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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

**DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND
DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT**

**ASSESSEMNT OF WOMEN EMPOWERMENT TO
POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING: A CASE OF HOUSE
OF PEOPLES REPRESENTATIVES OF ETHIOPIA**

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Assessment of Women Empowerment to Political Decision-making: A case of
House of Peoples Representatives of Ethiopia

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DECLARATION

I, Wubrst Wondmeneh, the undersigned, declare that this thesis entitled “Assessment of Women Empowerment to Political Decision-making: A case of House of Peoples Representatives of Ethiopia ” is my original work. I have undertaken the research work independently with the guidance and support of the research advisor. This study has not been submitted for any degree or diploma program in this or any other institutions and that all source of materials used for the thesis has been duly acknowledge.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND/OR ACRONYMS

BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
COVID 19	Corona Viruses December 2019
CPD	Conference on Population and Development
CSOs	Civic Society Organizations
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DEVAW	Declaration on Elimination the of Violence against Women
DFID	Department for International Development
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EGM	Expert Group Meeting
EPDM	Equal Participation in Decision Making
EPWD	Ethiopian Parliament Women Department
ESPS	Ethiopian Society Political System
FBOs	Faith-Based Organizations
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HoPRs	House of Peoples' Representatives
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
KII	Key Informant Interview
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
MBA	Master of Business Administration
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOE	Margin of Error
MPs	parliamentarian Members
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SD	Standard Deviation
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities

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ABSTRACT

The study assesses the role of women's empowerment in political decision-making process in HoPRs. Concurrent mixed methods involving quantitative and qualitative approaches employed to collect primary data from 139 sample Parliamentarians using questionnaire and 15 informants through interview guide, respectively. Secondary data were also generated from various published and unpublished documents using documentary analysis template. Quantitative data analysis methods used to analyze quantitative data. Thematic and content analyses techniques employed to analyze primary qualitative data and secondary data. Findings reveal more than half of respondents expressed their agreement to introduced quota system importance to secure seats in HoPRs which had enabled to influence on decision-making. There were statistically significant and positive relationships between Parliamentarians' political participation and adopting five women-sensitive laws. Parliamentarians confirmed that they had had meaningful influence on the decision-making process in the House. Contrarily; frequently changing, unfavourable, meaningless political set up and structure, and lack of political leaders' commitment to change women's attitude towards politics, culture, and religion in politically-friendly ways found influencing their political participation. Inhibitions were pervasive political party's structural factors at different levels, gender stereotypes and traditions, gaps in women's political and economic empowerment, multi-dimensional socio-economic barriers, and lack of strong women's political leadership and meaningful influence in gendered mainstreamed manner. However, number of women's empowerment opportunities existed. Parliamentarians encountered challenges like attitudinal problem, lack of economic capacity, lack of knowledge, and cultural influence. It concludes there is moderate level of influence of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in the Ethiopian Parliament.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Women parliamentarian members (MPs) could play a critical role to realize the women equality highlighted in the Ethiopian constitution and international laws and frameworks. The women rights and equity become a global agenda. For instance, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (UN Women, 2012) underlined the gender balance in the decision-making process of nations. In recent decades, after such a political commitment; expectations regarding women's representation in the national parliaments and participation in political decision-making process grew in ambition. Hence, the goals of achieving 30 percent of parliament seats have to be occupied by women in lower chambers are no longer the UN member states' objective.

Consequently, there was a paradigm shift towards full gender equality in ensuring a substantive representation's achievement agenda which could be the core action plan implementations of the UN member states within the past 25 years. With such a bold goal ahead, active steps are needed to accelerate the change that will lead to gender parity in the parliaments. Indeed, there has been a significant increase in the proportion of women in the parliaments around the world and there has also been increasing recognition of the importance of engaging women MPs in efforts to advance gender-sensitive issues for inclusive political participation and exercising substantive representation through their constitutional mandates (Asiedu, Branstette, Gaekwad-Babulal, & Malekele, 2016). For example, women the MPs are important in making laws and oversee in government policies and programmes, including enacting and scrutinizing the government budget and representing the views of their constituents.

Apparently, Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) reviewed accomplishments on "Women in Parliament: 1995–2020" which had been undertaken for 25 years in the UN member states in the world. In so doing, the IPU has specifically evaluated women's political participation and representation's in the parliament by analysing its historical trends, progress, and setbacks in line with the set goal of implementing gender equality among the member states' parliaments.

Accordingly, IPU's analysis report documented that there was an overall increase in the percentage of women in the parliaments in that it reached 24.9% in 2020 compared with 11.3% in 1995. This has shown an increase of 13.6%. And yet, in 1995, there was no a parliament reached gender parity in the world. Nevertheless, only four countries (*i.e.*, Rwanda, Cuba, Bolivia, and the United Arab Emirates) achieved 50 percent of the women MPs in their lower chambers. Among them, only Rwanda achieved over 60 percent of seats held by the women MPs in its lower chambers in 2020. Therefore, there was no parliament that had reached gender parity in this year. Finally, IPU (2020) concludes there is a gap in gender parity and also figures out that there are still women's under-representations at all levels of power

Despite the progress that women MPs has shown in descriptive representation at international or national level, but many women around the world are still lack basic human rights, and face with the challenges of marginalization and discrimination because they are deprived from substantive representation in their respective national parliaments. Consequently, they have been pushed away from making-decisions on the policy agendas or on their own interests. Hence, most parliaments remain male-dominated, that is, the whole political system and atmosphere have been not only dominated by men but also being built mainly based on the men's character and attribute for which is mainly based on heroism and spirit of warrior. Accordingly, the world's parliaments are no exception with a global average of 25 percent women and thus, the women MPs are often under-represented on decision-making bodies. However, the degree of representation varies from country to country in terms of political, socio-economic, institutional or party system, and personal factors.

On the other hand, at the national level, parliaments are expected to be effective at drawing up laws, holding governments to account, and being a national forum for issues of women -sensitive concerns. They are also expected to interact effectively with regional authorities, cooperating, and consulting with them so that policies are driven by local needs and voters' interests.

To this end, a lot of efforts have been made to make women in the forefront in political participation or to ensure the women MPs' substantive representation over political decision-making processes. Undeniably, many states in the world have implemented affirmative action as

a remedy to the women's historical inequalities and discrimination which they have been suffered from long standing-gender inequality, including setting quota representation to ensure substantive representation in their national parliaments (International Alert, 2012).

Therefore, scholars and researchers in the field of study have got interest in understanding on how women's empowerment affects political decision-making agendas while addressing women's affairs in HoPRs and to assess how the women MPs' substantive representation practices and in their numeric presence. The effects of women empowerment that has been expected for its actual change occurs on their lives and the lives of others, and to address to what extent is the strength of the impact that women MPs increased presence has influence on the policy outcomes when political decision- making process was held in the national parliament?

Cornwall (2014) revisited foundational feminist studies on the concept of empowerment from 1908s to 1990s in order to draw the findings of a Multi-Country Research Programme on Pathways of Women's Empowerment and then to examine the pathways of positive change in women's lives in diverse contexts. Finally, the author has concluded that the women's empowerment has multi-dimensional implications for development policy and practice in all countries of the world at large.

Asiedu et al. (2016) studied the effect of women's representation in 159 developing countries (43 countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa and 111 developing countries outside of this region). The findings indicate that there are positive results in this regard.

Researchers also conducted study on women's political participation and economic empowerment in post-conflict countries from the Great Lakes Region in Africa. These authors have examined the nature of and quality of women's political participation in Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, northern Uganda, and Rwanda and established whether or not women's increased representation in decision making at the national and local level governance level due to the implementations of quotas has translated into the adoption of gender equality policies and enhancement of women's socio-economic status at all levels of their respective society. Furthermore, the same researchers analyzed the economic dimension of women's

political participation by linking women's economic empowerment and their representation in the political arena (International Alert, 2012).

Despite the fact that Ethiopia has embarked on the recognition of women's empowerment and representation, 38.76 percent of the total Parliament seats are being held by the women thereby the country stands the 24th out of 188 countries in the world (IPU, 2019). This numeric change has been achieved in the light of the statistical share in the lower parliamentary houses. However, there is no research-based evidence showing on the actual impact those women's MPs that could make a difference after they have got elected in the Ethiopia parliament. Consequently, it appears an imperative endeavour to design and conduct a study on the extent of influence of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in Ethiopian existing context. Thus, this study aims at examining the extent of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to assess the extent of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia. Women's empowerment in Ethiopia is one of the objectives of the constitutional law which aimed at having increased number of women in the parliament, in the judiciary, and executive positions. Indeed, having increased number of women in the parliament is believed that it has an impact on parliamentary debates to pursue a pro-women agenda, and to bring about positive and numerous changes in the political decision-making process. Of course, this could be feasible if substantive representation and participation is ensured for the elected members of women in the parliament so as to contribute to the parliamentary debates, and to broaden parliamentary discourse. To this effect, Sub-Article 3 of Article of the FDRE Constitution envisions for balancing historically standing problems over inequalities and discriminations to which women had been suffering from the deep-rooted socio-cultural malpractices (FDRE, 1995). Although the Ethiopian Government is assumed to bridge the gaps in order to the remedy of the imbalance through both numerical and substantive representation of women in the parliament, and to enable them to effectively protect their rights and the rights of others in all spheres; the women's problems related to social, cultural, economic, and political factors have continued since then.

On the Other hand, there is an agreement in research findings that gender's substantive representation in parliaments has an impact; regardless of legislators ought to oversee government's policy implementation and represent the voter's interest in terms of political decision-making processes. But there are variations among the finding of those studies. Scholars (e.g., Esaiasson & Holmberg, 1996; Loverduski's & Norris, 2003) have raised some questions - What varies among studies is that, to what extent is the strength of the impact? Whether increased participation empowers women to make decisions that impact their lives and the lives of others? Another question is also whether their presence has an impact on the behaviour of men counter-parts (either in reinforcing gender disparities or modifying gender-sensitive issues in political decision -making process or not)? These include both putting women's issues on the agenda and ensuring that all legislation is women-friendly or gender –sensitive.

In the same vein, women legislators in Ethiopian parliament are not in a position of exercising their rights of participation in the decision-making processes, which have been undertaken in parliaments so far equally with men. Hence, it is imperative to secure their rights and the rights of others through substantive representation and participation in the parliament; “although the women's representation in the Ethiopian parliament grew from 2% in 1995 to 38.76 % in 2015; out of 547 seats in the House of People's Representatives of Ethiopia” (IPU, 2015, P.2). Indeed, “this has plausibly been taken into account for its attainment of the Beijing Platform 1995 which states the goal of 30 percent women in decision-making position” (UN, 1995, p. 182). Subsequently, Ethiopia has embarked on the recognition of women's empowerment and representation to getting achieved numerical changes in the light of the statistical share of women in parliamentary houses. Nevertheless, the parliaments vary considerably in their internal workings and procedures throughout the globe.

Though there are some progress which have been seen in this perspective, “the women legislators in the House of People's Representative still lack the chance and experience of participating in public decision-making life, including parliaments — substantive representation

of women” (Tonnessen, 2011, p. 1) in the political decision-making aspects. Consequently, they face socio-economic, cultural, and political problems which may affect them not to make an impact on it. Particularly, institutional factors such as electoral and party systems have made serious problem on elected women’s chances of substantive representation (IPU, 2008). Therefore, these conditions hinder their presence which, in turn, has no impact on the women’s constituencies and the real power expected from their representation. Ultimately, there is a lot which has not yet achieved. Unlike Ethiopia, “most countries in the world have electoral systems based on either the majority vote or the proportional representation” (UN, 2005, p. 34). Although there is a parliamentary system in Ethiopia, the majority representation system has been adopted. Yet a party is allowed to nominate only one candidate for a district as it is stipulated in Article 25 of Proclamation No. 532/2007 (FDRE, 2007).

Additionally, findings of recent empirical studies undertaken in Ethiopia and other developing countries (e.g., Eden Eshetu, 2017; Asiedu et al., 2016) show that women legislators in the Ethiopian parliament were vastly underrepresented for impact/influence on policy outputs. This shows that their parliamentary legitimacy lacks the substantive representation which basically lies within the efficiently carrying out capacity of representation; or it lacks legislative product dimensions (such as policy-decisions, agenda outcomes, and fulfilling voters’ interests). Hence, the existing women’s representation systems in the Ethiopian parliament is prevalently manifested in a critical area of scientific research concern, and is also one of the obstacles for women’s parliamentary participation. Nonetheless, the Ethiopian Government simply has tried to increase the women’s parliamentary participation by providing more budgets to political parties with more women candidates. However, it lacks reserved seats system – it also lacks quota representation in a place and an affirmative action for them (Taddesse, 2016) which have not been implemented. This approach, on the other hand, lead to an argument that political parties perhaps select women candidates not from the perspective of ensuring the women’s political participation through reserved seats system. Rather, they would do it just for the sake of securing the financial grant using women’s candidateship as an instrument.

Thus, this research intends to assess particularly the women's substantive representation in the Ethiopian parliament in addition to their numeric presence ---- the women empowerment's effect that has impact on their lives and the lives of others, and to address to what extent is the strength of the impact that their increased presence has *influence on the laws and policy outputs* when political decision-making processes have been held so far in the parliament. In so doing, it aimed at filling these knowledge gaps which had been left out while similar studies were undertaking and also remained inconclusive in various socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How do the women HoRP members are exercising the political decision making process in the parliament to ensure women are right and interest?
2. What are the challenges women encountered in political participation?
3. What are existing women empowerment opportunities in the HoPR and their contribution on women's decision making?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study is to the Assessment of Women Empowerment to Political Decision-making: A case of House of Peoples Representatives of Ethiopia

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1.4.2. Specific Objectives of the Study

This study specifically has the following objectives:

1. To describe women HoPR members participation in adopting laws and policies that enhances women's rights and interests;
2. To explore challenges of women's political participation at various government structure;
3. To assess the impact of increased number of women HoPR parliamentarians in the House on political decision making process;
4. To explore the existing women's empowerment opportunities and challenges in the HoPR and its contributions to their decision making; and

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study mainly focused on the influence of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in the HoPRs in Ethiopia. Accordingly, results may serve as inputs for designing policy on the women parliamentarians' and other women's rights and interests in a highly competitive democratic political system. The study findings would also provide pieces of information to the policy makers and democratic political system of the Federal Democratic Republic and Ethiopia at different levels to either consolidate or reconsider ways of addressing women's and girls' human, gender equality, and democratic rights. The evidence further serves as research-inspired information for different practitioners in the representative democratic political system in gender-friendly and –sensitive manner. Furthermore, these results may add to the already existing body of knowledge on the contributions of women's and girls' equality and participation in all spheres of their daily routines of social lives. Finally, the results may trigger for further studies on these and related gender issues using sequential mixed methods approach at different levels and in various contexts.

1.6. Definitions of the Key Terms

- **Empowerment** is the process to acquire power individually and collectively. Among them, it designates first and foremost the ability to act independently, but also the means needed and the process of being able to act and make decisions regarding life and society. Empowerment is thus seen as a process, a dynamic two-pronged construction of both individual and collective identity (Action Aid, 2002; Chalier, Caubergs, Malpas, & Kakiba, 2007).
- **Women's empowerment** is a process of personal and social change through which they gain power, meaningful choices, and control over their lives. It also refers to a multi-dimensional process that involves transforming ideas, norms, relationships, and structures of resource and power allocation (O'Neil, Domingo, & Valters, 2015).
- **Political participation** refers to women get more equal and inclusive politics, strong women's movements, women are being effective political operators, candidates in electoral or party quotas of the wider political system, women have influence on political, economic, social, legal, and other practical and strategic issues. It further implies combined and integrated institutions, social structures, and capabilities (UN Women,

2019). Therefore, women have practical says in the distribution of public authority, political and civil rights, resources, and interests in their social lives in a society.

- **Women political participation** is a matter of human rights to have the ability to make decision on one's own cause and interest. (Kasomo, 2012).
- **Decision-making power** is the ability to influence decisions that affect one's life – both private and public. In fact, decision-making power is a composite of access, capabilities, and actions that shape whether or not women have influence over the polity or decisions about their private life (O'Neil, Domingo, & Valters, 2015). Having influence with, over, and through people and decision-making processes is therefore central to both leadership and decision-making power.

1.7. Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was delimited to the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives in Addis Ababa. It focused on the women parliamentarians in the House and those members of the Ethiopian Women's Caucus during 2015 – 2020. Conceptually, this study is restricted to assess the extent of women's empowerment in the political decision-making process in the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives.

