of 928,288-elected official (Agenagn, 2020:4). In 2010 election, 47.8% of women were registered to vote

and the rate of participation at Election Day was 93.2% (HoPR Report, 2010:26-27). In 2015, general elections, from 36.8 million registered voters about 90% of the participated in the parliamentary elections, out of this 5,819 candidates who run for office, 21.8% were women (Helina, 2015:55).

Based on the 2001 revised constitution Article 83 Article 84 and Article 96 of Amhara region, *Raya kobo Woreda* have *Woreda* council, which established by the combination of popularly elected representatives of the *Kebeles* and have *Woreda* administrative council. Likewise, the *Kebele* administrations have *kebele* council and *kebele* administration council.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter deals with results and discussions of the data. It categorized into four parts. The first part contains description of the study area; and the second part contains background of respondents (age, marital status and education). The third part describes the status of women political participation in study area, which gathered through questionnaire and interview. The last section deals with the challenges and opportunities for women political participation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*.

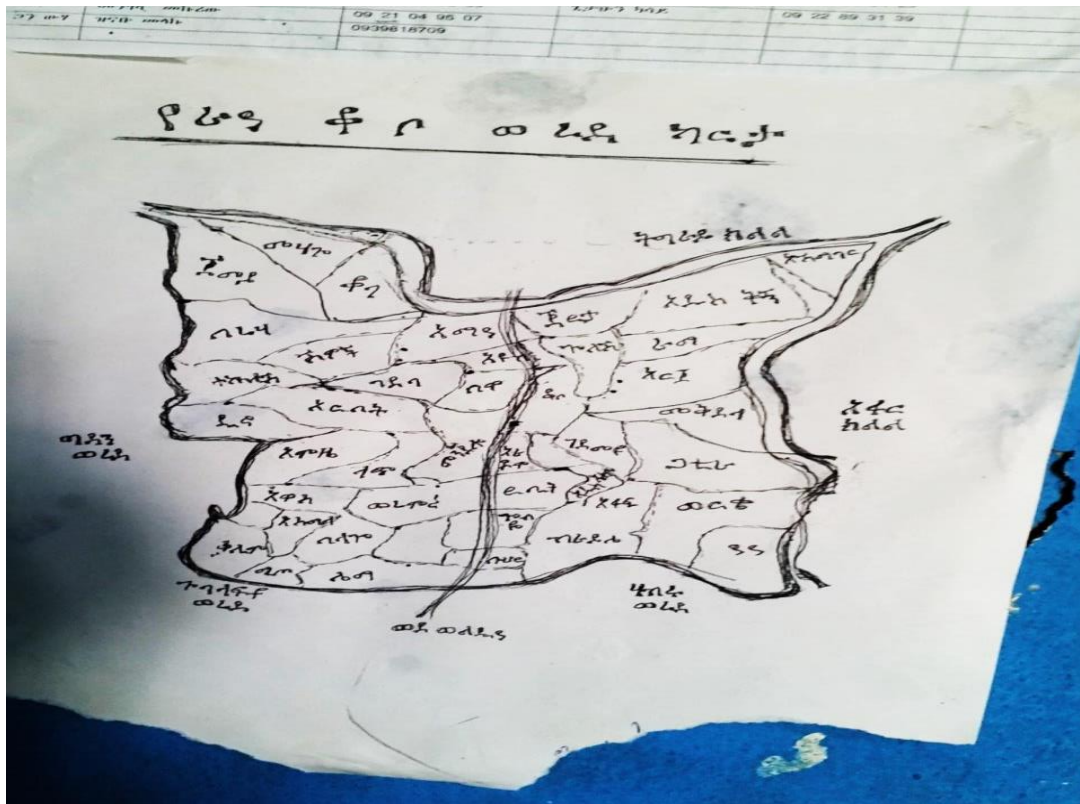
The result was based on 224 out of 227 questionnaires, which were distributed for respondents. The respondents were represented by code. *Robit Kebele* respondents coded from RR1-RR57 and *Dur-Lebes Kebele* respondents represented by RD1-RD64. Similarly, *Gobiye Kebele* respondents coded by RG1-RG38, likewise, *Buhoro Kebele* respondents represented by RB1-RB65. Furthermore, 36 KIs (25 females and 11 men) and then were interviewed to get additional similar information to support the qualitative result. In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were employed and the data was organized in a way to answer research questions raised in this research sequentially. Quantitative data, which collected through questionnaires analyzed, and additionally supported evidenced by qualitative data, which was collected from interviews. The survey data has analyzed and presented by using Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS-version 24).

4.1. Description of the Study Area

Raya Kobo Woreda, where this study is taken place, is one of the sixteen Administration *Woredas* in North *Wollo Zone* Administrative of Amhara National Regional State and 570kms far from Addis Ababa and 410 km from capital city of the region (Bahir Dar). The study district bordered by Afar region to the Eastern, Tigray region to the North, *Gubalafto Woreda* to the South and *Gidan Woreda* to the West. Since starting from 2001 and in accordance with the decentralization framework and for administration purpose, *Raya Kobo Woreda* has divided into

45 *Kebele* administrations with estimated total population of 221,958. Within this total population, 118,605 of them are male, while 103,353 are female (CSA, 2007). However, this large segment of *Woreda's* population is highly disregarded and not fully represented in the local council

Figure 2: Map of *Raya Kobo Woreda*



Source: *Raya Kobo Woreda* Administrative office, 2020

4.2. Respondents Background Description

The clear picture of the respondents' background, the collected data was analyzed based on the following characteristics such as age, marital status and educational background of respondents.

Age composition

According to the Ethiopia's National Youth Policy (2004), as these aged between 15-29 categorized under 'Young'. As well as, the 1995 FDRE Constitution Sub Article 1(b) of Article 38 promises a right to vote in the attainment of 18 years of age. The same as the 2001 revised

Amhara regional state constitution sub article 1(b) of Article 38 provides a right to vote on the attainment of 18 years of age and to be elected on the attainment of 21 years of age.

Therefore, the following result presented in the table 3, the age compositions of female *Kebele* councilors largely categorized in the age group of above 45 years, which accounts 67% of the total respondents. While, the least represented aged category was fall under the age of 18-29 year, which accounts only 8% of young female member of *kebele* councilors.

Concerning to this issue, the reason why young women were not well represented at local council is stated by respondent is that, the community perceives young women have less decision-making power, and autonomy within their households has difficult to succeed without family support (RD19, 2020). Additionally other respondents said that, the very reason for young women could not be participated and represented has absence of role model women in local council for young one (RR12; RR23 2020). The information gathered from the respondents, there are four female cabinets (executive level), which represented at *Kebele* WCYAs, but no one has categorized under the young age group (RG7, RD63; RR, 32 and RB42).

Moreover, three Key Informants from *Woreda* female cabinet members expressed their views in this way:

“*Kebele* administrators assumed that, young ones are share their power, due to this they fear to recruited and selected young females, as a result young women’s are the least represented in *Kebele* council and cabinet positions”(interview with key informants,2020).

Yet, in *Woreda* level, there are 28.5% of women’s which positioned at executive level was under young age group.¹ Hence, the result however seems against argument they² claimed young women involved in politics should remember that they have the advantage of time, whereas, older women who enter politics have only a few chances for electoral success. Therefore, the

¹Data gathered from *Raya Kobo Woreda* Prosperity Party. (2020). Unpublished annual report, page .56

² Michelle Chettiath, Kaitlin Denney, Ashima Gandhi, Sreya Panuganti. (2017:8). Enhancing Understanding of Young Women’s Political Aspirations and Participation: Final Report written for the National Democratic Institute; the George Washington University Capstone Team

result implies that, the age distribution reveals that most of the age category found to be above 45 years and majority of respondent of *Kebele* councilor are aged, yet, young females were not adequately participated and represented at local council.

Table 4: Age Composition of Sample Respondents (n=224)

Age category	Frequency	Percentage
18-29 year	18	8.0
30-45 year	56	25.0
above 45 years	150	67.0
Total	224	100.0

Source: field survey, May 2020

Marital Status

Regarding to the marital status of the respondents, the least participated and represented women in local council were married one having 1 to 5 children, which accounts 13.8% of respondents are married, 45.1% are unmarried and divorced respondents take the remaining 41.1% share.

Therefore, this implies that, most female members of *Kebele* council in the study area were either unmarried or divorced. Women those who were married one have no opportunity to participate and represent in local politics. Hence, the result seems reliable with the arguments of (Farzana, 2005) who claim that, due to disregarding by their husbands as well as their dual responsibility in the productive and reproductive spheres, women has difficult to participate and represent in local politics.

Table 5: Marital Status of Respondents (n=224)

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	31	13.8
Unmarried	101	45.1
Divorced/Separated	92	41.1
Total	224	100.0

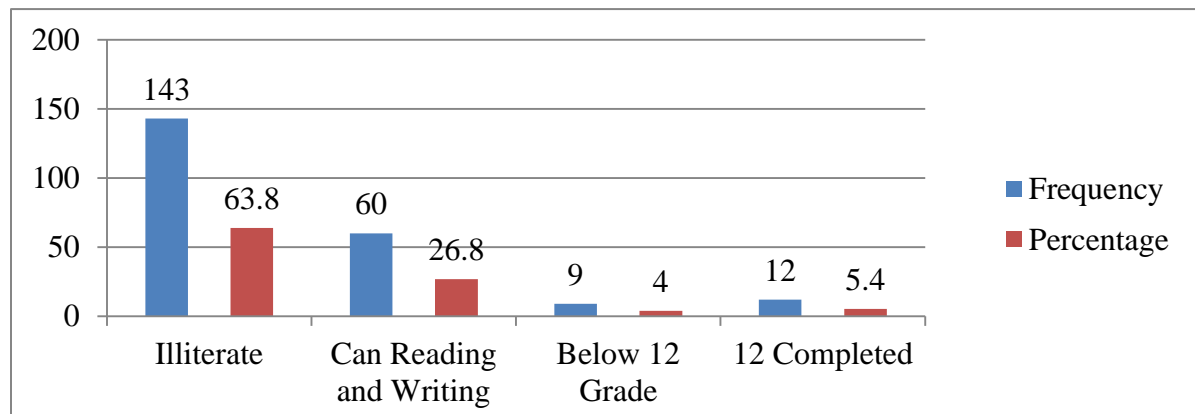
Source: field survey, May 2020

Educational background of respondents

The educational level of sample respondents of *Kebele* council has range from illiterate to twelve completed. The data shows that, 63.8% has illiterate, 26.8% has can read and write 4% has below grade 12 and the remaining that is 5.4% has 12 grade completed.

