

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies
Institute of Gender Studies

The Attitude and Views of Parliamentarians towards
Women's Political Participation and Gender Based
Quota: The Case of FDRE

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Declaration

I declared that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for degree in any university and all the sources of material used for the thesis are duly recognized acknowledged

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List of Acronyms

AA.....	Addis Ababa
AAU.....	Addis Ababa University
ACW.....	African Center for Women
CEDAW.....	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DD.....	Dire Dawa
EPLF.....	Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front
EPRDF.....	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP.....	Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party
ETV.....	Ethiopian Television
EWLA.....	Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association
FDRE.....	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FPMs.....	Female Parliamentarians
HPR.....	House of People Representative
IES.....	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
MOI.....	Ministry of Information
MPs.....	Members of Parliament
MPMs.....	Male Parliamentarians
MPMsO.....	Male Parliamentarians from Opposition Parties
MPMsR.....	Male Parliamentarians from Ruling Party
NEBE.....	National Electoral Board of Ethiopia
PDRE.....	Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
PMs.....	Parliamentarians
PSIR.....	Political Science and International Relations
TGE.....	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF.....	Tegrian People Liberation Front
UEDF.....	United Ethiopian Democratic Forces

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to assess the attitude and view of Parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota: To deal with the problem, three fundamental research questions were formulated that assess the attitude and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation, gender based quota and their perspectives on the role of quota in Ethiopian politics to enhancing women's political participation. To conduct the study, mixed method study design was employed. The study was carried out in the House of People's Representatives, and purposive and stratified sampling methods were used to select 80 female parliamentarians, two political parties and 129 male parliamentarians. The main instruments of data collection were questionnaire, in-depth interview and document analysis. The data were analyzed using frequency tables and percentage. The finding of the study reveals that the majority of the participants have a positive attitude towards women's political participation irrespective of their sex and their political party affiliation. However, with regard to their view on gender based quota it was found that most men parliamentarians from opposition parties have negative attitude while women parliamentarians and men parliamentarians from the ruling party support the practice of affirmative action measures such as quota. From the findings of the study, it was possible to conclude that descriptive political representation of Ethiopian women is improving, the current quota system introduced by the ruling party lacks follow up in creating competent women politicians rather it increases numerical presence of women in the HPR. Therefore, the provision of quotas by political parties' with capacity building activities, support of male parliamentarians and quota non receiving female politicians towards quota receiving women, and the recognition and implementation of laws on the rights of women are some of the recommendations forwarded to enhance women's political participation.

Chapter one

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Politics has been defined as the exercise of power and authority, a process of decision making on the allocation of scarce resources or an arena of deception or manipulation (Hague and Martin, 1982). Similarly, Zepatos and Kaufman (1995) define politics as act of vying for power. It is an access to guarantee fairness and justice. Thus, the sphere of politics range widely beginning within the family and going all the way to global level.

The traditional definition of politics is characterized as male dominated and, therefore, not necessarily women friendly. In support of this, Rooke (1972) said that even though women constitute half of human kind and the source of talent and potential of the world, their participation in decision making and other higher government positions is not sufficient. The cause for their low involvement is the existence of male dominated social system and negative traditional perception of the society. The other reason for women's low political participation is nature of political systems. For Virginia (1998) political systems are not likely to represent previously unrepresented groups (among those women are large in number) until those group develop a sense of their own interest and place demands upon the system.

These days several arguments are made for increasing the level of women's political representation in elected offices. According to Phillip (1998) cited in Gretchen and Hannah (2006) there are four lines of arguments:

First, there are those that dwell on the role model successful women politician offer. The second, appeal to the principle of justice between the two sexes. The third group, is composed of those that identify particular interests of women that would otherwise be overlooked, and the forth are composed of groups who urge towards a revitalized democracy that bridges the gap between Representation and Participation (2006, p. 3).

Similarly, Gretchen and Hannah asserted that changing the composition of elected offices and assemblies is the foremost step to achieve gender parity in political representation.

However, throughout history women are ill represented in politics and decision making positions.

According to Yidenku (1987) the same thing is true for Ethiopian women; as women elsewhere they were not active participants in formal position of public responsibilities and offices. But at present, there are patterns of improvement in the area of women's employment opportunities, educational access and political participation. The government has formulated a National Policy on Ethiopian Women in 1993 to create equality between women and men. This policy enables women to hold public offices and to participate in decision making process at all levels including politics (TGE, 1993). In line with this, Fantaye (2005) said that even if it is not possible to argue for Ethiopians women active political participation, their share of seats in the House of People Representative (HPR) is increasing. Table 1 below shows numerical increment of women's representation in HPR since the second half of the 1980's.

Table. 1
Women's Representation in the House of Peoples Representatives

No	Time	No. seats	No. of FPMs	% of FPMs
1	The Number of FPMs in the second half of 1980's	835	14	1.7
2	The 1995 National election for HPR	547	15	2.7
3	The 2000 National election for HPR	547	42	7.7
4	The 2005 National election for HPR	547	117	21.4

**Source: NEBE Report on the 1995, 2000 and 2005 Election and ETV
(2005) cited in Fantaye (2005).**

As it is illustrated in the above Table women's political representation in the House of Peoples Representatives is increasing. In this regard the introduction of 30 % Quota by EPRDF in 2005 election can be mentioned as one factor of increment. In the light of this, the current study attempts to look at the attitude and views of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota.

1. 2 Statement of the Problem

As simple observation and available documents reveal there is unbalanced representation of women in politics. This makes it difficult to ascertain women's political role. As discussed earlier the necessity of women's political participation is viewed from the perspective of citizen's rights to take part in any political activities of their society, gender equality, and equality of governance and representation of previously unrepresented groups. The need for women's political participation can be linked to good governance through the inclusion of women's issues and interests in different legislation of the parliament.

Representing the two genders equally at all levels of politics and decision making is one of the tasks of governments, for that they are identifying a number of factors that help to bring more women into National legislatures (Squires, 2007). One of the methods used by countries to come up with balanced gender representation in electoral offices is provision of gender based quota. But quota is highly controversial there are arguments for and against it, and there is also stigma associated with it (Biseswar, 2005). Therefore, in this study it is found vital to assess the attitudes of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based Quota.

As shown in table 1 and evidenced in 2005 election, out of the total 547 parliamentary seats only 21.4% of them are held by women. As can be understood from this data the number of women is too far below than men. Though there are insignificant number of women in the parliament it is still important to look into women's representation. In addition, this study assesses the attitude and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota as they have a determinant role in legislation of laws and policies to enhance women's political representation. The study also investigates the role of quota to increase women's political participation.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3 .1 General objective

The main objective of this study is to assess the attitude and views of Parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota: The Case of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

On the basis of the general objective, the specific objectives of this study were the following:

- To look at the extent of women's political participation;
- To examine the attitude and views of parliamentarians towards women's political participation;
- To investigate the attitude and views of parliamentarians towards gender based quota;
- To highlight the role of quota in increasing women's political participation; and
- To forward conclusions on the attitude and views of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and towards gender based quota.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What is the attitude and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation?
2. How do parliamentarians perceive gender based quota?
3. What is the role of quota in Ethiopian politics in enhancing women's political participation?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study deals with the attitude and view of parliamentarians towards women political participation and gender based quota with specific reference to Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). The study would be important in indicating the attitudes and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota. Moreover, this study would help to devise more effective strategies for addressing the

under representation of women in politics. In general, it is hoped that the findings of this study would be important for the following reasons:

- By examining women's representation in politics the findings of this study shows the progress in relation to women's participation in politics.
- By assessing the attitudes of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota, this study suggests new policy alternatives.
- The study also identifies the role of quota in enhancing women's political participation and the factors which enhance women's political participation.
- Moreover, the study can serve as a reference material for further examination of attitude of societies towards women's political participation and gender based quota arises.

1.6. Definitions of key Terms

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

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

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

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

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

1.7 Ethical Considerations of the Study

In relation to ethical issues, before filling out the questionnaire and holding interviews the objective and purpose of the study have been clearly explained to get the consent of the study participants and increase the response rate of the study. Respondents' names were also kept anonymous for the reason that these informants are not from one political party;

some of them were from the ruling party and others from the opposition parties. So their attitudes and views towards some issues were kept confidential.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literatures

2. 1 Politics and Women's Political Participation

Politics is a concept that is both difficult and contested. It conjures images of politicians, assemblies, governments and election often framed as an arena of competition between political parties which urge for political offices. The term politics is suggestive and frequently negative implying something hidden and dangerous. Politics consists of the personnel, processes, relationships, institutions and procedures that make authoritative public decision (Lovenduski, 2005).

In the realm of politics, women's political participation refers to the insertion and integration of women both in terms of number and ideas into the process of politics (Lovenduski, 2005). In support of this, Shireen (2006) said that women's political participation and representation refers to women's participation in formal political offices and political institutions (Parliament and Political Party) which paves the way for women's collective mobilization. Squires (2007) also indicated that Women's rights to participate in public life on an equal basis with men is inscribed in numerous Human right documents, including Article 25 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

The idea of women's representation in politics has gained a new currency around the world in the wake of campaign for electoral quotas, by which proponents of gender equality come together regardless of race, class, or ethnicity. Shireen (2006) when she discussed about '*Virtuous circle of women's representation*' said that women's

political participation leads to increased number of women in elective offices by which women parliamentarians represent particular interests and constituencies of women to come up with substantive transformation of political, social and economic gender equalities.

In line with this, Thompson and Wheeler (1993) cited in Vote (1998) explains that political participation by women is necessary in order to obtain respect for women in the society. In underlining this they said that “Women’s political participation is necessary to obtain equal rights, it is a basis of equal happiness with men and to be respected by them: not merely to be desired as rear meats, to pamper their sexual appetites” (Vote, 1998, p.196-7). According to Lovenduski (2005) there are three groups of arguments in the quest for women’s equal political representation: Justice, Pragmatic and Difference argument.

2.1.1 Justice Argument

Justice argument is a powerful argument in favour of increasing women’s representation which is based on the principle of justice. Those in this category claim that it is unfair for men to monopolize representation. This argument is supported by the claim for citizenship by which women formally have equal citizenship to men in democracy (Lovenduski, 2005).

2.1.2 Pragmatic Argument

This argument is derived from the notion of vote-maximizing rational of politicians. Proponents of this camp believe that women are more likely to vote for parties that elected women candidates. For pragmatist, women have particular experiences and interests which can only be understood and represented by women and argue masculine party images are old fashioned and unattractive to women voters (Lovenduski, 2005).

In further assertion for this, Phillip (1995) cited in Vote (1998) argued that women may represent women’s interest and needs better than men because according to them, even if women have different interests they still have something in common

such those in relation to child bearing, arising, from their exposure to sexual harassments and violence, their unequal position in the division of paid and unpaid labour and their exclusion from most arena of economic and political power.

For advocates in this group, politics will become more constructive and less adversarial through women's involvement, and they argue that increased women's representation could have an extremely significant beneficial impact for political institutions.

2.1.3 Difference Argument

The basis of this argument relies on the concept of difference. The core value of difference argument proponents is that women will bring a different style and approach to politics which will change it for better, an effect that benefit all. In line with this, Vote (1998) argue that women's political participation will make effective use of all talents and the non participation of women is a great loss of values and ideas for the society.

For Gretchen and Hanna (2006) the discussion on women's representation in politics particularly in legislatures evolve on the argument made in relation to *Descriptive (Demographic)* and *Substantive (Strategic)* representation of women.

2.2 Descriptive Representation

The notion of descriptive representation refers to the claim that women should be represented in decision making proportionally to their membership of the population. Sometimes this kind of representation is known as proportionate, pictorial and microcosmic representation. For Squires (2007) descriptive representation is about increasing women's participation in and access to political decision making. Phillip (1995) cited in Bryson (2003) argued that a move towards gender parity is at least likely to produce more balanced politics. So, changing the gender composition of elected assemblies is a major and necessary challenge to the social arrangement which have systematically placed women in subordinate position.

This claim of representation challenge systems of representation in which some section of the population are consistently excluded from representative assemblies and committees. The idea behind descriptive representation is that groups should be represented in their own person. Thus, women legislatures represent women, black legislatures represent black people and so forth (Lovenduski, 2005).

Matland and Taylor (1997) cited in Gretchen and Hanna (2006) noted that the degree of descriptive representation in legislative body is important for three reasons:

First, to the degree that groups are excluded because of some descriptive attributes (color, sex), the polity does not benefit from the talents of that portion of the population. To the degree that women are denied access, society losses the contribution of 50 percent of it's most talented people.

Second, to the degree that the under-represented groups have different perspectives on public issues, denying their access to take part in politics will impoverish (weaken) public debate.

Third, to the degree that these groups have different policy priorities, their lack of representation means the priorities of elected assembly will not be representatives of the public as a whole (2006, p. 3).