1.8. Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations in this study. These limitations have emanated from the current COVID 19 pandemic, unpredictable political turmoil in Addis Ababa and its environs, the Internet shut down in the country at large, and the sensitivity of the study. Therefore, it was primarily impossible to organize and conduct the envisaged focus group discussions at convenient venues and to visit different potential resource centres to collect secondary data from available resources and official documents. Moreover, the Internet shut down prevented me from accessing relevant web-based published and unpublished dissertations and theses, research reports, government documents, and other files found elsewhere in the world. These resources could help in interpretations and discussions of the study findings.

The sensitive nature of study further influenced on exploring detailed verbatim qualitative data because some informants were not as such free to share their views of and perspectives at the extent of the women parliamentarians' influence on the political decision-making process in the

HoPRs. Consequently, these inter-dependent problems faced and challenges encountered might affect the depth of qualitative data collection, discussions, conclusions reached, and recommendations put forward to solve those problems and challenges. Finally, all these problems may limit the external validity of the study – generalizability of the study findings or results.

1.9. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis has five chapters. The First Chapter introduces background of the problem, statements about the problem, research questions, and objectives of the study. It further justifies the significance of the study, defines key concepts in the study, and briefly describes limitations of the study.

The Second Chapter presents review of related literature on the women's empowerment and related issues based on reviews of available on conceptual, theoretical, and empirical literature using a conceptual framework of the study designed by the author. Chapter Three dwells on research design and methodology. It then describes research design and methods, target study participants and sampling techniques, data collection instruments and procedures, measures taken to ensure reliability of these instruments, quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods, and ethical considerations employed in the study. The Fourth Chapter presents the data analysis, interpretation, and discussion of findings of the study. Finally, it summarizes major findings of the study, draws conclusions which help answer those research questions and address the study objectives, and then recommend practical and plausible activities that should be implemented by different concerned stakeholders with individually or collectively working shoulder-to-shoulder in an informed manner for sustainable insurance of women's rights and interests.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents reviews of scholarly written related literature on those issues under investigation. Dictionary and operational definition of the terms and concepts are also described, and literary works which are related to the study being discussed thoroughly in argumentative manner in line with the theoretical perspectives on the issues. In addition, factors which hinder women MPs substantive representation and challenges the women have encountered within the HOPRs when they are participating and trying to influence the political decision-making process in embodying and adopting women's sensitive laws and policies in the country are discussed. Likewise, available capacity building opportunities which are devised to empower and capacitate the women's political participation in the democratic political system. Generally, the chapter highlights available empirical literature reviews at different levels in the world which are related to the study being discussed and then thoroughly examines them in an argumentative manner in line with the theoretical, empirical, and conceptual frame of the study perspectives.

2.2 Conceptual Literature

2.2.1 Women Political Participation

Women political participation is a matter of human rights to have the ability to make decision on one's own cause and interest. Though women make up more than 50% of the world's population, they are still consistently under-represented as voters, political leaders, and elected officials. Based on the other perspective under the international community, there is almost universal agreement that gender equality is not only a human right but also it is one of the ultimate development goals, as well as a major driver of human development (Izzi, 2017). Goal 3 of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Goal 5 of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has included gender equality and women empowerment as pillars to build peaceful and prosperous society, respectively (UN Women, 2016). Therefore, a certain ratio of women in decision-making positions is crucial, not just for equity reasons, but also for incorporating women's perspectives into policy and decision-making and achieving the positive changes we envisage (GIZ – Ethiopia, 2015). Therefore, the women's participation in political decision-making is imperative for the advancement of a real and effective democratic political culture that contributes to good governance and the achievement of sustainable development (O'Neil et al., 2015).

The first explicit arguments for the women's participation in political decision-making were initially expressed at the outset of the French Revolution by the Marquis de Condorcet in 1787 and 1790, and in a number of anonymous pamphlets that turned these arguments into demands to be admitted to exercise the *droit de cité*, denouncing masculine aristocracy and challenging men's right to make the rules for women. As revolutionary French assemblies proceeded to declare the Rights of Man, to draft constitutions and reshape old laws for a new society, individual women such as Olympe de Gouges and men (such as Pierre Guyomar insisted on women's full inclusion in the decision-making process. After four years of resisting eloquent arguments for women's inclusion, revolutionary political leaders shut women out of political life on the grounds that women and government should not be mixed, an argument that had centuries-old roots. These demands were widely repeated in the 1830s and again, in early 1848 despite these early beginnings, however, French women only acquired the vote in 1944; the French campaign for woman suffrage began earlier than elsewhere and lasted far longer. Resistance to women in positions of authority was deeply embedded in women, and the rights of men, were constantly qualified on grounds of public utility until it came to women's rights.

Apart from this, although the involvement of women in politics using the western-based political structures that has started with colonialism, studies indicate that women were involved in politics in one form or another during the pre-colonial era (Kasomo, 2012) in Africa, in general and in particular in Ethiopia. Indeed, international and regional instruments which guarantee the Ethiopian government is that, Ethiopia is a signatory to most international instruments, conventions and declarations. Ethiopia has also adopted international instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) in 1993, the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1994, the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) in 1995, and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (SDGEWE) in 2004 (IPU, 2020). Above all, Ethiopia has been implementing the gender mainstreaming approach which was established as a key strategy to achieve gender equality objectives by the international community, following the Beijing Platform for Action.

Particularly, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) enshrined the special needs-based rights to women. For one thing, it specifies the concern of women's interest; and it has the standing of international human rights legislation for women calling for equality between women and men in all walks of life. It is also a formal legal statement of goals and measures for national and international action on a wide range of issues related to women's lives. As an International Bill of Rights for women, CEDAW constitutes for over the discrimination against women and sets up the agenda for national action to end such discriminations. In order to ensure gender equality in general and improve the political participation of women in all decision-making levels in particular; the Ethiopia Government has thus undertaken both national instruments and international commitments.

Majitu & Bedria (1999) consequently argue for these issues that they are important because women's empowerment ensures gender equality; control of having a say and being listened to; gaining access to political participation and institutional as well and for recognition of women's civil and political rights; and to make more efficient enabling conditions to be assured on its higher success through institutional means (i.e., parliaments).

However, “despite some changes that women PMs in Ethiopia; the share grew from 2% in 1995 to 38.8% in 2019” (IPU, 2019, p. 2). Thereafter, out of 547 total seats of the House of Peoples' Representatives of Ethiopia, 212 seats are occupied by women parliamentarians in 2020. Subsequently, the number of women in the Ethiopian lower houses has shown considerable change. This shows that the country has attained the Beijing Platform 1995 goal of 30 percent women in decision-making. Nevertheless, Tonnessen (2011) contends that the Ethiopian women have still lack the chance and experience of participating in public decision-making. Specifically in Ethiopian parliament — a *substantive representation* of women PMs *lack significant impact*.

The main purpose of political participation is generally to hold public office or political decision-making power. Individuals who hold formal and official positions in government allocate scarce resources (e.g., tax revenues, and direct resources) to some groups at the expense of others

(Bratton & Ray, 2002, Franceshet & Piscopo, 2014). Decisions made by politicians may affect people's individual choices by encouraging some behaviours and outlawing others. To hold a political position is to hold a position of authority. Accordingly, one of the main decision-making authorities is the parliament or legislator. In this regard, IPU (2019) defines women in parliaments as the percentage of parliamentary seats in a single or lower chamber held by the women.

2.2.2 Women Empowerment

Robert Adams (2003) points to the limitations of any single definition of 'empowerment', and the danger that academic or operational definitions might take away the word and the connected practices from the very concept it is supposed to belong to. Still, the same author offers a minimal definition of the term 'empowerment,' as the capacity of individuals, groups and/or communities to take control of their circumstances, exercise power and achieve their own goals, and the process by which, individually and collectively, they are able to help themselves, and others to maximize the quality of their lives. Moreover, empowerment is an interactive process through which people experience personal and social change, enabling them to take action to achieve influence over the organizations and institutions which affect their lives and the lives of others in which they live (McClelland, 1975).

Rappaport (1987) highlights the concept of empowerment as it conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power and legal rights. In this sense, empowerment can exist at three levels: at the **personal level**, where empowerment is the experience of gaining increased control and influence in daily life and political participation (Keiffer, 1984); at the **small group level**, where empowerment involves the shared experience, analysis, and influence of groups on their own efforts (Presby, et al., 1990); and at the **community level**, where empowerment revolves around the utilization of resources and strategies to enhance community control (Labonte, 1989).

EGM/EPWD (2005) also conceptualizes women empowerment as if increased participation empowers women to take decisions that affect their lives and the lives of others. Increased

political participation or substantive representation needs to lead to enhanced political empowerment of women. Hence, empowerment generally is defined as processes by which women and men take control and ownership of their lives through an expansion of their choices. However, specifically women empowerment is, thus, the process of acquiring the ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied; where it takes place in institutional, material and discursive contexts and as an outcome that can be measured against expected accomplishments such as numerical representation of women in political institutions (i.e., parliaments). Afterwards, it includes both individual (i.e., *power within*), as well as collective action which can lead to politicized (i.e., *power with*) others to bring about change by being encapsulated the following three levels:

- *The individual* – through gaining skills, developing consciousness, participating in networks or making decisions;
- *The group*–women’s empowerment through collective action at the local, national, and global levels; and
- *The conceptual* - on the whole, empowerment is taken as both a process and an outcome which interlinks the relationship between individual and the group interaction, for common good, rather than it transcend power relations (O’ Neil et al., 2015).

On the other hand, the assumption that women have certain interests in common is a main thread in studies on women in parliaments. However, the research focusing on substantive representation, the theoretical reasoning behind this assumption is not well elaborated; or numeric changes over time, far-reaching significance of women’s interests are not necessarily identified from descriptive representation. It is widely acceptable to use the share of seats where women in a parliament is the only indicator for political inclusion in a society. In fact, there is a much-used distinction between descriptive and substantive representation in scholarly researches on women in parliaments. This distinction roughly corresponds with whether the focus is on the number of women elected or on the effects of women’s presence in parliament. Consequently, Phillips (1995) elaborates the distinctions.

In the same framework, a strong linkage between women empowerment on political participation practically takes place since 1995. This was the case when Phillips wrote her book on *'Politics of Presence.'* Her argumentation basically demands that women's presence in the political institutions (e.g., parliaments) account visibility, exclusively women affairs, for them and others who want to advocate women's interest. Phillips' reasoning in the Politics of Presence also put forward that women have distinct interests in relation to men; and as a society is constituted to a particular interest arising from their exposure to sexual harassment and violence, their unequal position in the division of paid and unpaid labour, their exclusion from most arenas of economic or political power, and ultimately, to specify the concern of gender equality. Considerably, empowerment needs to be viewed as a highly contextualized and multi-dimensional process through which women MPs influence policy outcomes by using their adaptive and transformative capabilities on the political decision – making process.

Alkire et al. (2013) also discuss this concept focusing on uncovering the factors and relations which account women's capability in undertaking of the possible influence over the political decision-making process. Similarly, those related literature reviews on such as women's interests and gender equality, have shown that the interdependence between economic and political empowerment is increasingly recognized, however.

Yet, while necessarily to specify the concern of women's interest; a core idea in this strand of research is that there are certain interests and concerns that arise from women's experiences and that these would be inadequately addressed in a politics that is dominated by men-----women's interests are contested. To this effect, contemporary debates, for example, Dietz (2003) highlights this concern in gender research — that is, a tendency to ascribe interests to women in a top-down fashion—and also features of essentialism: the tendency to view women and men's concern as if it were fixed, rather than changeable categories. Furthermore, the debates cause to arise how gender equality issues are addressed (such as, descriptive and substantive representation in the political participation - decision-making process).

Empowerment of women and girls is the expansion of choice and strengthening of voice through the transformation of power relations. Accordingly, women and girls have more control over their lives and futures. Their empowerment is generally both a process and an outcome (van Eerdewijk et al., 2017). Specifically, the expansion of **choice** concerns the ability of women and girls to make and influence choices that affect their lives and futures. The strengthening of women and girls' **voice** concerns the capacity of women and girls to speak up and be heard, and to shape and share in discussions and decisions (i.e., in public and private domains) that affect their lives and futures.

Empowerment is contingent on the interaction between three key elements, viz., agency, institutional structures and resources. Let us describe these concepts.

Agency is the capacity for purposive action, the ability to pursue goals, express voice and influence and make decisions free from violence and retribution. It is at the heart of empowerment. The model highlights three specific expressions of agency: *decision-making, leadership and collective action*.

Institutional structures are the social arrangements of formal and informal rules and practices. They shape and influence the expressions of agency as well as women and girls' control over resources. Institutional structures can be found in the arenas of the family, community, market and state. They comprise *formal laws and policies*, the *norms* that underpin them, and the ways these are practiced in the context of human *relations*.

Resources are tangible and intangible capital and sources of power that women and girls have, own or use individually or collectively in the exercise of agency. Resources include: women and girls' critical consciousness³, bodily integrity (health; safety and security) and assets (financial and productive assets; knowledge and skills; time; social capital). Empowerment of women and girls is a dynamic and transformative process of change. Transformation of power relations

occurs through women and girls exercising agency and taking action, through the redistribution of resources towards women and girls and through shifting the institutional structures that shape women and girls' choice and voice, and ultimately their lives and futures (Martinez & Wu, 2009).

Finally, the author employs the following definition of empowerment as the working definition of the concept in this thesis. Accordingly, women's empowerment is a process of personal and social change through which they gain power, meaningful choices, and control over their lives. It also refers to a multi-dimensional process that involves transforming ideas, norms, relationships, and structures of resource and power allocation (O'Neil, Domingo, & Valters, 2015).

2.2.3 Extent of Influence on Political Decision-making

Women's political participation promotes gender equality by challenging the existing social and political structures that perpetuate a culture of their subordination in both the public and the private spheres. As human and democratic rights of the women; their political inclusion increases the number of women in the parliament, improves outcomes of politics, promotes the minority groups' inclusiveness in public spheres, and then becomes a democratic good in itself thereby breaking male dominance (Asiedu et al., 2016).

2.2.4 Factors Affecting Women Political Participation

Women's political participation has been surrounded by a number of influencing factors and these are interrelated and multi-faceted in their nature. Scholars and study groups have identified several of these factors with different terms which correspond to specific regions and societies. Some of the influencing factors listed by writers are: socio-cultural, economic, educational, ideological, institutional, political, gender roles-patriarchy, quotas system, gender stereotype, and other factors (International Republican Institute, 2016). However, some of these factors have more impact on some regions states than some other factors which may have on other regions and

states. Therefore, it is worth selecting the major influencing factors which affect the Ethiopian women's involvement and effectiveness in politics and leadership.

Socio-Cultural factors

Socio-cultural setting of the country determines women's contribution to and privilege in the political leadership process of Ethiopia. Culture and tradition were noted to have great impact on women's political participation. The negative attitudes towards women's involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalization and isolation. The socio-cultural dependence of women is one of the key detrimental factors to their political participation in public political domain. Women also find it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. With their primary roles as mothers and wives and competing domestic responsibilities and care work, they are left with little time to participate in politics (Simbine, 2006).

Regarding a study conducted in the Ethiopian context, Mekasha (2017) states there has been a masculine organizational culture and context which makes women's role and participation in the public sector insignificant. This affects women's involvement in the political and other public sectors of Ethiopia. The political institutions are also established by the culture of masculinity and for the need of men member of the community. They are well-suited for men's desires and needs to achieve what they need. But it is not favourable for women to realize what they want concerning politics and leadership. There is thus gender biased institutional set up which is very favourable for men, unlike their counter parts – the women.

Economic factors

Lack of economic resources is one of the obstacles to women's political participation and electoral processes. It is clear that women face specific and diverse economic and financial challenge. Relationship between economic resources and electoral processes reveal important

difference in between women and men candidates. Women's unequal access to economic resources restricts to manage their political activities (Nagaad, 2007).

Economic conditions further play a significant role in the recruitment of women to legislatures in both long-standing and new democracies. The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. Olufemi (2006) argues that poverty and lack of economic security are often regarded as some of the major barriers to women's political participation.

In fact, women's participation in political life depends largely on their access to employment which gives them not only material independence, but also certain professional skills and grater self-confidence. Access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship to and influence on the participation of women in political institutions. Having become aware of the impacts of the economy on women, the Ethiopia Government formulates Economic Reform Policy in 1992. This Policy aims at promoting economic development and improving the living standards of the most vulnerable sections of the society, particularly women (FDRE, 2006).

Patriarchal Gender Roles

The family is the main institution of patriarchy which is an important concept in explaining gender inequality. Literarily, it means "the rule of the father". More broadly, it refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over females has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. The socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life has created a social mechanism for the development of values that engender the several forms of discrimination against the female sex. The greatest psychological weapon available to man is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted especially in the area

of politics that often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination (Damoila, 2010).