To participate and represent in politics, women should be skilled to engage confidently in political life.³ However, the survey result indicated that, even education has a key role for women political participation and representation, the majority of respondents have not literate and have cause for low level of women participation and representation at *Kebele* council.

Figure 3: Educational Back Ground of Respondents



Source: survey, May 2020

4.3. Federalism, Women and Local Councils

The respondents were asked the contribution of federalism for women’s political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*. Regarding to this question, the survey result indicate that federalism has both advantage and dis advantage for women political participation and representation in *Ray Kobo Woreda*. Concerning to this issue, one respondent from *kebele* council replied that:

³ Ibid p. 6

Women have benefited from the federal system of governments. Currently I am a head of Durbess Kebele Women, Children and Youth Affairs. In the last 2 years, I was Deputy Manager of *Kebele* administration. Therefore, I got this chance through the federal system of government by decentralized powers at ground level. She further stated that, “federalism has multiple advantages for women by creating local women friendly institutions like Women Affairs, Women Association and Women League to exercise and empower their political skills. As well as, women have an advantage to ask their issues/questions and they can get justice nearest to their residences” (RD24, 2020).

Similarly, another four respondents also mentioned that, federalism creates local women institutions and women development groups hence, women have access to participate in local issues through those institutions like Amhara Prosperity Party Women League and Women Association (RR45; RD 12; RD23 and RG21).

Moreover, another one interviewee from *Woreda* administrative also stated that, federalism creates a favorable environment by decentralized powers to local level of governments, due to this, women in study area have access to participate and represent in politics at study area (KI, *Woreda* chief executive, 2020).

On the opposite side, of three female *Kebele* councilor respondents said that:

Even though, federalism/decentralization is important for women's to participate and represent in local politics, the decentralization process could not be carried out properly in our *Kebele* administration. Not enough practical change has been implemented, still women cannot adequately represent at local council. In principle, federal government has the greatest advantage for women by providing local council institutions, however, in a study area women have not fully benefited in the federal system of government. Because, half of the study area population (women) have not been equally represented in their local affairs and their interests have been undermined. Organizational structures like WYCA, Women League and Forums have not been institutionally capable of identifying women issues and do not properly operate their functions (RR34; RR29 and RD5, 2020).

Therefore, the result indicates that even necessary organizational structures has presented at local level, the decentralization system does not fully realized in a well manner in study area. Due to this, women have not adequately participated and represented at kebele council in study area.

Types of Political Activities Women’s Can Participate at Local Council

In the survey instrument used for this study, respondents were asked the opportunities that women could involve in local political participation and representation in study area. Accordingly, the survey result show that,71%,20.1% and 8.9% of respondents stated that women have an opportunity to involve in local politics by ‘voting’, ‘selection ‘ and ‘nomination’ in respective order. Moreover, according to the data gathered from Raya Kobo Woreda council office and north Wollo zone ADP/presently office report(see the above table 12) nearly half of local and election registered voters were women.

Table 6: Types of Political Activities of Women in Local Council

Activities	Frequency	Percentage
Voting	159	71
Selection	45	20.1
Nomination	20	8.9
Total	224	100

Source: field survey, 2020

The Role of role of *Raya Kobo Woreda* to enhance Women’s Political Participation and Representation at Local Council

As presented below table 7 item 1(that is the role of *Raya Kobo Woreda* provide a chance to allocate resource), 33.8% of respondents replied ‘Yes’, while .61.2% respondents replied ‘No’. As almost maximum number of *Kebele* female councilor respondents has put their reasons in opened ended questions, woreda administration does not concern for women political participation by assigning budgets at the time of allocating woreda budgets. Not only *Woreda* but also *Kebele* administrations do not taking in to account women councilors resource gap.

In this regard, the information gathered from *Key Informants* of *Raya Kobo Woreda* Women Children and Youth Affairs office (WCYA):

The *Woreda* WCYAs office has serious budget constraint to mobilize women, enhance capacity building trainings and experience sharing of women councilors and female cabinets. The *Woreda* cabinet's and *Woreda* Council have not given that much attention for Women Affairs Office. They considered women's issue as a secondary matter and the budget allocation was very low as compared to other sectors. The situation is more serious at *Kebele* level; there is no any incentives to motivate and mobilize women's specifically female leaders and councilors at *kebele* level (KI, WCYAs, 2020).

The data⁴ from *Woreda* budget and finance and WCYAs office document show that WCYAs office budget was low as compared to Education, Finance, Agriculture, Administration, Land, Water, Road and Transport, Trading and Sport offices. Due to this, WCYAs have not effectively addressed and mobilized *Kebele* women and cannot support each women structure (*Kebele* Women's Development Group, Women Association, Forum, and League) at *Kebele* level in a well manner. Similarly, as the informants⁵ *Woreda* council office do not provide capacity building training for *Kebele* female councilors and female standing committees. As a result, women have not politically empowered and increased their skills to overcome their challenges.

The respondents were asked the awareness of women political rights, (as shown below the same table in item 2). Accordingly, respondents, which accounts 75.4% were do not have awareness about their political rights, while 24.6% of respondents have aware for their political rights. In this regard, based on the opened ended questions the respondents further replied that, there is no full information for their rights. Three respondents said that; 'We know only for women property rights; rather we do not have awareness for other women rights' (RB 46, RD 28 and RR3).

Local government institutions such as *Woreda* and *Kebele* WYCA, PP and Council office could not be creating awareness to women democratic rights. As a result, most of

⁴ Data gathered from *Raya Kobo Woreda* budget and finance office and *Woreda* WCYAs office annual budget ledger

⁵ Interview with office of *Raya Kobo Woreda* Amhara women association, *Raya kobo woreda* Amhara Prosperity Party women league office and WCYAs office: May 15, 2020

women were does not have awareness about their political right (KIs, *Raya Kobo Woreda Women Association*, 2020).

In relation to item 3(means that, applying gender sensitive planning for political participation) in the same table, respondent's response implies that 'Yes'40.6% and 'No'59.4%. In this regard, the information gain from⁶ there is no prioritizing gender issue at the planning cycle, for women political participation at local unit. Woreda administration and Woreda council does not have mainstreaming plan and mechanisms to resolve low rate of women political participation and representation at local level. Similarly, member of female Kebele council respondents said that, Kebele council and administration has not consistently incorporating women political issue in annual plan. Therefore, due to this gap, women have politically less empowered (RR1; RR21; RD5and RG19).

In relation to item 4 in the same table, the monitoring and evaluation system for woreda government at local unit, the response of respondents show that, almost majority of respondents replies 'No' which have 75.4%of shares. As the information gathered from informants, *Woreda* administration and council office have not monitoring time Schedule to solve low rate of women political participation at local level (interview with *Woreda* female cabinets, 2020).

Similarly, member of female *Kebele* council respondents said that, *Kebele* council has not evaluating and monitoring women issue at *Kebele* council meeting. As well as standing committee does not follow up their work properly. Therefore, due to this gap, women have politically less empowered (RR1; RR21; RD5and RG19).additionally the interview gathered from two male KIs stated that:

The commitment of *Woreda* political leaders like WCYAs, APP and Council office has weak follow up and monitoring system for the implementation of national women policies, agreements such as CEDAW and constitutional right of women for enhanced their political participation at local level (interview with key informants, 2020).

⁶ The 5th year Strategic plan of *Raya kobo woreda administrative office* (2015:56-7); and Annual plan of *Raya kobo Woreda Council office*(2020:21-25)

In relation to item 5 in the same table (that is establishes autonomous women institutions); the almost 68.3% of respondents response result show that woreda government has not established strong women organizational structure that perform their responsibilities. According further to the information gathered from *Kebele* respondents:

Kebele women institution (such as Women Affair, women league and women association) were not independent to decide their own decision, rather they guided and controlled by *Kebele* administrators. Likewise *Woreda* and *Kebele* council has not well organized and could not be fully operating their function, consequently, women institutions and women councilors cannot be supported and encouraged by *both Woreda and Kebele* councils (RD24;RD27; RR2 and RB1,2020). Specifically, *Woreda* council have weak monitoring system .Due to these, *Kebele* council quarterly meeting were not held up on at regular schedule and do not evaluate women's issue(KI, *Woreda* female cabinets,2020).

As the same table item 6, the respondents were asked the commitment of political leaders to implement women political right. Accordingly, the maximum number of respondents was replied that, no political leaders have effectively performed women political right. In this regard, three (1male and 2 females) member *Woreda* of council Key Informant stated that:

Few political leaders have committed to women issue, yet majority of *Woreda* cabinet members have considered as women issue as secondary mater. They are not interested to listen and implement women's agenda .this problem is more chronic at kebele administration level (interview with KIs, 2020)

Beside, women engage in civic, government and political organizations has great impact for the women's participation at local level. According to the data gathered from *Kebele* respondents:

At *Kebele* level, no stakeholders that facilitated women political issue at community level, even, women do not have any awareness for the establishment and role of these stakeholders at *Kebele* level (RD24 and RG12, 2020).

Moreover, in relation to this issue, the key informants view show that collaboration of stakeholders do not have jointly work together on women political issue. They expressed that:

PP, WCYA, Administration office, Education, Agriculture, Women association, women league, forum and finance office are the main stakeholders that facilitate women issue. In a paper value, these stakeholders have common plan and regular meeting day for empowering women life style. However, no stakeholders have attained regularly in discussion time and they have not internal motive and, they lacks synergy to implemented and evaluated collaboratively their plan based on their schedule (KI, Women Association; *Woreda* chief executive and WCYAs, 2020).

Another key informant stated that, WYCA's and APP women league office has still a long way to go in advocating of women interest and needs in political participation. The WCYAs has weak institutional collaboration with other sectors in addressing the various demands (such as training, organizing forums for experience sharing and education) of female councilors (interview with key informant, 2020).

Table 7: Role of *Raya Kobo Woreda* to enhance women political participation and representation

No.	Activities	Response	Frequency	Percentage
1	Allocation of Resource	Yes	87	38.8
		No	137	61.2
2	Awareness Creation	Yes	55	24.6
		No	169	75.4
3	Applying Gender Sensitive Planning	Yes	91	40.6
		No	133	59.4
4	Monitoring of Women's Political Issue	Yes	55	24.6
		No	169	75.4
5	Establishing Strong Autonomous Women Institution	Yes	71	31.7
		No	153	68.3
6	Commitment of Political Leaders to Implement Women Political Right	Yes	52	23.2
		No	71	76.8

Source: field survey, 2020

Women's Participation at Local council Discussion

The respondents were asked their active participation in their respective council's discussion and debates. The respondents stated that, men member of councilor dominate them during council discussions. Moreover, *Kebele* managers do not give an attention for female councilors, and not expect to substantive ideas from female councilors (RD21 and RG2, 2020).