However, this idea of numerical representation is criticized from different directions. For instance, Judge (1999) cited in Lovenduski (2005) mentioned that descriptive representation is criticized for being impractical and undesirable on the basis of three arguments:

One, descriptive claims draws attention to difficulty for any system of meeting demands by all possible competent groups. Second, descriptive representation leads to pressure on feminist and women activists to take responsibility for the representation of other excluded groups. For that proponents, responding to claims by women point out to the claim of others, like small, possibly more "deserving" or "oppressed" groups such as ethnic minorities have a strong basis to claims than women. Three, those who argue descriptive representation is undesirable believe that the job of representatives necessarily requires skills that are not uniformly

distributed in the population. So, proportionate representation on the basis of social character risks the selection of unenlightened decision makers (2005, p. 83).

Contrary to this, Cockburn's (1991), Phillip (1995) and Mackay (2001) cited in Lovenduski (2005) argue that descriptive representation leads to substantive representation .

This argument for Lovenduski (2005) evokes a call for equal opportunities policy in which a '*Short Agenda*' leads to '*Long Agenda*' of transformation of gender relation. In politics the short agenda of increasing women's presence leads to a long agenda of political transformation.

2.3 Substantive Representation

The concept of substantive representation captures the contents of the decision of representation. Therefore, it is described as representation of interest. The underlying notion of substantive representation is an assumption that there are sets of issues and interests that may be considered women's issues and interests, and that once in office women will seek to act up on (Lovenduski, 2005).

Goetz and Shireen (2003) cited in Gretchen and Hanna (2006) said that the difference between descriptive and substantive representation can be seen as a distinction between "*Feminine Presence*" and "*Feminine Activism*" in politics, and suggested that the distinction between substantive and descriptive representation may be overdrawn. So, it may be more useful to consider descriptive representation as a necessary first step to the institutional transformation that is required if substantive representation is to be achieved.

Finally, it is possible to say that substantive representation of women is more important than descriptive /numerical presence of women in elected assemblies to come up with equitable representation of the two genders and their interests. But having the critical mass of women in elective offices is the first step to critical-act over different issues. In support of this, Squires (2007) argue that substantive

representation is a potential to transform policy agendas into concrete actions that better represent women.

In spite of arguments made on women descriptive and substantive representation, the extent of women political participation is quite lower than men. Similarly, for Shireen (2006) women are consistently defined as political outsiders or second class citizens whose entry into the public sphere contradicts with their maternal social roles. In support of this, for Lovenduski (2005) the absence of women from representative offices is the result of a combination of institutional and social factors. Social obstacles are the most familiar. Women experience three main social barriers. *First*, they have fewer of resources needed to enter into politics. Women are poorer than men and less likely to be employed in occupations that are supportive of political activism. *Second*, because of various life style constraints, women have less time for politics. Family and other caring responsibilities are typically undertaken by women that reduce their time for other activities. *Third*, the job of politics is coded as male's vocation which inhibits women from seeking political career and also impedes the recruitment of those who came forward (Lovenduski, 2005).

2.4 Gender Based Quota: An Overview

Equal political representation of the two genders at all levels of decision making is one of the tasks of governments all over the world, and countries are identifying a number of key measures that help to bring more women into national legislatures (Lovenduski, 2005). According to Gretchen and Hanna (2006) these methods include the use of particular type of electoral systems and gender electoral quotas. The former entail quota laws introduced by National legislatures to rectify the under representation of women in National assemblies, while in the later party entails quotas that individual political parties introduce rules in relation to the percentage of women nominated who stand as electoral candidates. For Biseswar (2005) party quotas are binding only on the party that initiate it not on others. For instance, the introduction of quota by EPRDF can be a good example in this regard. The pressure exerted upon parties and governments by national movements, and social and cultural trends over

time are some of reasons behind using these mechanisms. For the purpose of this study the focus will be on gender based quota system.

Quota system is a system which allocates a given percentage of seats in higher government offices for women. It is an aspect of expression of measures taken to compensate the manifest absence of women in elective offices and senior positions in politics (Jalele, 2005). For Lovenduski (2005) quotas are strategies by which places are reserved for women in electoral offices and in representative bodies by making their sex as a necessary qualification for office.

Women candidate's quotas are now a global phenomenon; more than 100 countries have debated on the issue and more than 80 of them have adopted quotas for women candidates. Quotas may operate at different stages of the selection process in political parties: at the nomination stage or as a requirement for composition of a legislative, assembly, council or government to secure women's descriptive representation (Lovenduski, 2005).

There are group that oppose quota systems. For example, Bryson (2003) said that preferential treatments of women through the use of measures such as quotas are widely seen as a form of charity for underprivileged or as a form of unjustifiable discrimination against men. The debates around quota become more complex when it is applied to political representation .

2.4.1 Types of Gender Based Quota

There are three types of quota systems used by countries to redress absence of women in political offices. These are reserved seats, electoral laws and quotas stipulated in political parties.

2.4.1.1 Reserved Seats

Quota in the form of reserved seats refers to a system by which countries formally or constitutionally reserve a share of seats for women in their legislature (Squire, 2007). According to Beyonds et al. (2005) reserved seats are applied when a certain

number of seats are set aside for women in assemblies. These seats are occupied either by representatives from regions or by political parties in direct proportion to their overall share of the national vote.

This happen in handful of countries: Afghanistan 2 women for each of the 32 provinces or roughly 25% of the seats; Uganda 1 woman for each of the 56 districts or roughly 18% of seats; Rwanda 24 women are elected by 'women only ballots' accounting for 30 % of seats (Beyonds et al., 2005).

2.4.1.2 Electoral Laws

Quota by electoral laws implies a quota system which stipulate all political parties must nominate a certain minimum number of women (Squires, 2007). According to Beyonds et al. (2005) this quota system require political parties to nominate a certain number of women candidates for election. This most often is done in Proportional Representation Electoral System. For example Namibia (30% of candidates at the local level) and Peru (30% of candidates). However, the laws do not always guarantee that the target will be met unless there are strict placement mandates and enforcement mechanisms guaranteeing that women are placed in electable position on party's lists. This is the case in Belgium (the top 2 candidates must be one of each sex), and Cost Rica 40% of winnable positions should be for women (Beyonds et al., 2005).

2.4.1.3 Quota by Political Parties

This is the most common mechanism used to promote the participation of women in politics, and has been used with varying degree of success all over the world (Beyonds et al., 2005). For Lovenduski (2005) party quota takes the form of internal party requirements to nominate at least a minimum number of women for elected office. Similarly, for Squires (2007) this system requires individual political parties introducing rules relating to the percentage of women nominated to stand as electoral candidates. The quota system used by several countries including South Africa, Argentina, Mexico, UK, and Scandinavians. For instance, in UK women only candidates short listed by Labour party in the elections of the 1990's almost doubled the number of female parliamentarians from 60 to 119.

For Beyonds et al. (2005) in 2004 14 countries had used quota entrenched in the constitution including, the most recently, Afghanistan; 39 countries had quota provided for legislations and at least 25 political parties in 61 countries had adopted their own voluntary party quota. In terms of electoral system type, 17 countries with pluralist majority system have quotas and there are 15 in mixed electoral systems, and 45 in proportional representation system (Beyonds et al., 2005) .

Political systems that guarantee women's representation in legislature may vary when their success and consequences are concerned. Reserved seats may help guarantee that women make it into elected positions of office. But some women argued that such kind of quota end up being a way of appeasing and ultimately sidelining women.

According to the opponents of reserved sets, being elected to legislative does not necessary mean being given substantial decision making power, and in some countries women legislatures, particularly those elected from reserved seats or special seats are marginalized from real decision making responsibility. Yet in other countries with other quota systems women have used position afforded to them by quotas to make significant contribution to policy making and influence traditional policy making (Beyonds et al., 2005) .

2.4.2 Arguments for Quota System

Arguments for quotas are based on the belief that women need a helping hand against the multiple obstacles which are traditionally arrayed against their public participation. Another pro-quota contention is that representation and capacity to perform are not guaranteed by any political actor, man or woman, and preventing that which may assist the less privileged from obtaining an opportunity to perform is in itself unjust. Besides this, proponents of quota argue that quotas are means for both genders in attempting to correct the imbalance. The fact that in the political arena they are used predominantly for women which is an indication of such an imbalance (Lovenduski, 2005).

For Krook (2003) cited in Lovenduski (2005) quotas are necessary compensations for systems that deprived women's presence in politics. This argument of supporters is based on the theoretical perspective which justifies quota as the only means to ensure fair representation of the two genders in politics.

The most widely used argument for proponents of quota is their "*effectiveness*". Quota systems make political institutions responsible for ensuring the representation of women, and are used over a period of time to normalize women's presence (Lovenduski, 2005).

In further assertion of this, Phillip (1995) cited in Bryson (2003) argues on the ground that the needs of politically excluded group, such as women are unlikely to be adequately represented unless members of the group are actually present, and the under- representation of women means that important areas of human experience are likely to be excluded from political debate.

According to Lovenduski (2005) advocates of quota believe that there is no alternative than quota if women have to win politically meaningful representation; guaranting reserved places for women at different levels of political representation is a way of demonstrating commitment to women's rights that are not actually present. According to her quota proponents include women's movement organizations, women's section inside political parties, some national leaders, transitional equality networks and international and cross national networks of women's movements, parts of the judiciary and women leaders. So for advocates' of quota, the introduction of gender based quota is, therefore, thought as a "*fast track*" to women's representation, offering an institutional mechanism that circumvents the need to wait for greater socio economic empowerment and electoral reforms.

In further assertion of this Fantaye (2005) said that there is no ground to oppose quota while it is incorporated in different international instruments such as CEDAW, Article 4(1). The convention states:

“ ... Parties of temporary measures aimed at accelerating defacto equality between men and women shall not be considered as discrimination as defined in the present convention. These measures shall be discontinued when the objective of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved ” (CEDAW, 1979, p. 5).

According to Biseswar (2005) the significance of quota is justified on the following grounds:

1. It provides for a better representation of women in all the electoral phases;
2. It creates a better chance of winning an election; and
3. It helps to create better chances to exercise political candidates (2005, p.104).

For feminists advocates of quotas, the increased representation of women would some how leads to increased representation of other groups who were politically outsiders on the basis of their ethnicity and class (Lovenduski, 2005).

2.4.3 Arguments against Quota System

The main argument against quotas is that they are allegedly undemocratic since women who benefit from them are not elected, and therefore unrepresentative. It is further contended that quota disfavor women because they are then viewed as undeserving and incapable to carryout the demands of the position, and that quota-women in effect can be merely figureheads or ‘yes-people’, who are unlikely to use their positions to effect any change.

The other most powerful argument against quota is that they risk essentialism. For critics, quota invoke the essential (natural) category of women and marginalize other differences. Liberal theories of representation support the argument that quotas are not fair for men.

Another reservation about quota is the belief that the increasing number of countries that provide quota obscures the larger question of political transformation. It is a way of working within the existing system of political institutions and gender identity (Lovenduski, 2005).

Dahlerup (2006) cited in Squires (2007) argues that quotas primarily focus on quantitative rather than qualitative indicators of impacts, measuring the number of women in parliament rather than wider measure of female empowerment, taking demographic participation rather than the gender equality.

Another anti-quota argument for critics is that quotas risk backlash by otherwise supportive male incumbents and hopefuls; they risk recruiting unqualified women just because they are women, which deprive electors of adequate representation. Accordingly women selected may be stigmatized, and therefore become less powerful and less effective in legislature. Moreover, for adversaries of quota, due to the preferential treatment given for women politics may be polarized on gender lines (Lovenduski, 2005).

Matland and Sudlar (1996), Caul (2001), Hunt (2002), Peschard (2005), Matland (2005) and Dahlerup (2006) cited in Squires (2007) argue that high level of female representation can be achieved without quotas. According to them the adoption of quota will not lead to dramatic increase in women representation. In further affirmation of this, Squires (2007) said that gender quotas are functioning as a symbol of democratization without actually improving substantial representation of women or securing greater gender equality. Moreover, for her, the effectiveness of quotas in relation to descriptive representation alone is subject to charges that quotas introduce only symbolic change, and therefore, fail to address wider socio economic inequalities.

2.5 Women's Political Participation in Ethiopian

In the history of Ethiopian politics, there were times when few women become prominent figures in the society. Those women who got the chance to participate in the political process demonstrated their ability to handle government affairs in the parliament equally to men (Fantaye, 2005).

During the 14th and 15thC, King Zerayakobe had appointed nine princess as provincial rulers. For Seltene (1994) cited in Fantaye (2005) in the 16thC, two women namely

Elleni (Hellen) and Seblewongel emerged and were involved in directing the political affairs of the state. In the 18th and early 19thC the high class women such as Empress Mintwab and Weletegiorgis had played a significant role in the politics of the country. In the era of '*Zemine Mesafinte*' Empress Mennen, the mother of Ras Ali II, was also the most prominent figure of the state. Furthermore, during the regime of Menilik II (1889-1913) Empress Taytu was an active political figure of the time equally with that of the Emperor; she was even able to manipulate the political picture of the country after the death of the king.

