

**INDIRA GANDHI NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF CONTINUING EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**FACTORS AFFECTING THE POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, THE CASE OF
ARADA SUB-CITY WOREDA 07 COUNCIL
ADDIS-ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

BY

MINASE GETAHUN BEKELE

MAY, 2018

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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**A RESEARCH SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE MASTERS OF ART IN POLITICAL SCIENCE**

SUBMITTED BY:

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MAY, 2018

ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the Dissertation entitled “FACTORS AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, THE CASE OF ARADA SUB-CITY WOREDA 07 COUNCIL ADDIS-ABABA, ETHIOPIA”. Submitted by me for the partial fulfillment of the M.A. in Political Science to India Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU), New Delhi is my original work and has not been submitted earlier to IGNOU or to any other institution for the fulfillment of the requirement for any course of study. I also declare that no chapter of this manuscript in whole or in part is lifted and incorporated in this report from any earlier work done by me or others.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. MINASE GETAHUN student of **M.A.** Political Science from Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi was working under my supervision and guidance for his Project Work for the Course **MPSE-010**. His Project Work entitled **FACTORS AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN, THE CASE OF ARADA SUB-CITY WOREDA 07 COUNCIL ADDIS-ABABA, ETHIOPIA**, which he is submitting, is his genuine and original work.

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List of Acronyms

BDPA	Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action	2
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women	2
CSA	Central Statistics Agency	16
UNECA	Economic Commissions for Africa	31
FASC	Federation of African Societies of Chemistry	32
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	21
NCTPE	National Committee for Traditional Practices Eradication	16
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization	17
UWF	Ukrainian Women’s Fund	24
IPU	International Parliament Union	22
UN	United Nation	1
UNDP	United Nation Development Program	3

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Abstract

Globally women's political participation becomes an important measure of women status in most of the world countries. Accordingly, nowadays, the participation of women in politics has got significant attention across the world. However, women remain underrepresented in political position and decision-making. In line with this, the purpose of this study was to assess the factors that affect women political participation, specifically in woreda 07 council. Descriptive research design was employed. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources and questionnaires and interview was the main instruments of data collection. The finding of the study shows that different factors such as; education, occupation, leadership experience, self confidence, moral and belief, society perception, culture, and family responsibility and influence of previous regime were the main determining factors of women's political participation, even though, their influence unlike most literatures is low. The study further revealed that recently things are getting good for women's to participate in politics if efforts are made on awareness creation, and the opportunity of political participation allow women to address their basic problems and ensures the openness, fight against political commitment, political leadership, and political responsiveness of the existing districts. As a matter of fact, globally the number of women is larger than men's, however their participation in decision making and political position is laggard. Hence, making women's to participate in politics and decision making process should not be a supplementary argument, rather it is a right and necessary condition for women's interests to be considered.

Key words: Women's, Political participation, Arada sub-city Woreda 07 council

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Politics is very important for many parties of human life. Mostly it is imperative for the existence of statehood and the way in which people interact-how they make decisions and settle disputes. The study of politics is the study of the how such decisions are made. It may also be the study of how such decisions should be made. Thus, we can define politics in two ways; first politics can be considered as the study of power and secondly as the study of the conflicts resolutions. Politics relates the power struggle of the state. It is thus, concerned with power and the way in which power is distributed among the society (or groups). While power is mostly obviously held by the government and its agents (Bentley *et al.*, 1995).

Women have traditionally been excluded from the structures of state that determine political and legislative priorities. In recent years, Africa has witnessed rapid escalation in female political representation as compared to the low rates that existed in the 1960s. Participation of women in decision-making has more and more been placed at heart of the global agenda. Confirmatory developments in African governance, which have been eased by the ever-increasing consolidation of democracy in the continent, have led to the increase in women's participation in politics. Numerous achievements have been recorded in the advancement of gender equality and women's empowerment and various policies, programs and projects are in place to advance gender equality and women's empowerment (Republic of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Women Affairs, 1995).

These changes have engendered the potential for increasing women's entrance to political power. The new trends in women's political participation have been aided by an amalgamation of numerous factors. Changes taking place in the African region have positively conferred an opportunity for more women to assume positions of leadership. Despite the fact that, African women have made significant treads in political participation, worldwide a colossal gap is still in existence. Women have a gargantuan task before they can be acknowledged as full equals and partners to their male counterparts (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013).