Similarly, one female key informant express her view in this way, "*Woreda* manager assume and conclude that women councilors and women cabinets have not provide significance issue to the community (interview with key informant, 2020)." On opposite side two (one male and one female) key informants stated that, low level of women participation at the discussion was arises from women themselves, usually female councilors and cabinets tend to be passive in debate and decision-making (KI, *Woreda* PP office and *Durlebese Kebele*, 2020). Accordingly, the result entails that women councilors and cabinet members have passive in discussion by raising women issue at *Kebele* council.

Channels of Local Political Participation

Political participation in electoral process includes much more than voting. It involves registering as a candidate, taking part in party politics, campaigning in an election and holding political leadership (public decision-making positions) in the state machineries. Therefore, keeping this in mind, there is a survey question regarding to the opportunities and channels of women's political participation and representation what and how they took their community has administered to the sample population,

The respondents were asked the extent of women political participation in each channel that gathered information from different sources. The respondent's response indicated that, 39.7% of respondents rated as 'high' participation in *woreda* council. Whereas, 77.2%, 80.8% and 92 % of respondents rated as 'low' for women involvement in *Kebele* council, women league and women forum respectively. Moreover, participation of women has rated 'high' in Amhara women association, which shares 57.1 %. The respondents further stated that:

Even though, the extent to which women involvement in each channel (*Woreda* and *Kebele* council, Amhara women association, women forum and women league and

Women Affair office) were differ from one to another, Amhara women association has widely used channels and instrument for women political participation and representation at local level (RR2; RR49;RD24; RD61and RG31, 2020).

To support this, the information gathered from *Raya Kobo Woreda* women association and *Woreda WCYA* office, “*Kebele* women association provides a fertile ground to recruiting and selecting women leaders at *Kebele* administration”. Therefore, the result indicates even women involvement through each channels has differ from one to another, and it is very low contribution as compared to the total population of the study area. The only one, Amhara women association has addressing and promoting women interest by mobilizing *Kebele* gender activists.

Table 8: Women Participation within Each Channel

Channels		Very high	High	Low	Very low	Total
Woreda Council	Frequency	1	89	78	56	224
	Percentage	0.4	39.7	34.8	25	100
Kebele Council	Frequency	2	31	173	18	224
	Percentage	0.9	13.8	77.2	8.0	100
Women League	Frequency	3	6	181	34	224
	Percentage	1.3	2.7	80.8	15.2	100
Women Forum	Frequency	1	1	206	16	224
	Percentage	0.4	0.4	92	7.1	100
Women Association	Frequency	45	128	47	4	224
	Percentage	20.1	57.1	21	1.8	100

Source, field survey, 2020

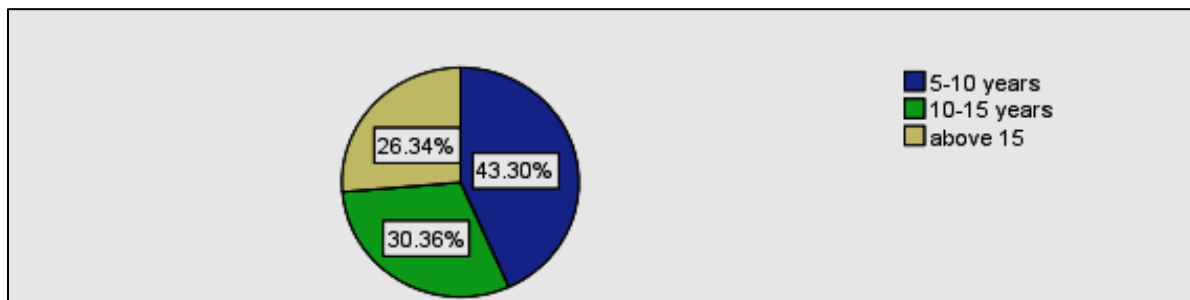
Women’s Political Participation and Representation in Formal Politics

The researcher was asked questions to respondents regarding to ‘when’ they began their formal political career in your local area. Concerning to this question, the survey result (see figure 3) indicates that, no one has begun formal political participation below the last five years. Whereas, women who have been active in formal politics since the last five to ten years has 43.3% and 30.4% of women response indicates that their political participation ranges from 10-15 years.

The remaining 26.3% of respondents answer implies that their participation in the formal political affair of their community goes back to the last fifteen years.

According to the key informant consulted for the study, however, most women who enter to politics have not enough contribution to local community and (KI, *Kebele* women league, 2020). Therefore, the result implies that, even though the experience of respondents in the formal political participation has above five years, the active involvement of women in local politics has been low and have less empowered to politics.

Figure 4: Women’s Experience in Formal Politics



Source: field survey, May 2020

Women’s Political Participation and representation at *Kebele* Council

One of its advantages of Ethiopian federalism has establishment of local council system that citizens can participate and represent in local affairs. Keeping this in mind, questions have forwarded to generate information to respondents’ experience as member of councilors was to entry *Kebele* council.

The respondents were asked questions regarding to their experience as member of *Kebele* council .As the data presented below table 9 indicated that 77.2% of respondents have below five years’ experience as a member of kebele council. Concerning to this issue, one respondent said that, due to less experienced of female councilors in local politics, they could not generate substantive idea and do not advocating women issue in the council meeting (RD24, 2020).

Accordingly, the result implies that women who have member of kebele council has relatively less experienced and politically not matured, lack of skilled and absence of confidence to disclosed women political issue at local council.

Table 9: Respondents Experience as A Member of Kebele Councilor (n=224)

Experience	Frequency	Percentage
less than 5 years	173	77.2
5-10year	22	9.8
10 -15 years	19	8.5
above 15 years	10	4.5
Total	224	100.0

Source: field survey, May 2020

Participation of Women in Local Council Meeting

The respondents were asked ‘how’ often they go to their constituency (where they are elected from) and held quarterly discussion or meeting with the electorates. The respondents were asked ‘how’ often they go to their constituency (where they are elected from) and held quarterly discussion or meeting with the electorates. As it presented below table 10, the survey result replied that almost 61.2% of respondents were not goes to council discussions regularly.

As further information gathered from respondents, due to their dual responsibility and subordination of women (specifically married one) women councilors has hard to attained council meetings at usual time (RR3;RR56 and RB2,2020).

Therefore, the result implies that female councilors do not attained all quarterly council meetings/discussions. As result they are not empowered their political skills.

The respondents were also asked how many times go to in their council meeting? Accordingly, the survey result revealed that, only 38.8% of women councilors were goes to council meeting at quarterly. The remaining female councilors were could not be participated based on the given quarterly times. Therefore, this implies that women were difficult to attained on council discussion and they could not be reflect their voice.

Table 10: Local Council Discussion

Activities	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Attending Local Council Meeting	Yes	87	38.8
	No	137	61.2
	Total	224	100
Frequency of Meeting	Once a Year	12	5.4
	Two Wise a Year	81	36.2
	Three times a year	44	19.6
	Quarterly	87	38.8
	Total	224	100.0

Source: field survey, 2020

4.4. The Role of Political Parties for Women’s Political Participation and Representation

I. Women and Electoral Candidacy

The respondents were asked their opinion about female candidacy in their local council. As the survey, the information gathered from two *Kebele* female councilors:

In our *Kebele* the number of women has nearly half of the total population; however, the number of women involvement in electoral candidacy at *Kebele* council has low as compared to large number of total populations” (RB23 and RR7, 2020).

According to the data⁷, from *Woreda* Council, currently, 525(20.2%) of sampling *Kebeles* council seat were covered by females, and the share of these sampling *Kebeles* at *Woreda* council were 3(25%). Therefore, the result indicated that, most of respondents have major voters, but the underlying factors for the low level of women political representation in their local affairs.

Concerning to registered female candidacy for local council, available data from the *Woreda* council and *woreda* administration (2020), in four sampling *Kebele* (*Robit, Gobiye, Buhoro* and *Dur-Lebes*) reveals that: in 2008 local election, the number of female voters in *Robit Kebele* was

⁷ The data gathered from *Raya Kobo Woreda* Council office annual report (2018) page.56

49.4%, while the ratio of women candidate who registered *Woreda* and *Kebele* council were 1 and 65 respectively. At the same election year, the number of women voters in *Gobiye Kebele* was 51.8% and the share of women candidate who registered *Kebele* council were 35 but none of registered candidate at *Woreda* council. Similarly, the number of women voters in *Buhoro Kebele* was 48.4% and the number of women candidacy in *Kebele* council was 71, however, there is no registered candidacy in *Woreda* council to delegate their *Kebele*. As the same year, the number of voters in *Dur-Lebes Kebele* denotes 51.9% and the ratio of women in *Kebele* council has only 68 females, but no representative of female candidate in *Woreda* council.

As far as candidate party affiliation is concerned, the data gain from *Raya Kobo Woreda* Prosperity Party (PP) and *Woreda* council office document, in 2008 and 2013 local election, there is no opposition parties female nominees and independent candidates within sampling *Kebeles*. The role of opposition party, which recruited and selected women candidacy has very low (*interview with Woreda PP, 2020*).

Concerning this issue, EPRDF have a fertile ground by having more of *Kebele* female members as compared to opposition political parties and it is dominant party, the so called as ‘አጭራ ፖርቲ’ to recruited women candidates at kebele level (*Interview with Woreda key informant, 2020*). On the other hand, According to the information gathered from office of *Woreda* council (2020), members of the *Woreda* council are involved in various standing committee that are responsible for deliberating on plan and budgetary allocation proposal, implementation of policies, programs, regulations and decisions of the *woreda* administration. Currently, there were fifteen members of standing committees in *Woreda* council, of which the share of women has only three, whereas, at *Kebele* council, out of sixty sanding committees twelve were females. Therefore, the result indicated that, most women were voters, while their participation in electoral candidacy was less in number with relative large numbers.