From 1917-1929 for the first time in the history of Ethiopia, the daughter of Menilik, Zewditu officially become Empress with regent Haile Selasse through the support of the nobility .

During Haile Selasse (1930-1974) the state tried to approach women through the organizations formed by women of the ruling class. But for Jalale (2005) the majority of women and women groups were still outside the formal political system and confined in local and informal associations such as Iqub, Idir, Mahiber. This was due to the fact that women found it difficult to enter into politics which was unfriendly and uninviting, even hostile for them.

The history of parliament in Ethiopia goes to the reign of Haile Selasse and the introduction of first modern Constitution of Ethiopia in 1931 in which a bicameral parliament (the Upper House or Chamber of Senate and the Lower House or Chamber of Deputies) came into being. But in both houses the number of female representatives was nill (Alemu, 2007).

According to MOI (1998) cited in Degu (1999) women's participation in the patriotic struggle against the fascist Italy's rule (1936-1941) enabled them to focus in politics, and in 1955 with the revision of the constitution, members of the Lower House began to be elected through universal suffrage. As a result one woman candidate among the royal family, Wz. Sendu Gebru was elected for the parliament. However, Daniel (1979) and Yigremew (1997) cited in Alemu (2007) argue that it was after the

demise of the monarch that for the first time in Ethiopian history, the power relationship between women and men became an issues of discussion.

In support of this, Jalale (2005) stated that during the struggle against the imperial regime and the quest for the institution of democratic and just system, particularly, in the era of Ethiopian Students Movement (ESM) female students got the opportunity to take part in different vibrant and significant political groups in political struggle to overthrow the monarchy. In further assertion of this, Tadelech (2001) cited in Jalale (2005) explained that in the 1970's women took part in the political and armed struggle side by side with their male counterparts. For her this is evidenced by the high number of women prisoners in the various urban and rural town of the country including Addis Ababa.

According to Majitu and Bedria (1999) cited in Jalale (2005) it was during the rule of the Dergue that March 8 or the International Women's Day was observed for the first time. Not only that, it was during this time that Ethiopia has ratified the International Convention on women called Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1982. Yeshe (1994) cited in Alemu (2007) also contended that with the Socialist Revolution, "*a green light*" emerged for the equality and freedom of women. Fantaye (2005) further indicated that the 1987 PDRE constitution guaranteed the equality of all Ethiopians irrespective of gender, nationality, color, religion and class and thus the rights of women to vote and to be elected were fully guaranteed.

Young (1997) cited in Alemu (2007) explained that in the second half of the 1980's and the beginning of 1990's, women's political participation was characterized by their involvement in parties that struggle against the Dergue such as Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front and Tigrayan Peoples Liberation Front. These Liberation Fronts had a large number of women in the various fronts. According to Tadelech (2000) women's role in the struggle extended from engaging in political activism up to holding leadership positions. In further assertion of this, Jalale (2005) argued that women's involvement to overthrow the Dergue was a big step taken in terms of

changing the traditional perception regarding women's capacity and in bringing about social and political change.

After the fall of Dergue the 1995 FDRE Constitution Article 35, granted women's equal opportunity to actively participate in the socio-economic and political arena of the country with other fellow men. Within the same Article (35) in the constitution women's right to affirmative action measures are declared (FDRE,1995). Similarly, Yigremew (2001) cited in Alemu (2007) said that the concern of the government and other institutions towards women implies the issue of women equality has become of the greater concern than ever before.

Contrary to this, Alemu (2007) said that currently even if women's parliamentary representation is increasing, majority of Ethiopian women have not been given enough attention and have remained invisible to development planners and policy makers. They are also excluded from key positions such as policy making process and defence rather they are confined in domestic tasks at home. Their absence also has not been studied well.

In support of this, Tsegaye (2005) explained that all political parties in Ethiopia are male dominated. Women politicians and parliamentarians are not equal to their husbands in their households; they are rather like any other women in the country second class citizens. In affirmation of this argument, Degue (1999) said that in spite of the fact that political rights of women granted full legal and formal equality with men in voting, party membership and candidacy for office, in actual practice however, constraints which are rooted within and outside the government circle deter the realization of their rights. As a result their role in politics is still low and their development in political life is creeping. Therefore, to facilitate their actual participation preferential treatment by the government and other institutions is necessary. In addition, Degue (1997) said that in order to bring about an end to women's subordination in politics, special attention is needed. The regional government needs to facilitate women's participation and empowerment in politics since equality can not be practiced by mere allocation of resources, but it also needs

redistribution of power. In this regard women require support to increase their political participation.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

2.6.1 Pluralist Political Theory

Pluralist political theory is one of a philosophical perspective in international political study. Pluralism as its name implies sees many type of entities instead of one single type (dominant) actor in world politics while other political theories particularly Realist believe on only one significant all power actor on the world arena of politics. Pluralist contrary to the concern of other traditional political theorist of “*High politics*” of war, security, and military power see the issues of “*low politics*”, such as the economy, environment and human welfare including the welfare of women in international politics. In pluralist vision, who the state leaders are does matter, because they consider how women leaders may behave similarly to or differently from men leaders would be a useful inquiry to change the future of international politics.

Keohane (1989) cited in Amico (1994) argue that the inclusion of women may be important to create a good explanation of world politics and suggest that women as people who exhibit characteristics of ‘identified with others’ and ‘empathetic’ may be are the people whom the world politics need in order to negotiate, cooperate and compromise. For him, women can be the rulers and peace makers.

According to pluralist in adding multiple agents to the list of actors in world politics, it is possible to create more places to ensure women’s political participation and their particular effect as women. For them expanding the agenda of world politics to include issues relating the so called “*low politics*”, such as environment and human rights enables to find ways in which women participate in the world politics because of their activism on these issues.

In further assertion of this, Keohane (1989) cited in Amico (1994) argues that the experience of women at the margin of political life have given them perspectives on

social issues that provide valid insights into world politics. For him, this conception considers feminists contribution of adding women to study world politics and international relation.

In pluralists view, women need to make their voice heard, they must network, get organized, form or join organization, get heard by and promoted in international organizations and their perspectives will add a new insight in the view of world politics. So for Amico (1994) pluralists perspective could bring women into the study of world politics and include the analysis of 'gender- as- difference' view point of political theory.

Chapter Three

3. Methodology

This chapter deals with the research design, the study area, sampling methods, sample size estimation, source of data, data collection methods, instruments and method of data analysis and presentation.

3.1 Research Design

As indicated in the first section, the main purpose of this study was to assess the attitude and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota. It also aimed at forwarding possible intervention strategies that can be used to enhance Ethiopian women's political participation.

In order to answer the research questions relevant for this study, the researcher chose mixed method research design by which both quantitative and qualitative approaches were employed to provide a better understanding of a research problem (Creswell and Clark, 2007).

According to Mertens (2003) cited in Creswell (2003) the rationale behind using this design is mixture of methods can serve a large, transformative purpose to change and advocate for marginalized groups such as women, ethnic (racial) minorities, members of gay and lesbians communities, people with disabilities and those who are poor.

3.2 The Study Area

This study was conducted in the House of People's Representatives (HPR) which is the highest political organ of Ethiopia according to the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution (1995). The researcher selected HPR because of the fact that it has the ultimate power of legislation in all matters assigned by the constitution to the Federal Jurisdiction (FDRE, 1995). Besides this, the belief that the House can be a representative of parliaments and parliamentarians across regional states and federal government is the other reason of the investigator to undertake the study in this particular area.

3.3 Sampling Method

This study used both Probability and Non probability sampling methods. Among the several non probability sampling techniques, purposive sampling was used to select women parliamentarians and two political parties. All women parliamentarians took part in the study because of the fact that their number was found to be manageable and they were the main purpose of the study. Not only that, this sampling technique used to select two key informants for in-depth interview from two political parties. These parties were the ones that occupied the highest percentage of seats in the HPR namely, Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and United Ethiopian Democratic Force (UEDF). The two political parties were selected for the reason that the former (EPRDF) is known to represent other political parties which support the government in power while the latter (UEDF) to be the image of alternative political parties.

Probability sampling method particularly, stratified sampling was employed by the researcher for the reason that it helps to establish a greater degree of representativeness in a situation where there is a population consisting of subgroups of strata (Derrheim and Painter, 2006) as it is in this study in which there were population of male parliamentarians in the HPR, some of them are from the ruling party and others from opposition (alternative) political parties. So, using this sampling technique is believed to be helpful to assess the attitude and views of male parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota from different political orientations.

3.4 Sample Size Estimation

The sampling frame of the study includes all members of the HPR numbered 547 and political parties which occupied seats in the House. Therefore, it is found necessary to estimate samples from the population to assess the attitude and view of female and male parliamentarians and political parties on the subject of the study.

As mentioned earlier, all the 117 (21.4%) female parliamentarians were purposefully selected. To decide on the sample size drawn from the male population of the study, "*The rule of Thumb*" cited in Derrheim and Painter (2006) were used. According to this rule, 30% of sample size is required for a small population of 1000. So, in this study there are

about 429 male parliamentarians who are divided into two stratum. The first stratum is the strata of male parliamentarians in support of the ruling party and the other male parliamentarians from alternative or opposition political parties. According to the HPR information and communication directorate (2009) there are about 220 male parliamentarians in line of the ruling party and other 209 male parliamentarians from other opposition (alternative) political parties. Therefore, based on the similar proportional number they have 30% of sample drawn from each strata of male parliamentarians. As a result, 66 male parliamentarians from the first stratum (ruling) and 63 from the second (oppositions) or a total of 129 male parliamentarians were selected to collect quantitative data. The following table shows the total number of participants and their party stand.

Table 2
Respondents' Party Affiliation

No.	Political Stand	Respondents			
		FPMs		MPMs	
		NO	%	NO.	%
1	Ruling party	76	95	66	51.16
2	Opposition party	4	5.0	62	48.06
3	Individual	-	-	1	0.7
	Total	80	100	129	100

3.5 Source of Data

The major sources of data for this study include the information gathered from questionnaires distributed for 209 female and male parliamentarians and the in depth interview which was conducted with two political parties. Moreover, party documents, reports from National Electoral Boards of Ethiopia and HPR, books, brochures collected from the different political parties and the HPR as well as the observation of the researcher in the parliament were major inputs for the study.

3.6 Data Collection Method

In this study Concurrent Data Collection Method was used based on the belief that it is relevant for the purpose of the study. By using this method both quantitative and qualitative information were gathered roughly, at the same time independent of each other to provide comprehensive analysis of the study problems (Creswell and Clark, 2007).

3.7 Data Collection Tools

This study used three kind of data collection instruments. These were questionnaire, in depth interviews and document analysis.

3.7.1 Questionnaire

This data collection instrument used to obtain quantitative data from two groups of subjects (female and male parliamentarians). Initially questionnaires were prepared for 117 female parliamentarians and 129 male parliamentarians in the HPR to investigate their attitude and views towards women's political participation and gender based quota. However, it was found that it is only 80 (65%) of female parliamentarians were accessible to fill out the questionnaire, and with regard to male parliamentarians all the dispatched questionnaires were returned.

According to Bridget and Lewis (2005) attitude is one of the most common areas where scales have been developed. Therefore, Likert Scale (The Summating Rating) model questionnaire along a five point scale or fixed alternative expressions (strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree) was utilized to measure the attitude of parliamentarians. The rationale to employ Likert scale format is due to the fact that it is an appropriate instrument to measure knowledge, attitude, sentiments, and judgments (Derrheim and Painter, 2006).

The Likert scale instrument contained two parts. The first part of the Questionnaire were prepared to get background or personal information of participants. The second part prepared to measure their attitude and views towards women's political participation and gender based quota.

Finally the questionnaires were administered in the "Amharic" language to tackle the barriers of language. The translation of items has been checked by Colleagues of English language students from Graduate Studies at Addis Ababa University.

3.7.1.1 Item Collection and Adoption

Attitude type items which supposed to measure the attitude and views of participants towards women's political participation and gender based quota were developed based on the reviewed literatures and documents on the topic. Based on this a pool of 40 items were collected and adopted with due consideration of the socio-political and psychological context of the country. Among the given statements about half of them were stated positively while the other half was presented negatively about the respective attitude variables. After the items were assembled, the screening of items took place.

3.7.2 In-depth Interview

Interview questions were prepared for two government whips of political parties in the HPR to obtain qualitative information concerning gender balanced representation within their party, their attitude and views towards the role of quota in enhancing Ethiopian women's political participation and the performance and participation of quota receiving women parliamentarians. The interview was held in Amharic language in order to reduce language barriers and the data was translated into English.

3.7.3 Document Analysis

Documents such as political party manifestos and activity reports of political parties, National Electoral Board of Ethiopia and the HPR were reviewed on the belief that it is a major input to the qualitative method of data collection.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. And then after the data obtained through questionnaires from women and men parliamentarians the analysis and interpretation was done through percentages and then presented in Tables.