Women's involvement in politics varies throughout the world and their participation in politics and the democratic process has become an integral part of contemporary discourse on development and governance. In spite of the clamor for women's political empowerment by international organizations, research consistently shows that in many parts of the world women still linger on the fringes of political realm and their participation in government structures and the democratic process remains low (Vissandjes *et al.*, 2008).

The increasing salience of women's issues and the resurgence of women's movements have raised popular consciousness and intense academic discourse on poor participation of women in politics (Peterson *et al.*, 1999 & Akinboye, 2004). Women's low political participation is a universal phenomenon (Shaul, 1982; Waylen, 1996; Lewu, 2005; Rai, 2005 & Pokam, 2006); furthermore, the imperative of women participation in democratic governance and human development cannot be over emphasized (Amadiume, 1997; Bruce, 2004:113; Babatunde, 2003; Bari, 2005).

However, the participation of the political power of the state has an important paramount for every citizen of the state. Political participation is "the active engagement by individuals and groups with the governmental processes that affect their lives". This encompasses both

involvements in decision making and acts of opposition. Acts of active engagement include conventional political participation (such as voting, standing for office and companionship for political party) and unconventional acts, which may be legitimate (such as signing a petition and attending a peaceful demonstration), or illegal (such as violent protest and refusing to pay tax) (Ahmed, 2013). Political participation is thus, those voluntary actions through which citizens seek to influence the making of public policy. Political participation in fact matters the life of every individual human being both men and women. Recognizing the essence of the political participation for every individual human being the UN exerted its human rights core instruments and recognized it as a fundamental political right.

According to Meaza (2009) cited on Alemu (2014) Ethiopia is a member and party of the international treaties including the most important human right treaties such as The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which calls for equal participation of women in public decision making, Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action (BDPA), which requires governments to attain a 30% benchmark for women's representation in all public decision making positions. Moreover, various literatures argue that as compared to prior decades, the participations of women in Ethiopian politics throughout the country are somehow increasing. But, in spite of the incremental progress towards women's participation in political spheres, it is generally recognized that women have largely remained outside of formal Counsel Representation roles due to various factors (Alemu, 2014).

The importance of this research bases on the attitudes toward women in politics affect women's participation, and in turn, women in positions of political leadership engage in policies that positively affects women (Caiazza, 2004). This reciprocal effect furthers the process of gender equality in the work force, and promotes an environment where women are supported to move

into autonomous and independent activities. This process gradually leads to further acceptance of women in political activities. In line with this, the purpose of this study was to analyze women's political participation status in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 06 Council.

1.2.Statement of the Problem

The possibility for all citizens to participate in the management of public affairs is at the very heart of democracy. At the same time full and equal participation of both women and men in political decision making provides a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society, and may as such enhance the legitimacy of political processes by making them more democratic and responsive to the concerns and perspectives of all segments of society. Despite these facts in the majority of countries of the world, the political arena remains largely dominated by men, and is even an exclusively male bastion in some countries (Kassa, 2015). Women are underrepresented in politics and civil service, especially at the managerial positions. There are several laws and policies which guarantee equal pay and employment right, in practice; however, women do not stand an equal chance of promotion (Walters and Mason, 1994).

It was in 1975 the first world conference held regarding inequalities between men and women in Mexico. However, it was in 1979 women's rights were codified in a human rights international instrument called "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women for the first time" (CEDAW). Afterward in 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action was held during the Fourth World Conference on Women. In this meeting, a special section on women in power and decision-making positions was organized in order to establish the strategies to ensure equal access and full participation for women. Moreover, UNDP Human Development Report (1995) stated that "in no society do women enjoy the same opportunities as men; and removing gender

inequalities is not dependent on having a high income or being a rich country. With the objective of making ultimate equality now a days the average representation of women on international parliament reaches 18.4 percent (Labani *et al.* 2009).

Even though the fact that the participation of women in international politics and leadership were increases, however, according to different scholars it is still constrained by different factors such as corruption, labor, competition and finances fundamental social and developmental; considerations like education, health, and the physical environment beliefs, norms, and expectations of the individuals; a particular culture economic factors and the level of development of a country (World Bank, 2008a; Fagerberg, 1994; Hofstede, 1983; Higashide, & Cheosakul, 2004) cited on Labani *et al.* (2009).