In many societies, women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions. They have been depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent. This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to pursue their political rights as an active participant. For a woman to enter politics, such patriarchal attitudes make it even harder. The truth is that such attitudes are not a thing of the past. Such attitudes towards women still exist in societies all over the world today – in both developed and developing countries (Awath, 2014). In Ethiopian societies, men and women have clearly defined roles that are dictated by the dominant ideology which is patriarchy. Most of the time men are taken as breadwinners; head of the household who has the authority to represent the family outside of the home. Since house work is solely the responsibility of women, a man never cooks even if he has no choice but cook to satisfy his hunger pang. It is a shame for a man to step into a kitchen let alone cook.

Absence Quotas System

In many countries, a fast-track measure to improve the number of women elected to parliaments has been the adoption of electoral gender quotas – namely reserved seats or candidate quotas (UNDP, 2011). The Quota Project which is a joint initiative of International IDEA, the IPU, and the Stockholm University has classified three kinds of electoral quotas: reserved seats, legislated candidate quotas, and voluntary candidate quotas (International Art, 2012).

Quotas are a form of affirmative action or equal opportunity measure designed to address the slow pace of change in the participation of women and minority groups in areas of society where they are historically under-represented, including employment, education and in political

institutions. Quotas generally involve setting a certain number or percentage of places to be occupied by the under-represented groups.

The UN Economic and Social Council Resolution was the first to set a global target of 30 percent women in positions of political leadership. And the Beijing Platform also advocated the same percentage of women participation in politics and leadership position. Quota introduced in electoral system worldwide, particularly in most European countries quota system is introduced which takes a share of 25 - 50% (Asidu et al., 2016). However, when we see worldwide only one third of the countries apply quota system and the ratio also varies from 10% to 50% which as stated earlier the majority share was taken by European countries particularly Belgium and France (UNDP, 2011). The record is very low when we consider the case in Africa, but more than 21% of the parliamentary seats are held by women. Here, it is important to bear in mind that only Namibia, Rwanda and Kenya have legislative quotas system (Shauna, 2013).

On the other hand, the 1995 FDRE Constitution under Article 34 clearly stipulates equal participation of men and women in politics and decision-making and strives to remedy the historical legacies of inequalities and discriminations which women have been faced through times by introducing affirmative action (FDRE, 1995). When we see such Ethiopian experience, there are no concrete steps taken to realize the women's political participation, particularly in taking parliamentary seats through election. In short, except some voluntary efforts to involve more women for political reasons by the political parties specifically by EPRDF, there is no legislative quota system either in electoral quota or reserved seats.

2.2.5 Factors in Women PMs Substantive Representation

According to ESPS (2008) argument, although all of those commitments that Ethiopian Government has undertaken for the recognition of the women equal right to participate in the

decision-making processes at all levels, women are still under-represented in parliaments of Ethiopia. Recently, there has been radical changes occurred in their number, but the gender parity is not yet achieved. These could be due to women's place in the family and society, women's social and economic status, political institutions and electoral systems in the country and women's double burden of work pressure unlike women in developed countries who are, in relative terms, economically empowered, and have a powerful voice that demands an audience and positive action. Eventually, women PMs in Ethiopian parliament are generally silent for their voice; or barely audible in their substantive representation because of the determinant factors like political, socio-economic, cultural, and institutional barriers (ESPS, 2008). Let us describe each factor separately.

2.2.6 Inhibiting Factors in Political Decision-making Process

Political Factors

Political barriers often reflect the existing political systems and environments are male-cantered. As Shvedova (2007) notes, political life is organized according to male norms and values and in some cases even male's lifestyles.

Matland (2005) discusses the Ethiopian political arena in that to what extent the Ethiopian electoral law has faced a challenge because of simply assigning the top leadership through the political party system and by simply notifying the list of candidates nominated by the political party, who fulfil the criteria provided in the Proclamation No. 532/2007 under Article 46(1) and (2) (FDRE, 2007). However, the law has failed to provide mandatory rules forcing the political parties to draw special attention toward women and adopt quota system for them, in selecting their candidates. Therefore, the candidate selection system that they apply may vary and the way they may treat women in this regard depends on their will. Alternatively, in any nominating system an important consideration for a party is to present candidates that the party believes will maximize its vote.

Specially, in the majoritarian systems, which Ethiopia has adopted, in which parties have to nominate only one candidate for a district; parties tend to find those candidates who have a realistic chance of winning more votes than any other candidate. But in most cases, party leaders feel that their top candidates are men (Matland, 2005). Having a patriarchal society which barely believes in women's potential, it is difficult to expect the Ethiopian political parties to give the chance that women deserve; without any legal obligation to do so.

Nevertheless, the experts agreed that electoral systems had a direct impact on women's participation in decision-making bodies. Research consistently shows that women's representation is highest in countries using proportional representation (PR) systems. PR systems lead parties to balance their electoral tickets which often results in women's demands for greater equality in decision-making being heard. Most majoritarian systems allow for the nomination of only one candidate per district, and parties overwhelmingly in this situation choose a male candidate. There are many other aspects of electoral system design that can affect women's representation and should be carefully considered, such as electoral thresholds (the minimum percent of the vote required to obtain a seat in parliament), district magnitude (number of seats divided by the number of districts), and open versus closed lists in PR systems (i.e., the ability of voters to influence the election of candidates within a party list).

Socio-economic Factors

Socio-economic conditions play a significant role in the recruitment of women to legislatures in both long-standing and new democracies. The social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies (Shvedova, 2007). Women most often have a lower socioeconomic status than men, and thus their occupational backgrounds for political careers as those of men. Women are scarcely present in professional, administrative, and managerial jobs. Considering that the professional and occupational status of women has a significant impact on recruitment pools for elected office, women's lower socioeconomic, educational, and occupational position consequently inhibits their political participation, and representation (Iwanaga, 2008).

Many African women usually lack the economic power necessary to fully participate in decision making. Ballington and Matland (2004) therefore suggest that women often lack the financial resources needed to fully participate in leadership and decision-making. Goetz and Hassim (2003) similarly note that circumstances of capitalist market relationships in poor countries have left women with little time and few resources for political participation.

Personal Competency

Political knowledge and experience have significant role on the participation of women in the political process. On the other hand, limited political knowledge and experience negatively affect women's involvement the political decision-making process of government bodies (McCann, 2013).

Political experience of women helps women to run and win election campaigns for holding political leadership positions. It creates high level of confidence and esteem to participate in the political decision- making process of the given political system. But, in case of Ethiopian parliament, most of women members lack political knowledge and experience compared to that of their counter parts those who have access to develop political knowledge and experience. It confronts women while they aspire to participate and involving in the decision- making process of the government bodies of Ethiopia. Even, those women who are elected for political decision-making positions lack political knowledge and skill that limits them to influence male dominated executive and legislative political decision-making positions (Wubante, 2018).

In general, decision-making ability and being influential is a matter of experience and exposure; it is enriched through a continuous dialogue and idea sharing. It is further developed through engagement of different forums and social gatherings. But because of women's preoccupation of managing the household and caring of children, they lost the chance to upgrade and familiarize

themselves with the political culture and intricacies of the decision making modalities of the parliament.

Institutional Barriers

Ethiopian politics experiences party politics which is the major barrier which confronts women's and other people's participation in the political leadership process. Ethiopian politics totally related with political party (i.e., EPRDF) instead of the interest of the Ethiopian people and other opposition parties. This forced women not to be active participant in the political leadership of the country for several years of its governance. At every level and every sector of the country including the higher education institutions, there is party politics that makes the people to be negligent and dissatisfied with Ethiopian politics perpetuated by the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF, 2008).

In the Ethiopian political system, there is politics of dictation or top-down approach of politics which affects women's and other citizens' participation in the political leadership process of the country. The top political leaders (the gate keepers) tries to make policy and other programmes then dictate the rest including women political leaders. This dictation process simply conducted for informing women and other member of the community rather than getting some valuable ideas and perspectives. This is the trouble which affects women's active involvement and effectiveness in the decision- making process of the government bodies of the country (Wubante, 2018). Consequently, these factors could be influential and/or favourable ones depending on the existing conditions in the country.

2.2.7 Women Capacity Building Opportunities

In order to improve different aspects of the women, countries in the world have devised and implemented capacity building interventions in one form or another. In India, for example, there are opportunities for building women's capacity. Government of India (2016) has developed a comprehensive women's capacity building approach to develop and empower them in different

aspects of their social lives. The capacity building opportunities include: understanding gender, women's status in society, women and development, women and men in development, gender issues in development, gender development, women's empowerment, gender equality and equality, gender mainstreaming, gender statistics, gender budgeting, auditing, and accounting, and gender analysis framework.

2.2.8 Challenges encountered in Political Participation

When there is a practice of political inclusion in a society, women may get involved in politics. Women's political participation may be challenged owing to a number of factors which have emanated from different sources. These can be systemic in their nature or emanate from political system, culture-bound, religious, etc. Similarly, pervasive structural factors, cultural attitudes based on patriarchal models, gender stereotypes, traditional roles of women and men, deficiencies in women's political and economic empowerment, as well as dramatic violence against women and girls have challenged their participation in political arena (International Art, 2012). The existing power structures and relations are other challenges encountered women while they are trying to get political inclusion and participate in political decision-making process (Esiedu et al., 2016). Generally, there are century-old multi-dimensional challenges which have been encountered on the part of women in their political participation at different levels in developing countries, including Ethiopia.

2.3 Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical approaches to women's empowerment on political decision-making have evolved in assuming that, women's political participation is one of the fundamental human rights, as if it were to as an international legal framework --- in which women's right to political participation includes women's right to fulfil the access and participation in political and public life (including participation in the effective exercise of political power and in the process of decision-making in all areas of public and political life) on equal terms with men and without any discrimination (UN Women, 2017).

2.3.1 Theories on Women's Interests in the Parliament

It is assumed that women have certain interests in common as a main thread in studies on women in parliaments. Accordingly, scholars divide women representation in the parliament in to two based on a rationale. These underlying principles are descriptive and substantive representation of women (Awotash, 2010; Shimelis, 2015; UNICEF, 2012).

Descriptive Representation

The term “descriptive representation” denotes representation on the basis of common characteristics and shared experiences (e.g., representing someone based on gender or class can be categorized as descriptive representation of women (Shimelis, 2015). This is a widely acceptable share of seats in parliament as an indicator of political inclusion in society for a category such as women (Wangnerud, 2009). But the theoretical reasoning behind the assumption of such representation is not well-documented in research focusing on it.

Substantive Representation

It deals with gender equality, women's interests, and rationale behind women representation in the parliament. A core idea in this strand of study is that there are certain women's experiences-inspired interests and concerns. However, these have not yet been adequately addressed in a men-dominated politics. Phillips (2007) asserts researchers have also introduced an aspect of politicization on substantive representation of women in their study undertakings. Usually, it is argued that societies will not achieve equality between women and men by simply disregarding gender-related differences.

2.3.2 Critical Mass and Feminist Theories

Critical Mass Theory

This Theory refers loosely to any formal theory about how interdependent decisions accumulate into a collective action or more narrowly to work in the tradition. Marwell and Oliver (1993) view the term “critical mass” as originated in nuclear physics, as the smallest amount of fissile material needed to sustain a nuclear chain reaction. As analogy or metaphor, the term has diffused into popular culture and social science movement. It is thus widely used to refer to any context in which things change after a certain number of people have got together or entered into the setting. This approach pursues the related question of whether (if elected) women would make a difference in legislative life and political leadership, or would they offer *substantive* representation if they hold the legislative position?

However, the core assumption behind Critical Mass Theory is that women politicians would have a substantive effect on political decision-making process is to be found within debates about the “politics of presence” (Phillips, 1995). In these debates, the messengers, as well as the message were seen as important (Catt, 2003). Additionally, women politicians are seen to be not only “standing as women” but also “acting for” women as a group once elected (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Pitkin 1967). This assertion is based not on a belief in an essential link between sex and representation, but on the way to which women experience the world and how this affects their actions if elected as political representatives.

Feminist Theory

The feminist movement aims to bring a substantially more paralleled viewpoint for genders in the world from varying backgrounds. Hence, women's liberation bolsters that no decision be it social, political or moral ought to be made on the ground of the sexual orientation of those included (Allen, 2017). Moreover, the ideas supported by feminism are based on recognizing the women as part of the overall social and political structure with efforts made to develop the liberal philosophy.

Moalin (2018) contends, in feminists' perspective, political participation matters a lot to women, not just because of the political gain of successful protest, collective interests' mobilization, advocacy or engagement in policy processes, but also because it offers women a form of political apprenticeship that enables them to recognize and articulate interests, build alliances, and learn the modes of cooperation and consensus building to advance common projects. What is more in the light of the feminists' thought is the women's inclusion in politics and the increased number of their occupancy in political offices lead to better, fairer, and more responsive government. Thus, Mlambo & Kapingura (2019) asserts that movement of Feminist Theory is expected to have constructive impacts on the political participation of both women and men.

The Feminist Theory claims that women would achieve solidarity of purpose for their interests and welfare if represented in political decision-making processes (Fraser, 1990; Oliver & Marwell, 1988). At the policy level, feminist theorists are used to advance a theory of congress women's impact on women's issues, assumes that women are a homogenous group who need to be represented in discussions that result in policy-making and implementation, as their experiences are unique and different from those of men (Swers, 2002; Young, 1989). This implies that women conduct politics differently from men. Furthermore, feminist theorists also claim that women's interests differ from men's (Pateman, 2005). Therefore, they should be represented in institutions to articulate their interests. Apparently, feminist theorists affirm that when female role models are represented in high level public offices; they enhance women's involvement and engagement in politics thereby resulting in democratization of governance at a national and international level (Campbell & Wolbrecht, 2006).

Furthermore, the theoretical assumption that women have certain interests in common is a main thread in studies on women in parliaments. However, in research focusing on descriptive representation, the theoretical reasoning behind this assumption is not well-elaborated. In order to analyze numeric differences between countries, or numeric changes over time; far-reaching definitions of women's interests are not necessary. It is widely acceptable to use the share of seats in parliament as an indicator of political inclusion in society for a category such as women. In

this strand of research, the theoretical focus is instead directed toward developing explanations for variations. On the other hand, in studies focusing on substantive representation, it is, however, necessary to specify concepts such as “women’s interests” and “gender equality.” A core idea in this strand of research is that there are certain interests and concerns that arise from women’s experiences and that these would be inadequately addressed in a politics that is dominated by men. But the concept of women’s interests is contested.

Hence, linkages between women’s empowerment and political decision- making process over the theoretical framework assumptions were adopted in undertaking a study on political participation - “politics of presence” (Phillips, 1995). Consequently, key concepts for this theory have arisen from the theoretical and empirical insights developed by framing power into the three dimensions (i.e., *power to, power over, and power within*) (O’ Neil et al., 2015). Rowlands (1998), and Charmes and Wieringa (2003) have also distinguished between different *modes of power*. But Lukes (1974) has linked it to the three dimensions of power to reflect on the women’s empowerment (particularly, theoretical underpinning of empowerment is being linked to Lukes’ three-dimensional’ view of power) gives insights to what extent studies have framed, and indices are engaged within the structural forms of power. Apart from this, the theoretical assumption about the effects of women’s empowerment on political decision-making process are fundamentally framed within the fundamental research question about the human rights and on gender equality and equity perspectives in this study.

Finally, the empirical evidence in this study will be considered in the light of the assumptions of those above-sated relevant theories. However, this study does not intend to test those theories.

2.4 Empirical Literature

2.4.1 Global Overview

Asiedu et al. (2016) indicated that there were positive correlations between political representations of women in the national parliaments and adoption of gender-sensitive laws (e.g., legal quotas to promote women's political participation at national and sub-national levels; women given equal parental authority as men to be the legal guardian of and custody rights over a child after divorce; laws on domestic violence offering legal protection to women from domestic violence; laws on a rape offering women legal protection from rape; and laws on sexual harassment offering women legal protection from sexual harassment) in 111 developing countries outside of Africa. Thus, it is possible to argue that those developing countries with a higher share of women in the national parliament are more likely to pass and implement those gender-sensitive laws.

Next, let us see the issues further and consider women's empowerment. Here it worth raising related to whether or not women's empowerment contributes to their increased political participation in the parliaments elsewhere in the globe.

Empowerment can take place in different dimensions of life, including **psychological** (i.e., the belief that one can effect change in the external world), **political** (i.e., the ability to influence rules about who gets what, when, and how), **social** (i.e., the ability to control one's own social interactions within the household and community, reproduction, health, and education) and **economic** (i.e., the ability to make and act on decisions about participation in labour markets, the sharing of unpaid work, and the use or allocation of assets). Empowerment is therefore a multi-dimensional concept. Empowerment in one area of a woman's life does not necessarily mean that she will be empowered in others.