The data gathered through questionnaire within a five line attitude scale was categorized into three scales for convenience and analyzed as favourable, undecided and unfavourable attitude. The positive response above the neutral (undecided) attitude (Strongly agree and Agree) responses, have been taken as agreement, whereas the negative (unfavourable) response below undecided (Disagree and Strongly disagree) have been taken as

disagreement. Similarly, the response of participants which lies between agreement and disagreement have been taken as undecided (neutral). On the other hand, the data collected through in-depth interview from key informants and documents were analyzed qualitatively through Thematic Data Analysis and categorized in different themes. The reason to use this qualitative data analysis technique is that, it is a likely method to contain major qualitative areas of concerns comprehensively (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006).

Chapter Four

4. Analysis and Interpretation of Data

This chapter deals with the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data. The data collected through questionnaire, in-depth interview and documents were presented, analysed and interpreted to answer the research questions set at the beginning of the study.

4.1 Demographic Profile of Participants

The data below show in Table 3,4 and 5 present the personal profile of informants such as age, marital status and educational level.

4.1.1 Age of Participants

Table 3. Age of Participants

Age Range	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMSO	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
25-35	55	68.75	9	13.64	7	11.11
36-45	17	21.25	38	57.58	28	44.44
46-55	7	8.75	14	21.21	16	25.40
56-65	1	1.25	3	4.54	9	14.29
>66	-	-	2	3.03	3	4.76
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

The above Table (Table 3) illustrated that 55 (68.75%) of the FPMs are within the age range of 25-35 years while only 9 (13.64%) and 7 (11.11%) of the male parliamentarians from the ruling party and the opposition political parties were found within this age range respectively.

With regard to the age difference between male and female parliamentarians, most of the MPMS are above the age range of 36-45 years, while more than half of the women parliamentarians are below 35 years old. This data reveals, women at this age are married and engaged in child bearing activities which is a double burden to involve in politics unlike the men folks are. This finding of the study is also supported by the data on the marital status of parliamentarians in the HPR which is shown below. But this result of the study is contrary to Fox (1997) assertion that women are more likely to enter in politics at advanced age than men.

4.1.2 Marital Status of Women Parliamentarians

Table 4. Respondents' Marital Status

Marital Status	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Single	10	12.5	4	6.06	9	14.28
Married	60	75	56	84.85	52	82.54
Separated	1	1.25	3	4.54	1	1.59
Divorced	6	7.5	2	3.03	1	1.59
Widowed	3	3.75	1	1.52	-	-
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

As can be seen in the Table above 12.5 % of the female PMs, 6.06 % of the men PMs from the ruling party and 14.28 % of the MPMs from the opposition political parties are single; 75 % of the female PMs, 84.85 % of the MPMs from the ruling party and 82.54 % of the MPMs from opposition political parties are married. 1.25 % of the FPM, 4.54 % of the MPMs from the ruling parties, 1.59 % of the MPM from opposition parties are temporary separated, whereas 7.5 % of the FPMs, 3.03 % and 1.59 % of the MPMs from the ruling party are divorced. The rest 3.75 % of the FPMs and 1.52 % of the MPMs from the ruling parties are widowed.

As the data in table 4 illustrated, majority (75%) of the FPMs are married. In relation with this finding, Jalele (2005) said that women are responsible for domestic tasks such as household and family responsibilities at home. While it is not possible to argue that a woman's engagement in marriage doesn't necessarily imply a challenge for all women PMs. In further assertion of this, Rita (2008) explains that married women politicians made an extra effort to prove they are politically capable, earn respect and to be competent with men.

4.1.3 Educational Status of Participants

Table 5. Respondents' Educational Status

Educational Status	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Primary school	1	1.25	7	10.6	4	6.35
Secondary school	39	48.75	10	15.15	5	7.94
Diploma	20	25	20	30.30	23	36.51
B.A/BSc	15	18.75	23	34.85	25	39.68
MA	5	6.25	6	9.09	5	7.57
PHD	-	-	-	-	1	1.59
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100

Source: - Survey conducted in March 2010

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

4.1.4 Term of Election served by Participants

Table 6. Respondents' and their Term of Election

NO	Term of Election	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
1	1-5yrs (1 term)	72	90.00	57	86.36	57	90.48
2	6-10 yrs (2 terms)	8	10.00	7	10.61	4	6.35
3	10-16yrs (3 terms)	-	-	2	3.03	1	1.59
4	>16yrs (>3 terms)	-	-	-	-	1	1.59
	Total	80	100	66	100	63	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

The Table shows above depicts 72 (90%) of the FPMs, 57 (86.36%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 57 (90.48%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties serving the parliament for the last five years (2005- 2010) or one term, and have more or less similar work experience. This shows there is no remarkable difference between respondents with regard to their experience of politics in the parliament. But when we come to the senior term of election i.e. 2 and 3 terms, the number of women parliamentarians is nil while there are few men parliamentarians from each side of parties (ruling and opposition). The concentration of women parliamentarians only in first term of election somehow is related with the introduction of 30% quota in the last 2005 election by EPRDF.

4.2 The Attitude of Parliamentarians and Women's Political Participation

Parliamentarians' attitude towards women's political participation is an indicator of whether the laws and legislations formulated and approved by them are in favour of women's political participation or not.

Table 7 and 8 present the data collected through questionnaire. In these tables the attitude of parliamentarians is clearly shown to determine whether they are supportive of women's political participation or not.

4.2.1. Women's Political Participation and Women's Empowerment

Table 7

View of Participants' towards Women's Political Participation

View	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	65	81.25	66	100	57	90.48	188	89.95
Undecided	7	8.75	-	-	2	3.17	9	4.31
Disagree	8	10	-	-	4	6.35	12	5.74
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source:- Survey conducted in March 2010

From the above table it can be observed that 65 (81.25%) of the FPMs, 66 (100%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 57 (90.48%) of the MPMs from opposition parties have a positive attitude towards women's political participation and consider their role in politics

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

As it is shown in the table 7, 188 (89.95%) of the respondents irrespective of their sex and party affiliation support the view that women's political participation is an aspect of women's empowerment. So, it is possible to say that this agreement arises from the recognition of participants that, participation of women in politics directly or indirectly implies creating opportunity to the platforms by which women friendly decisions are made and effectively implemented.

4.3. Parliamentarians' View towards Being Female Politician

Table 8. Participants' View towards Being Female Politician

View	Female PMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	45	56.25	34	51.52	33	52.38	112	53.59
Undecided	7	8.75	15	22.73	20	31.75	42	20.09
Disagree	28	35	17	25.75	10	15.87	55	26.32
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

The above Table shows 45 (56.25%) of the FPMs, 34 (51.52%) of the MPMs from the ruling party, and 33 (52.38%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties support the view that being a female politician is an advantage than being male politicians. This positive response of participants is supported by Phillip (1980) cited in Randall (1991) that it is not always or entirely a disadvantage to be a woman in politics. A woman's relationship to a particular man may give her access to considerable indirect political

power. In electoral competition where men hold political offices women candidates have the advantage of greater conspicuousness. For Vallance (1979) cited in Randall (1991) women are currently benefited from the growing recognition that genuinely representatives institution must include at least a few women. According to Randall (1991) it is easier for a woman than a man to get in parliamentary constituency's short list of candidates. In further assertion of this, Phillip (1980) cited in Randall (1991) said that any woman in politics is at a distinct advantage in which there are a lot of men around. For her if some one is a woman, she can realistically articulate and can state her case, can be noticed and remembered much longer than men.

Contrary to this, 55 (26.32 %) and 42 (20.09%) of participants have a negative and unknown attitude on the issue raised respectively. For this group of respondents it is possible to say that their disagreement and neutrality on the idea that being a female politician is an advantage than being men might caused by their view that the potential advantage of few women politicians offset the cumulative constraints on women's participation in political offices. For Lapidus (1978) cited in Randall (1991) what matter is not the presence of few advantageous women politicians rather it is the majority who do not. In line with this, Jalele (2005) mentioned that women who want to enter in politics find the political, public, cultural and social environment often unfriendly even hostile in a number of instances. For her, the current composition of political decision makers in many regions of the globe provides evidence that women still face numerous obstacles in terms of articulating their interests and shaping their own destiny.

4.4. View of PMs towards Ethiopian Women's Political participation

Parliamentarians as legislators of laws, policies and strategies concerning the socio economic and political affairs of the country, their attitude have a significant impact on women's political participation. So, on the basis of this idea assessing the view of parliamentarians is found vital in this study. The response of participants on Ethiopian women's political participation presented in the following Table.

Table 9
View of Parliamentarians Towards the Changing Status of Women
Political Participation

View	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	67	83.75	60	90.01	40	63.49	167	79.90
Undecided	8	10	2	3.03	5	7.94	15	7.18
Disagree	5	6.25	4	6.06	18	28.57	27	12.92
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

The finding above shows 67 (83.75%) of the FPMs, 60 (90.91) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 40 (63.49%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 167 (79.90%) participants support the idea that Ethiopian women's political participation is getting better. But it is clear that there is a variance in the response of male Parliamentarians from different political party affiliation. Only 4 (6.06%) of the MPMs from the ruling party disagree on the idea that Ethiopian women's political participation is improving, about 18 (28.57%) of the MPMs from the opposition shows contention for the issue raised.

The positive response obtained from participants resemble the conclusion reached by Everina (2010) on the changing status of Ethiopian women in the country's politics. According to her,

women's representation in Ethiopian politics is improving through time. the numerical growth of women's representation from one parliament during the Feudal regime to the present number in the Federal parliament indicates the gradual recognition of the importance of women's political participation in the country (2010, p.36).

The document review carried out by the researcher on the three procedural National Elections results report of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia confirm this in a further detail. In the 1995 election out of the total 547 seats in the HPR only 15 (2.7%) were occupied by Female PMs. But in the next two elections in 2000 and 2005 the number of Female PMs increased from 42 (7.7%) to 117 (21.4%), respectively. But the view of one

key informant from the one of the opposition parties contradict the finding on positive attitude obtained from the survey and document. As the interviewee expressed Ethiopian women's political participation can be seen from the perspectives of the three governments (Monarchy, Military and Federal) of Ethiopia. When he further elaborate his argument he said:

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

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

4.5. Women Parliamentarians and their Participation in the Parliament

To reach the expected goal of gender balanced representation and gender equity in the parliament, women parliamentarians need to take part in various standing committees of the parliament to raise the gender issues in their respective area of focus. The following Table (Table 10) reveals the view of parliamentarians towards Female PMs participation in parliamentary committees.

Table. 10
Parliamentarians’ View of Women PMs’ Contribution in Parliamentary
Committees

View	Female PMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	63	78.75	54	81.82	35	55.56	152	72.73
Undecided	9	11.25	5	7.57	10	15.87	24	11.48
Disagree	8	10	7	10.61	18	28.57	35	15.79
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source:- Survey conducted in March 2010

As can be seen from Table 10, 63 (78.75%) of the female parliamentarians, 54 (81.82%) of the male parliamentarians from the ruling party and 35 (55.56%) of the men parliamentarians from opposition political parties or a total of 152 (72.73%) participants agreed that female parliamentarians are actively participating in parliamentary committees.

According to the HPR (2006) there are 13 Standing committees. These are:

- Infrastructural Affairs Standing Committee
- Budget and Finance Affairs Standing Committee
- Information and Cultural Affairs Standing Committee
- Women’s Affairs Standing Committee
- Natural resource and Environmental Affairs Standing Committee
- Foreign relation, defence and security Affairs Standing Committee
- Rural development Affairs Standing Committee
- Trade and industry Affairs Standing Committee
- Capacity building Affairs Standing Committee
- Legal and Administrative Affairs Standing Committee
- Social Affairs Standing Committee
- Public Account Affairs Standing Committee
- Pastoralist Affairs Standing Committee

As the information gathered from documents shows, it is obligatory for every committee to have at least 5 women members. On the basis of this, it is possible to say that women

parliamentarians have better access to join committees than male parliamentarians. As a result more than half of women parliamentarians have membership in the 13 standing committees i.e. if it is obligatory to have five female in every committees it is possible to have at least 65 (55.56%) from a total of 117 women parliamentarians of the HPR. For women parliamentarians their participation in parliamentary committees with a diverse area of focus is a means of empowerment. However, according to the HPR (2006) the House of Peoples Representatives Regulation No. 3/2006 Article 149 (1 and 3), for the purpose of avoiding conflict of interests, no member of the parliament either male or female can be a member of two committees simultaneously and number of members in the committee should not exceed 20. But this rule of the parliament is limiting since it would be advisable for women parliamentarians to have membership in more than two committees for better representation of women's interest in the committees.