Since recent years the Ethiopian government made significant effort in setting the corner stone's of a women's machinery in government. The government has given priority to the speeding up of equality between men and women. Practically, in 1993 the government formulated national policy on women with the objective of speeding up of equality between men and women, so that women can participate in the political, social, and economic life of their country on equal terms with men, ensuring that their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor or from performing public functions and being decision makers (Kassa, 2015). The current women's political status is improvable. The solutions depend on perceptions and the ways we understand the current political problem. We should not confuse with the means or polish the structural gaps with delusive colors if in order to reacts short term political backlashes. The solutions pleads more than that, it needs to be the common end that we collectively seek regardless of our sex, race, color, or political afflictions. Hence, in line with this concept the purpose of this study is to

examine the factors that affect the political participation of women specifically at Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Council.

1.3. Research Questions

- What are the women's political participation statuses in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council?
- What are the major barriers that hinder women to participation in different political activities?
- What policies and programs should implement to increase the involvement of women in Woreda 07 Council?
- How can women's participation in politics be encouraged in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General objective

The overall objective of the study is to investigate the status of women's political participation in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine the current status of women's political participation
- To identify the major barriers that affect women's' political participation
- To examine policies and programs that should be implemented to increase the involvement of women
- To make some suggestions that will enhance women's participation in party politics

1.5. Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its ability to show the actual representation of women in political position and the factors that affect women's participation in politics in Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council. The suggestion from the study leads to policy makers' new orientation in formulation and implementation of affirmative action policies that could enhance women's participation in politics. Moreover, the study benefit women that helps to realize factors that affect their representation and by suggesting how to overcome it. Finally, the study also help other researchers as literature in the study area, for Universities in general and it is used for the council as a base for improving the human resource strategic planning in particular.

1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

This thesis mainly concentrates on the discussion relating to the factors affecting women's Political participation in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council. Knowing that several factors cause for low number of women in the management positions, but on this research it has chosen to focus only on certain identified factors. The study dealt extensively on the factors responsible for poor political participation of women in Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council. The number of the sample size of the study is limited to 256 respondents, in considering the total population the sample might seems small; however, increasing the sample size becomes difficult to collect the data within the given short period and limited budget. Thus, the study is limited to 256 individuals. Moreover, due to feeling the study had political implication some the respondents were very reluctant to participate on the survey, and others totally denied to participate on the study.

1.7.Organization of the Study

Generally the thesis organized in five chapters. The first chapter covered the introductory part including problem statement, objective and significance of the study, and scope and limitation of the study. Chapter two deals with a review of related literatures; Chapter three present a general background of methodology. Chapter four explains how the data was analyzed and interpreted. The fifth and last chapter provides a conclusion and recommendations for the future.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Theoretical Perspective

2.1.1. The Concept of Politics

The concept of politics has been viewed in different perspectives by scholars who have written on the subject matter. Heywood (1997:1) cited on (Olorunmaiye 2009) confers his credence to the divergent views of scholars on the concept of politics when he noted that respected authorities cannot agree on what the subject matter is all about. In this vein therefore, the term politics has been defined in various ways.

The idea of Aristotle that ‘man is by nature a political animal’ and his conclusion that politics is the ‘master science’ because it involves the intricacy of conflicts and conflicts resolution on the distribution of power and resources in the society readily comes to the fore. Heywood (1997:10) inextricably linked politics to the phenomenon of conflict and cooperation when he defined politics as the art of government, a phenomenon which relates to public affair, a means of resolving conflicts either by compromise, conciliation or negotiation, rather than through force and naked power. Sodaro (2001) share this view by defining politics as the process by which communities pursue collective goals and deal with their conflicts authoritatively by means of government. Easton (1990) defines politics as the ‘authoritative allocation of values’ in a political system. By this Easton sees politics as encompassing the various processes through which government responds to the pressures and demands of allocating benefits, rewards or penalties in a society. This is why Lasswell (1958) sees politics as the determination of who gets what, when and how. The holistic approach to the concept of politics is however observed by Williams (1980) in his view of politics from two perspectives. Firstly, that politics is a

discreditable activity whose virtue is the competitive pursuit of private interests and secondly, that politics is concerned with the administration of the common affairs of the public, a matter of universal rather than particular concern, whose aim is defining and promoting the common goods. Moreover, the indispensability of politics to the existence of statehood makes Appadorai (1974) to conclude that politics is “the science which is concerned with the state and of the condition essential for its existence and development’. Following this view therefore, Dahl (1963) defines politics as any stable pattern of human relationships that involves power and influence.