Table 11: Women Candidacy at Local Council

Election Year	Kebeles	Female voters in %	Candidates		Candidates Affiliation			
			Woreda council	Kebele Council	EPRDF		Opposition	Independent
					Woreda council	Kebele Council		
2005(general election)	Robit	49.1	-	-	-	-		-
	Gobiye	50.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Buhoro	47.1	-	-	-	-		-
	Dur-Lebes	50.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2008(Local election)	Robit	49.4	1	18.6%	1	65		
	Gobiye	51.8	-	10.0%	1	35		
	Buhoro	48.4	-	20.3%	-	71		
	Dur-Lebes	51.9	-	19.4%	-	68		
2010(general election)	Robit	49.7	-	-	-	-		-
	Gobiye	50.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Buhoro	48.6	-	-	-	-		-
	Dur-Lebes	51.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-
2013(Local election)	Robit	46.9	1	20.8%	1	43.1		
	Gobiye	53.1	1	13.8%	1	41%		
	Buhoro	46.9	1	23.1%	1	24.6		
	Dur-Lebes	50.1	-	23.1%	-	64.6		
2015(general election)	Robit	48.8	-	-	-	-		
	Gobiye	51.1	-	-	-	-		
	Buhoro	46.8	-	-	-	-		
	Dur-Lebes	52.8	-	-	-	-		

Source: computed by the author from 2005, 2008, 2010, 2013 and 2015 election report on *Raya Kobo Woreda* administration, council office and North Wollo Zone APP office document

II. Women's in Local Leadership Positions

The substantive representation of women in the local leadership positions of both *Kebele* and *Woreda* administrative has also examined. According to the information⁸ gathered from APP (2020) as follows:

Now there are 37 sector based leadership positions (27 of them are leading executive position, while the remaining 10 have deputy leadership positions) at *Woreda* administration. The share of women that positioned executive level (head of office) have been 518.5, accordingly, WYCA's, Women League, Cooperative Office, *Woreda* Council and Tourism office has run by females. Whereas, women who placed deputy leadership positions have 20% share. Likewise, at *Kebele* level, in each sampling four kebele has seven executive leadership positions.

Therefore, from the twenty-eight leading executive positions at *Kebele* level, the share of women found to be four, which accounts for 14.3%. Concerning to their nomination, *Woreda* heads of executive and deputy leaders have nominated by *Woreda* executive upon the recommendation of *Woreda* PP, and agreed by Zonal and Regional executive. Finally, they approved by *Woreda* council. Whereas *Kebele* the nomination of executive first recommended by *Kebele* administrative and approved by *woreda* executive.

Besides, the survey instrument used for the study, the respondents was asked about their experience in political leadership such as leading political parties, *Kebele* managers or deputy manager. The result implies that almost all 99.6% of respondents said that they have not ever lead manager and deputy manager positions, while, only 0.1% respondent have experienced in *Kebele* deputy manager.

Similarly, the question was administered to the respondent regarding to the experience in leadership in other executive positions of their *Kebele* administration such as WCYAs office, Youth Affairs (before the merging of Women Affairs), Peace and Security Affairs and leader of political party. The data shows that only 2.7% respondents has lead an executive office only for *Kebele*

⁸ *Raya Kobo Woreda* Amhara Prosperity Party office monthly report ,May,2020,page 12

women and children affairs ,while 97.3% of respondents couldn't have got any executive position in their local administration. Concerning to these issues Key Informants said that:

The community including *Kebele* managers assume that, women has less ability than men do, therefore they prefer to nominate men than women. Moreover, *Kebele* and *Woreda* leaders assume that, the only position for women has only women and children office, due to this all most all of *Woreda* and *Kebele* female cabinets are delegated only Women League and WYCA's department (KI, *Woreda* Council and *Woreda* WCYA,2020).

On the other hand, two-government official Key Informants said that due to social responsibility women do not have an interest to manage key government and party offices. In my field study observation, all (except WCYA and Women League) of the government institution and the party positions of *Kebele* administration have run by men. Therefore, the result implies that, female cabinets have excluded from key decision-making positions and they cannot be reflecting the interest of women.

Table 12: Women's Decision-Making at Local Level

Positions	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Placement on higher government/party position	Yes	1	.4
	No	223	99.6
	Total	224	100.0
Placement on other executive position	Yes	6	2.7
	No	218	97.3
	Total	224	100

Source: own survey, 2020

III. Nomination Criteria

In the survey instrument used for this study, the respondents were also asked whether they know or not about the nomination criteria for female candidates, which used to participate in *Kebele* council. Accordingly, respondents, which have a share of 33.9 %, have known the nomination criteria as a candidate. Respondents said that, a woman who has accepted by the community and

personal motivation has a widely used as a candidate criterion (RD10; RD21; RG37; RR40 and RR51, 2020). While, 66.1% of respondents replied that, they have no awareness for the nomination criteria of female candidates. Therefore, the result indicated that most of respondents have underlined the low level of awareness for the nomination criteria for local council candidates. On the other hand, concerning to the above issue of candidate criteria, two female Key Informants from woreda cabinet have oppositely expressed their idea in the following way:

Affiliation of certain political organization has one of the measurements and have contributory factor for women to enter local council in study area. Additionally, women's personal commitment for party programs has considered as a criterion to be member of local council in study area. We are a member of political organization; therefore, our personal commitments to the party program have a role to be member of local council (interview with KIs, 2020).

Additionally, women's commitment for party program has one of the measurements to recruit as member of local council (RD24, 2020). Moreover, women's ability to perform a given job and its accomplishment has a criterion for female candidates. In this regard, respondents said that:

I am a member of political party, but the party recruits them only because the party believes that I capable to being in the local council (RR51, 2020). Yet, personal capability of women does not applicable at all time, sometimes the criteria has change by Woreda ADP/APP (KI, *Woreda women association*, 2020).

Therefore, the result indicates that, membership of a certain political party has one of the criteria and party gatekeeper may decide to recruit as a member of local council those whom they are capable in the local councils. Moreover, the result supports Pamela, Sheri and Melanie (2007) who claims that political parties have key role by recruiting and selecting individuals to enter local politics and run an office. However, another government official key informant negatively replied for the above quoted. He states that:

The recruiting and selection criteria for women candidate for local council has not restricted and changed by some body, though, the problem has arises from women themselves, women's who have a good performance haven't interested and initiated to

apply local council candidate as well as to run an office(interview with key informants,2020).

Additionally, the level personal proximity (like family, friends and biasedness) has a criterion for women to enter local council. According to the survey data, one Key Informant affirmed that personal proximity has contributory factor to join local politics.

A woman who have closed relationship between from somebody (specifically from *Kebele* managers), she gets a chance to enter local council, unless otherwise, she may not be acceptable by party or government body (interview with Key Informant, 2020).

On the other hand, another two key informants affirmed that:

There is no clear-cut recruitment /nomination criterion for female candidates. Specifically in *Woreda* council and *Woreda* cabinet additional issues has taken in to account when candidates are nominated and women must be fulfill nomination requirements (such as education/academic status, work experience) and their commitment to the party programs(interview with key informants,2020).

In contrast, from the above idea the information gathered from APP and Council office show that, there is a nomination criterion for women's as a candidate to enter local council. These criteria have age, education, competency, free from rent seeking and acceptance of the community.

Therefore, the result indicated that, there is a contradiction idea between some respondents and APP and Council office.

Table 13: Candidate Criteria

Criteria	Response	Frequency	Percent
Age	Yes	73	32.6
	No	151	67.4
Education	Yes	79	35.3
	No	145	64.7
Competency	Yes	74	33.0
	No	150	67.0
Free from rent seeking	Yes	76	33.9
	No	148	66.1
Acceptance of the society	Yes	78	34.8
	No	146	65.2

Source: field survey, May 2020

4.5. Opportunities and Challenges of Women Political Participation and Representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*

4.5.1. Opportunities

In order to promote women political participation and overcome their challenges, the opportunities available for women in *Raya Kobo Woreda* have as follows. According to the respondent's opinion:

At *Kebele* level, the formation of women friendly institutions such as *Kebele* women association, women league, women affair and female development group, which called as (የሴቶች የልማት ቡድን) provides a fertile ground for women to develop and exercise their political skills at community level(RR55;RR42;RG1;RD63,2020).

Additionally, according to the information gathered from interview with key informants:

The ratification of different international conventions and agreements, such as UDHR, CEDAW, and the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) by the Ethiopian government has been considered as an opportunity for women's political participation (*Woreda* PP and WCYAs, 2020).

Moreover, the opportunities derived from national and regional legal frameworks; as well as the significance of the country's constitutional guarantee of the various political rights (by referencing article 35(3) and article 38(1, 2)) of women by the supreme law of the country (ibid). In addition, the data gathered from *Woreda* key informants:

The constitutional guarantee of freedom of associations, multi-party system of politics, parliamentary and decentralized system of government has been considered as major institutional opportunities for women's political participation and representation in *Raya Kobo Woreda* (Interview with PP and deputy manager of *Woreda* council, 2020).

As well as, National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAPGE) and the formation of different government and party organizations, which is responsible to women's political participation at the local level have been considered as an opportunity (interview with *Woreda* WCYAs, 2020).

The recently started political reforms in the country have also laid a landmark for women's political participation and representation in the study area⁹.

4.5.2. Challenges

Socio Cultural Factors

Ethiopia, as one of the developing countries where gender-disparities exist in family, society and in the workplace is the reflection of existing realities in the society. In line with this, socio-cultural factors were mentioned as one of the hindrances of women for holding decision-making positions. As can be seen from table 14 in the case of item 1, (means that family encouragement as a mechanism for women's political participation at local government), however, respondents rated low that accounts 47.3 and ranked 2. Regarding to this issue the respondents mentioned that absence of role model women in their *Kebele* administration has an impact on

⁹ Interview with office of *Raya Kobo Woreda* prosperity party

women's political participation and leads to negative image for the community, as well as for their family to support them (RD23;RD63 ; RR42 and RB1, 2020). Yet, two respondents respond positively, they asserted that they have an encouragement and inspiration from their families (RD24 and RB16, 2020).

The respondents were asked to rate the influence of the society that participated at local politics of the same table of item 2. The respondent's response is 'high' accounts 54.5% and ranked 2. Concerning to this, the Key Informant said that, they faced by different discouraging suggestions from the community. Backward traditional believes for the societies that have a negative impact towards women to join local politics. An informant from member of *Woreda* council stated that she often encountered and discouraged by different comments that arise from the community, even, women themselves were does not have an awareness for their equal political right (interview with key informant,2020).Moreover, *Woreda* female cabinet key informant also said that:

The inadequate representation of women in executive position and standing committees linked with the traditional view of gender. Demanding for selection in the executive or any other position of leadership is difficult; the view that women are unable to managing and leading is still under questionable (KI, *Woreda* female cabinet, 2020).