Data used in the current study were extracted from the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) conducted in Rwanda in 2010 by the country's National Institute of Statistics (NISR, 2013). The

purpose of this survey was whether or not variables on sources of empowerment (e.g., education, employment for cash, regular media exposure, and wealth) have significant positive relationships with women's empowerment. Some variables of 'setting' (e.g., age of the respondent and children ever born) are positively related to women's empowerment while other variables such as residence and the age at first marriage are negatively associated with women's empowerment. Musonera & Heshmati (2016) confirmed that women's empowerment could be achieved through providing them with education, media exposure, labour force participation, and shifting negative traditional cultural norms (such as giving respect to women with more children).

On the other hand, let us describe one type of women's empowerment in the light of the issues under investigation in this study. Political empowerment of women starts with understanding the political and economic context in which they operate and rigorous gender analysis and it requires a comprehensive approach to programming that looks beyond the legislature (Hughes, Ashman, & Pournik, 2016).

Regarding political representation and participation of women; some studies also show that women's participation in local politics or associational life can improve their status within communities, particularly when they are seen to deliver concrete group benefits, and that women's access to employment outside the home can shift social norms that restrict women's mobility and participation in public life. Study on women's voice and leadership rarely presents data on changes in socio-economic outcomes for women and girls, or attempts to attribute these to women having more influence over decision-making. Overall, and whether or not in politics, business or associational life, the symbolic and substantive effects of women holding power, and causal pathways for these, is an under-explored area (DiLanzo, 2017). However, there were recurrent themes about the factors that had enabled women and gender advocates to develop voice, influence and leadership capacities across the political, economic and social spheres – and in the factors that signal active modes of resistance. Political processes and institutions were found to be keys to women's access to decision-making (DiLanzo, 2017).

Globally, Ocran (2014) strongly argues that women's political participation lags behind that of men. Even though the right to vote and stand for elections began as of the nineteenth century, the political participation of women throughout the world still lacks behind as compared to that of their male counterparts.

Some researchers explored women's political representation in a comparative perspective in Georgia (ex-Russia) in 2006. One of these researchers has investigated the impact that structures, institutions, and actors have for female representation in politics on both national and local levels, and explained variation of female representation in time and space using quantitative and qualitative data. Finally, Wide (2006) argued that women's political representation was a result of the interplay between structures, actors, and institutions. Accordingly, the same author, based on empirical findings on spatial variation of female representation on the national level, concludes that institutions are the most important factors for women's political representation before the downfall of communism in Georgia.

Hughes et al. (2016) examined the various practices implemented by international organizations to empower women in political participation in Lithuania and Nigeria using both qualitative and quantitative data. Their findings indicate that although these organizations had employed numerous practices in this endeavour, the two countries examined continuously to address the issue of women's empowerment politically, economically, socially and then expressed their further concerns about the persistence of gender equality and women's political under-representation persists.

In addition to women's political empowerment, let us review empirical literature on socio-economic empowerment of women. Domingo et al. (2015) conclude that voice, decision-making and leadership are understood as elements of women's empowerment. They encapsulate women having the power to express their preferences, demands, views and interests, to gain access to positions of decision-making that affect public or private power and resource allocation, and to exercise influence in leadership positions. Women's voice, leadership, and decision-making

power may be present at the household, community and national level (i.e., be it individual or collective). These authors have further argued that social structures and norms, political regime types, characteristics of state, civil societies, markets, and international relations which are the broader contextual conditions that inform the women's political participation, social activism, and economic empowerment.

It is furthermore possible to empower women socio-economically through microfinance intervention as community development project which could play a vital role to improve their living standards thereby increasing the women's household income level and enhancing their decision-making capacity in the suburbs of Islamabad in Pakistan (Bhatti, 2012). In conclusion, under enabling conditions; women's political participation, social activism, and/or economic empowerment can progressively shift social norms towards their active political participation and decision-making in the parliaments at large. Around the world, women now have more influence over the decisions that affect their lives. In more conservative societies, the feminists and gender advocates have been able to forward more equitable policies and outcomes. Based on essence of decision-making power as the ability to influence decisions that affect one's life (both private and public), the women's political power in the parliaments in the world differs between regions and countries, and within countries; between sectors and socio-economic groups due to institutions, structures, and capabilities (O' Neil & Domingo, 2015).

Concerning influencing factors on women's political participation, parliament, and/or decision-making process in political arena; O' Neil and Domingo (2015) showed that institutions, structures, and capabilities in the world were found to be the three constraining factors for women's decision-making powers and leadership. Additionally, persisting unequal opportunities and conditions for political participation and representation between men and women worldwide; women being remained under-represented in the structures of governance that could determine their political and legislative priorities; unequal pay; the lack of a social safety-net; and access to childcare; a lack of provisions regarding decent work and empowerment of migrant; indigenous and rural women; a lack of opportunities for women with disabilities; and the gap between norms setting at the regional level and implementation and enforcement at the national and local levels

in the world were identified as influencing factors on women's political participation and decision-making process (Chaban et al., 2017).

Similarly, Blomgren (2010) examined the hindrances for women to participate in politics in order to understand the contemporary situation in Georgia and thus argued that major obstacles for women to participate in politics were public opinion, the electoral system, the nomination process in political parties in Georgia, influential individuals (i.e., the so called policy entrepreneurs).

There are multiple factors that have prevented women from taking their place within the political arena and playing their required roles in different aspect of social life (including legal, political, and cultural constraints). Due to existing restrictive laws, cultural practices, institutional barriers, and disproportionate access to quality education, healthcare, and resources; women were generally marginalized continuously from the political sphere worldwide against their democratic rights (DiLanzo, 2017).

Concomitantly, there are some more inhibiting factors on the women's political participation. Shvedova (2007), for instance, investigated the hindrances for women to participate in parliaments. This author identified and divided these hindering factors into three main categories. These were: political factors (e.g., the masculine model of politics, lack of party support, cooperation with women's organizations, and electoral system); ideological and psychological factors (like traditional roles, lack of confidence, the perception of politics as "dirty" and the role of mass-media; and socio-economic obstacles (such as feminization of poverty and unemployment, and the dual burden, and education and training).

In contrast those influencing and inhibiting factors, there are some evidence on women's capacity building opportunities. Kabeer (2018), for example, identified women's economic capacity building opportunities which could pave the way for political participation thereby

serving as pre-requisite for their empowerment at large. These opportunities were promoting economic capabilities among older women and working-age women in India.

International Organizations like UN and USAID were also found to respond to the issues of empowerment of women's political participation. These international organizations thus provided various capacity building opportunities for the women like they got opportunities to receive trainings on political issues in Lithuania and Nigeria (Hughes et al., 2016).

Finally, it is worthwhile considering challenges encountered on the part of women in this section of the thesis. For instance, Allen (2017) identified individual, structural, and systemic challenges for influencing women's participation in local government in different cities of Canada. These include:

- **individual level challenges** (i.e., over-representation of women in low pay employments, bearing the continuation of a disproportionate responsibility for the majority of home- and child-based labour, persistence of gender-based pay gaps, perpetuation of gender-based division of labour, and time, lack of onsite childcare options, remaining under-represented in professions traditionally considered appropriate for political candidates, prevention from promotion, in all career stages, intangible claim and political commitment for gender inclusion in politics and diversity as strategic priority, not tend to have the same types of social capital as men, extreme financial shortage to finance a political campaign, negative perceptions of female politicians, lack of self-confidence for running for elected office, lack of political literacy, patriarchal expectations regarding gender roles and behaviour, not encouraged to be interested in politics, and to pursue political careers);
- **structural challenges** (e.g., presence and absence of political parties at local level, lack of political party support, and influence of electoral systems on women's representation); and
- **Systemic challenges** (e.g., persistence of patriarchal cultural perceptions of women as subordinate non-political actors in society, role of mainstream media and popular culture, perpetuation of common gender stereotypes about women and female leaders, the media significant influence on public perceptions of candidates, legal status and ethnicity,

masculinist political culture, lack of proactive action in recruiting and supporting women by political parties, and preconceived bias towards female leaders and barriers to advancement for women in the workplace, and scholars' and activists' identification of women as they have lack of political will and commitment to make the systemic changes required to encourage and support women's participation in governance).

In what follows, let present empirical studies in African countries and Ethiopian cases in subsequent sub-sections.

2.4.2 African Countries

Hughes et al. (2016) examined the various practices implemented by international organizations to empower women in political participation in Nigeria using both qualitative and quantitative data. Their findings indicate that although UN and USAID had employed numerous practices in this endeavour, Nigeria examined continuously address the issue of women's empowerment politically, economically and socially. However, those international organizations still expressed their further concerns about the persistence of gender equality and women's political under-representation in the country.

In Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Rwanda; the new quota system had impact on the political representation of women. Three of these countries have adopted the quotas to promote the women's representation and they now have the largest number of women in their parliaments. Accordingly, Burundi was found to stand the eight; Uganda stood sixth; and Rwanda stood the first and became the prime example in this regard. The already introduced quota system in African countries' parliaments allowed for a significant increase of female representation in political institutions at both the national and local levels in Burundi, Rwanda, northern Uganda, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). nevertheless, the introduction of quota and the increased presence of women in governing bodies due to their political affiliation

and participation did not necessarily lead to the participation in political decision-making in Burundi” (International Art, 2012).

The findings of a study conducted in 43 Sub-Saharan African countries revealed that there were positive relationships between political representations of women in the national parliaments and adoption of gender-sensitive laws (such as legal quotas to promote women’s political participation at national and sub-national levels; women given equal parental authority as men to be the legal guardian of and custody rights over a child after divorce; laws on domestic violence offering legal protection to women from domestic violence; laws on a rape offering women legal protection from rape; and laws on sexual harassment offering women legal protection from sexual harassment) (Asiedu et al., 2016). Consequently, it can be deduced that those Sub-Saharan African countries with a higher share of women in their national parliaments are more likely to pass and implement those gender-sensitive laws.

In the same framework, let us use another window and see the case in specific African countries. Other empirical studies undertaken in forty-eight African countries, for example, documented the same results on the relationships between the political representations of women in the national parliaments and the adoption and implementation of gender-sensitive laws (Asiedu et al., 2016). Generally, developing countries with a higher share of their national parliaments are more likely to adopt and implement those gender-sensitive laws than those with a lower share in their national parliaments.

Unlike the above-stated cases, in the Horn of Africa, Moalin (2018) assessed and determined the level of opportunities women’s political participation and decision making under the light of the Somalia political landscape in 2017. Thus, this study found out that women in Somalia had no consideration in politics, leadership, and decision making in the existing political landscape of the country.

As to influencing factors on women's political participation in African context, different scholars have come up with their results. Poverty and lack of economic security are major barriers to women's political participation. Thus, against the women's economic advances in northern Uganda as one of the Great Lakes Region in Africa, the women have not got a chance to hold a more prominent position in political decision-making.

Based on the pooled empirical findings of studies conducted on 14 SADC countries over the period 2010–2017, Mlambo & Kapingura (2019) indicated that labour participation, functioning of government, political culture, and overall political participation had positive relationships with women political participation. Contrarily, results in the same studies reveal that civil liberties, human development index, electoral process, and pluralism had negative relationships with women's political participation. The study recommended that governments, the SADC region, engage political players, especially political parties, to ensure that they actively involve and appoint more women in their political structures.

Mlambo & Kapingura (2019), on the other hand, identified labour participation, functioning of government, political culture, and overall political participation had positive relationships with women's political participation in the SADC region of South Africa. Conversely, civil liberties, human development index, electoral process, and legal pluralism had negative relationships with the women's political participation in that region of South Africa.

Hughes et al. (2016) documented those factors affecting women participation in political activities in Kenya. There are various barriers to women political participation that need to be properly examined and eliminated. For instance, a study on the women political participation in electoral politics in Africa indicated that the traditional perceptions of Kenyan women as inferior to men still prevailed as many people had upheld cultural practices which promoted the subordination of women. These influencing factors were education, cultural factor, psychological factor, poverty, the time factor, motherhood, lack of role models, lack of suitable education, and availability in the corporation.

2.4.3 Ethiopian Cases

In Ethiopia, there are several laws and policies to promote gender equality. Particularly, Article 35 of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution clearly stipulates rights of women. The Ethiopian Government has also mainstreamed gender as a cross-cutting issue in all of its development policies and strategies to address gender inequality (FDRE, 1995). Shimelis (2015) states that the Ethiopian Policy on Women envisages speeding up of equality between men and women so that women can participate in political, social, and economic aspects of their country on equal terms with men, ensuring that their rights to own property and other human rights are respected and performing public functions and being decision-makers.

The finding of the study shows that different casual factors (such as economic, religious, social, and cultural factors) contributed to the women's poor political participation in Ethiopia. The study further revealed that political participation had allowed the women to address their basic problems and needs in their community and to ensure the openness, real fight against rent-seeking, accountability, political commitment, political leadership, and political responsiveness of the existing national, regional, districts, and local levels. Consequently, Ethiopian women therefore lack access to political decision-making as compared to their counter-parts at all levels of the Ethiopian Government System (Shimelis, 2015).

Next, let us present and describe schematic representation of conceptual framework of this study.

2.5. Conceptual Framework of the Study

Phillips (1995) first coined the concept of “politics of presence” through the impact of women's political participation and representation perspective. Likewise, UNDP (2005) have discussed the key issues arising from theoretical and empirical insights on which scholars have figured-out the concepts over effects of women's empowerment on the political decision-making process. The UNDP's insights encompass the following “four” inter-related concepts: (1) political participation, (2) political representation, (3) political leadership, and (4) political accountability.

Examination of methods and conditions for enhancing women's presence in elected office has been argued as, it is not enough. The experts emphasized that it is necessary to go "beyond numbers" and assess to what degree and under what conditions elected women actually do represent women and contribute to democracy and gender equality. In other words, they raised a research question, which quest for, how are women making a difference in the national parliament? In this regard, they set conditions that enable women to be effective in decision-making processes.

The experts identified three important conditions that contribute to the ability of women to effectively promote gender equality, including through gender mainstreaming efforts: the presence of individual women, and in some cases men, who as "critical actors," play key roles in the political process; the way in which certain political processes and institutions enhance women's political influence – "critical structures, "the unfolding of certain periods or moments when forces combine to provide unprecedented opportunities for women to have influence in the policy-making process – "critical junctures." This concept was supported by (Iversen,) in that women are powerful agents of change, and their participation at all decision-making levels is a prerequisite for politics and programs that reflects societies and are effective, sustainable and inclusive. The basic concept undertaken in this study is "politics of presence" (Phillips, 1995). The same author states that women have distinct interests in relation to child-bearing (for any foreseeable future, an exclusively female affair); and as society is currently constituted they also have particular interests arising from their exposure to sexual harassment and violence, their unequal position in the division of paid and unpaid labour, and their exclusion from most arenas.

In connection to this, the relationships between the political representation of women in national parliaments and the gender sensitive laws have been analyzed in line with its challenging factors (i.e. , political, socio-economic, institutional, etc.) with specifically emphasis on five areas gender sensitive laws to be analyzed are: (1) Ethiopian Family Law; (2) Labour Law; (3) Criminal Law; (4) Ethiopian Overseas Employment; and (5) Law on Civil Servant Employment. These laws are scaled on the basis of the priority and sense of urgency on which women in parliament debated during agenda setting for their policy outcomes.