2.1.2. Political Participation

Political participation is an essential component that is required for ensuring the stability and legitimacy of every political system (Kumari and Kidwai, 1999). According to Agbaje (1999), political participation is one of the fundamental ideas of a democratic society. It is the sine qua non of democracy because democracy involves a commitment to equal opportunity for men and women to develop their individual capacities (Remi Anifowose, 2004). According to Pateman (1970) however, citizens’ participation in politics is very important because it determines how much power is controlled. Political participation therefore, describes the extent to which individual members of society share, take part or get involved in the life of that society (Agbaje, 1999). It is because of this crucial place that political participation holds that Kumari & Kidwai (1999) asserts that its denial to substantial part of the population can result to explosive situation. Consequently, the political power that women or any group of persons in a society have would be linked directly to the degree of their participation in the political process of that society (Lewu, 2005:63) cited on Olorunmaiye (2009).

Anifowose (2004) defines political participation as those voluntary activities such as holding public and party office, being a candidate for office, attending election campaigns, voting and exposing oneself to political stimuli. Similarly, Maclosky (1968) defines political participation as a series of voluntary activities through which members of a society share in the direct or indirect selection of rulers and formation of public policy. Sanghera (2005) on the other hand defines political participation as the active engagement by individuals and groups with the governmental processes that affect their lives. This encompasses both involvements in decision-making and acts of opposition. For Lawson & Wasburn (1969), political participation 'is the process by which individuals acting singly or through group organization attempt to influence decision-making or alter the manner in which power may be distributed and the principles by which it may be exercised in a particular society.' however, Lawson (1997) argues that those within the democratic systems appreciate the fact that individuals have little or no capacity to influence the course of politics; thus a desire to bring serious changes in the course of politics is done by concerted efforts of people of the same socio-political interest such as political parties, or social movements. Furthermore, Anifowose (2004) noted some several interesting trends that have been identified concerning political participation in liberal democracy. These include: an increasingly informed and critical citizenry, decline of trust in effectiveness of political elites and institutions, a decline in loyalty to traditional political parties, a drop in turnout rates in elections; and an increase in unconventional political participation.

2.1.3. Low Participation of Women in Politics

Throughout recorded history in all part of the world, women have been subjected to domination by men. This is as a result of persisting cultural stereotype, abuse of religious and traditional

practices, patriarchal societal structures in which economic, political and social power are dominated by men and the role women have historically played as the followers of male political leaders. This form of discrimination is not simply an African phenomenon but a global one. The only difference is that, it has lasted for so long in this part of the world as other developed nations of the world are moving towards gender equality and equity. (Agbalajobi, 2010). Tracing the historical origin of male domination according to Anifowose (2004) is impossible, but believes that one highly plausible explanation is to be found in physical difference. Men are generally heavier, taller and even physically stronger than women and therefore more capable than women to enforce their will through physical violence and threat of violence. Women on the other hand are vulnerable because of their role of child bearing and nursing.

In addition, discrimination and subjection of women is further enforced by custom, traditional, practices, beliefs and the law, behind which stood the coercive force of the state. In sum, the key point is that discrimination against women has its root in the nature of our societies which celebrate men as being unique, stronger and fit for the public space while women are feeble and weak and meant to stay within the confluence of the private space. This has gone a long way to affect women's perception of politics and has therefore lead to a very low level of political interest, knowledge and activity of women in politics (Agbalajobi, 2010). Women's participation and access to formal political power structures vary across countries (Bari, 2005). However, based on different literatures the following factors have been identified and discussed.

Women's socioeconomic development and condition was the first reason identified by most literatures. According to Alexander & Welzel (2007) socioeconomic development in a sense means economic modernity. It focuses on economic development and considers increases in democracy and human choice as direct outcome of economic development. In relations to gender

equality, this approach holds that economic development is central to increasing the pool of women eligible for positions of social power. Thus, Babatunde (2003) argues that a country's level of development correlates with women's participation in politics and decreases existing barriers to political activity and participation. Furthermore, increased economic development associates with a more broad based distribution of educational and occupational resources. Greater access to educational and occupational resources increases women's chances of professional development, creating a larger pool of women eligible for power positions such as political office. Others note that higher levels of economic development bring more social services to societies. These developmental measures such as increase in per capita, gross domestic product, women in the work force and women literacy positively influence the percentage of women's political participation (O. Babatunde, 2003).