The main socio cultural barrier mentioned has family influence; work loaded at home, appreciation and misconception of the society about women's role that is family and home responsibility as well as personal barriers lack of confidence and interest to participate and represent local council (KI, government official, 2020).

The respondents were asked to rate about subordination of women. The response show high degree of dominancy by their counterpart's, which accounts 55.4%, and in the 3 rank. The respondents further stated that 'due to traditional view of society, still women were behind men and male dominancy in and outside home has great impact on women's political participation and representation at local level of administration (RG29 ; RD32 and RB54 ,2020).

The respondents were asked to rate for women workload at home to participate and represent at local council. Almost 51.3% of respondent's rated high degree of workload was problem for women to involve in local council.

The respondents further stated that, "We have dual role, reproductive and productive role. As well as, majority of women have responsibility to care their children and to manage their home, due to this ,women have no full chance to participate at local politics" (RD12, RD4; RR45 and RG39, 2020).

Therefore, the result implies that most of respondents do not have any motivation and encouragement from their family to participate at local politics in study area. Likewise, women have dominated and marginalized, have high degree of workload at home and lack appreciation from the community. Thus, such views are obstacles to realizing genuine political participation and representation of women in local level in a study area.

Table 14:Socio-Cultural Factors

No	Socio Cultural Hindering Factor	Very High	High	Average	Low	Very Low
1	Family encouragement	5.4%	5.8%	12.1%	47.3%	29.5%
2	Women Leadership appreciated by the society	11.2%	17.1%	22.8%	54.5%	4.5 %
3	Male dominancy in the society	10.7%	55.4%	4.5%	9.4%	20.1%
4	Women's work load at home	26.3%	51.3%	9.4%	3.1%	9.8%

Source: field survey, 2020

Additionally, the respondents were also expressed their opinion about following variables that negatively affect women political participation and representation at local council in study area.

Individual Factors

- I. **Personal /Individual Motivation:** Concerning to this issue members of female kebele councilor replied that:

Women lack internal motivation and initiation to engage local politics and have no full confidence to present their idea. For instance, when council meeting or any other dialog was held at a community level, even we know what to be raised the idea , we don't have confidence to expressed our personal feeling ,and we believed that the issue was more articulated by males rather than ourselves (RD38;RG15and RG22 ,2020).

The information gathered from an interviewee of *Woreda* female cabinet stated that:

Absence of individual motivation for women derived from its poor management of *Woreda* and *Kebele* administrators and party offices, specifically PP offices. For instance, female cabinet has not treated equally with men; they do not hear their voice properly, *woreda* chief managers assume that female cabinet do not generate substantive ideas. Female cabinets and councilors could not be politically empowered; rather they discouraged by party leaders and chief executives. Moreover, male cabinets have a desire to run all government and party offices by rejecting females. Therefore, due to these problems women do not have initiated and interested to participated local politics. Even they do not stayed on leadership position by running government office (KIs, women cabinet, 2020).

In contrast, two female key informants, one from *Woreda* council and one from *Woreda* female cabinet (but they are members of *Woreda* council) stated that:

We were personally motivated to participate in the local elections and inspired to represent the interest of women in the local councils. Being a member of the local councils help them to influence in the formulations, discussions and decisions in the local administration that may affect the life of women and protecting the rights and the interest of women (interview with key informants, 2020) is the motive of those key informants .

Similarly, one informant from *Woreda* women league stated that:

The very reason I joined to politics was my motivation to represent in the local politics. As a citizen, women also supposed to be part of the political process. I have been concerned why few women are involved in local politics while political decisions affect

all of us equally. Therefore, I wanted to contribute my part of the change (KI, Women league, 2020).

- II. Political Interest:** Similarly, another respondent also state that, they did not have the intention to participate in the council, but they were recruited, because the party wanted candidates in their consistency (RD31, RR7; RR21 and RG25, 2020). Likewise, four key informants, from the *Kebele* women league and women association (but they are members of *Kebele* council) though have been less political interest to take part in local election and be member of local councils. They stated that, they recruited to the local election based on the recommendations of their party (ANDM) leaders without their consent and informed their; they were nominated for candidacy (interview with key informants, 2020).

Additionally, according to the information gathered from *Woreda PP* office:

Absence women's political interest has one of the challenges that woman to participate in politics. Now it is hard to get a women who run an office, because no voluntary women to join in politics (KI, PP office, 2020).

- III. Political Knowledge:** Another two key informants from office of *Woreda* council (by default two of them, the head of Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the council has females) also stated that, they were have political knowledge to become a role model for women to show that women can do something important. They said that, "People think that politics has given only for men rather than women, so we have a dream to change these bad traditions" (interview with KIs, 2020)

Therefore, the result has related with the argument of Sharon and Marvin (2017) they claimed that, personal motivation, political interest and political knowledge has the most influential factors guiding people to political participation and representation. As well as, personal motivation puts on the supply side factor of recruitment theory. It related to the drive, the motivation and the political engagement that makes individuals willing to run for office.

Therefore, even though, some key informants have an interest to participate local politics, most of respondent's response shows that, women have no full of personal motivation, political interest and political knowledge to involve local politics.

Institutional Factors

The respondents were asked to the institutional variables that adversely affect the political participation and representation of women in study area. Accordingly, as the information gathered from Key Informants, the following variables have been negatively affect women political participation and representation.

- I. **Quota Provision:** As the informant¹⁰ gathered from Woreda PP, mechanisms that women's political empowerment in participation and representation, applying quota system during selection and placement gender related policies and provisions has not effectively implemented(Interview with key informant,2020). Even EPRDF adopted 30% quota provision, it applies 25% in rural *Woreda* by the direction of higher party officials of Amhara Democratic Party/Prosperity Party. According to the information gathered from North Wollo Zone PP, the reason why this 25% application has due to the absence of interested women to run an office.

- II. **Party System:** as it has mentioned in chapter two, political will have great factor that determines women to enter parliament and increased their numbers. Therefore, the existing (EPRDF/PP) political party has its own role for women political participation and representation at local council. Accordingly, the key informants stated that, the role of political party by promoting women at local level (except APP) remains low. They lack clear program and no consistency of mobilization and supporting that could enhance women political participation at local level (KI, WCYA; PP and Women Association, 2020). As well as, political parties have not providing favorable political environment for women, for instance *Woreda* PP has not positively treat and encourage female cabinets and it does not reconsider women's dual role (female cabinet responsibility and home management)¹¹

On the other hand, three *Kebele* Key Informants do not know any political party (except ANDM/APP) to encourage women political participation at local level (KI, *Kebele* administrations, 2020). Moreover, no one opposition political parties have interested to participated in 2008 and 2013 local election term (interview with KI. PP office, 2020)

¹⁰ Interview from *Raya kobo Woreda* Prosperity Party ,May,20 ,2020

¹¹ Interview from *Raya Kobo Woreda* female cabinets, May 18, 2020

Economic Factors

The respondents were asked source of their income generation. With regard to this issue, almost all respondents have put their reasons in open and closed ended questions. As its shown below table 13 most respondents 71% replied ‘Yes’, while 29 % of them responded ‘No’ access to their own land. The respondents reflected for an open ended question as requested their idea for their response ‘No’, since, we are child when the time of land distribution, so we could not have landowner (RD6 and RD23). The respondents clearly stated that in the open-ended question of the on other stated income generations from same table, there is problem of women’s access to credit. Even the available credit organizations like Amhara credit and saving institution have high interest rate (RR34; RR41; RD2and RD11, 2020). Respondents also mentioned their labor their labour work within and out of house has not given much recognition and attention (RD64; RR47 and RG33).

Therefore, the result implies that, due to access and available of women’s income generation, women have not adequately participated and represented at local council in study area.

Table 15: Economic Factors that Adversely Affect Women’s Political Participation and Representation

Factors	Response	Frequency	Percent
✓ Access to land	Yes	159	71
	No	65	29
✓ Availability of credit	Yes	47	21
	No	177	79
✓ Recognition for their contribution in the labor work	Yes	74	33
	No	150	67

Source: field survey, May 2020

Educational Factors

The respondents were asked the factors that related to education for restricting or facilitating their political participation and representation in study area. As it could be seen from the table 14 stated by most of the respondents 63.8% these replied ‘Yes’ in closed ended questions have

availability of education has mentioned. Each *Kebele* have at least one primary school. In contrary, an another female Key Informants replied that, however, there is a problem for distance to schooling. The respondent further mentioned that, each *Kebele* have three sub local entity, in Amharic which is called as (ጎጥ), but no access to schooling in each levels. Therefore, it is difficult to females to attain goes to distance areas (RR3; RR13; RD25, RD31and RG2, 2020).

In the same table regarding to access to training, respond show that 17.4% ‘Yes’ and 82.6 ‘No’. They provided their argument for close indeed questions. Accordingly, the respondents these responded ‘No’ stated as, they have no training opportunity by anybody like WCYAs office Woreda council or PP office (RD6; RG29; RR7and RR43; 2020).

Concerning to women’s economic level, respondent’s opinion indicated that women have serious resource problem to participate in local council. In this regard, respondents further stated that:

Women have low economic level; even they have utilization of resource problems ,as well as deprivation of recognition for their contribution in the labor work such as in agricultural field can directly effect on women issue has presence factor to participated and represented at local council (RD64; RR47 and RG33).

Therefore, the result indicates that in a study area, the existence of low level of education has an impact for women political participation at local politics.

Table 16: Educational Factors that Adversely Affect Women’s Political Participation and Representation

Factors	Response	Frequency	Percent
✓ Access to Education	Yes	143	63.8
	No	81	36.2
✓ Availability of Training	Yes	39	17.4
	No	185	82.6

Source: field survey, May 2020

Access to Information

The respondents also asked access to information and types of channels that women could get information from different sources. In this regard, women which have access to information about women political participation and representation has 28.6% of respondents were get information through different channels (television, mobile, journals)while the remaining 69.2% of respondents do not have adequate information about women’s political participation and representation in their local politics. Concerning to this the key stated that:

Women do not have adequate information about women political right, constitutional and national women polices. Because of these, they do not have advocate and struggle their own rights (KI, Woreda women association, 2020).

The respondents also asked for the channels, which are used to access to information about the overall political situation of women. Therefore, the respondent’s response show that 5.4%, 3.1% ,25 % , and 3.6 % have Radio, Television , Mobile and journals respectively has the main of channels for women to gathered information. According to the information gathered from respondents, however, these channels have available to them, they do not have properly exploited through these channels (RG34, RG17; RD6, RD10 and RD25, 2020). The result show that majority of respondents have no enough channels that gathered and access to latest information , and have low level awareness for their political rights.