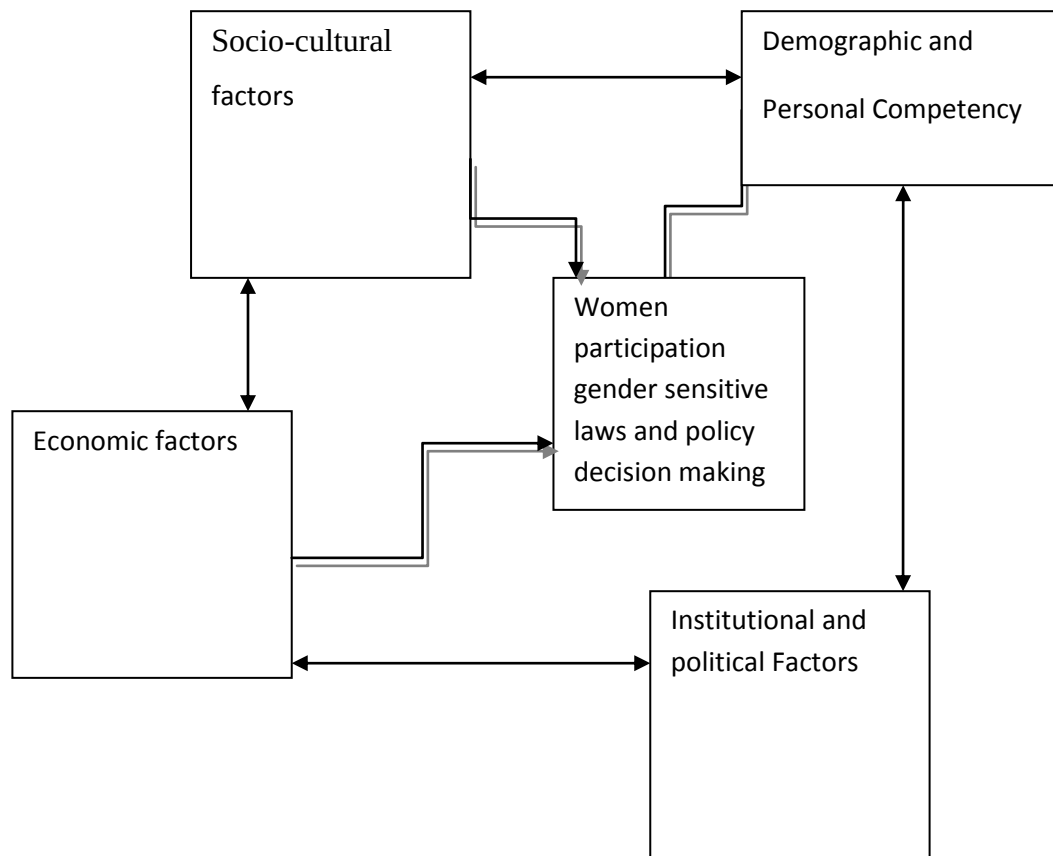


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Source: **Adopted and tailored by the author, March 2020**

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes data analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the results of the study in the light of empirical findings of other similar studies conducted elsewhere in the world. Specifically, it dwells on research design and methods, target population and sampling techniques employed to select and draw representative sample of respondents for the quantitative aspect and informants for the qualitative aspect of this study, data types and collection methods, data collection instruments and procedures, reliability and validity of the instruments, data analysis methods, and ethical considerations. In so doing, the researcher then answered those research questions and addressed the objectives of this study.

3.2. Research Design

As a blueprint of this study, explanatory mixed methods research design was employed to examine the extent of women's empowerment to influence on political decision-making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia. Mixed methods research promotes an understanding of chosen phenomena under investigation in a manner that would not be possible using a single research design (Creswell, 2019). When the researcher plans a mixed methods research design, four main aspects of this design must be taken into consideration – time distribution, weight attribution, combination, and theorization. Regarding time distribution, it must be determined if quantitative and qualitative data will be collected in stages (i.e, sequentially) or simultaneously (concurrently). Weight attribution also refers to the definition of priority given to the quantitative or the qualitative research of the study. The concept of combination further relates to the manner by which data are mixed, meaning to establish whether or not the quantitative and the qualitative data are indeed fused, or if these data will be somehow combined. Finally, a theoretical perspective guiding the execution of mixed methods research is also considered.

Specifically, the researcher used concurrent triangulation mixed methods research design (i.e., QUANT [QUAL] → QUAL [QUANT]) in which both quantitative and qualitative data are collected concurrently and later compared with the aim of determining convergence, differences, and combinations. Generally, in using mixed methods research design, Creswell and Panoclarck (2007) suggest that such design is employed for those inquiries that combine or associate both quantitative and qualitative research approaches. Hence, it is believed that mixed methods research is not simply only collecting and analyzing the two types of data, but it is also used to integrate the use of both research approaches in tandem. Accordingly, the overall strength of the mixed methods research is assumed to be stronger than simply using either quantitative or qualitative research approach. In the end, all these justifications would guide the selection and use of appropriate research methods in this empirical study.

3.3. Research Methods

In this study, quantitative and qualitative research methods were used. These methods are the two available options of research approaches. They differ not only in the nature of the data sought and the subsequent methods of data analysis, but also in their philosophical rationale, as well as theoretical perspective (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Qualitative research method is an inquiry approach useful for exploring and understanding a central phenomenon under investigation (Yin, 2014). To learn about this phenomenon, the researcher asked the study participants broad, general qualitative questions on issues of women's empowerment and its extent of influence on decision-making process in the HoPRs, collected the detailed views of the informants or participants in the form of words, phrases, or text; identified issues and then categories of issues from their reflections; and also analyzed the pieces of information generated in line with the general and specific objectives of the study for identifying relevant themes for answering those research questions. Based on these thematic qualitative data, the researcher interpreted the meaning of the information, drew on personal reflections and discussions in the light of past research undertaken elsewhere in the world (Creswell, 2015).

3.4. Target Population and Sampling Techniques

3.4.1 Target Population

The target population of this study is composed of all members of the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives in Addis Ababa since 2015/16. Its size of the population was a total of 547 PMs in 2019/20. These Parliamentarians were identified based on the available records of them in the House Peoples' Representatives at the national level. In order to access women Parliamentarians, the researcher produced a signed official letter of introduction from the Department of Public Administration and Development Management of the College of Business and Economics. In an effort at accessing the women Parliamentarians, the researcher employed a multi-stage which involved stratified, clustered, and proportional to size simple random sampling techniques. Here, Babbie (2014) recommends that selecting a random sample, in which each individual in the target population has an equal probability of being selected in a probabilistic sample. With such a randomization procedure, an adequate and a representative sample from a population provide the ability to generalize to a population. The multi-stage sampling technique necessitated four stages in the process of scientifically access, identify, and select the required sample for this study.

In the first stage, the House of Peoples' Representatives that were composed of a total of 547 Parliamentarians were stratified by gender resulting 212 women and 335 men members. In the second stage, these women Parliamentarians were further clustered by their regional states from which they had been elected as the respective Peoples' Representatives. At the third stage, the size of each stratum or regional state's Peoples' Representatives were determined and identified. Finally, a computed sample size of women Parliamentarians from each regional state was randomly selected as sample respondents for quantitative aspect of this study.

For the qualitative aspect of the study, the researcher also used purposive sampling techniques of non-probability sampling technique in order to access, identify, and then select fifteen sample informants. All these were possible with the help of knowledgeable guides from the House of Peoples' Representatives, Standing Committees, and the women's caucus members.

3.4.2 Sample Size

The sample size was determined by applying the formula adopted from krejcie and Morgan's (1\

Formula

$$MOE = Z \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}$$

MOE = critical value x standard error

Z → critical value

$\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}$ → standard error

σ → standard deviation

n → sample size

MOE → margin of error



= Confidence of Probability boundary

N.B. A 95% confidence interval = **1.96**

- Size of target population = 212 women Parliamentarians in the HoPRs
- Margin of Error = **0.05**

$$n(\text{sample size}) = \frac{(Z_{\alpha/2})^2 * s^2}{E^2} = \frac{(1.960)^2 * (212)^2}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \underline{\underline{138.562}}$$

Thus, the sample size of the population is = **138.56= 139**

Out of the total of 212 women Parliamentarians, 139 of them were used as representative sample size of the study. To counter check the accuracy of the sample size computed, the researcher furthermore used RAOSOFT online sample size calculator software and got the sample size of **139**. This required sample size determined based on at 95% confidence level and with 5% margin of error. By comparing the two results, the researcher finally chose to use the sample size generated by Krejcie and Morgan's formula developed in 1982. Generally, it is believed that those size of sample respondents would be eligible about the entire women House of Peoples' Representations for this cross-sectional exploratory and explanatory study in order to capture the basic issues under investigation using appropriate and standard data collection instrument, and then to collect relevant quantitative data from those women PMs as argued by Derrheim and Painter (2006).

3.5. Data Types, Sources and Collection Methods

In this mixed methods research design, two types of data – primary data and secondary data were collected from respective sources. In order to collect primary quantitative data from those sample respondents in the HoPRs, the researcher used a cross-sectional sample survey of quantitative research method. In this case, a total of 139 structurally designed and administered questionnaires were used. Likewise, in order to generate primary qualitative data from sample informants, the researcher employed semi-structured interviews with them at convenient venues in different parts of Addis Ababa. In addition, the secondary data were generated from relevant potential published and unpublished documents (e.g., FDRE Constitution, legislations, decisions, proclamations, laws, reports, archives, minutes, constitutional law, women's caucus group materials, theses, dissertations, web-based files, etc.) through documentary analysis.

3.6. Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

Mixed methods research design usually uses various data collection instruments and procedures for collecting the two types of data from primary and secondary sources. The quantitative research method uses structured questionnaire while the qualitative research method employs interview guide in order to gather, analyze, and interpret the primary quantitative and qualitative

data, respectively. Similarly, the secondary data were generated from those secondary sources found elsewhere in the world using documentary template which consists of column and row. Those potential relevant secondary sources are listed under the column, whereas the issues under investigation are listed along the row of the template. These different ways of gathering information can generally complement one another and hence boost the validity and dependability of the data in the study.

Next, let us describe each research instrument and specific procedure separately in subsequent sub-sections.

3.6.1. Structured Questionnaire

Questionnaire is undoubtedly one of the research instruments to obtain primary data in any research endeavour. Conversely, the critical point is that when designing a questionnaire, the researcher should ensure that it has to be valid, reliable, and unambiguous (Zohrabi, 2013). In this study, the quantitative data were mainly collected through structured questionnaire. This research instrument had the following types of questions: closed-ended, open-ended, mixed, and Likert scale questions. Particularly, the Likert scaled items. The Likert- scale technique was used for a range of responses: ‘strongly disagree’, ‘disagree’, ‘neither agree nor disagree’, ‘Agree’, and ‘strongly Agree’ with numeric values ranging from 1 to 5 (Likert, 1932), respectively. The use of this particular scaling method ensured that the study illustrated the ability to examine the respondents’ attitude towards the issues under consideration and measure their responses in quantifiable ways. These questionnaire items were mainly developed based on the study objectives and research questions under investigation.

Procedurally, the researcher first designed the structured questionnaire; employed pre-testing of the structured questionnaire to get constructive comments and feedbacks from the advisor, and from those persons who are believed to be expertise in the area. After those comments and feedbacks had been incorporated in the questionnaire, the researcher conducted pilot study to test the usefulness of the instrument with those question items to generate the required data from

similar respondents and to examine all activities of the actual research process. Based on the feedbacks and pilot study results, the constructive ones were incorporated to develop the final version of the questionnaire for the study. The researcher distributed the final version of the questionnaire to those 139 sample of women Parliamentarians to collect the quantitative for the purpose of this study. Then, the filled in questionnaires were checked for their completeness and verified for the actual quantitative data analysis.

In addition, Key Informant Interview (KII), and the interview guide was developed based on the key study questions and after reviewing pertinent literature in the area. KII interviews were audio recorded not to miss the points and notes which had been taken, and it was designed to maintain internal validity of the research; and intended to investigate the overall political decision- making processes (e.g., since 1995) towards the effects of women empowering in political decision - making process in the HoPRs.

3.6.2. Interview Guide

To collect the appropriate primary qualitative data using interview guide, the researcher prepared each type of the instrument in April 2020. As this qualitative research undertaking involves a series of small, manageable steps; the researcher considered the actual process of these steps while planning to accomplish the data collection successfully. After completing reviews of relevant and recent literature on concepts, theories, and empirical studies found elsewhere in the world; the researcher identified relevant issues for this study that were prepared in the form of open-ended questions issues which required qualitative answers and/or justifications from available different documents and then incorporated them in the interview guide. In what follows, the interview guide was submitted to the advisor and also given to experienced researchers and officials in the issues under investigation for getting constructive comments and feedbacks. Consequently, the researcher collected the constructive comments and feedbacks and then incorporated them accordingly while preparing the draft instruments.

Next, these instruments were pre-tested by conducting pilot study to get final feedbacks and constructive comments from the advisor which would improve their reliability and validity through ensuring that potential problems were identified and eliminated. At this stage, in addition to the advisor; experienced colleagues and fellow researchers, experts in the issues under investigation, potential users of the data, and sample group of informants were involved. Finally, the required cross-sectional qualitative data were generated from those sample women PMs during the Fiscal Year of 2019/20 using the final version interview guide. Generally, the interviews were mostly conducted by taking notes. In this method, the researcher managed to write the important points during the actual interview process. The overall session of the semi-structured interviews with key informants, on average, elapsed 45 minutes.

3.6.3. Documentary Analysis Template

In order to collect secondary data from those secondary sources, the researcher used documentary analysis template as research instrument with the afore-mentioned format. Accordingly, based on those lessons learned from the pre-testing and pilot study, the template was employed in the actual secondary data collection in line with the research questions and the objectives of the study.

3.7. Reliability and Validity of Instruments

3.7.1 Reliability

Main requirements of any research process are the reliability and validity of the data and findings. Reliability mainly deals with the consistency, dependability, and replicability of the results obtained from a piece of research (Newman, 2016). Obtaining similar results in quantitative research is rather straightforward because the data are in numerical form. But in qualitative research approach to study achieving the identical results are fairly demanding and difficult. It is because the data are in narrative form and subjective. To this end, Creswell and Poth (2018) indicate that instead of obtaining the same results; it is better to think about the dependability and consistency of the data. Here, the purpose is not to attain the same results

rather to agree that based on the data collection processes; the findings and results are consistent and dependable (Yin, 2014). Lincoln and Guba (2015) propose that the dependability of the results can be ensured through the use of: the researcher's position, triangulation, and audit trial. Mohammad Zohrabi (2013) states:

- **The researcher's position:** To increase the reliability of the study, the researcher is required to explain explicitly the different processes and phases of the study. Therefore, the researcher should elaborate on every aspect of the study. Thus, the rationale of the study, research design, and the study participants should be described in detail.
- **Triangulation:** The researcher should use different procedures (such as questionnaire, interview goodie, and documentary analysis template) to collect quantitative and qualitative data. Also, these pieces of information need to be collected from different data sources (e.g., different groups of Parliamentarians). Therefore, collecting varied types of information through different sources could enhance the reliability of the data and the results. In this way the replication of the study can be carried out fairly easily.
- **Audit trial:** In order to fulfil this procedure, the researcher should describe in detail how the data were collected, how they were analyzed, how different themes were derived and how the results were obtained. Therefore, this detailed information would help replicate the study and contribute to its internal and external reliability.

On the whole, external reliability is concerned with the replication of the study. It is believed that the external reliability of the study may be increased if the researcher pays due attention to five important aspects of the study (Newman, 2016). These aspects include: the status of the researcher, the choice of respondents and informants, the social situations and conditions in which the study are undertaken, the analytic constructs and premises, and the data collection and analysis methods. All these procedures can therefore increase the reliability of the data and findings in this study.

3.7.2. Validity

In order to measure the validity of the questionnaire which is the degree to which a study actually measures what it assumes to measure in this study, appropriate validity measures were taken while questionnaire designing, and using statistical techniques such as Cronbach's alpha coefficient (Creswell, 2019). For checking the validity of Likert scale items designed in the questionnaire, pilot study was undertaken with fifteen similar respondents to these questions. To analyze these collected data, Cronbach's alpha coefficient was computed using SPSS version 25 software. The outputs indicated that its value was .728 for women's empowerment influence on decision-making, .937 for women PMs' influence in adopting gender-sensitive laws and policies, .735 for factors affecting women's political participation, .718 for inhibiting factors, .874 for women's capacity building opportunities, and .878 for challenges encountered on the part of women PMs. These scales were generally valid and used for actual data collection.

On the other hand, the researcher used the above-stated software and computed reliability of the scales through Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the actual data collection which showed the following: .837, .943, .861, .764, .761, and .887 for those above-stated variables considered in this study, respectively. Based on the accepted Cronbach's alpha coefficient value of .700 and above (Creswell, 2015), the structured questionnaire was found to be valid to measure the extent of influence of women's empowerment in the decision-making process in the HoPRs. Here, it is possible to deduce that the Likert scaled data were valid for the study purpose.

The principles underlying qualitative research approach are based on the fact that validity is a matter of trustworthiness, utility and dependability that the evaluator and the different stakeholders place into it. As Merriam (2008) states, reality is holistic, multi-dimensional, and ever-changing in qualitative research. Therefore, it is up to the researcher and the study participants who attempt to build validity into the different phases of the study from data collection through data analysis and interpretation. Most importantly, validity is concerned with whether one's study is believable and true and whether it is evaluating what it is supposed or purports to evaluate, or not. In this regard, Burns (2009) stresses that validity is an essential criterion for evaluating the quality and acceptability of the study.

Generally, the researcher may use different research instruments to collect data. Therefore, the quality of these instruments is very critical because the conclusions drawn by the researcher are based on the pieces of information which had been collected using these instruments. Thus, it is imperative that the data and the instruments to be validated. Generally speaking, the following miscellaneous procedures were used for validating the instruments and the data collected in this study – triangulation (i.e., the researcher had collected data through structured questionnaire, interview guide, and documentary analysis template. However, collecting data from a variety of sources and with a variety of techniques could confirm findings or results) and the researcher's bias. Here, the researcher tried to collect, analyze, and interpret data as impartially as possible. The researcher was explicit, critical, and faithful at different phases of the study process. Therefore, the researcher has tried to remain non-judgmental and was also clearing as much as possible throughout the study process. On the whole, the researcher has been sticking to the ethical rules and principles while conducting the overall study undertakings as accurately as possible and reporting the findings.