Furthermore, according to Alemu (2014) Women's historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantage economically. Political campaigns are expensive and require solid financial backing for success. Over the years, sexual division of labor and job opportunities offered on sex basis has given men productive gender roles, enabling them to possess more purchasing power over their female counterparts. Societal value assumes that political activities are masculine and this makes it worse as financiers and sponsors of politicians prefer male candidates over female ones, since they believe they stand a better chance. Most success achieved by women in politics has been through women movements that sponsor women political aspirations financially and otherwise (Alemu, 2014).

Cultural norms and customary practices was another factor identified by different scholars as influential factor of women's political participation. According to Babatunde (2003) culture is a socially created phenomenon that is influenced by the history, social experiences and material

circumstances of the people. Among the cultural ideological factors that affect women's political participation is patriarchy system (Bari, 2005). Patriarchy is characterized by male kinship, permanent marriage and paternal authority (Appadorai, 1974) cited on Olorunmaiye (2009). Fayomi & Igbelina-Igbokwe (2006) discussed that patriarchy has influence of cultural structure on the social status of the female gender. Patriarchy is a set of social relations with a material base that enables men to dominate women. Here, the central focus of power is the father, and the factual importance of motherhood kinship structure and history is denied (Cain, Khan and Nahar, 1979) cited on Amadiume (1997). In other words, patriarchy describes a distribution of power and resources within the family in a manner that men maintain power and control of resources, and women are powerless and dependent on men (Oyekanmi, 2004). This negative factor entrench feelings of inferiority complex and other vices that perpetually put women at a disadvantaged position (Akinboye, 2004). Moreover, women finds it hard to participate in politics due to limited time available to them because of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres (Bari, 2005).

Institutional factor could also be taken as one of the factor for low participation of women's in politics as identified by different scholars in the literatures. According to Alexander & Welzel (2007) the view that holds a country's institutional characteristics either enable or constrain women's political participation. Democratic institutions that preserve and socialize free and equal citizenship supply women with more rights and more channels for making their voices heard (Inglehart & Norris 2003) cited on Alexander & Welzel (2007).

The impact of institutional variation within democracies on women's political involvement has also been considered. Most prominent among the arrangements considered is the influence of electoral systems (Krook, 2005). Electoral systems affect women's paths to parliament by

structuring party elites' incentive or disincentive to run women candidates. In this regard therefore, proportional representation system has been found to have a positive impact on the percentage of women in parliament. In addition to the role of electoral rules, gender electoral quota systems are institutional mechanisms that consistently, positively mediate the conditions and attitudes that structure women's leadership potential (Akiyode-Afolabi, Abiola and Arogundade, 2003). Scholars generally find that the stronger the gender electoral quota system the greater the level of women's percentages in political office (Dahlerup & Freidenvall 2003) cited on Olorunmaiye (2009). Thus the attributes of democratic institutions, electoral systems, and the degree to which countries adopt gender electoral quota systems are the institutional designs that perform mediating role of either improving or hindering women's presence in political office (O. Babatunde, 2003).

Karl (2001) identifies some obstacles that hinder women's participation in political affairs worldwide. They include low education and literacy levels, low access to financial resources, cultural attitudes and stereotypes, religion and socialization, among other factors. Women face stress while at work, home and in social environments. Women are also supposed to acquire masculine leadership characteristics and management skills like aggressiveness and assertiveness among others so as to excel in their careers (Cooper and Karl 1982) cited on Kivoi (2014). Oduol (2011) sees lack of institutional political party structures with which to enhance women's participation, which he blames for the low levels of women in politics thus their limited representation in Parliament and also within political parties. Political parties seem to be a Waterloo for increased women representation since stringent party rules, violence meted against women; cultural barriers among other impediments always appear to halt increased women participation in active politics and decision making (Nyanjom 2011).