With regard to the leadership positions held by women parliamentarians, currently, one female parliamentarian serves as a deputy speaker of the parliament; 6 of them are member of business advisory committee of the House; 2 of them are chairpersons of standing committees and the other 2 are deputy chairpersons; 51 serve as member of the House delegate to Pan African Parliament of which one is serving as a leader of the delegation; and 6 members are deputy chairpersons of the parliamentary friendship group of the parliament (HPR, 2009). But if we compare the leadership position held by women and their status in the committees in relation to their total numbers, it is not satisfactory. It is only two standing committees which have a female chairperson: Social and Women's Affairs Standing Committees, the former by the first lady. So, based on the data from the documents in the HPR (2009), it is possible to say that women parliamentarians are limited merely on their membership rather than holding key positions for better representation of women. The finding of this study is supported by the in-depth interview conducted with key informant from one opposition party. For this informant the few positions held by women parliamentarians is due to political loyalty than competency while further affirming his view the respondent said:

“Most committee leadership positions in HPR are held by men, even the two committees which are lead by women: the Social and Women Affairs controlled by those around the ruling party. Former by the first lady, it is not

what she get it because she is competent it is rather because of the fact that she is the wife of the Prime Minister, and the later by a woman from the ruling party”.

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

- The Ministry of Women’s Affairs
- Women’s Affairs Department of the Environmental protection Authority
- Women’s Affairs Department of Ethiopian National News Agency
- Women’s Affairs Department of Federal Civil Service Agency’s, and
- The Ethiopian Women Development Fund (HPR, 2009).

One of the achievements of this Committee is that the formation of “*The Women Caucus*”. The main purpose of the caucus is to enable female parliamentarians to fulfil their responsibility in the parliament effectively and efficiently. The caucus empowers, women parliamentarians through capacity building activities such as trainings and it coordinates women related activities with regional states Women’s Affairs Bureaus. The Caucus also is involved in awareness creation activities about women and their constitutional rights.

The Caucus as legally established body of people aimed at struggling for common will, has membership on voluntary basis. So, all Female parliamentarians (ruling and oppositions) are member of the caucus group. Even if the proportion of female parliamentarians from the ruling party (108) and opposition (9) makes the composition unfair.

Coming to the women’s affairs standing committee even if it had achieved a remarkable success in forming the Caucus, it is highly influenced by the ruling party as most of it’s members are affiliated to it. Not only that according to the House of Peoples Representatives Regulation No. 3/2006 Article 172 (2 and 3), the women’s affairs standing committee have the power to initiate new draft legislation and to make sure that proclamations and plans are issued and endorsed by the HPR are based on gender equality and gender sensitized. But as the review made by the researcher on the five years annual

plan report of the parliament on the laws and legislations sent to committees of the House, until the last date of data collection by the researcher (March 2010) there was no single legislation sent to the committee to carryout rather most of them send to committees such as Social affairs, Budget and Finance, Capacity building and Legal and Administrative affairs standing committee. This implies that the committee was not as such active in bringing new policy legislations for parliamentary session to be approved by the members of the house. With this regard the agreement of parliamentarians on women parliamentarians' participation in the committees does not consider the activities of the committee and the role of women parliamentarians within them.

4. 6. Women Parliamentarians and Gender Issues in the Parliament

Table 11

Participants' View on Gender Sensitiveness of Women PMs

Item	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
Gender issues adequately discussed by women PMs	FPMs	54	67.5	7	8.75	19	23.75	80
	MPMsR	40	60.61	8	12.12	18	27.27	66
	MPMsO	33	52.38	5	7.94	25	39.68	63
Total		127	60.77	20	9.57	62	29.66	209
Women politicians in the parliament are actively working to increase women’s political participation	FPMs	64	80	10	12.5	6	7.5	80
	MPMsR	52	78.79	4	6.06	10	15.15	66
	MPMsO	30	47.62	13	20.63	20	31.75	63
Total		146	69.86	27	12.92	36	17.22	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As it is shown in the Table above more than half (60.77%) of the participants from both sexes and party lines or 54 (67.5%) of the FPMs, 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 33 (52.38%) of MPMs from opposition parties agreed on the argument made towards women politicians gender sensitivity. Similarly, when we come to the view on women politicians commitment to increase women's political participation, the responses of 64 (80%) of the FPMs, 52 (78.79%) of the MPMs from the ruling party was consistent. But with regard to MPMs from opposition parties only 30 (47.62%) of them gave positive

response. So, from the differential response of MPMs it is possible to say that MPMs from opposition parties are not supportive for the idea that gender issues raised and discussed by FPMs in parliament as they have a reservation on the view that women politicians are devoted to increase women's political representation.

4.7. Female PMs and their Marital and Parental Tie with men PMs

One of the arguments made against women politicians is that their road to higher government offices or parliament is not what they paved by themselves rather it is their tie with other men politicians around them such as fathers, husbands, brothers and sons (Randall, 1991). On the basis of this it is found necessary to assess the view of parliamentarians towards this argument. So, the figure in table 12 presents the attitude of participants.

Table 12
View's of Respondents on Female Politicians' Marital and Parental
Tie with Male Politicians

View	Female PMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	11	13.75	36	54.55	35	55.56	82	39.23
Undecided	20	25	10	15.15	18	28.57	48	22.97
Disagree	49	61.25	20	30.30	10	15.87	79	37.8
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

The response of participants in the Table 12 indicates that more than half (61.25%) of FPMs have a negative attitude towards the said marital and blood relationship of women politicians with other fellow men politicians. Contrary to this, 36 (54.55%) and 35 (55.56%) of the MPMs from both party affiliation (Ruling and Opposition) respectively gave positive response for the issue. This attitude of men parliamentarians shows their agreement on the view that the success of women parliamentarians and other women politicians in election and other area of politics is due to their parental and spousal tie with famous men politicians. But the disagreement of women parliamentarians implies that they are not willing to associate themselves surrounding '*god fathers*' in politics who benefit themselves within the corridor of power after sponsoring and supporting female political

candidates financially and psychologically to win seats and positions in politics (Rita, 2008).

Looking at the over all finding of the study in the table above a total of 82 (39.23%) of participants have positive response while the view of 48 (22.97%) and 79 (37.8%) parliamentarians is unknown and negative on the idea respectively. So, from this attitude of participants it is possible to observe that there is no as such a huge difference on the view of parliamentarians on the said marital and spousal tie of female politicians with men where as there is a variance in attitude of female and male participants.

4.8. Factors for Poor Representation of Women in Politics

Identifying factors which hinder women's political participation is a necessary first step to enable women to aspire politics and leadership positions. So, while looking at the factors assessing the attitude of parliamentarians towards the barriers of women's politicians found compulsory in this study. For this aim a total of three items included in the questionnaire. Table13 shows the view of participants on factors affecting women's political participation

Table 13
View of Respondents' on Factors Affecting Women's Political Participation

Factors	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
House hold tasks and family responsibilities	FPMs	60	75	8	10	12	15	80
	MPMsR	43	65.15	13	19.71	10	15.15	66
	MPMsO	45	71.43	10	15.87	8	12.7	63
Total		148	70.81	31	14.83	30	14.36	209
Lack of financial resources during electoral campaign	FPMs	45	56.25	7	8.75	28	35	80
	MPMsR	35	53.03	13	19.7	18	27.27	66
	MPMsO	43	68.26	10	15.87	10	15.87	63
Total		123	58.85	30	14.36	56	26.79	209
Gender based discrimination	FPMs	31	38.75	9	11.25	40	50	80
	MPMsR	14	21.21	15	22.73	37	56.06	66
	MPMsO	17	26.99	10	15.87	36	57.14	63
Total		62	29.66	34	16.27	113	54.07	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As it can be observed from the table above, 60 (75%) of the FPMs, 43 (65.15%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 45 (71.42%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties or a total of 148 (70.81%) participants agreed that household tasks and family commitments have a negative impact on women's political participation. On the other hand, 12 (15%) of the FPMs, 10 (15.15%) of the MPMsR and 8 (12.7%) of the MPMsO parties don't consider these factors as barriers for women politicians and women's political participation as well as the view of 8 (10%) of the FPMs, 13 (19.71%) of the MPMsR and 10 (15.87%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties is unknown.

As simple observation and documents reveal household tasks and family commitments deter women's political participation and representation. In further assertion of this, Everina (2010) argue that the burden of female politicians had triple dimensions.

First, the burden of child bearing and raising children in their family responsibility which embedded in the nature of women.

Second, the social, professional dimension which share by all professional women including women politicians.

Third, the dimension which is peculiar to women politicians that makes them responsible to hold public power on their shoulder (2010, p. 64).

With regard to financial constraints, 45 (56.25%) of the FPMs, 35 (53.03%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 43 (68.26%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties agreed that lack of economic or financial resources can be considered as one of the obstacles for women's political representation. But for the same question the response of 28 (35%) of the FPMs, 18 (27.27%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 10 (15.87%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties was negative. Among the total participants the response of 56 (26.79%) indicated that lack of financial resource is not a constraints.

The positive response of 123 (68.26%) of participants on financial constraints resembles Jalele (2005) argument that women are constrained not to participate in politics by their limited access to economic resources. Similarly, Meaza (2003) cited in Alemu (2007) said that the main cause of the less participation of women in the politics of Ethiopia has been their lack of access for financial resources. In line with this, Zepatos and Kaufman (1995)

said that politics is increasingly becoming commercialized more and more money and resources are needed for women to participate in politics and to launch electoral campaigns. But Ethiopian women lack access to economic resources and most of them are inappropriately represented in the formal sectors, while they are more represented among less educated and unskilled informal sectors which are fragmented and subject for the influence of the formal sectors which is predominately controlled by men. In line with this, Alemu (2007) said that women politicians don't possess the necessary fund to secure their financial status to win seats in various level of government.

In further assertion of this, Fox (1997) mentioned that raising money is the most essential aspect of election in the modern electoral campaigns. So, for him if women are going to compete effectively in election it is imperative that they are able to raise money at all levels comparable with those of men candidates. Richard (1987) cited in Fox (1997) also said that women clearly are disadvantaged when it come to fundraising. As a result women run campaigns with lower level of funding than men.

Regarding gender based discrimination as a factor for women's poor political representation, 40 (50%) of the FPMs, 37 (56%) of the MPMs from ruling party and 36 (57.14%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties or a total of 113 (54.07%) parliamentarians don't consider gender based discrimination as a factor which deter women's political participation and competency during electoral campaign. But it was only the view of 62 (29.66%) parliamentarians or 31(38.75%) of the FPMs, 14 (21.21%) of the MPMs from ruling party and 17 (26.99%) of the MPMs from opposition political parties that indicted that there is gender based discrimination. This attitude of participants confirmed that parliamentarians don't agreed on the existence of gender based discrimination in the politics as it is in the society. But for Rita (2008) gender based discrimination including the use of gender based harassment as a tactic to keep women away from Parisian political party are prevalent whose outcome is the unequal representation of women.

While further affirming this, Kahan and Coldenberg (1991) cited in Fox (1997) said that female candidates receive less news coverage and even the coverage they do receive

concentrates more on their viability and less on their issue positions. In addition for him, medias often employ traditional gender stereotypes that has two manifestations:

One, the existence of direct media coverage. This often involves the act of gender based discrimination in which journalists and editors choose to portray female candidates negatively because of their gender. Two, this bias also occurs when female and male candidates are portrayed in the media through gender stereotyped manner. In this form of bias the media depict male and female candidates in terms of the stereotypical social inequalities that compose traditional sex roles which impact their ability to win the mind of the electorates (1997, p.183).

4.9. Enhancing Factors for Ethiopians Women's Political Participation

Table 14
View's of Respondents on Prospective Factors For
Ethiopian Women Political Participation

Factors	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
The current socio economic condition of Ethiopia	FPMs	68	85	4	5	8	10	80
	MPMsR	55	83.33	8	12.12	3	4.55	66
	MPMsO	28	44.44	4	6.35	31	49.21	63
Total		151	72.25	16	7.66	42	20.09	209
The Electoral system of Ethiopia	FPMs	72	90	6	7.5	2	2.5	80
	MPMsR	57	86.36	5	7.58	4	6.06	66
	MPMsO	24	38.1	7	11.11	32	50.79	63
Total		153	73.21	18	8.62	38	18.18	209
The newly adopted conventions on the rights of women	FPMs	65	81.25	5	6.25	10	12.5	80
	MPMsR	62	93.94	2	3.03	2	3.03	66
	MPMsO	35	55.56	13	20.63	15	23.81	63
Total		162	77.51	20	9.57	27	12.02	209
The coming May 2010 Election	FPMs	62	77.5	12	15	6	7.5	80
	MPMsR	18	27.28	24	36.36	24	36.36	66
	MPMsO	10	15.87	23	36.51	30	47.62	63
Total		90	43.06	59	28.23	60	28.71	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As it is indicated in the above table, 68 (85%) of the FPMs, 55 (83.33%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 28 (44.44%) of the MPMs from the opposition parties or a total of 151 (72.25%) participants support the view that the current socio economic condition of Ethiopia is suitable for Ethiopian women's political participation. On the other hand, 31 (49.21%) of the MPMs from opposition parties, 8 (10%) of the FPMs and 3 (4.45%) of the MPMs from the ruling party or 42 (20.09%) of the participants disagree with this opinion.