3.8. Methods of Data Analysis

In order to analyze the two types of data collected in this study, the researcher employed quantitative data analysis methods, thematic analysis, and content analysis. The quantitative data were analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 25. This software has descriptive and inferential statistical tests or techniques which could produce outputs on frequency distribution, measures of central tendency (i.e. mean, median, and mode), measures of variability/dispersion (like standard deviation), measures of association and correlation (e.g. Spearman's rho, and Pearson coefficient of correlation). Additionally, the researcher collected relevant secondary data from those documents were analyzed using content analysis, and thematic analysis. Specifically, those parametric and non-parametric statistical analyses (i.e., Chi-Square test, Spearman's rho, and Pearson's r) were employed to examine and identify whether or not there was possible correlation between the independent variables and dependent variables under investigation.

Numerous methods have been used to measure character, attitude, and personality over the years (Likert, 1932). The difficulty of measuring attitudes, character, and personality traits lies in the procedure for transferring these into a quantitative measure for data analysis purposes. The same author has developed a procedure for measuring attitudinal scales. Accordingly, let us describe the chosen analysis methods for Likert-type or Likert item and Likert scale data in this study – Steven's Scale of Measurement. Both the Likert item and the Likert scale data have unique data analysis procedures. The Steven's scale consists of four scales of measurement: nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio scales (Boone & Boone, 2012). There are nominal scale variables (e.g. sex and religious affiliation), ordinal scale variables (i.e., educational status and attitude), interval scale variables (e.g., summated attitudinal scales like assessment, vision and strategy, incentives, automation, cascading, monitoring and evaluation), and ratio scale variables (e.g., age and work experience). These measurement scales or rules are used to properly analyze the data on Likert item variables and Likert scale variables.

Based on these conditions, Likert items fall into the ordinal measurement scale, while Likert scale data fall into interval scale of measurement (Asun, Rdz-Navarro, & Alvarado, 2015). Ary, Jacobs, and Sorensen (2010) therefore recommend for using descriptive statistics like mode or median as measures of central tendency based on measure of kurtosis or Skewness of the empirical observations to analyze, describe, and summarize Likert item variables, as well as frequencies for measuring variability between the responses of these items, and Chi-Square test for measure of association and correlation. Hence, the data on challenges encountered were analyzed using frequencies and means, respectively.

On the other hand, a fundamental issue with the use of Likert scale items is the problematic properties of multi-choice response categories per item. Differing assumptions about the measurement properties of Likert items determine conflicting “rules of thumb” for analyzing such data on Likert scale items and Likert items.

If Likert scale data is assumed to be non-parametric, it can be viewed from a qualitative perspective. Here, collapsing response categories would improve the intelligibility of the analysis outcomes (i.e., “less is better”). This data analysis strategy strongly assumes that Likert scale items are not interval data (Beamish, 2004). Thus, the interval between levels remains uncertain and unquantifiable. Under these strong assumptions, it is important to minimize respondent’s response ambiguity by collapsing across response categories as an acceptable scale thereby reducing the 5-point response categories of strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, and strongly agree to dichotomous categories decreasing the number of response categories by systematically collapsing across within items (i.e., data-slicing) in terms of distinct levels of **agreement** (by collapsing strongly agree and agree) – **neither agree nor disagree (NAD) - disagreement** (by collapsing strongly disagree and disagree) (Adams & Wieman, 2011; Bond & Fox, 2007; Lovelace & Brickman, 2013) representing the study participant’s choice.

Generally, collapsing data across response categories into fewer (e.g., three) categories infringes methodological conventions about questionnaire data. Finally, it is important for the researcher to choose such collapsing techniques of statistics to analyze such Likert scale data as they are the most appropriate the tasks at hand based on the purpose of the data analysis to understand and infer the internal characteristics of underlying constructs of attitudinal scale items (Byrne, 2001; Dering et al., 2010; Harwell & Gatti, 200) in this study. Thus, the researcher used frequencies and percentages for measuring the respondent’s attitude towards issues under investigation, and Pearson’s for measuring correlation of the Likert scale data collected in the study. These applied for data except women’s enhancement of political participation in this study.

In the process of primary data collection, it was possible to collect properly filled-in and usable 130 out of 139 structured questionnaires. Consequently, the computed response rate was 93.5%. This response rate is acceptable for running the actual quantitative data analysis using the SPSS software of Version 25.

The researcher also used content analysis and thematic analysis methods of the qualitative data analysis methods to answer those research questions and then address the objectives of the study. The former was applied while identifying and analysing different documents related to the issues under investigation. The latter method was employed to analyse the qualitative data generated using interviews and observations. In order to analyse the qualitative data; the researcher engaged in reading the verbatim transcripts of the interviews and other related sources of such data, identified relevant issues, categorized similar issues, and then put them in themes as folders. Afterwards, when the researcher wrote-up; these thematic issues were drawn from the relevant folder and presented in the different sections of the thesis. This presentation includes the voices of participants in the forms of direct quotations (i.e., long and short quotations) or paraphrased versions of their views, also the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the existing reservoir of literature or a call for change (Creswell, 2019).

3.9. Ethical Considerations

The study undertakings may raise moral and ethical issues. For the purpose this study, the researcher considered ethical issues which could be concerns for the study participants. The ethical issues to be considered in the process of data collection in this study include: securing informed consent of the intended respondents and informants, preserving their privacy or anonymity, and making them to remain confidential while writing-up the thesis. In those previous local works, the researcher used only quantitative data tool to reach at their hypothesis and reviewed published books, policies, procedures. Foreign works in relation to the topic under investigation have been made in different parts of the world (Chatzidakis, Hibbert, & Smith, 2006; Creswell, 2014). The researcher generally considered different presumed theories developed by different scholars in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents results of quantitative and qualitative data analyses on those issues under investigation in an integrated manner. It is organized into six sections. The first section describes socio-demographic characteristics of sample respondents who participated in the study. The second section dwells on the examination of the extent of increased number of elected women's influences on the political decision making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia. The third section presents assessment on women parliamentarians' influence on the HoPRs in adopting laws and policies that enhance women's rights and interests. Section four is about the identified factors that affect women's political participation in the HoPRs in the country. The next section describes those challenges encountered on the part of women in the Parliament which inhibit them from playing an active role in the HoPR in Ethiopia. In what follows, the thesis focuses on those existing women's empowerment opportunities in the HoPRs and their contributions to these women's decision-making. Finally, some available mechanisms to enhance the political decision-making roles of the women in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia are highlighted and discussed. To reiterate, the computed response rate was 93.5% as a total of 130 sample respondents out of 139 sample women parliamentarians in this study actually participated in filling-in the questionnaires properly and returned them .

4.2. Socio-demographic Characteristics

Table 4.1 below presents socio-demographic characteristics of the sample respondents in which the significant majority of them were married women Parliamentarians in the age category of older adults, first degree holders, as well as members of the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives with length of service that ranged from 5 to 10 years in the Parliament. A total of

79 (61%) of them were found to be in the age bracket between 31 and 45 years. Moreover, 60 (46.2%) of them were married, secured educational status of first degree in different fields of

Table 4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Items	Categories	F	%
Age category	21 - 25 years	10	7.7
	26 - 30 years	25	19.2
	31 - 35 years	24	18.5
	36 - 40 years	29	22.3
	41 - 45 years	26	20.0
	46 - 50 years	9	6.9
	51 - 55 years	4	3.1
	56 years and above	3	2.3
Marital status	Married	60	46.2
	Single (Never married)	23	17.7
	Divorced	32	24.6
	Separated	12	9.2
	Other	3	2.3
Educational status	College diploma	45	34.6
	Bachelor degree	45	34.6
	Master degree	40	30.8
Length of service in HoPRs	Less than 5 years	32	24.6
	5 - 10 years	72	55.4

Role in the HoPRs	11 – 16 years	15	11.5
	Above 16 years	11	8.5
	Member of House of Peoples’ Representatives	77	59.2
	Member of Standing Committees	39	30.0
	Authorized Representative in the HoPRs	12	9.2
	Other(s)	2	1.5

study (45, 35%), were members of House of Peoples’ Representatives (77, 59.2%), and served in the Parliament for a length of 5 to 10 years (72, 55.4%). Consequently, a total of 45 (59.2%) of the sample respondents have an educational background with first degree in different fields.

4.3. Regions of the Women Parliamentarians

Table 4.2 depicts the regions from which the women parliamentarians were elected as members in the House of Peoples’ Representatives in Ethiopia. Almost half the sample women in the study

Table 4.2 Respondent in House of Peoples’ Representatives by Regional State

Items	Region	F	%
Regional representative	Tigray Regional State	7	5.4
	Afar Regional State	2	1.5
	Amhara Regional State	32	24.6
	Oromia Regional State	31	23.9
	Ethio Somali Regional State	10	7.7

Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State	2	1.5
SNNP Regional State	29	22.3
Harari Regional State	2	1.5
Gambella Regional State	4	3.1
Dire Dawa City Administration	3	2.3
City Governance of Addis Ababa	8	6.2
Total	130	100.0

were representatives from Oromia Regional State and Amhara Regional State. Sixty-three (forty-nine percent) of them accounted for these representations in the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives. These were followed by those representatives (29, 22.3%) from the SNNPR. Thus, half of the women in the House of Peoples' Representatives in the country are representatives elected from Amhara Regional State and Oromia Regional State that indicate these peoples have had more number of peoples than those in other regional states in Ethiopia.

4.4. Influence on the Political Decision-Making Process

Those women parliamentarians have had influence on the political decision-making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia. About 80.62% of respondents reported that the quota system contributed to influence their decision making process. Whereas 74.6% them had determined the extent of their influence on decision making, and their influence on decision making in the Parliament had increased proportional to their numbers (67, 52%) as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Extent of Influence on Political Decision Making Process in the Parliament

Assessment	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
The number of women in the Parliament determines the extent of their influence on decision making	5 (3.8%)	14 (10.8%)	14 (10.8%)	74 (56.9%)	23 (17.7%)
Women Parliament members have got involvement in different standing committees of the House of Peoples' Representatives proportional to their numbers	10 (7.7%)	27 (26.2%)	20 (15.4%)	44 (33.8%)	29 (22.3%)
The Ethiopian political system which has introduced the quota system to secure a seat in the House of Peoples' Representatives enables women members to influence on the decision making process	-	1 (0.8%)	4 (3.1%)	80 (61.5%)	44 (33.8%)
Women's influence on decision making in the Parliament is increased proportional to their number	18 (13.8%)	16 (12.3%)	6 (4.6%)	67 (51.5%)	23 (17.7%)

The respondents' disagreement to the first item was 14.6%, NAD was 10.8%, and agreement was 74.6%. For the second item, they expressed their disagreement with 33.9%; NAD with 15.4%, and agreement with 56.1%. For the third item in this section, the respondents' disagreement was 0.8%, NAD was 3.1%, and agreement was 95.3%. For the fourth item, their disagreement was 26.1%, NAD was 4.6%, and agreement was 69.2%. Consequently, the extent of women parliamentarians' influence on decision-making in the Parliament was significant as the majority of the respondents' expression of agreement to those above-stated statements. Now, it is clear

that most of the respondents have agreed that they influence on political decision-making process in the Parliament.

Table 4.4 shows summary of basic statistics on the political participation of women in the House

Table4.4. Summary Statistics

Variables	Spearman's rho	Sig. (2-tailed)
Family Law	.713**	.000
Labour Law	.668**	.000
Civil Servant Law	.757**	.000
Oversee Employment Law	.739**	.000
Criminal Law	.442**	.000

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

of Peoples' Representatives in Ethiopia, the National Family Law, Labour Law, Civil Servant Law, Oversee Employment Law, and Criminal Law. In addition, it presents the relationships between the women parliamentarians' political participation and each of the above-stated women sensitive laws under investigation in this study. The results of data analysis document shows that there were statistically significant and positive relationships between share quotas-based political participation of women parliamentarians and all of the five women sensitive laws under discussion. These findings held true with computed mean values of .71, .48, .70, .45, and .65 (standard deviations of .09, .12, .10, .13, and .14) which showed no noticeable variations of standard units from the respective mean, respectively. Moreover, 38.7% of the seats HOPRs were held by the women parliamentarians and the average share of quotas of these women was computed to be 3.52 with a standard deviation of 3.69 standard units from this mean. Therefore, there are variations in share of quota seats in the House among the regional states and city administrations in Ethiopia.

In the same framework, based on 130 sample of women Parliamentarians, the results reveal that their political participation in the Ethiopian HoPRs had a statistically significantly and high positive influence on the embodiment and adoption of the Civil Servant Law which found at ($r_{\rho} = .757, p < .01$). The shared political representation of the women Parliamentarians in the House therefore has a positive high effect on embodying and adopting this Civil Service Servant Law. Likewise, there was a statistically significant and a high positive effect of the shared quotas political participation of women Parliamentarians on their rating levels of the Overseer Employment Law while embodying and adopting it in the House. Here, it indicates that the women's political participation highly effects on the embodiment and adoption of the Overseer Employment Law from gender perspective. It was also found that there was a statistically significant and high positive correlation between their political participation in the House and rating of the National Family Law at ($r_{\rho} = .713, p < .01$). Consequently, it seems possible to deduce that the women Parliamentarians' political participation in HoPRs has high positive influence on the embodying and adopting the National Family Law.

On the other hand, women's political participation in the House based on quotas law was significantly related to how they rated the Labour Law ($r_{\rho} = .668, p < .01$). Thus, the increased quotas of the women Parliamentarians' political participation have moderate positive effect on the decision making process in embodying and adopting of the Ethiopian Labour Law. Contrarily, there was a statistically significant and a weak positive relationship between the women Parliamentarians' political participation and their rating of the embodied and adopted Criminal Law at $r_{\rho} = .442, p < .01$). Consequently, the women Parliamentarians' political participation has low positive effect on the decision making process while embodying and adopting the Criminal Law in the HoPRs.

Generally, the foregoing quantitative results of this study have documented mixed picture on the extent of influence of the women political decision making process in the Parliament on

embodying and adopting the Civil Service Law, Oversee Employment Law, National Family Law, Labour Law, and the Criminal Law. The assessment of women's political participation in the HoPRs on those Laws varies from high for the first three sensitive Laws, followed by moderate effect for the fourth Law under discussion, and to low level effect on the last Law considered in the study. Here, one may pose a question on the qualitative findings regarding these issues under investigation.

Qualitative data generated from different documentary analyses, and key informants interviews on these specific issues under discussion indicate that the existing parliamentary political system in Ethiopia has somewhat established the women Parliamentarians' moderate level of influence on political decision making process in the Parliament which is mostly conditioned by the Central Committee of EPRDF's political stands in favour of a given law and/or policy under discussion in the HoPRs. These are further supported by its introduced quota system to secure a seat in the House, women's involvement in the House's different standing committees, their proportion and numerical influence in the process of political decision making. These claims could be justified by the following statements from the respective sources.

Contents of available officials documents and the opinions of those key informants from the Oromia, Tigray, Amhara, and SNNP in the House of Peoples' Representatives have to reflect on the quota system and the number of women parliamentarians when these qualitative data sources sated,

The Ethiopian Government has adopted occupation of 30% of the seats in the Parliament women peoples' representatives since 2010. Consequently, there is a practice of legal quotas to promote women's political participation at national and sub-national levels in the country. Currently, there are 212 seats occupied by women parliamentarians out of the total 547 seats in the HoPRs which accounted for about thirty-eight percent Political representation of women parliamentarians in the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives. When there is a discussion forum between the women parliamentarians and the executive bodies in Ethiopia, different problems are freely and openly raised and then discussed. However, these well-articulated verbal reflections on multi-dimensional issues mostly remain in air whenever the ruling Political Party Central Committee's stands seem against the suggested points. These

arguments and counter-arguments appear to be façade democratic exercises to convince those Ethiopians...

The above excerpts from the documents and key informants imply that the quota system and the proportion of woman parliamentarians seem do not have strong influence on the political decision making processes in the House of Peoples' Representatives. This is also substantiated by the view of one of those mentioned key informants as she strongly argued,

Based on the quota system, political parties nominate and present woman as candidates in the national election. But after the completion of the election, the elected women do not serve as representatives of their respective local community members and act as their mouthpieces. Nowadays, although I observe an improvement of holding very strong dialogues and debates during discussion sessions in the House; those women parliamentarians who are members of standing committee(s) mostly prefer to be silent to actively participate in the discussion sessions. This stance generally shows that they are not actually serving as democratic representatives who have to inform other Parliament members regarding the opinions, concerns, rights, and interests of those local community members from where the former have been nominated and elected in the Ethiopian Parliamentary System.