2.1.4. Women in Ethiopia Context

Women comprise about 49.9% of the estimated Ethiopian population of 77.1 million (CSA, 2008). According to the report among the total heads of households, 25.5% are females with 23% of them in rural and 39% in urban areas. Like their counterparts in developing countries, women in Ethiopia face a set of multiple, cross cutting and interrelated problems. These problems limit Ethiopian women's access to productive resources, basic health services, and educational and employment opportunities. Hence most of them do not participate in decision making processes (Demissie and Yitbarek, 2008). Moreover, women in Ethiopia occupy low status in the society. In spite of their contributions to the well-being of their family and community affairs in general, women experience lower socio-economic status as a whole and hence is marginalized from making decisions at all levels. Women are facing multiple forms of deprivation. Gender based discrimination, lack of protection of basic human rights, violence, lack of access to productive resources, education and training, basic health services, and employment are widespread (National Committee for Traditional Practices Eradication (NCTPE), 2003).

Ethiopian women suffer from work stereotype and gender distribution of labor, more are occupy in economically invisible work. Women experience lower socioeconomic status in general and hence is marginalized from making decisions at all levels. Nonetheless, women are poor in terms of access to resources, services and employment. Women are underrepresented in the formal sector of employment. The survey conducted by the Central Statistical Authority (CSA, 2004) showed that women account for less than half (43%) of the total employees in the country. Considering the percentage of female employees from the total number of employees by employment type, the highest was in domestic activities (78%) and followed by unpaid activities

(59.3%). Furthermore, the report indicates in other types of formal employment (e.g. government, NGOs, private organizations), the percentage of female workers is less than 35. On the other hand, the survey showed overrepresentation of female workers in the informal sector. About 58% of working women work in the informal sector whereas the percentage of working men in the informal sector was 37.7%. The breakdown of the federal government employees by occupational groups also indicated gender disparity.

From federal government employees found in the clerical and fiscal type of jobs 71.3% were female, while the percentage of females was slightly more than half (51%) in custodial and manual type of jobs. Women make up 25% and 18% of the administrative and professional and scientific job categories, respectively, indicating that upper and middle level positions are overwhelmingly dominated by men. Furthermore, this concentration of women in the informal sector and low level positions has implication on their earnings. In this regard, the survey showed four out of ten women civil servants earn Birr 300 a month compared to two out of ten for men (Federal Civil Service Commission, 2005). Regardless of women's immense contribution, they often lack productive assets particularly land, and are underserved with agricultural extension, credit, labor, oxen and farm implements. Women's representation in the permanent employment of both regional and federal civil services is also lower than men; in comparison to the large number of unemployed women. The increase in the number of women employees over the years is insignificant. Women's employment in the formal sector both in industries and the Civil Service is lower than men (NCTPE, 2003).

2.1.4.1. Women's leadership and power in Ethiopia

Power refers to ability to control in such a situation (circumstances) when other human beings must obey and do what the duty requires. According to Weber 1947 cited on Alemu (2014), power is the ability to impose one's will in social relations despite any resistance and without reference to basis of this opportunity. Political power is a definite aspect in relations between large social groups (subjection, cooperation and social partnership). The exercise of political power is related to needs, interests which are complied with and implemented in social groups. The term "politics" refers to the exercise of power. It is used to describe the key interests of social groups, citizen participation in state duties and also to characterize the main directions in the operation (economic, national, social, cultural etc.) of the State and parties (Murnieks 2003).

In any society individuals play some roles, and one of such is the role of a leader. Usually a leader is the one who bears the biggest responsibility; it is the most powerful role in an organization (Byers, 1997). According to Gardner (1990), cited on Alemu (2014) the most common opinions about leaders are that they deal with everything and give directions: leaders have power, all the gains and pursuing an objective is only an object of interest of a leader. Other employees are called followers, even if they are leaders of a lower group or fulfill some duties of a leader. The concept of leadership involves relationships deeply rooted in social settings requiring leadership theory and research to integrate leader attributes and behaviors within contextual aspects of leader emergence and effectiveness (Yukl, 1994).

According to Khabele and Victor (2008) cited on Alemu (2014) leadership can be defined organizationally and narrowly as the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members'. Organizationally, leadership has a direct impact on the effectiveness of costs, revenue

generation, service, satisfaction, earnings, market value, share price, social capital, motivation, engagement and sustainability.