Table 17: Access to Information

Channels	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Access to Information	Yes	64	28.6
	No	155	69.2
	Total	224	100.0
Channels for access to Information	Radio	12	5.4
	Television	7	3.1
	Mobile	56	25
	Journals(Revolutionary Democracy)	8	3.6

Source; field survey, 2020, Multiple counting has been existed from the 64 respondents.

Chapter 5

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Summary

Federalism has been widely acknowledged as potent strategy for the political participation of women at local level. Federal governance system has believed to enhance women participation and representation in local politics. With the introduction of a federal system of government in 1995 by devolution of power to regional governments, women were a majority voter rather than representatives at local administrative unit. There are problems that impede women's political participation at local level councils. Hence, this study seeks to investigate the current major factors that hinder women political participation in *Raya Kobo Woreda*. Accordingly, the purpose of the study was to examine determinants of women's political participation in Ethiopian federalism at local level. In order to meet this purpose, basic questions were design to guide the study. To answer research questions, a descriptive survey method with quantitative and qualitative research approach (mixed method) was employed.

To this effect, the study was conducted based on four *Kebeles* of *Raya Kobo Woreda* considered as target population. Those 4 *Kebeles* and 36 KIs were selected through purposive sampling techniques, as well as, lottery technique was used to get 227 participants. To gather necessary information on the issue, 227 questionnaires were distributed to respondents, and 224 were returned. Different data collection tools were employed to carry out the study including questionnaires, interview and document analysis. All the quantitative data were analyzed by using SPSS such as, frequently and percentage. The data gathered through open-ended questionnaire and semi-structured interview was analyzed qualitatively using narrations to support the result obtained from quantitative analysis.

After all the research came up with the following major findings:

In practice, the federal system could not properly address the challenges of women's political participation and representation in the studied *area*. The status of women's participation and representation is low as compared to male participants at local council.

The study indicated that, currently women accounted 25 % and 20.2% of seats in *Woreda* and *Kebele* council respectively. On the other hand, the share of women in *Woreda* and *Kebele* executive's levels has still very low. At *Woreda* level, from the 27 member executives, five of them 18.5% were female cabinets and 20% of women placed at deputy positions. At *kebele* level, out of 28 cabinet's members, 14.3 % are females

The government of *Raya Bobo Woreda* has tried to incorporated women at *Woreda* and *Kebele* level of party and government positions, but it has not work at maximum effort. Mechanisms that women's political empowerment in political participation, national policies, constitutional rights and gender sensitive planning of women were not effectively implemented at local level .

Various barriers for women's political participation identified as major hindering factors such as personal, socio-cultural, educational and institutional barriers. Among socio-cultural barriers societal misconception about women's role i.e., family and home responsibility such as birth children and home management. In relation to personal barriers, lack of confidence, interest, and political knowledge has chronic problem to participate at study area.

5.2. Conclusion

There were cross sections of factors that hinder women's access to political participation in Ethiopia. However, the government of Ethiopia has declared its commitment to gender equality and political empowerment of women by stipulating the rights of women in its institution, issuing the women's policy of the country and National Action Plan for Gender Equality to put gender mainstreaming in to action.

Despite all these, it is difficult to conclude the decentralized federal system process in *Raya Kobo Woreda* has fully worked for the political participation of women. Women still lag behind in terms of their members in political participation. This can be attributed to a number of reasons, which include cultural, economic, educational, institutional, unfavorable political environment, personal and commitment of local government leaders. Moreover, failure to hear their voice, lack of involvement in political party, appointing them in weaker political positions and lack of role model female politician were cited to be the main barrier for their low participation.

1. Women who were unmarried and old aged (> 45 years old) were more represented than young females at *Kebele* council. Young female was the least represented at local council, which accounts only 8 % of the total share.
2. The decentralization process in the study area does not accompanied by the mushrooming institutionally capable women organizations. No enough practical change has been existed. Organizational weakness in identifying women problems and prioritizing women interest has problem for women political participation. Almost 71% of women are majority voters, but they underlying low level of representation are voters.
3. *Raya Kobo Woreda* has some contribution for women political participation and representation. However, it lacks strong attention by allocation of resource to WCYAs office to providing training, mobilized women and creates awareness. Moreover, the role of local government institutions (*woreda* administration and *woreda* council) should not fully mainstream a gender perspective in to local legislation, planning, and policy making in order to tackle the multiple barriers of women's political participation and representation.. There is no strong and independent women organization at *Woreda* and *Kebele* level, which promotes women political issues. *Woreda* political leaders like WCYAs, APP and Council office has weak follow up and monitoring system for the implementation of national women policy and constitutional political right of women. More importantly, the commitment of political leaders to implement women political right has serious problem at study area.
4. The quota provision promises more women to be nominated and recruited to contest for voting posts, however, it has no properly implemented. Moreover, the EPRDF party itself has not given more attention for women political participation at local level of the study area. Beside, no opposition political parties have created favorable environment at study area. Almost 66.1% respondents do not have awareness for the nomination criteria of local candidacy. As well as, even the existing criteria have lacks clarity for women that recruited as a member of local council.
5. There is poor teamwork among stockholders that facilitated and promoted the active political participation of women in community level. WYCA's office has still a long way to go in advocating of women interest and needs in political participation. The WYCA's and APP women league office has weak institutional collaboration with other sectors in addressing the various demands of women in the society in general and female councilors in particular.

6. Most women do not have sufficient income at all, therefore women have chronic economic problem. Availability of their own land, access to credit and recognition of women's labour work has negatively affect women's political participation and representation.
7. Another drawback to the political participation of women was access to education and availability of capacity building training has challenges for women political participation in study area. Due to this, 63.8% the majority of respondents have not literate and have cause for low level of women participation and representation at *Kebele* council.
8. The traditional believe and norm that depicts politics as men business and the low level of gender equality awareness amongst the society is one of the challenges of *Raya Kobo Woreda* women

5.3. Recommendation

Political participation and representation, which is the indicator of democracy and allow for diversity of opinion, cannot thrive by excluding women that constitute half of the world population. Without equal political participation and representation of women to local affair, the hope for democracy is none sense. Thus, the democratic process is able to grow and develop effectively; women shall get equal opportunity to exploit their political rights.

1. Young women's have the least represented; hence, there is need to consideration increase young females to participate at local council. This can be done by APP, Council office APP women league and WCYAs office collaboratively.
2. To realize the full implementation of the federal .decentralized system in study area, WCYA office, council office, PP women league and women association shall be institutionally empowered. These activities shall be done by *Woreda* PP office, WYCAs, Administration office and Council office with collaboratively
3. *Woreda* administration and *Woreda* council shall be given priority for women political issue by allocating resource to *Woreda* WCYAs office for training and experience sharing of women councilors and female cabinets to motivate and increase internal motivation of women. *Woreda* institutions shall be mainstream women's political issue and legitimate women policy demand. As well as, women institutions become autonomous to decide their own issue and engine to debate priorities their function. The monitoring system shall be

consistent to overcome the challenges. Political leaders shall be committed to implement international and domestic women political rights. These activities will be done by *Woreda* council, administrative office, APP and WCYAs collaboratively.

4. Women must be politically empowered. Therefore, the EPRDF 30 percent of quota provision shall be fully implemented at *Woreda* and *Kebele* level. As well as, the nomination criteria for women candidacy at local council and member of cabinets for *Kebele* and *Woreda* administration should be known and clear for women, standardized and supported by quota provision. Opposition Political parties also have a responsibility to identify women's gap, provide gender sensitive political program, and mobilize women at local level. To this end, APP office shall be following up the implementation of quota system in line with the provisions as well as women organization struggle and advocate women political rights for the realization and full implementation of party program and provisions.
5. *Woreda* APP, administrative office, education agriculture, small enterprise and *Woreda* Council office shall work collaboratively with WCYA and APP women league office to overcome the problems and improve the participation and representation of women at study area. These activities were done by *Woreda* Administrative council office, WCYAs and PP office.
6. Almost on average 58.3% of women have no alternative income generation and they were unable to spend their income to political participation. To recommend, this is a problem that needs to be diversified their income sources through integration with Agriculture office, small enterprise and WCYAs office.
7. With regard to education, there is already a policy, which requires the education system to provide equal opportunities for girls, therefore, a need to work aggressively to increase women's education in the study area. This done by the existing local political party (PP) in collaboration with the *Woreda* education office, Administrative office, Council office and WCYAs office has to give attention on women's education.
8. Cultural attitudes are a major hindrance to women's empowerment and consequently it affects their participation in local politics. These attitudes and perception have to be changed through awareness creation if any significant change is to be achieved with regard to their increased participation in politics. Thus, this can be done Prosperity Party, *Woreda*

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Addis Ababa University

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Research Questionnaire for female *Kebele* council memberships

Dear Respondent,

First, I would like to thank you for giving your precious time for responding to this research questionnaire.

I am a graduate student in the College of Law and Governance Studies, Center for Federal Studies at Addis Ababa University. Currently, I am undertaking a Master's degree thesis research entitled 'Challenges of Women's Political Participation and Representation: The Case of *Raya Kobo Woreda*, Amhara National Regional State'. The objective of this study is to examine the challenges of women's political participation and representation: by focusing on the case of *Raya Kobo Woreda*.

I believe that, achieving this objective and for the ultimate success of the research project as a whole, your genuine and timely response is very crucial. Thus, I kindly request you to answer these questions honestly and responsibly. While you reply to these questions, there is no need to put your name or address. Finally, I promise you that your response will be kept confidentially. The information that you provide shall be applied only for academic purposes and I strongly promise that it would never be disclosed to other parties. Due to your response, you will never be responsible for the outcome/finding, whether it is effective or not.

Thank you very much for your cooperation

Atala Ayalew

Mobile 0913351216

General Instructions:

This questionnaire consists of five sections. The first section required personal information of the respondents, while the other four sections sought to gather information about the determinants of women’s participation in local politics. To answer the questions Please **Encircle** the letter of choice and write your opinion clearly and briefly on the provided blank space. As much as possible please respond all questionnaire’s.