The agreement of FPMs and MPMs from the ruling party on the favourable socio economic condition of Ethiopia for women's political participation is opposed by Yalew (2000) cited in Alemu (2007) who argue that Ethiopian society as it is elsewhere has its own stereotypical behavioural patterns expected to be followed by male and female members. Traditionally the roles assigned for women in the society influence their behaviours and personality at early age. For him, this negative perception of the society considers Ethiopian women as inadequate, incompetent and insufficient in leadership activities. Similarly, for Almaz (1991) many sayings and stereotypical proverbs portray women as stupid, unreasonable, untrustworthy and evil which belittle women and makes their inclusion in politics and decision making insignificant. In line with this, Wright (2002) cited in Rita (2008) explains that the assignment of Ethiopian women to household chores and men to other prestigious jobs outside home restrain women to take part in politics while political participation demand both time and energy to win the mind of voters.

Concerning the electoral system of Ethiopia as a prospect for women political participation, 72 (90%) of the FPMs, 57 (86.36%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 24 (38.1%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or 153 (73.21%) of the parliamentarians expressed their agreement that the electoral system of Ethiopia is encouraging for women's political participation but about 32 (50.79%) of the MPMs from opposition parties contradict the same view.

The method of voting employed by a given political system has a significant impact in supporting and hindering women's political representation. Electoral systems like Proportional Representation System encourage women's participation and relatively promote women for a position of power but systems of Simple Plurality somehow

associated with women's low representation (Currel, 1974). On the basis of this it is found necessary to study the view of parliamentarians. Coming to Ethiopia the type of electoral system which is followed by the government is Plurality or Simple Majority. As it, candidates win seats on the basis of the majority vote they obtain from voters. Supporting the opinion of male parliamentarians from opposition political parties, Alemu (2007) said that the electoral law of Ethiopia is not encouraging because the law does not give special place for women candidates and is not gender sensitive rather the working of the electoral laws is on the belief of equality of opportunity for all competent citizens. But the opposite is true for FDRE (2008) the Revised Political Parties Registration Proclamation No. 573/2008, Article 45 the criteria for the government support of political parties is based on the followings:

1. *Proportional to their number of seats in the federal and state houses.*
2. *Support to be granted for the purpose of election for federal and state houses shall be; on the basis of*
 - A. *The number of candidates nominated by political parties; and*
 - B. *The number of female candidates by the political parties;*

In further assertion of this, according to NEBE (2010) the accepted budget formula stated that:

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

As it is stated above there is a pattern of improvement in considering gender as one aspect of government support of political parties which directly or indirectly initiate political parties to maximize their female nominees.

With regard to the newly adopted conventions on the rights of women, 65 (81.25%) of the FPMs, 62 (93.94%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 35 (55.56%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 162 (77.51%) participants agreed that the adopted

international conventions on the rights of women are enhancing women's political participation in Ethiopia. So, as the respondents of this study are members of the highest political organ of Ethiopia their positive attitudes to these conventions will be helpful for better implementation of the conventions on the rights of women.

Looking at the coming May 2010 election as a prospective factor for Ethiopian women's political participation, about 62 (77.5%) of the FPMs, 18 (27.28%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 18 (15.87%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or less than half (43.06%) of participants support the view that the number of female parliamentarians will reach to 40 – 50 % in the coming May election. But for the same statement the attitude of 60 (28.23%) of participants or 6 (7.5%) of the FPMs, 24 (36.36%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 30 (47.62%) of the MPMs from opposition parties was negative. From this response of participants it is possible to say that the political dynamics of the country in relation with the election as enhancing does not seem as such different from the previous election seasons. Besides this, according to the researcher's observation and in-depth interview conducted with two government whips of political parties, there are no concrete conditions to make an assertion that the number of female parliamentarians will reach 40 - 50% in the HPR.

4.10. Parliamentarians' View on Men Politicians Support of Women's Political Participation

The view of parliamentarians on men's view of women's political participation is presented on the following table.

Table 15.

Respondents' View on Men's Support of Women's Political Participation

Response	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	52	65	55	83.33	52	82.54	159	76.08
Undecided	6	7.5	5	7.58	6	9.52	17	8.13
Disagree	22	27.5	6	9.09	5	7.94	33	15.70
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source:- Survey Conducted in March 2010

As it is depicted in table 15, more than half (65%) of the FPMs, 55 (83.33%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 52 (82.54%) of the MPMs from opposition parties ascertained men's support of women's political participation. But the view of 17 (8.13%) participants is unknown, and about 33 (15.70%) of participants disagree on the idea. The majority (76.08 %) of respondents have a positive attitude towards men politicians' support of women's political participation. The agreement of participants on this idea indicated that men politicians do not have reservation on other fellow women's political participation.

4.11. View of Parliamentarians about Women's Political Behaviour

One of the arguments made for increasing the number of women in politics is the differential leadership styles and behaviours followed by women politicians. Based on this assumption assessing the view of parliamentarians on the said political behaviour of women politicians was found to be important in this study. Table16 below presents the view of participants.

Table 16.
View of PMs' on Women's Political Behaviour

View	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
Female politicians are politically conservative than male politicians	FPMs	40	50	6	7.5	34	42.5	80
	MPMsR	38	57.58	10	15.15	18	27.27	66
	MPMsO	43	68.25	4	6.35	16	25.4	63
Total		121	57.89	20	9.57	68	32.54	209
Female politicians prioritize legislations concerning women, family and children than male politicians	FPMs	67	83.75	5	6.25	8	10	80
	MPMsR	51	77.27	6	9.09	9	13.64	66
	MPMsO	37	58.73	8	12.7	18	28.57	63
Total		155	74.16	19	9.09	35	16.75	209
Female politicians support ruling parties than opposition political parties	FPMs	70	87.5	6	7.5	4	5	80
	MPMsR	56	84.85	3	4.54	7	10.61	66
	MPMsO	55	87.30	3	4.76	5	7.94	63
Total		181	86.60	12	5.74	16	7.66	209
Female politicians prioritize party rather than individual candidacy	FPMs	25	31.25	10	12.5	45	56.25	80
	MPMsR	36	54.55	10	15.15	20	30.30	66
	MPMsO	40	63.5	10	15.87	13	20.63	63
Total		101	48.33	30	14.35	78	37.32	209
Women politicians prioritize party affiliation than gender equality	FPMs	25	31.25	7	8.75	48	60	80
	MPMsR	39	59.09	10	15.15	17	25.76	66
	MPMsO	41	65.08	10	15.87	12	19.05	63
Total		105	50.24	27	12.92	77	36.84	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As revealed in the Table above, 40 (50%) of the FPMs, 38 (57.58%) of the MPMs from the ruling parties and 43 (68.25%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 121 (57.89%) participants agreed that women politicians are politically conservative than men politicians while only 68 (32.54%) of them shows disagreement on the idea. This positive response of participants supported by Blondel (1965) cited in Randall (1991) that women are politically more conservative than men. For her, women are more inclined than men to politically conservative parties and their party membership also suggests political conservatism.

Coming to their view on Female politicians priority of legislations concerning women, family and children than male politicians, more than half (74.16%) of participants or 67 (83.75%) of the FPMs, 51 (77.27%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 37 (58.73%) of the MPMs from opposition parties support the argument that women parliamentarians prioritize legislations concerning women, family and children than male politicians. This view of parliamentarians resemble the assertion made by Fox (1997) that women politicians support parliamentary legislations concerning women, family and children while men prioritize business and economic legislations. Not only that, as it is shown on Section 4.5, the two leadership positions held by women in the HPR standing committees are only those dealing with women (The Women's Affairs Standing Committee) and social issues (The Social Affairs Standing Committee) which support the assertion of Fox (1997). The finding of this study is further affirmed by the Pluralist Keohan (1989) cited in Amico (1994) that the experience of women at the margin of political life gave them perspective in social issues some of which are the welfare of women, environment and human rights.

Looking at the issue of female politicians supporting the ruling parties than opposition, 70 (87.5%) of the FPMs, 56 (84.85%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 55 (87.30%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 181 (86.60%) participants in the study express their agreement. This view of parliamentarians also supported by the data obtained from HPR's information and communication directorate (2009). According to the document, from the total 117 female parliamentarians in the HPR, 108 (92.31%) of them are members of the ruling party, while only 9 (7.69%) of the FPMs are from opposition parties but this is not to argue women's politicians are against opposition parties.

Concerning the idea that women give priority for party candidacy than individual nomination, about 101 (48.33%) of the participants from both sexes and party affiliation or 25 (31.25%) of the FPMs, 36 (54.55%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 40 (63.5%) of the MPMs from opposition parties gave their support while about 45 (56.25%) of the FPMs gave negative response for the same item. According the information gathered from the HPR and the finding of this study, all parliamentarians except one belongs to different parties. So, in this case concentration of the FPMs around political parties is not the only character of women rather it is feature of all parliamentarians except one.

In relation to the opinion that women's politicians give priority to party affiliation than gender equality, 48 (60%) of the FPMs disagree on the said assertion while about 39 (59.09%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 41(65.08%) of the MPMs from opposition agreed on the issue. From this response, it is possible to say that women parliamentarians are not willing to support the argument made against them that they are not in the parliament to represent women and gender issues rather are devoted for mere party affiliation.

4.12. Parliamentarians and Gender Based Quota

The provision of quotas to enhance women's political participation neither been even nor uniform. Not only that, there are arguments made towards and against gender based quota. Therefore, as one of the main objectives of the study it is found compulsory to make an assessment on the attitude and views of parliamentarians in the HPR towards the provision of quota in the parliament. Table 17- 21 present the data collected through questionnaire. In these tables the attitude of participants towards and against gender based quota are analysed and interpreted.

4.12.1 Parliamentarians in support of Quota

Table 17.

View of Participants' towards Gender Based Quota

View	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
Affirmative action such as quota will enhance women’s political participation	FPMs	70	87.5	2	2.5	8	10	80
	MPMsR	55	83.33	6	9.1	5	7.57	66
	MPMsO	25	39.68	33	52.38	5	7.94	63
Total		150	71.77	41	19.62	18	8.61	209
Political participation of women and gender based quota have positive relation	FPMs	69	86.25	8	10	3	3.75	80
	MPMsR	55	83.33	5	7.57	6	9.1	66
	MPMsO	26	41.27	10	15.87	27	42.86	63
Total		150	71.77	23	11.01	36	17.22	209
Quota can serve as a strategy to narrow the gender gap in politics	FPMs	65	81.25	9	11.25	6	7.5	80
	MPMsR	48	72.73	10	15.15	8	12.12	66
	MPMsO	24	38.09	9	14.29	30	47.62	63
Total		137	65.55	28	13.4	44	21.05	209
Quota will compensate women’s political under representation	FPMs	60	75	7	8.75	13	16.25	80
	MPMsR	40	60.61	6	9.09	20	30.30	66
	MPMsO	21	33.33	5	7.94	37	58.73	63
Total		121	57.9	18	8.61	70	33.49	209
Quota is the only method to increase women’s political participation	FPMs	15	18.75	7	8.75	58	72.5	80
	MPMsR	19	28.79	8	12.12	39	59.09	66
	MPMsO	10	15.87	9	14.29	44	69.84	63
Total		44	21.05	24	11.48	141	67.47	209
Quota should be used as temporary measure to enhance women’s political participation	FPMs	68	85	4	5	8	10	80
	MPMsR	44	66.67	7	10.60	15	22.73	66
	MPMsO	40	63.49	7	11.11	16	25.4	63
Total		152	72.73	18	8.61	39	18.66	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As Table 17 shows, 70 (87.5%) of the FPMs, 55 (83.33%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 25 (39.68%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 150 (71.77%) of respondents agreed that affirmative action measures such as quota will enhance women's

political participation while only 2 (2.5%) of the FPMs, 6 (9.1%) of the MPMs and 33 (52.38) of the MPMs from opposition parties or 41 (19.62%) of participants gave negative response towards the role of quota to facilitate women's political representation.

With regard to the positive relationship between women's political participation and gender based quota, 69 (86.25%) of the FPMs, 55 (83.33%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 26 (41.27%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or 150 (71.77%) of the participants from both sexes and party affiliation expressed their consent when about 8 (10%) of the FPMs, 5 (7.57%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 27 (42.86%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 40 (19.14%) participants shows disagreement on it. So, from this response of PMs it is possible to say that FPMs and most MPMs from the ruling party recognize the positive linkage of women's political participation and gender based quota.