Leadership is even used as a universal means for any social problem. Leadership exists only in relationships and perception of employees involved (Yukl, 1994). In order to define leadership it is of major importance to understand relationship (Kouzes and Posner 1995). Leadership is a process when one individual affects the rest of the group in order to achieve defined aims of an organization or a group (Byers, 1997). An idealistic opinion of theoreticians on the phenomenon of leaders would be as follows: leaders must be able to guide and paint the vision with confidence, and everyone must be ready to believe that this leader is able to achieve the aim (Kouzes and Posner 1995). Most often this role is executed by men. Leadership should not be mixed up with status. It is not quite like that status stands apart from a leader, however very often position brings along only symbolic values and traditions which do not increase the role of a leader (Gardner 1990). For example, a nation awaits a manager to govern the State, yet his/her high position does not imply that his/her leadership is going to be successful. Status is a value, importance or a prestige attached to a position or a role in an organization.

A woman is an adult female human being, as contrasted to men, an adult male, and a girl, a female child. The term woman (irregular plural: women) is used to indicate biological sex distinctions, cultural gender role distinctions or both (Wikipedia, 2005). Ethiopia is a patriarchal society that keeps women in a subordinate position (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). There is a belief that women are docile, submissive, patient, and tolerant of monotonous work and violence, for which culture is used as a justification (Hirut, 2004).

Like many African Countries, the majority of Ethiopian women hold low status in the society. Different studies indicated the low status of women in developing countries in general and in

Ethiopia in particular (Mukuria, Aboulfia and Themme, 2005). They have been denied equal access to education, training, and gainful employment opportunities, and their involvement in policy formulation and decision making processes has been minimal. Obviously, women play a vital role in the community by taking care of all societal activities. However, they do not enjoy the fruits of their labor and suffer from political, economic, societal, and cultural marginalization. According to Ashenafi (2009), although there are many women who have played important political and leadership roles in the history of Ethiopia, only few are visible in the existent literatures. The same source has indicated that women have played important political roles mostly by wielding proxy power through birth or marriage. In support to this idea, as Teshome (1979) stated, in Ethiopian history, women did great contributions in both out and in door activities especially in battles and other activities. They have been actively participating in rural area in agriculture, commercial, undertaking reproduction and social responsibilities. However, their misfortunes of living in the shadow of men have hidden from view such highly notable performances. They have been forced to lose confidence in themselves and so have been unable to act on their own action directly concerning themselves.

Above all, for instance, an Ethiopian Women history, contributions and brilliant leadership role which have Emperor Minilik's (1877-1913) first formal wife, Bafena and second legal wife Empress Taitu had played is unforgettable history and comes first when one talk about Ethiopian women contributions. For instance, Taitu was acted as the chief advisor of Emperor with particular influence in the area of foreign relations. She hold shigh profile in the history for patriotism and uncompromisingly pursuing Ethiopia's independence (Ashenafi, 2009). These historical facts make it clear that despite their strengths, contributions and demonstrated

leadership abilities, it has never been easy for Ethiopian women to ascend to formal political power.

Now a day the FDRE government has adopted various enhancing instruments to promote equal participation of women in every subject of the nation's decision making positions among which the FDRE constitution is the most promising and binding one which had ever been existed in the history of the country. However some efforts have been made still the participation of women in leadership and decision making position is minimal as per to their counterparts. This can be evidenced with many aspects however, looking at proportion of women in the parliament which is entitled to be the highest policy making body of the nation, though it may seem increasing from time to time, it is still minimal, according to the information gained from international Parliament Union (IPU), in 2005 National election women accounts 21.3%, where as in 2010 national election, their number has increased to 152(27.8%) out of the total 547 seats of HPR members, with compared to Rwanda (56.3%), and South Africa of which they accounts for 44.5% and others.

2.2. Factors Affecting Women's Participation in politics

Despite the above mentioned positive trends, there are some key issues which need to be ironed out for women to fully partake in decision making in the structures of power. The issue of representation and women's visibility in leadership and decision-making remains a major gap. The election of female heads of state in some African countries has not translated into increased parliamentary representation (Cole, 2011).

The large numbers of women in elected offices have not fully transformed into considerable legislative and resource gains. In this regard, while quotas are important in addressing the exclusion of women from the public political sphere, women have not fully benefitted much from the system. In most African countries women in the reserved seats as result of the quota systems have been like chess pieces, as they have been moved by men. Thus there are several issues which need to be improved or changed for women to wholly benefit from the emerging trends in their political participation. These include revolutionizing the patriarchal and religious beliefs and intensifying capacity building and enhancement programs to boost women's participation in politics. These should go along with the positive media coverage and halting political violence against women in politics (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013).