Section A: Background of Information

- 1. Age
 - 1. 18-29 years
 - 2. 30-45 years
 - 3. Above 45 years
- 2. Marital status and family situation
 - A. Married
 - B. Unmarried
 - C. Divorced/separate
- 3. Educational Back Ground
 - 1. Illiterate
 - 2. Reading and writing
 - 3. Below 12
 - 4. 12 complete
 - 5. College diploma and above

Section B. Federalism, Woman and Local Councils

- 4. Does Ethiopian federalism have been contribution for promoting women’s political participation and representation in your locality? Please mention your answer in the space provided -----
- 5. What opportunities that enable women to be become active participant in your local election (please put your answer by putting tick mark(√) in the given box in front of each choices)
 - 1. By voting
 - 2. selection
 - 3. Nomination
 - 4. Others, please specify the space-----
- 6. Does *Raya Kobo Woreda* Administration have contribution for Women’s Political Participation and representation?

No.	Activities	Response	Frequency	Percentage
6.1	Allocation of Resource	Yes		
		No		
6.2	Awareness Creation	Yes		
		No		
6.3	Applying Gender Sensitive Planning	Yes		
		No		
6.4	Monitoring And Evaluation of Women's Political Issue	Yes		
		No		
6.5	Establishing Strong Autonomous Women Institution	Yes		
		No		
5.6	Commitment of Political Leaders to Implement Women Political Right	Yes		
		No		

7. If you have further information, Please mention your opinion in the space provided -----

8. Have you ever willingly raised women's issue in your council to get government attention?

Please mention your opinion below the space provided -----

9. In what extent women have to participate in the following channel that gathered information from different sources.

Description of ranking: 4= very high,3= high, 2 = low, 1 = very low

Channels	4	3	2	1
<i>Woreda</i> Council				
<i>Kebele</i> Council				
Women League				
Women Forum				
Women Association				

10. If you have additional channels, please specify the space-----

11. How many years since you have started your formal political career in local administration (such as member to a political party, campaigning for an election)?

1. Less than 5 years

3. 10 to 15 years

2. 5 to 10 years

4. More than 15 years

12. How many years you have served as councilor in the kebele levels, since you have started member of kebele council?

1. Less than 5 years

3. 10 to 15 years

2. 5to 10 years

4. More than 15 years

13. As an elected councilor, do you usually participate in kebele meetings?
1. Yes 2. No

14. If your answer is 'Yes' in question number 13, How many times go to in your council meeting?
1. Once a Year 3. Three Times a Year
2. Two Wise a Year 4. Quarterly

Section C: Role of role of political parties enhance Women's political Participation and Representation at Local Council

15. What is your opinion about registered female candidacy in your local council? Please write your view in the space provided-----

16. Have you ever served on the responsibility of higher government or party positions like *Kebele* manager, deputy manager in your *Kebele* administration?
1. Yes 2. No

17. Have you ever served responsibility of any executive position to runs government office in your *Kebele* administration?
1. Yes 2. No

18. If your answer is 'No' in question number 16 and 17, please specify the reason you did not get an opportunity? -----

19. Do you know the criteria to nominate women to be a candidacy at local council?
1. Yes 2. No

20. If your answer is 'Yes' in question number 19, Please mention the nomination criteria that used to be recruited as a member of local council

Section D: Opportunities of women political participation at local level

21. Do have an opportunity for women to participate and represent at local council in your locality? Please mention your answer in the space provided-----

Section E: Challenges of Women Political Participation at Local Level

22. In what extent the following factors have hindering to you to enter local council.

Description of ranking: 5= very high, 4= high, 3= average, 2= low and 1= very low

አድስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

የህግ ትምህርት ክፍል የፌደራሊዝምና አስተዳደር ጥናት ማእከል

ተቀጽ 1: ለሴት ቀበሌ ምክር ቤት አባላት የተዘጋጀ የጥናት ጥያቄዎች

ክብርት:

በቅድሚያ ወደ ጊዜዎን ሰውተው ይህንን የምርምር ቃለ-መጠይቅ ለመመለስ ፍቃደኛ በመሆንዎ እጅግ አድርጌ አመሰግናለሁ። እኔ በአድስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ በህግ ትምህርት ክፍል በፌደራሊዝምና አስተዳደር ጥናት ማእከል የ 2ኛ አመት የማስተርስ ድግሪ ተማሪ ስሆን በአሁኑ ወቅት የመመረቂያ ጽሁፌን በ የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ እና ውክልና በ ራያ ቆቦ ወረዳ ' በሚል ርእስ ዙሪያ እያዘጋጀሁ እገኛለሁ።

የዚህ ጥናት ዋና አላማ በራያ ቆቦ ወረዳ የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ እና ውክልና እንድሁም ምቹ ሁኔታዎችና ችግሮች ከአለም አቀፍ፣ ከአህጉራዊና ከአገራዊ ህጎች ጋር ያለው አተገባበር ምን እንደሚመስል ለማየት ነው። የጥናቱ አላማ መሳካት ደግሞ የእርሶዎ ትክክለኛና ወቅታዊ ምላሽ ወሰኝ ነው ብዬ አምናለሁ። ስለሆነም እርሶዎ ጥያቄዎን በአግባቡና በሃላፊነት ስሜት እንድትመልሱልኝ በትህትና እየጠየቅሁ ስመዎን፣ የእጅ ስልክዎንም ሆነ የ ሴት ስልክዎን መጻፍ አይጠበቅበዎትም።

በመጨረሻም የሚመልሱት ምላሽ ሙሉ በሙሉ ሚስጥራዊነቱ የተጠበቀ እና ለሌላ አካል ተላልፎ የማይሰጥ ሲሆን አላማው ለ ትምህርት አገልግሎት ብቻ የሚውል ነው።

ለሚያደረጉልኝ ትብብር ሁሉ እጅግ በጣም አመሰግናለሁ

አታላ አያሌዉ

ሞባይል ስልክ ቁጥር:- 0913351216

አጠቃላይ መመሪያ

ይህ መጠይቅ አምስት ክፍሎችን ይዟል። የመጀመሪያው ክፍል የመለሻችን የግል መረጃ የሚመለከት ሲሆን ሌሎች ክፍሎች ደግሞ የሴቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውክልና እንደሁም ችግሮችና መልካም አጋጣሚዎች የሚመለከቱ ናቸው። ጥያቄዎቹን ለመመለስ ከምርጫው ፊት ለፊት መልሰውን ያክብቡ ፤ ወይም ደግሞ ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ ካለዎት በሚቀጥለው ክፍት ቦታ መጻፍ ይችላሉ። በተቻለ መጠን ሁሉንም ጥያቄዎች ይሙሉልኝ።

ክፍል 1: አጠቃላይ መሰረታዊ መረጃ

1. እድሜ

1. ከ18-29

3. ከ45 ዓመት በላይ

2. ከ30-45

2. የጋብቻ እና ቤተሰብ ሁኔታ

1. ያገባች

3. የተፋቱ

2. ያላገባች

3. የትምህርት ዝግጅት

3. ከ12 ክፍል በታች

1. አልተማረኩም

4. 12ኛ ደረጃ ቀን

2. ማንበብና መጻፍ

5. ከሌጅ ድጥሎማ እና በላይ

ክፍል 2: ያልተማከለ አስተዳደር ስርዓት፤ ሴቶችና አካባቢያዊ ምክር ቤት በተመለከተ

4. በእርሶዎ አካባቢ ያልተማከለ አስተዳደር ስርዓት ለሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውክልና ፋይዳ አለው ብለው ያስባሉ?

1. አዎ በትክክል

2. የለውም

5. በእርሶዎ ቀበሌ ሴቶች በፖለቲካዊ ዘርፍ ለመሳተፍና ለመወከል ምን ምቹ ሁኔታዎች አሉ ?

1. በምርጫ

2. በመምረጥ

3. እጩ በመመልመል

4. ሌላ ካለ በባዶ ቦታ ይጻፉ-----

6. የራዎ ቆቦ ወርዳ አስተዳደር የሴቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ለማሳደግ ጥረት ያደርጋል ?

ተ.ቁ.	ተግባር	ምላሽ	ድግግሞሽ	ፕርሰንት
6.1	በጀት መመደብ	አወ		
		የለም		
6.2	ግንዛቤ ፈጠራ	አወ		
		የለም		
6.3	የሴቶችን ጉዳይ በእቅድ ውስጥ ማካተት	አወ		
		የለም		
6.4	ተግባርን ክትትልና ቁጥጥር ማድረግ	አወ		
		የለም		
6.5	ጠንካራ ራሱን ችሎ የሚተዳደር የሴቶች ተቋም በመፍጠር	አወ		
		የለም		
6.6	የሴቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ማሳደግ የሚችል አመራር በመፍጠር	አወ		
		የለም		

7. ተጨማሪ ሀሳብ ካለዎት ሃሳቦዎን በባዶ ቦታ ያስቀምጡ-----

8. የሴቶችን ጉዳይ በተመለከተ በመንግስት አካል በኩል ትኩረት እንድያገኝ ለምክር ቤቱ ሃሳቦዎን በነጻነት ያቀርባሉ? -----

9. በሚከተሉት የመረጃ ምንጮች መሰረት ሴቶች ምን ያክል መረጃ ያገኛሉ?

የደረጃ አሰጣጥ- 4 በጣም ከፍተኛ፣3 ከፍተኛ፣2ዝቅተኛ፣1 በጣምዝቅተኛ፡

የመረጃ ምንጮች	4	3	2	1
ወረዳ ምክር ቤት				
ቀበሌ ምክር ቤት				
ሴቶች ሊግ				
ሴቶች ፎረም				
ሴቶች ማህበር				
ሴቶች ጉዳይ				

10. ተጨማሪ መልስ/አስተያየት ካለዎት በባዶ ቦታ ላይ ይጻፉ-----

11. መደበኛ የፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ከጀመሩ ስንት አመት ሆነዎት (የፖርቲ አባል በመሆን ፣ድምጽ በመስጠት?)

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. ከ5 ዓመት በታች | 3. ከ10-15ዓመት |
| 2. ከ5-10 ዓመት | 4. ከ 15 ዓመት በላይ |

12. የቀበሌ ምክር ቤት አባል ወይም በምርጫ ተወዳዳሪ በመሆን ለስንት አመት በቀበሌ ም/ቤት አገልግለዋል?

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. ከ5 ዓመት በታች | 3. ከ10-15ዓመት |
| 2. ከ5-10 ዓመት | 4. ከ 15 ዓመት በላይ |

13. እንደ ቀበሌ ም/ቤት ተወካይነት አባዛኛውን ጊዜ በምክር ቤት ስብሰባዎች ላይ ይሳተፋሉ?

1. አወ እሳተፋለሁ

2. የለም አልሳተፍም

14. በተራ ቁጥር 13 መልሰዎ 'አዎ' ከሆነ ምን ያክል ጊዜ በምክር ቤቱ ስብስባ ተሳትፏል ?