Here, it is possible to argue that there is a politically conditioned and a ruling party central committee's oriented influence of women parliamentarians on the decision-making processes in the House of Peoples' Representatives while women's rights and interests sensitive laws and policies are the points of discussion sessions. The above-stated findings of this study partly agree with those of Asiedu and others (2016). Therefore, it is safe to deduce that there is a moderate effect of the women parliamentarians on the political decision making processes in the HoPRs.

4.5. Factors affecting Women in Political Participation

As illustrated in Table 4.5, study participants reflected their attitude towards the first item in disagreement (32.4%), in neither agreed nor disagreed manner (16.2%), and in agreement

(51.5%). For the second item, the respondents' disagreement was 23.1%, NAD was 15.4%, and agreement was 61.6%. For the third item in the same table, 27.7% of the respondents disagreed,

Table 4.5 Factors Affecting Women in Political Participation

Factors that affect women in political participation	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Politics by its nature invites to participate more men than women	8 (6.2%)	34 (26.2%)	21 (16.2%)	45 (34.6%)	22 (16.9%)
The existing political set up and institutional frameworks are framed to promote more men to get involved in political participation than women	17 (13.1%)	13 (10.0%)	20 (15.4%)	50 (38.5%)	30 (23.1%)
Women's participation in Ethiopian politics is more influenced by their education and economic outlook	13 (10.0%)	23 (17.7%)	25 (19.2%)	51 (39.2%)	18 (13.8%)
The social, cultural, political, and economic conditions that women have experienced preclude them to participate and to be heard equally with their men counter-parts in the HoPRs	20 (15.4%)	26 (20.0%)	8 (6.2%)	32 (24.6%)	44 (33.8%)
Social problems which have encountered women mostly force them not to take part in political decision making while they are engaged in various domestic activities/chores/tasks	17 (13.1%)	14 (10.8%)	14 (10.8%)	45 (34.6%)	40 (30.8%)

19.2% of them were neither agreed nor disagreed. Thirty-five percent of the respondents were in disagreement, 6.2% were in NAD, and 58.4% of them were in agreement with the statement about the factors affecting women's political participation in Ethiopia stated under item 4. For the fifth item; 23.9% were in disagreement, 10.8% were neither agreed nor disagreed, and 65.4% of the respondents were in agreement.

Therefore, the findings of the study show that those factors which have affected women's political participation include: social problems related to various domestic tasks; the existing more men-promoting political set up and institutional frameworks; women's age-old experienced social, cultural, political, and economic conditions; women's education and economic outlook; and the men-favouring politics by its very nature. Accordingly, these multi-faceted affecting factors may further prevent women's political inclusion and then their political empowerment thereby violating their human and democratic rights. Meanwhile, they would be forced to entertain unwillingly embodied and adopted women's sensitive laws and policies.

The Amhara and the Oromo women informants in the study expressed their opinions on those factors which had affected the women's political participation when they asserted,

The practice of dynamic style of changing political set up and structure in the country at large and in the House of Peoples' Representatives, in particular do not bring about favourable and meaningful political setup and structure to the women parliamentarians' active political participation. Most importantly, there is no also strong political commitment on the part of the political leadership in bringing about changes in terms of attitudinal, cultural, and religious outlook of these women.

Findings from the analysis of the above-stated quotation reveal that the existence of frequently changing, unfavourable, and meaningless political set up and structure, and also lack of commitment of the political leaders to change the women's attitude towards politics, culture, and religion in politically-friendly ways in Ethiopia affect their political participation. Thus, there are inter-dependent and complex factors which may affect the political participation of the women.

However, these results are not similar to those researchers considered and cited under such topic of discussion somewhere in the second chapter of the thesis.

4.6. Inhibiting Challenges of Women Parliamentarians

Table 4.6 below shows that the study respondents considered and agreed upon the inhibiting challenges of social, cultural, economic, political, religious, and educational conditions; the

Table 4.6 Challenges Inhibiting Women Political Participation in Parliament

Inhibiting challenges encountered	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Existing challenges on the part of women (such as social, cultural, economic, political, religious, and educational) are still challenging the present women members in political participation	1 (0.8%)	19 (14.6%)	8 (6.2%)	58 (44.6%)	44 (33.8%)
The social, cultural, political, and economic conditions that women have experienced preclude them to participate and to be heard equally with their men counter-parts in the HoPRs	20 (15.4%)	26 (20.0%)	8 (6.2%)	32 (24.6%)	44 (33.8%)
Women members have meaningful influence on political and policy decisions made by the Parliament and other decision making bodies	5 (3.8%)	35 (26.9%)	13 (10.0%)	63 (48.5%)	14 (10.8%)

presence of meaningful influence of those parliamentary and other bodies who are making decisions on political, policy, and other issues; and the women's experienced social, cultural, political, and economic conditions. These were justified by the outputs of the collapsing techniques of statistics used to the data analysis. Consequently, the respondents' responses to the first item were in disagreement (15.4%), NAD (6.2%), and in agreement (78.4%). They also expressed their disagreement (35.4%), NAD (6.2%), and agreement (58.4%) for the second item. Regarding the third item; 30.7%, 10%, and 59.3% of the respondents were in disagreement, neither agreed nor disagreed, and in agreement, respectively. Those agreed conditions have inhibited and precluded the interviewed women from political participation and getting heard equally with their men counter-parts in the HoPRs. Therefore, those conditions have inhibited and precluded the women from playing their active roles in the Parliament.

Additionally, results from documentary analyses and key informants reveal that there are certain inhibitions which have challenged women parliamentarians' participation in the Parliament. These are: pervasive political party's structural factors at different levels, gender stereotypes and traditions, gaps in women's political and economic empowerment, socio-economic barriers which have multi-dimensional repercussions, and lack of strong women's political leadership and meaningful influence in gendered mainstreamed manner in the HoPRs of Ethiopia. Thus, these results of the study are somehow concurring with the empirical findings of certain researchers in some parts of the world (Shvedova, 2007; Blomgren, 2010; Shimelis, 2015; DiLanzo, 2017). Here, it is possible to argue that there is some evidence on such multi-faceted inhibiting factors and challenges against the women's expected level of political participation in the Parliament and the country at large.

4.7. Influence in Adopting Laws and Policies

As depicted in Table 4.7 below, the women Parliamentarians have confirmed that they have meaningful influence on the decision making process in the House while there are discussion sessions to adopt laws and policies related to women's rights and interests in the country. Their claims hold true because they expressed their agreements to the statements on the practice of drafting a bill and present for adoption on matters that affect women, women members have

meaningful influence on political and policy decisions made by the Parliament and other decision making bodies, the women parliamentarians discuss and come up with their own resolutions before the adoption of laws on women's related issues, and those issues raised by women members in the HoPRs get equal hearing and acceptance as those of their male colleagues.

Table 4.7 Women Parliamentarians Influence in Adopting Laws and Policies that enhance Women's Rights and Interests

Items	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Women parliamentarians discuss and come up with their own resolutions before the adoption of laws on women's related issues	6 (4.6%)	24 (18.5%)	27 (20.8%)	53 (40.8%)	20 (15.4%)
Issues/ideas raised by women members in the HoPRs are equally heard and accepted as their male colleagues	12 (9.2%)	33 (25.4%)	12 (9.2%)	49 (37.7%)	24 (18.5%)
Women members have meaningful influence on political and policy decisions made by the Parliament and other decision making bodies	5 (3.8%)	35 (26.9%)	13 (10.0%)	63 (48.5%)	14 (10.8%)
The Parliamentary System in the House of Peoples' Representatives allows women parliament members to draft a bill and present for adoption on matters that affect women	10 (7.7%)	19 (14.6%)	20 (15.4%)	52 (40.0%)	29 (22.3%)

Twenty-three percent of the respondents were in disagreement, six percent in neither agreement nor disagreement, and fifty-six percent of them were in agreement with the first item in this section of the study. For the second item, 34.6% of the respondents were in disagreement, 9.2%

in NAD, and 56.2% in agreement. About thirty-one percent were furthermore in disagreement, ten percent in NAD, and about fifty-nine percent of the respondents in this study were in agreement with the third item. Twenty-two percent of the respondents similarly expressed their disagreement, fifteen percent of them were in NAD, and sixty-two percent of the sample respondents were in agreement to the fourth item. These findings generally show that more than half of the respondents in this study have positive attitude towards influence of the women parliamentarians' influence level in adopting laws and policies that may enhance the women's rights and interests in the Ethiopian society.

The quantitative findings are also substantiated by views of most of the key informants who have participated in during the semi-structured interview sessions held at convenient places. These informants argued,

The women parliamentarians develop new laws which enable the women members in the Parliament to be equally competent and participant with their men counterparts. The women parliament members also re-consider those previously ratified and implemented laws together with other members in the HoPRs and then improve them in order to make more suited to the women's rights and interests. The women parliamentarians further work hard on their part to influence the National Election Laws in that these shall encourage those eligible women and girls to politically participate in becoming candidates and/or in electing their representatives to the two Houses in Ethiopia. When eligible Ethiopians are similarly nominated and presented as candidates for governmental positions, the women parliamentarians evaluate and ensure the equal participation of women. As policies are indicators for direction of progress, the women parliamentarians generally re-assess whether or not they have addressed properly gender sensitive issues in adopting these laws and policies.

Moreover, it is important to underline that the HoPRs ratifies policies and puts strategies for their proper implementation, according to the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution. In contrast, there is an argument against those above-stated claims made by most of the key informants in the study when an informant from Amhara Regional State underscored, "Since I have become the member of the House of Peoples' Representatives; I do not have experience of the presentation, discussion, and ratification of any gender sensitive policy." Gender mainstreaming and gender

issues have to be properly considered and implemented in all planned activities in the country. Accordingly, all these have to be the cases while a law is ratified, budget is prepared, the executive bodies, performance reporting, and conducting field supervisions and undertaking monitoring of the annual action plans in different governmental sector organizations.

Here, it seems appropriate that women parliamentarians have noticeable influence on the process of adopting laws and policies which may enhance the women's rights and interests, but there are some cases of irregularities in such practice in the HoPRs. There are ground truth justifications in which the Parliament members have ratified and adopted few laws and policies against the above-mentioned styles of adopting procedures. This is a case once in blue moon manner. Even some scholars sometimes argue that such a practice may be against the stipulated articles and sub-articles of the FDRE Constitution.

4.8. Women Empowerment Opportunities

The women Parliamentarians in the study have got different types of women's empowerment opportunities in the HoPRs which emanate from continuous capacity building on women's role in political decision making in the Parliament and from the existing special structures (like the women caucus and other informal groupings) in the House of Peoples' Representatives illustrated in Table 4.8. Fifty-seven percent of the respondents stated their agreement, about twenty-one percent of the respondents were in disagreement, and twenty-two percent of them were in NAD to the first item. Likewise, about eighty-eight percent of the respondents agreed, seven percent were in NAD, and five percent of them were in disagreement with the second item in this study.

Table 4.8 Existing Women Empowerment Opportunities

Existing women's empowerment opportunities	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
The existing special structures (like the Women Caucus and other informal groupings) in the House of Peoples' Representatives enable women parliamentarians to protect the women's interests and rights	14 (10.8%)	13 (10.0%)	29 (22.3%)	50 (38.5%)	24 (18.5%)
Capacity building opportunities available in the House enhance women members' capacity in political decision making	1 (0.8%)	6 (4.6%)	9 (6.9%)	56 (43.1%)	58 (44.6%)
There are continuous capacity building opportunities in the Parliament to improve the women members' role in decision making	4 (3.1%)	11 (8.5%)	-	74 (56.9%)	41 (31.5%)

For the third item; 88.4% of the respondents were in agreement, and 11.6% of them were in disagreement, but there was no respondent in NAD. Here, it is possible to argue that there are those opportunities for women parliamentarians' empowerment in the Parliament.

In order to use a different window in the same framework, let us consider the qualitative data generated from key informants and available documentary analyses. In the HoPRs, there are different trainings offered on the women Parliamentarians' empowerment through capacity building on a short-term approach basis. The identified and documented women's empowerment opportunities include the following:

- gender mainstreaming,

- process of laws formulation/preparation and ratification,
- Process of decision making supported by experience sharing during visits locally and internationally,
- Preparation of policies,
- roles of women members of HoPRs in embodying and adopting laws and policies, and other relevant activities,
- Effective time management,
- Women's empowerment,
- Training on basic laws of the country,
- Training on basic computer application programmes,
- Training on leadership,
- Training on networking and interpersonal communications, and
- Preparation of gender responsive budget.

Likewise, there are long-term educational opportunities. For example, first degree and second degree education opportunities in relevant fields of study are given for some of the Parliament members at the Ethiopian Civil Service University in Addis Ababa. Even for some members, they may apply further studies privately and when they get the opportunities; either they pay their tuition fees or their affiliated political parties would pay the fees. Generally, these findings are not in agreement with the empirical literature reviewed and presented in chapter two.

4.9. Enhancing Political Decision Making Roles of Women

In the sample of 130 women parliamentarians, a total of 80 (61.5%) of them agreed and 44 (33.8%) strongly agreed that the quota-based Ethiopian political system to secure a seat in the House of Peoples' Representatives had enhanced their political inclusion and enabled them to influence on the decision making process. Here, it is possible to argue that the quota system in the Parliament has helped the women parliamentarians to enhance their role in making political decisions in favour of the women's rights and interests.

The key informants furthermore expressed views on the issue in agreement with the quantitative results as they articulated,

The HoPRs' organizational set up is convenient to such quota system acts. For instance, the majority of women have occupied governmental authoritative positions (e.g., cabinet members, Deputy House of Speakers, President of the Federal Supreme Court, Deputy President of the Board, six members out of ten Standing Committees Chairpersons who are women). These are further practised in the manner same in the lower political system levels like the sub-committee members of those political constituencies).

The introduced quota system in the HoPRs therefore seems to enhance the women parliamentarians' role in political making decision process in the Parliament. Hence, the quota system has its contribution to enhance their role in making political decisions that may promote the women's rights and interests at large in the country.

4.10. Challenges Women encountered in Political Participation

Table 4.9 presents those major challenges which have encountered on the part of the women while they are participating in politics. Amongst the total sample of respondents, 125 (96%), 114 (88%), 43 (33%), and 34 (26%) of them considered attitudinal problem, lack of economic capacity, lack of knowledge, and cultural influence as the major challenges which had been encountered by the women in the process of political participation. Thus, the women's attitudinal problem and lack of economic capacity are mostly encountered challenges while they are in the political participation.

Table 4.9 Major Challenges Women encountered in Political Participation

Major challenges	Freq.	%
Attitudinal problem	125	96.2
Lack of economic capacity	114	87.7
Lack of knowledge or education	43	33.1
Cultural influence	34	26.2
Other(s)	1	0.8

Regarding the challenges under investigation, one of the women's caucus members in the Parliament strongly contended that, "Cultural influence and systemic conditions emanating from the executive body, legislative body, and the legal system, and age-old attitudinal problem are challenges. The women parliamentarians simply support issues which are being supported by their respective political party they are affiliated to and even resort to be silent during the discussions and the parties' negative attitude towards the women's nominations and strong challenges by the former." Accordingly, these findings seem partially consistent with the results of Allen (2017).

Next, let us summarize those major findings of the study, draw conclusions based on them to answer those research questions and to address the objectives of the study, and then forward possible and plausible suggestions for action.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary of Major Findings

The following major findings were identified based on the analysis and interpretation:

- About 74.6% of the respondents expressed their agreement regarding the introduced quota system to secure a seat in the HoPRs which had enabled them to influence on the decision-making process.
- Women parliamentarians' political participation in the HoPRs had a statistically significant and positive high influence on the embodiment and adoption of the Civil Servant Law.
- There was also statistically significant and high positive effect of the shared quotas political participation of women parliamentarians on their rating levels of the Overseas Employment Law while embodying and adopting it in the House.
- It was found that there was statistically significant and high positive correlation between their political participation in the House and rating of the National Family Law.
- There were multi-faceted factors affecting women's political participation. These include: the existence of frequently changing, unfavourable, and meaningless political set up and structure, and also lack of the political leaders' commitment to change the women's attitude towards politics, culture, and religion in politically-friendly ways in Ethiopia therefore affected their political participation.
- There were conditions that had inhibited and precluded the women parliamentarians from playing their active roles in the parliament. These inhibitions were pervasive political party's structural factors at different levels, gender stereotypes and traditions, gaps in women's political and economic empowerment, socio-economic barriers which had multi-dimensional repercussions, and lack of strong women's political leadership and meaningful influence in gendered mainstreamed manner in the HoPRs of Ethiopia.
- The existing women's empowerment opportunities were gender mainstreaming, process of laws formulation/preparation and ratification, process of decision making supported by

experience sharing during visits locally and internationally, preparation of policies, roles of women members of HoPRs in embodying and adopting laws and policies, and other relevant activities, effective time management, women's empowerment, training on basic laws of the country, and trainings on basic computer application programmes, leadership, networking and interpersonal communications, and on preparation of gender responsive budget.