Concerning their view on gender based quota as a strategy to narrow the gender gap in politics, 65 (81.25 %) of the FPMs, 48 (72.73 %) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 24 (38.09 %) of the MPMs from opposition parties or 137 (65.55%) of the participants recognize the opinion that quota legislations and provision for women can be used as a means to avoid gender imbalance in politics while 9 (11.25%) of the FPMs, 10 (15.15%) of the MPMs from the ruling party, 9 (14.29%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 44 (21.05%) parliamentarians express their disagreement. So, from the positive response of participants it is possible to say most FPMs and MPMs from the ruling party considers the view that unfair representation of women in politics can be improved through the use of measures such as quota. But as it can be observed on the above table MPMs from opposition parties do not consider gender based quota as a mechanism to alleviate the gender gap in politics as those men in the ruling party do.

Coming to the opinion of parliamentarians on quota as compensation for women's ill political representation, 121 (57.9 %) of the participants or 60 (75%) of the FPMs and 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 21 (33.33%) of the MPMs from opposition parties consider gender based quota as a remedy for women's low political participation. This positive response of participants indicated their agreement that women's under representation in politics will improve through the use of quota. In support of this

view of parliamentarians, Meron (2005) said that quota is one of the measures taken to compensate the manifest absence of women in elective offices and senior positions of politics. On the other hand, as it is depicted in the Table 17 there is a variance on the response of men parliamentarians. Because about 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party gave positive response it is only 21(33.33%) of the MPMs from opposition parties agreed on it. It is clearly shown that the view of 37 (58.73%) and 10 (15.87%) of the MPMs from different opposition parties was negative and unknown respectively. Therefore, from the differential response of male participants it is possible to say that men parliamentarians support of legislations in favour of quota determined by their political party affiliations.

With regard to the view of participants towards quota as the only alternative to women's representation, 141 (67.47%) of the participants or 58 (72.5%) of the FPMs, 39 (59.09%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 44 (69.84%) of the MPMs from opposition parties irrespective of their sexes and party affiliation discard the argument that quota is the only method to increase women's political participation while only 44 (21.05%) of them gave a positive response. So, it is clear that more than half of participants support the view that high-level of female representation in politics can be achieve without provision of quota. Similarly, for Squire (2007) cited in Dahlerup (2006) having mere quota laws is not guarantee that the laws and rules will have a significant positive impact on women's political participation.

Concerning the idea that quota should be used as a temporary measure to enhance women's political participation, 68 (85%) of the FPMs, 44 (66.67%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 40 (63.49%) of the MPMs from different opposition parties gave positive response. This supportive view of parliamentarians resembles Biseswar (2005) assertion that quota has to redeem a wrong unjust past. As such it is a temporary measure to foster the emergence of a new culture of balanced presence of women and men. In further affirmation of this, she said that quota provision should be a time bound one and such measures should be claimed for a temporary period as it has been possible to remove the barriers in the path of women's full political participation. Similarly, for Gretchen and

Hannah (2006) quotas should be applied as short term measures, until the constraints to women entry into politics are removed.

Generally, as it is shown in table 17 the argument made towards quota is supported by participants except the item that survey the attitude of participants whether they view quota as the only method to increase women's political representation or not. Therefore, it is possible to say that more than half of the participants in the study have a positive attitude towards quota. But the disagreement of MPMs from opposition parties and some of the FPMs and MPMs from the ruling party on some of the items indicates the resistance in the formulation of laws and regulations which are quota friendly. But it should be noted that the success of quota can not be measured by only how many women got seats in the parliament and other levels of politics rather by how far they are competent in pressing their views and the interests of other women at all levels of politics.

4.12.2. Parliamentarians and Party Initiated Quota

The provision of gender based quota to bring more women into politics take various forms. But mainly quota systems take three forms; legally established reserved seats, electoral quotas and quotas introduced by political parties. In Ethiopia there is party initiated quota system by EPRDF, which introduced the 30% quota for women candidates (Biseswar, 2005). Based on this it is found necessary to asses the attitude and view of parliamentarians on this newly introduced party initiated quota.

Table 18. View of Participants' towards Party Initiated Quota

View	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
The newly introduced quota by EPRDF is enhancing women’s political participation	FPMs	40	50	8	10	32	40	80
	MPMsR	48	72.73	4	6.06	14	21.21	66
	MPMsO	21	33.33	15	23.81	27	42.86	63
Total		109	52.15	27	12.92	73	34.93	209
Party initiated quota enhances women’s political participation than constitutional quota	FPMs	65	81.25	10	12.5	5	6.25	80
	MPMsR	53	83.30	5	7.58	8	12.12	66
	MPMsO	18	28.57	10	15.87	35	55.56	63
Total		136	65.07	25	11.96	48	22.97	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

As it is shown in the Table above, 40 (50%) of the FPMs and 48 (72.73%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 21 (33.33%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 109 (52.15%) of participants agreed that the newly introduced quota by EPRDF is increasing Ethiopian women's political participation. But when we look at the view of MPMs, there is huge difference of responses. Because the figure in the table above reveals that less than half (33.33%) of the MPMs from opposition parties shows agreement when 48 (72.73%) of the MPMs from the ruling party express their support on idea that the 30% quota introduced by the ruling party is facilitating Ethiopian women's political participation. Therefore, it is possible to say that men parliamentarians from different opposition parties have different view point on the newly introduced quota by the ruling party which determined by the extent of their attitude towards party initiated quota and the ruling party.

Coming to the idea that, party initiated quota enhances women's political participation than Constitutional quota, 65 (81.25%) of the FPMs and 53 (83.30%) of the MPMs from the ruling party shows supportive response, whereas 35 (55.56%) of the MPMs from opposition parties disagree with the argument made towards party initiated quota than the constitutional one to enrich women's political participation. So, from this response of participants it is possible to say that majority of the female and male parliamentarians from the ruling party consider party initiated quota as instrument for better political presence of women than constitutionally granted quota. But on the basis of the attitude they have for the first item and other arguments made towards quota, men parliamentarians from opposition parties are against party initiated quota in general and the newly introduced quota by EPRDF in particular. The negative view of MPMs from the opposition parties and the other participants contradict the argument made by Biseswar (2005) that party initiated quota in contrast to constitutional ensures the inclusion of women in the internal decision making structure of the parties, not for candidature for election to parliament.

4.12.3 Parliamentarians and Quota Receiving Women Politicians

As it is said in 4.13, the provision of quota for women is controversial. One of the usual stigma attached to it is that, it build a kind of invisible hierarchy among members of parliament who have come through competition such as men and quota non receiving women politicians. On the basis of this the researcher of this study decide to asses the attitude and view of PMs towards quota receiving women politicians. Therefore, the view of participants towards quota receiving women presented in the following table.

Table. 19
View of Participants' on Quota Receiving Female Politicians

View	FPMs		MPMs				Total No.	Total %
			MPMsR		MPMsO			
Quota receiving women lack political competency than non receiving women politicians	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%		
Agree	12	15	16	24.24	37	58.73	65	31.10
Undecided	6	7.5	15	22.73	12	19.05	33	15.79
Disagree	62	77.5	35	53.03	14	22.22	111	53.11
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100
Quota non receiving women PMs contribute a lot for their party than receipts	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	Total No.	Total %
Agree	55	68.75	40	60.61	16	25.4	111	53.11
Undecided	7	8.75	16	24.24	11	17.46	34	16.27
Disagree	18	22.5	10	15.15	36	57.14	64	30.62
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

Based on the data collected through survey questionnaire which is shown in the Table 19, 37 (58.73%) of the MPMs from opposition parties agreed that quota receiving women politicians lack political competency more than quota non beneficiary women politicians. Contrary to this, 62 (77.5%) of the FPMs and 35 (53.03%) of the MPMs from the ruling party do not consider the same argument made on quota receiving women. This negative view of FPMs and MPMs from the ruling party indicated that most of the participants agreed on the issue are members of the political party which introduce the 30% quota for women politicians. But the positive response of MPMs from opposition parties supported

by Tsegaye (2005) that quota system does not empower women rather only provide them numerical forces.

With regard to the idea that quota non receiving women politicians contribute for their party than the non receiving, more than half (68.75%) of the FPMs, 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 16 (25.4%) of the MPMs from opposition parties agreed that quota receiving women equally contribute for their party as those non receiving do. But 36 (57.14%) of the MPMs from opposition parties do not support the view that quota receiving women politicians are committed for their party than the non the receiving. The result of the in-depth interview conducted with one key informant also resembled the attitude of MPMs from opposition parties. As stated by the informant most women parliamentarians are quota receiving while adding, he said that:

“There are about 117 women parliamentarians, If you asses their political competency they are not more than 10; most of them are there to rise their hand and clap for the legislations passed by the ruling party”.

In further elaboration of his argument the respondent says:

“ I do not think most of them know what they are doing. Their numerical presence and competency is totally incomparable”.

When he make a comparison between quota receiving and quota non beneficiary female Politicians also said :

“The few quota non- receiving female parliamentarians are confident and competent enough than the majority quota beneficiaries, the non beneficiaries are not afraid of doing anything. They are not dependent on the quota. Birtukan Medekisa (a female politician at jail by the time) can be a true example of this. She is the first woman to be the head of political party in Ethiopia and the second in Africa and well known by the international community but if you look at the quota benefitrays women politicians they cannot even breath. As a result they are not effective they merely held seats at the expense of other politically knowledgeable and competent women and men politicians”.

Generally, from these findings of the study it is possible to say that there is a strong resistance on the newly introduced quota and quota recipients women politicians from opposition political parties and their male members.

4.12.4. Men Parliamentarians and Gender Based Quota

Table. 20

Respondents' and Men's Negative Attitude towards Gender Based Quota

View	FPMs		MPMsR		MPMsO		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Agree	48	60	38	57.58	35	55.56	121	57.89
Undecided	11	13.75	12	18.18	17	29.98	40	19.14
Disagree	21	26.25	16	24.24	11	17.46	48	22.97
Total	80	100	66	100	63	100	209	100

Source: Survey Conducted in March, 2010

As it is depicted in the table above, 121 (57.89%) of participants from both sexes and political party stands or 48 (60%) of the FPMs, 38 (57.58%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 35 (55.56%) of MPMs from opposition parties expressed their agreement on the idea that men politicians have negative attitude towards gender based quota. This response of participants affirm the assertion of Gretchen and Hannah (2006) that quota receiving women parliamentarians face continued lack of respect and collaboration by men parliamentarians. But the support of MPMs from the ruling party contradict the response they gave in section 4.13.1 and 4.13.2. It is not clear why they agreed on the view that men politicians have a negative attitude towards quota while they recognize the newly introduced quota by EPRDF and party initiated quota as a tool for women's political participation.

4.12.5. Parliamentarians against Gender Based Quota

Gender based quota have been so controversial in many countries and there is also a stigma associated with it. So, in this study it is found compulsory to asses the attitude and view of parliamentarians on the argument made against quota. For this purpose a total of seven items were included in the questionnaire. Table 21 present the view of participants on the argument made against quota.

Table. 21**View of Parliamentarians against Gender Based Quota**

View	PMs	Responses						Total
		Agree		Undecided		Disagree		
		NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	
Quotas are discriminations against men	FPMs	12	15	3	3.75	65	81.25	80
	MPMsR	17	25.76	9	13.64	40	60.60	66
	MPMsO	46	73.03	7	11.11	10	15.87	63
Total		75	35.89	19	9.09	115	55.02	209
Quotas cause feeling of inferiority on women politicians	FPMs	10	12.5	15	18.75	55	68.75	80
	MPMsR	14	21.21	10	15.15	42	63.64	66
	MPMsO	38	60.32	10	15.87	15	23.81	63
Total		65	29.66	35	16.75	112	53.59	209
Quota makes men feel superior over female politicians	FPMs	8	10	10	12.5	62	77.5	80
	MPMsR	18	27.27	8	12.12	40	60.61	66
	MPMsO	35	55.56	11	17.46	17	26.98	63
Total		61	29.19	29	13.87	119	56.94	209
Quota focus on quantity than quality	FPMs	48	60	25	31.25	7	8.75	80
	MPMsR	38	57.58	3	4.54	25	37.88	66
	MPMsO	55	87.30	3	4.76	5	2.39	63
Total		141	67.47	31	14.83	37	17.70	209
Quota lacks follow up in creating competent women politicians	FPMs	58	72.5	18	22.5	4	5	80
	MPMsR	39	59.09	9	13.64	18	27.27	66
	MPMsO	49	77.72	6	9.52	8	12.79	63
Total		146	69.86	33	15.79	30	14.35	209
Quota relies on gender while neglecting other social aspects such as ethnicity and religion	FPMs	30	37.5	11	13.75	39	48.75	80
	MPMsR	39	59.09	9	13.64	18	27.27	66
	MPMsO	45	71.43	8	12.7	10	15.87	63
Total		114	54.55	28	13.4	67	32.05	209
Quota should not be implemented in politics	FPMs	24	30	6	7.5	50	62.5	80
	MPMsR	15	22.73	15	22.73	36	54.54	66
	MPMsO	36	57.14	10	17.46	17	25.4	63
Total		75	35.89	31	14.83	103	49.28	209

Source: Survey Conducted in March 2010

The result on the responses obtained from participants on the opinion that Quotas are discriminations against men in Table 21 shows, 65 (81.25%) of the FPMs and 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 10 (15.87%) of the MPMs have not agreed. But

when we come to MPMs from opposition party, 46 (73.02%) of them gave supportive response for the same statement. Therefore, it is possible to say that the disagreement of MPMs from opposition parties on quota is due to the reason that they considers quotas as a constraints for political opportunities of potential male aspirants.