1. በአመት አንድ ጊዜ

3. በአመት ሶስት ጊዜ

2. በአመት ሁለት ጊዜ

4. አራት ጊዜ

ክፍል 3: የፖለቲካ ፓርቲዎች ድጋፍ እና የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ

15. በእርሰዎ እይታ መሰረት በእርሰዎ ቀበሌ ምክር ቤት የሴቶች ተሳትፎ እና ውክልና ምን ይመስላል ? እባክዎ መልሰዎን በባዶ ቦታ ይጻፉ-----

16. በቀበሌዎ በመንግስት እና በፓርቲ መዋቅር ውስጥ ባሉ ከፍተኛ ቦታዎች ማለትም በዋና አስተዳዳሪነት ፣ ም/አስተዳዳሪነት ወይም በፓርቲ አመራር የሃላፊነት ቦታዎች ላይ ሰርተዋል ?

1. አዎ

2. የለም

17. ከተራ ቁጥር 16 ውጭ ባሉ የአመረርነት ቦታዎች ማለትም በጽ/ቤት የሃላፊነት ቦታዎች ላይ ሰርተዋል ?

1. አዎ

2. የለም

18. በተራ ቁጥር 16 እና 17 መልሰዎ አልሳተፍም ከሆነ ይህን እድል ለምን እንዳላገኙ ምክንያቱን ይጻፉ-----

19. ለምክር ቤት አባል ተወዳዳሪ ሴቶችን ለመመልመል የሚያገለግሉ መስፈርቶችን ያወቃሉ?

1. አዎ

2. አላውቅም

20. በተራ ቁጥር 19 መልሰዎ 'አዎ' ከሆነ እባክዎን የመመልመያ መስፈርቶችን ይግለጹ-----

ክፍል አራት: ምቹ አጋጣሚዎች

21. ወደ መደበኛ ፖለቲካ ተሳትፎ ውስጥ ለመግባት አስተዋጽኦ ያደረጉለዎት ምክንያቶች ምንድን ናቸው ? እባክዎን መልሰዎን በባዶ ቦታ ይጻፉ-----

ክፍል አምስት: የሴቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ የሚገድቡ ሁኔታዎች

22. የሚከተሉት ምክንያቶች በእርሰዎ ቀበሌ የሴቶችን ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎ ና ውክልና ሊገድቡ ይችላሉ?

ደረጃ አሰጣጥ: 5= በጣም ከፍተኛ፣ 4 = ከፍተኛ፣ 3= መካከለኛ፣ 2 = ዝቅተኛ ፣ 1 = በጣም ዝቅተኛ በማለት በሰንጠረዥ ውስጥ ላለው ሃሳብ ደረጃ ይስጡ፤

ተ.ቁ	ችግሮች/ምክንያቶች	ምላሽ				
		5	4	3	2	1
22.1	የቤተሰብና ጓደኛ ጫና መኖር (አለመበረታታት)					
22.2	ኋላ ቀር ና የተዛባ የህብረተሰብ ባህል መኖር (ሴቶችን አለማበርታታት ፤ ፖለቲካን ለወንድ ብቻ አድርጎ መወሰድ)					
22.3	የወንድ የበላይነት መኖር					
22.4	የሴቶች የቤት ውስጥ የስራ ጫና መኖር					

23. ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ ካለዎት በባዶ ቦታው ይጻፉ-----

24. በእርሶዎ እይታ መሰረት የሴቶች የሃብት ደረጃ ከ ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፏቸው አኳያ ተጽእኖ አሳድሯል?

አሉታዊ ተጽእኖዎች	አዎ	የለም
የገቢ አማራጮች		
<input type="checkbox"/> የመሬት ባለቤትነት		
<input type="checkbox"/> የብድር አቅርቦት		
<input type="checkbox"/> የሴቶችን የቤት ውስጥ ስራ እድገትና መስጠት		

25. ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ ካለዎት በባዶ ቦታው ይጻፉ-----

26. የሴቶች የትምህርት ደረጃ ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፏቸው ላይ ተጽእኖ አለው ብለው ያስባሉ ?

ተጽእኖዎች	Yes	No
<input type="checkbox"/> የትምህርት ተደራሽነት		
<input type="checkbox"/> የስልጠና አቅርቦት		

27. ሌላ ሃሳብ ካለዎት እባክዎን በባዶ ቦታው ይግለጹ-----

28. ስለ አካባቢያዊ የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ትሰትፎ መረጃ የማግኘት እድሉ አለዎት?

1. አዎ 2. አላወቅም

29. በተራ ቁጥር 28 መልሶዎ 'አዎ' ከሆነ የትኞቹ የመረጃ ምንጮች ይገለገላሉ/ይጠቀማሉ ?

1. ሬድዮ 3. ሞባይል
 2. ቴሌቪዥን 4. ሌላ ካለ ይጠቀሱ

30. በአካባቢያዊ ምክር ቤት የሴቶች ፖለቲካዊ ተሳትፎና ውክልና ዙሪያ ተጨማሪ ሃሳብ ወይም አስተያየት ካለዎት በሚከተለው ባዶ ቦታ ላይ ማስቀመጥ ይችላሉ-----

ላደረጉልኝ ደግነት እና ትብብር አመሰግናለሁ!!

Appendix 2

Interview guideline for Kebele and Woreda female cabinets and women league key informants

1. How many years did you serve in position of an executive level?

2. Do you have freedom to decide fundamental decisions in your discussion? If ‘No’ please mention the reason
3. How did you come to be *Kebele/Woreda* member of executive? Who inspired you to take over this position?
4. Are you a member of political party? If you reply ‘yes’ what kind of political parties did you join?
5. How do you see the general situation women’s political participation and representation looks like in your *Woreda/Kebele*?
6. Do you think that federalism/decentralized administration systems promote women’s political rights?
7. What is the government’s involvement to promote women’s political participation and representation in your *Kebele/Woreda*? Mention some of the efforts in the federal, regional and woreda levels
8. How do you evaluate the implementation of conventional agreements on women political rights in your *Woreda*?
9. Have you ever faced any pressure from your families or relatives, relating to your job? If ‘yes’ what kind of problems have you faced?
10. What kind of opportunities has been provided for female cabinets?
11. What measures could you suggest to promote the involvement of women political participation and representation in Raya kobo woreda?

Appendix 3

Interview Guide Line for Members of *Woreda* Council and *Woreda* Government Officials Key Informant

1. How do you see the participation of women in the local government in your woreda?
2. What is the general situation of women’s political participation and representation in your ‘*Woreda*’ administration?
3. What is the contribution of your organization to increase women’s political participation and representation?
4. What is the government’s effort to promote women’s political participation and representation in your kebele/woreda? Mention the kinds of efforts of federal government, regional government and woreda administration
5. How do you evaluate the implementation of international agreements of women political rights in your woreda?
6. What are the challenges of women political participation and representation in your community/woreda & kebele? What recommendations do you have to overcome those challenges?
7. What are the opportunities that promote women political participation in study area?

Appendix 4

Interview guideline prepared for Political parties key informant

1. Does your political party/organization provide an opportunity for equal political engagement of women (if any ...legal political right of women in party manifesto, structural arrangements, quota and affirmative action etc...? If you say yes, what kind of mechanisms have to be adopted and implemented to promote women political participation and representation
2. How many men and women has represented in woreda and kebele executive? If women executives are less than men, explain the reason for underrepresentation of women

Election year/E.C/	Kebele council(45kebele)			Woreda council			Remark
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
2003							
2008							
2013							
Total							

Kebele Council For sample Kebele Robit, Gobiye, Buhoro And Durlebess Female Members of Kebele Council												
Election year/E.C/	Robit			Gobiye			Buhoro			Durlebess		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
2003												
2008												
2013												
Total												

3. .What kind of criteria do you use for women to be selected as member of councils and cabinet members?
4. What is the Involvement of Women **in** Electoral Politics **in** *Raya Kobo Woreda*

Election Year	Female Voters	Female Candidates	Candidates Affiliation		
			EPRDF	Oppositions	Independent
2003					
2008					
2013					
Total					

5. What do you say about the freedom to support or oppose a decision made by women cabinets?

6. Do you think that decentralized administration has created an opportunity for the political involvement of women? Explain briefly
7. How do you evaluate the implementation of agreements for women political rights in your 'woreda'?
8. How do you assess the situation of women political participation and representation in your woreda?
9. What are the challenges that impede women participation and representation in your woreda?
10. What measures do you suggest to promote the involvement of women political participation and representation in Raya kobo woreda?
11. What are the opportunities that promote women political participation in study area?

Appendix 5

Interview Guide Line for Kebele and Woreda Women's Affairs and Women Association Offices Key Informants

1. What is the contribution of your office to enhance the participation and representation of women in local politics?
2. What are the general frame work to promote women political participation and representation in national, regional and local level of governments (if any ...legal right of women, structural arrangements, quota and affirmative action etc....)
3. Can you tell me about the contribution of elected women in your administration?
4. What are the contributions of stakeholders that promote women political equality?
5. Do you think gender equality has implemented in your community? If 'No' explain the reason
6. Do you think that federalism/decentralization promotes women's political right?
7. What do you say about the general condition of women political participation and representation in the local administration?
8. What are the problems facing women in your administration?
9. What measures have you suggested to promote the involvement of women political participation and representation in Raya kobo woreda?

Appendix 6

Checklist for Document analysis to office of Raya Kobo Woreda Speaker

1. Number/percentage of elected women's representative in *Woreda And Kebele* council in each election term

Election year	Kebele council(45kebele)			Woreda council			Remark
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
2003							
2008							
2013							
Total							

2. Questions raised by parliamentarian women in their meetings /discussions

Kebele Council For sample kebele Robit(01),Gobiye(01),Buhoro(021) And Durlebess(020) Female Members Of Kebele Council												
Election year/E.C/	Robit			Gobiye			Buhoro			Durlebess		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
2003												
2008												
2013												
Total												

3. Number /percentage of women representative in *Woreda And Kebele Executive*

Election year	Kebele cabinet/45 kebele/			Woreda cabinet		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2000						
2005						
2015						

4. Number /percentage of women representative in sample kebele Robit, Gobiye, Buhoro and Durlebess Female Members of Kebele executive

Election year/E.C/	Kebele cabinet/only 4 kebeles cabinet members/											
	Robit			Gobiye			Buhoro Durlebess			Durlebess		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
2000												
2005												
2015												