- Those major challenges encountered by the women Parliamentarians in the process of political participation include attitudinal problem, lack of economic capacity, lack of knowledge, and cultural influence.

Following, let us draw conclusions based on these major findings or results of the study.

4.2. Conclusion

This study has argued that the women Parliamentarians' empowerment has moderate level of influence in the political decision-making process in the House of Peoples' Representatives. Meanwhile, this context may have its implications for women's political empowerment and extent of influence on decision-making process in the HoPRs. Here, it is possible to conclude that the women Parliamentarians have general influence on the political decision-making process due to their significant quota representations, the introduced quota system in the HoPRs, and representations proportional to their numbers.

The study further reveals a mixed picture on the extent of influence of the women in political decision -making process in the Parliament in adopting the Ethiopian Civil Service Law, Overseas Employment Law, National Family Law, Labour Law, and the Criminal Law. The extent of influence of the women's Parliamentarians on political participation in the HoPRs and also on those Laws varies from high for the first three sensitive Laws, followed by moderate effect for the fourth Law under discussion, and to low level effect on the last Law considered in the study. Consequently, it seems appropriate that women Parliamentarians have noticeable influence on the process of adopting laws which may enhance the women's rights and interests, but there are some cases of irregularities in such practice in the HoPRs. There are ground truth justifications in

which the Parliament members have ratified and adopted few laws against the above-mentioned styles of adopting procedures.

Contrarily, there are inter-dependent and complex factors which may affect the political participation of the women Parliamentarians. Similarly, there are some evidence multi-faceted inhibiting factors and challenges against the women's expected level of political participation in the Parliament and the country at large.

The women Parliamentarians in the study have got different types of women's empowerment opportunities in the HoPRs which emanate from continuous capacity building on women's role in political decision making in the Parliament and from the existing special structures (like the women caucus and other informal groupings) in the House. Meanwhile, these opportunities have helped the women Parliamentarians to enhance their role in making political decisions in favour of the women's rights and interests.

Concurrently, there are challenges on the part of women in general. These challenges are encountered while participating in the politics. These include: the women's attitudinal problem and lack of economic capacity.

In conclusion, there is moderate level of influence of women's empowerment on political decision-making process in the Parliament. This extent of influence in the process is mostly conditioned by the EPRDF's Central Committee political stands regarding a given law under discussion for adoption by the HoPRs.

5.3. Recommendations

The following recommendations were forwarded as possible solutions based on the major findings:

- All stakeholders who are concerned with and working on gender equality at different levels in the Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives and political system seem to sit together around a table to reach at a consensus on how to comprehensively work on women' human and democratic rights for political inclusiveness through well-designed, articulated, planned, and wisely implemented through sensitization and awareness creation programmes in collaboration with relevant institutions and agencies, and by allocating adequate women's budget from the Ethiopian Government's treasury for utilization in the budgeted fiscal year.
- The Ethiopian Government in close partnerships and strongly-established networks with its international and local development partners should be advised to engage in empowering women in terms of political, social, cultural, economic, religious, and other related factors in line with practical manifestation supported constitutional laws and policies to enhance their political power and political representation in political parties, government offices, parliament, and quota share in becoming candidates for running into competitive elections, and holding seats in HoPRs to have political influences in adopting and relevant laws and policies in favour of addressing women's rights and interests.
- The concerned stakeholders should work shoulder-to-shoulder towards creating awareness and inculcating relevant knowledge and skills; positive and affirmative attitude; required capability, ability, and competence in political decision-making process related to women's rights for and interests in gender equality.
- Those concerned individuals, groups, and institutions which have interests in and are working on enhancing the women Parliamentarians' political influence during discussion and debate sessions while embodying and adopting all gender-sensitive laws, policies, regulations, and directives.
- In order to solve those multi-dimensional, inter-dependent, and complex influencing and inhibiting factors which have encroached up on the women's participation in political

arena to ensure those human, gender, and democratic rights and interests in various political, socio-economic, cultural, and environmental contexts; concerned government bodies at different levels with their committed stakeholders working on gender issues seem to work shoulder-to-shoulder for their efficiency, effectiveness, and sustainability.

- The Government of Ethiopia in confirmatory collaboration with its local and international private business organizations, NGOs, CSOs, FBOs, and other relevant constituencies should engage in empirical studies on identification of women's needs for capacity building interventions, validating these requirements through consultative discussions by organizing economical workshops, developing knowledge management system to first capture these capacity building needs and store in databases, and then designing culturally, economically, and politically tailored, as well as women-friendly opportunities to build all required capacities for effectively accomplishing socially expected roles and responsibilities as women Parliamentarians at different levels in the country.
- Those identified challenges that which have encountered women Parliamentarians in this study should be first well-organized, prioritized, and addressed in meaningful and evidence-based continuous manner which further might have practical and policy implications.

Implications for Future Research

- Further studies on women's empowerment and their influence on political decision-making processes in the HoPRs and the Federal Council should be designed and undertaken using sequential mixed methods research (QUAL →QUANT) in planned ways

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Structured Questionnaire for the Respondents

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

Department of Public Administration and Development Management

Questionnaire for Sample Respondents

Dear Respondent:

Thank you in advance for your willingness to fill this questionnaire by taking your precious time. The purpose of this questionnaire is to explore into the research question, “Why empowering women is crucially important in political decision-making? ”Since this had been intended to fulfil the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Public Management and Policy from Addis Ababa University. In connection to this, I ensure you that the collected information will be used for the academic purpose only.

Your Excellency member of HoPRs,

I am a final year Masters of Public Administration (MPA) Programme student at Addis Ababa University. As a partial fulfilment of the program “Assessment of Women Empowerment to Political Decision-making: A case of House of Peoples Representatives of Ethiopia”; the research results could be used as an input for policy makers, academicians, practitioners and other interested parties in enhancing women’s political decision making.

All information provided will be treated confidentially and will only be used for academic purposes. Therefore, please answer the questions as thoroughly, objectively and honestly as possible according to the instructions contained in the body of the questionnaire.

Once again, I thank you in advance for your willingness to fill this questionnaire by taking your precious time.

Wubrst Wondmeneh

Mobile: +251-1-911709640

Email: wubrstwondmeneh@gmail.com

Instructions I: You are kindly asked not leave any questions unanswered.

PART I: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

1. You are kindly asked to complete the questions:-

a. You are a representative of ----- Regional State

b. Your role in the HoPRs _____

2. Level of Education

a. College diploma

b. degree

c. master's degree

d. doctoral degree

3. Age

a. 18-30 years b. 31-40 years c. 41- 50 years d. Above 50 years

4. How long you are serving as a member of the Parliament?

a. Less than 5 years b. From 5 to 10 years

b. From 10-15 years d. More than 15 years

5. Marital status

a. married b. unmarried c. divorced

Part II: LIKERT ITEM TYPE QUESTIONS

This part is concerned about the levels of your agreement-disagreement about women's political decision making roles in the HoPRs. Therefore, you can provide your opinion by identifying one of the five choices and making a tick mark "J" where appropriate.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Neither agree nor disagree 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

1. Politics by its nature invites more men than females to participate
2. The existing political set up and institutional frameworks are framed to promote men to involve in political participation than women.
3. Based on your belief the political participation of women is ensured if a quota system is implemented to define the minimum number of women who hold Parliament seat.
4. In your view, women parliamentarians discuss and come-up with their own resolution before the adoption of laws.
5. In your believe, the existing special structures like the women caucus and other informal groupings in the House enables women parliamentarians to protect the interests and rights of women.
6. In your view the system in the House of Peoples Representatives allows women parliament members to draft a bill and present for adoption on matters that affect women.
7. You believe that there are continuous capacity building activities in the Parliament to improve the role of women members' decision making.
8. Women's participation in Ethiopian politics is more influenced by their educational and economic outlook
9. There is a system that promotes women's participation in the House
10. You believe that women Parliament members get involvement in different standing committees of the House is proportional to their number.

11. Issues/Ideas raised by women members are equally heard and accepted as their male colleagues.
12. Women have no meaningful influence on political and Policy decisions made by the parliament and other decision making bodies.
13. The number of women in parliament determines the extent of their influence on decision making process.
14. In your belief women's influence on decision and law making in the parliament is increased proportional to their number.
15. The social, cultural, political and economic conditions that women have been experienced preclude them to participate and to be heard equally with their men counter parts in the House.
16. Social Problems contributed to women are often forced them not to take part in politics and decision-making, while they are engaged in the care of domestic activities
17. In your view, challenges like social, cultural, economic, political, religion and education are still challenges of women at present day in political participation.
18. Capacity building opportunities in the House enhances women members capacity in political decision making
19. Taking the existing situation of the country's political system, introduction of quota system to secure seat in the parliament enables women members to influence decision making process

III. EXPLANATION QUESTIONS

1. In your opinion what are the major challenges women encounter in their political participation?
 - Lack of knowledge/education/
 - Lack of economic capacity
 - Cultural influence
 - Attitudinal problem

- If any other please, specify

2. Do you believe that the existing institutional framework and political system ensures women full political participation? If not what are the major gaps and possible solutions you recommend?

3. What did the members of the women caucus in the Parliament to promote women's equal and democratic political participation of women?

4. Do you believe that the existing political situation creates an opportunity for women to be influential in the parliament by alienating themselves from the influence of their party politics to protect the interests of their constituency?

5. Do you believe that women members lack the ability to influence decision making process in the Parliament? If so what are the major challenges they face in this regard?

6. Are there any educational and training opportunities available to women MPs in order to improve decision making power of women parliament members? If there is any would you list down trainings and educational opportunities you earned?

A. Trainings

B. Educational opportunity

7. The only way for women to overcome their political challenges is to be empowered for political decision- making process. To do this, is there leadership training and activism? What is the role and activities of the Caucus in this regard?

8. Do you think that introducing quota system is effective in increasing women political participation and decision making? If quota system to be implemented which do you prefer is/are to be implemented.

- Mandatory minimum number of parliament seats to be reserved for women?
- Mandatory minimum number of political parties' female candidates for election?
- Voluntary minimum number of political parties' female candidates for election?

INTSRUCTIONS: Choose your best appropriate to rating of the following laws and Put “√”mark in the box against each of your chosen rating.

Political Representation	Rating definition: Share of Women Parliamentarian in the HoPRs	Put “√”mark
1. New Ethiopian Family Law/2000 (Proc. No./2000)	Whether the Ethiopian legal frame work offers women legal provisions with the same parental authority, equal decision rights on residence and family management, early marriage, and avoidance of customary practices	
	1.00: There is specific legislation in place to address all family issues. The law is adequate overall, and there are no reported implementation problems.	
	0.75: There is specific legislation in place to address family issues; the law is adequate overall, but there are reported implementation problems.	
	0.50: There is specific legislation in place to address family issues, but the law is inadequate for enforcement.	
	0.25: There is no specific legislation in place to address all family issues, but there is evidence of legislation being drafted.	
	0: There is no legislation in place to address all family issues in the country.	
2. New Labour Law/2019	Whether the legal framework offers women legal protection from sexual violence and harassment, permission for maternity leave, and job security for mother workers.	
	1.00: There is specific legislation in place to address women workers in terms of work place sexual violence and harassment, six months maternity leave, and new mother workers’ issue is included, and implementation is effectively enforced.	
	0.75: There is specific legislation in place to address women workers’ in work place sexual violence and harassment, six months maternity leave is included, but the implementation is not properly and effectively enforced.	
	0.50: There is specific legislation in place to address women workers’ in work place sexual violence and harassment, six months maternity leave, and new mother workers’ four months maternity leave is included although implementation is not effectively enforced.	
	0.25: There is specific legislation in place to address women workers’ in work place sexual violence and harassment, six months maternity leave, and new mother workers’ four months maternity leave is included, but the law is inadequate.	

	0: There is no specific legislation in place to address all the above-stated woman workers' issues.	
3. New Civil Servant Law/2018	Whether the legal framework offers legal protection from sexual violence and harassment at work place, entitlement for women more affirmative action of in case of employment, recruitment, promotion, transfer, redeployment, education and training; provisions for favourable working conditions, accessing a nursery where the in lactating civil servant mothers to breast feed and take care of their babies, greater maternity leave, and new mother workers' maternity leave is included.	
	1:00 There is specific legislation in place to address all civil servant women's and mothers' issues at work place conditions; the law is overall adequate, and there are no reported implementation problems.	
	0.75: There is specific legislation in place to all civil servant women's and mothers' issues; the law is adequate overall, but there are reported problems of effective implementation.	
	0.50: There is specific legislation in place to address all civil servant women's and mothers' issues stated though the law is inadequate to be enforced.	
	0.25: There is no specific legislation in place to address all civil servant women's and mothers' sexual issues, but there is evidence of legislation being in the process of ratification.	
	0: There is no specific legislation in place to address all civil servant women's and workers' issues at work place conditions.	
5. Ethiopian Oversee Employment Law/2016	Whether the local frame work offers sufficient safeguards to protection of women's rights and integrity, appropriate mechanisms against unlawful exploitation and enslavement, and to get dignified treatment and safe return from abroad employment.	
	1.00: There is specific legislation to address oversee employed women's rights and integrity, dignified treatment, and safe return, and unlawful exploitation and enslavement.	
	0.75: There is specific legislation to address oversee employed women's rights and integrity, dignified treatment, and safe return, and unlawful exploitation and enslavement, but there are problems of effective enforcement and implementation.	
	0.50: There is specific legislation to address oversee employed women's rights and integrity, dignified treatment, and safe return, and unlawful exploitation and enslavement although the law is inadequate for enforcement.	
	0.25: There is no specific legislation to address oversee employed women's rights and integrity, dignified treatment, and safe return, and unlawful exploitation and enslavement, but there is evidence of draft legislation.	
	0: There is no legislation in place to address oversee employed Ethiopian women's issues.	

7. Laws of Quotas of Women	Whether there are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at the HoPRs and regional council levels.	
	1.00: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at both at the federal and regional level.	
	0.75: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at both at the national and regional level, but not effectively enforced and implemented.	
	0.50: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at either the federal or regional level.	
	0.25: There are legal quotas to promote women's political participation at the federal level, but not at regional level.	
	0: There are no legal quotas to promote women's political participation in Ethiopia.	

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Dear key informants,

Thank you in advance for your willingness to attend this interview session by taking your precious time. The purpose of this interview is to explore into the research question, “Why empowering women is crucially important in political decision-making?” Since this had been intended to fulfil the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Public Administration and Development Management from Addis Ababa University. In connection to this, I ensure you that the collected information will be used for the academic purpose only.

All information provided will be treated confidentially and will only be used for academic purposes. Therefore, please answer the questions as thoroughly, objectively and honestly as possible based on your understanding.

Questions:

1. What key roles do you think female MPs have to play in the law making and policy adoption process that make other women come to power? Would you explain any activates performed in this regard?
2. Female members believe that because of their involvement at various standing committees, enabled them to influence decisions or laws pertaining to the interests and rights of other women. What is your personal experience in this regard?
3. Do you think that the existing internal political system of the party in power ensures conducive environment for substantive representation of individual parliament members particularly women members in adoption of law and policy making? Would you mention any illustrations?
4. Under Art. 35/4 of the Constitution to remedy historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women it entitled to affirmative measures and special attention in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private institutions. So what is the role of women parliament members and the women caucus to realize this constitutional privilege? Could you tell me any practical examples with this regard? If yes please dive examples?

5. The House Code of Ethics and Ethical principles, says that a member of the Parliament, who has the support of twenty members may initiate a bill. Have you individually or through the women caucus ever used this procedure in order to address women's special concerns? If yes, could you site any illustrations?

6. Do you believe that the participation and influence of women parliamentarian in decision making sufficient? If not what kind of action you believe is necessary to be taken to remedy this?

- With respect to women parliamentarians?
- With respect to male parliamentarians?
- With respect to women caucus members?
- With respect to the House of Peoples Representatives?
- With respect to the government in general?

7. What activities do you think to be made in order to enable women to participate in politics and to hold parliament seats? With this respect;-

- What is the role of the government ?
- What is the role of the women's organization?
- What is the role of the political parties?
- What is the role of the best civic organizations?
- What is the role of the women caucus members?

Thank you very much for your time!

NB. Please do not hesitate to contact the researcher via the email or cell phone given below for any doubts or clarifications.

Email: wubrstwondmeneh@gmail.com

Telephone No. 0911709640

Thank you for your cooperation!