With regard to the view that quotas causes feeling of inferiority on quota receiving women politicians, 55 (68.75%) of the FPMs, 42 (63.64%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 15 (23.81%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 112 (53.59%) participants do not consider quotas as a cause for women's politicians feeling of inferiority.

Coming to the idea that quota makes male politicians feel superior, 62 (77.5%) of the FPMs and 40 (60.61%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 17 (26.98 %) of the MPMs from opposition parties didn't agree on argument that quota makes men feel superior over female politicians. But more than half (60.32%) of the MPMs from opposition parties gave supportive response on the view that quotas can be considered as one of the reasons for women's feeling of inferiority. Consistently, 35 (55.56%) of the MPMs from opposition parties gave positive response for the argument made against quotas that they makes men feel superior over female politicians. Therefore, from this response of MPMs from the opposition parties it is possible to say that majority of the MPMs from opposition parties consider quota as discrimination against men, a cause for women politicians feeling of inferiority and superiority of men politicians respectively.

Concerning the argument made against quota that it focuses on quantity than quality, 46 (60%) of the FPMs, 38 (57.58%) of the MPMS from the ruling party and 55 (87.30%) of the MPMs from opposition parties or a total of 141 (67.47%) parliamentarians agreed that gender based quota stress on the numerical presence of women in higher government offices than the quality of female politicians. In line with this finding, Dahlerup (2006) cited in Squire (2007) said that quotas primarily focus on quantitative rather than the qualitative indicators of impacts, measuring the number of women in the parliaments rather than the wider measure of female empowerment, taking democratic participation rather than gender equality.

Similarly, 146 (69.86%) of participants or 58 (72.5%) of the FPMs, 39 (59.09%) of the MPMs from the ruling party and 49 (77.78%) of the MPMs from opposition parties support the argument made against quotas that they lack follow up in creating competent women politicians. In support of this attitude of participants, Dahlerup (1998) cited in Squire (2007) said that gender quotas are necessary but not sufficient measures towards securing women's greater substantial representation and wider social transformation rather for Phillip (2004) quotas are means to bringing more women into political office as they are privileging strategies that facilitate access than mandating outcomes. As this fits better with dominants equality discourses that privileges equality of opportunity than quality of outcomes.

As it is presented in the above Table majority of the women and men parliamentarians from the ruling party compared to other MPMs from opposition parties have a positive attitude towards quota while the later agreed on the argument made against quota.

The above finding of the survey affirmed by the argument of one key informant from one opposition party. As expressed by him, the party he is working for is against quota. In further assertion of this he said:

“Quota is the principle of Revolution, and it is symbolic. It was Dergue who initially introduced the quota system for it's cheap political advantage under it's slogan of Democratic Revolution and EPRDF in the name of Revolutionary Democracy, their policy in one way or another is the same. it is a matter of change of name”.

According to him,

Quota alienates women's psychological readiness to compete actively with others, It's positive impact on women's political participation is minimal. It makes them apathetic. It will not helps women to updates their political knowledge rather it makes them dependent on the reserved seats leaved for them. Not only that, quota provision underestimates the performance of non quota beneficiary female and male politicians ”.

He added:

“Quota and loyalty should be separated. Otherwise politics will be the arena of women who held key positions of politics for nothing” .

Generally, as the data obtained from survey questionnaire and in-depth interview depicts the response of MPMs from opposition parties was supportive for the arguments made against quota compared to those Female and Male participants from the ruling party.

Chapter Five

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

In this chapter summary of the major finding of the study, conclusions drawn on the basis of the findings and recommendations that are considered to be useful to assess the attitude and views of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota are presented.

5.1 Summary

The main purpose of this study was assessing the attitudes and view of parliamentarians towards women's political participation and gender based quota: The Case of FDRE. To achieve this objective, three basic research questions were raised. These were:

1. What is the attitude of parliamentarians towards women's political participation?
2. How do parliamentarians perceive gender based quota?
3. What is the role of quota in Ethiopian politics in enhancing women's political participation?

In order to gather reliable and relevant data, informants were selected using purposive and stratified sampling. To collect information, three different data collection instruments were used. These were: questionnaire, in-depth interview and document analysis. The analysis was made through the use of Percentage and presented in tables.

On the basis of the analysis made on the data secured through the above procedures, the major findings of the study are summarized as follows:

- Most parliamentarians irrespective of their gender and party affiliation have a positive attitude towards women's political participation and the changing status of Ethiopian women in politics. However, the extent agreement by men parliamentarians varied from one party to the other.
- With regard to their view towards quota, most women parliamentarians and men parliamentarians from the ruling party are supportive of gender based quota. On

the other hand, most men parliamentarians from opposition parties are against the quota system.

- Looking at the opinion on the use of gender based quota, most participants agreed that it's not the only means for enhancing women's political participation. The consensus is that it has to be used as a temporary measure until the constraints to women's political participation are alleviated.
- Concerning their view on the political competency of quota receiving women politicians most women parliamentarians and men parliamentarians from the ruling party do not support the view that quota receiving women politician lack political competency than those who have not benefited from quota. But men parliamentarians from opposition parties question the political competency of quota receiving women politicians.

5.2 Conclusions

- From the findings of this study it can be concluded that Ethiopian women descriptive representation is improving even though their substantial participation is not as such evident in the parliament.
- As it was assessed in the study, most women parliamentarians are members of the ruling party which introduced 30% quota for female candidates. So, it is an indication that if other parties introduce such system the number of women candidates in their party will grow better than before.
- The newly introduced quota by EPRDF is not supported by more than half of the male parliamentarians from opposition parties which makes the formulation of quota friendly programmes questionable to increase women's descriptive representation in their party.
- As it is shown in the finding and the observation of the researcher the current quota system lacks follow up which is manifested on male domination of parliamentary standing committees which is clearly prevail in the parliament.
- Male members of opposition parties and some other MPMs from the ruling party are against gender based quota which makes the adoption of quota to increase Ethiopian women's political participation a difficult task to get acceptance by other parties.
- As it is supported by participants, the possibility of women to hold 40 % - 50 % seats in the parliament will not be achieved in the coming May 2010 National Election, as the current political dynamics of the country can be taken as a true indication that the number of women will not reach to the above mentioned percent in the HPR.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the above conclusion, the following recommendations are made.

- In order to increase women's substantial representation in politics, their descriptive presence in the parliament is necessary. So, for this purpose the provision of affirmative action measures such as quota for women politicians needs to receive due recognition by political parties and their members (both male and female) as political parties are the gatekeepers of women political participation. While introducing such measures it is mandatory for parties to undertake other methods to create competent and vibrant women politicians who can represent parties and women's interest in the parliament and other organs of the government.
- Male members of the parliament and quota non-receiving female parliamentarians should be supportive of quota-receiving female parliamentarians and need to encourage them. Because the negative attitude towards them might affect beneficiaries' aspiration of key positions in the parliament.
- Quota-receiving women politicians should be aware of the fact that quota is not a last long solution for women's ill political representation. So, they have to work together with other PMs and quota non-receiving women politicians to develop the society's level of awareness about the importance of women's political participation through advocacy programmes.

In addition to this, women politicians and public officials in the lower level of government have to create awareness among young girls in schools through Civic and Ethical Education about the importance of women's political representation, so this enables them to have good background and develop coping mechanisms to resist the barriers for women's political aspiration.

- The HPR needs to build that capacity of women parliamentarians through the provision of special assistance for them in the form of trainings and other methods to make them competent politicians.

- The “*Caucus Group*” in the parliaments needs to work with men members of the parliament as it is evidenced and known that assuming gender equality is a difficult task without men who are sympathetic for women’s political participation.
- Regulations which govern committee membership should be amended to enable women parliamentarians to raise gender issues in the committees through double and triple memberships in various committees
- Among many other things, the implementation of the varying laws on the rights of women to achieve gender equality is mandatory. The parliament as it is the highest political organ of the country needs to oversee the activities of concerned bodies to enforce the laws and made them accountable.

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Appendix A

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A survey Questionnaire prepared to be filed by Parliamentarians in the House of Peoples Representatives

The Purpose of this questionnaire is to assess your Attitude and View towards Women's Political Participation and Gender Based Quota: The case of FDRE. In order to gather relevant information and complete the research this questionnaire guide prepared to be filled by you. In part one, you are kindly requested to provide your personal information and part two your attitude and view on the given statements concerning women's political participation and gender based quota within a five line attitude scales (Strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree and strongly disagree). Your answer will be used for academic purpose only. The researcher would like to thank you for your willingness to provide your genuine attitude on the questionnaire.

Part One: - Background Information

- 1.1. Sex A. Male [] B. Female []
- 1.2. Age _____
- 1.3. Marital Status A. Single [] B. Married []
- C. Separated [] D. Divorce []
- E. Widow []
- 1.4. Educational Qualifications
- A. Literate or Basic Education []
- B. Elementary School []
- C. High School []
- D. Diploma []
- E. B.A/BSC []
- F. M.A/MS []
- G. PHD [] Other, please specify

1.5. For How many terms you have been in the parliament?

- A. 1-5 years [] C. 11-15 years []
B. 6-10 years [] D. more than 16 years []

1.6. From which political party are you?

- A. Ruling [] B. Oppositions [] C. Individual []

Part Two: - Attitude Scales

Instruction. There are 40 Statements below. Therefore, you are kindly requested to show how you feel about each statement by putting “√” mark only in one of the five given columns (Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD).)

No.	Attitude	Response category				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
2.1	Women’s political participation is one aspect of women’s empowerment					
2.2	Political participation of Ethiopian women is improving					
2.3	Women’s political participation is an aspect of gender equality than economic empowerment					
2.4	Being female politician is an advantage than being male					
2.5	Gender issues are adequately discussed by women parliamentarians					
2.6	Women prioritize legislatures concerning women, family and children than men politicians					
2.7	Women parliamentarians are involved actively in different committees of the parliament					
2.8	Women parliamentarians are actively working to increase women’s political participation					
2.9	Household task and family commitment contribute to poor representation of women in politics					
2.10	Female politicians with grownup children have more time to participate in politics than women with younger children					
2.11	Female politicians usually have familial and spousal relation with male politicians					
2.12	Women are politically Conservative than men					
2.13	Women politicians prioritise party affiliation than gender equality					

No.	Attitude	Response category				
		SA	A	N	D	SD
2.14	Men parliamentarian are in favour of women's political participation					
2.15	Political parties have a positive major role to increase women's political participation					
2.16	The current socio economic condition of Ethiopia is suitable for women's political participation					
2.17	The newly adopted international convention on women's rights are increasing women's political participation in Ethiopia					
2.18	The number of party nominated female candidates is far greater than individual female candidates					
2.19	Women encounters gender based discrimination during campaigning					
2.20	Ethiopian electoral system encourages women's political participation					
2.21	Affirmative action such as quota will enhance women political participation					
2.22	Political participation of women and quota system have positive relation					
2.23	Party initiated quota enhances women's political participation than constitutional quota					
2.24	The newly introduced quota by EPRDF is enhancing women's political participation					
2.25	Quota will compensate women's political under representation					
2.26	Quota is the only method to increase women's political participation					
2.27	Quota should be used as a temporary measure to enhance women's political participation					
2.28	Quotas are discrimination against men					
2.29	Quota cause feeling of inferiority on women politicians					
2.30	Quota makes men feel superior over female politicians					
2.31	Quota focus on quantity than quality of women politicians					
2.32	Quota system lack follow up in creating competent women politicians					

2.33	Quota provision relies only in gender while neglecting other social aspect such as Ethnicity and Religion					
2.35	Gender based quota should not be implemented in politics					
2.36	Gender based quota can serve as a strategy to narrow the gender gap in politics					
2.37	Women who enter in parliament through quota are not politically competent as women politicians who join with out quota					
2.38	Quota recipient women politicians contribute for their political party the same as the non recipient women politicians					
2.39	Men parliamentarians have a negative attitude towards gender based quota					
2.40	The number of women will reach to 40-50 percent in the coming May 2010 election					

Thank you

Appendix B

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Interview Guide prepared for political parties

1. How do you see the extent of women's political participation in Ethiopia? Their obstacles and prospects?
2. What is do you think about the role of quota to enhancing women's political participation?
3. How do you see the participation and performance of women parliamentarians who enter in the parliament through quota?
4. What do you think about the positive and the negative effect that quota has on women's political participation?
5. What is your attitude on the impact that quota has on other non beneficiary female and male parliamentarians?
6. Do you think that quota recipients' women are politically competent as the non recipients?