In many countries, traditions continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and to restrict them to those roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system favors sexually segregated roles, and traditional cultural values militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process (Kassa, 2015). Societies all over the world are dominated by an ideology of a woman's place. According to this ideology, women should only play the role of working mother, which is generally low-paid and apolitical. In addition, in some countries, men even tell women how to vote. This is the environment, in which a certain collective image of women in traditional, apolitical roles continues to dominate, which many women face (Shvedova, 2002). So that today, cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on Election Day (Kunovich, Paxton and Hughes, 2007). Hence, women face prejudice as leaders because people tend to assume that leadership is a masculine trait. And when women do lead,

they face a problem. People evaluate autocratic behavior by women more negatively than the same behavior by men. Thus, even in countries where women have made gains in employment or education, they face cultural barriers to participation in politics.

In most cases, male and female are equal in terms of rights and duties. In addition, the election law grants the rights of women to participate and to vote in the parliamentary elections. In spite of that, there are factors or components that are lacked by women to guarantee a greater participation, as well as a greater interaction in politics (Nahar and Humaidan, 2013). Most researchers have attributed the restricted access of women to political life, and therefore to parliament, to social and religious constraints. In addition to that one could reveal that the main obstacle limiting the ability of women to improve their position and become involved actively in political life is the lack of confidence in the ability of women, whether in political or public life generally (Nahar *et al.*, 2003).

Moreover, the obstacles of women with respect to political participation and parliamentary elections are numerous and often interconnected. Many of these challenges stem from the patriarchal nature of society, which has permeated into formal and informal organizations, besides being the major force within family structures (Sabbagh, 2007). These components however can be represented in social patterns, culture, and economic development, the political system of the country and its laws, and personal or private matters that are associated with the personality of women. And in which there is no doubt, is that there is a relationship of interaction, influence, and interrelationships between these factors resulting in a cumulative effect upon the participation of women in politics in general and in the parliament in particular (Naffa, 2008).

According to Ukrainian Women's Fund (UWF), (2011) on one hand, political parties declare equal rights and opportunities for women and men as well as no internal discrimination of women; however, on the other hand, they account for the absence of women in their structures with the argument that preference is given to the most professional and competitive candidates, who, they say, are men. In addition, the majority of surveyed political parties indicated nearly no interest in targeted training, increased participation or empowerment of women in their structures or activities.

The customary practices of many contemporary societies are biased by subjugating women to men and undermining their self-esteem. The overall impact of gender bias, cultural norms and practices has entrenched a feeling of inferiority in women and place them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their male counterpart in the socio-political scene even in urban centers. These socially constructed norms and stereotype roles make women overplay their 'femininity' by accepting that they are 'weaker sexes', overemphasizing the dainty nature of their sex and regarding exceptional achievement as masculine. For example, most customs often prefer sending the male child to school over the female, who is expected to nurture siblings and to be married off. This marginally increases the illiterate women and stiffens their competition with their male counterparts in politics (Agbalajobi, 2010).

Cultural norms and customary practices have great influence on women's political participation. According to Babatunde, (2003) culture is a socially created phenomenon that is influenced by the history, social experiences and material circumstances of the people. Among the cultural ideological factors that affect women's political participation is patriarchy system (Bari, 2005). Patriarchy is characterized by male kinship, permanent marriage and paternal authority (Appadorai, 1974). Fayomi & Igbelina-Igbokwe (2006) note the influence of patriarchy cultural

structure on the social status of the female gender. Cain, Khan & Nahar (1979:406) define patriarchy as a set of social relations with a material base that enables men to dominate women. Here, the central focus of power is the father, and the factual importance of motherhood kinship structure and history is denied (Amadiume, 1997).

Another considerable factors rose on literature is historical legacies. Researchers have presented historical legacies potentially capable of affecting women's social and political status (Omotola, 2007). Scholars argue that a country' developmental trends of social modernization create cultural and institutional legacies that affect societies' abilities to improve women's lives (Skocpol 1992). Alexander & Welzel (2007) note that the emergence of institutions, whether cultural or the result of policy, sometimes consists of types of social organization that have a continuing and somewhat determinant influence on phenomena relevant to those institutions far into the future. This influence can take the form of an inertial tendency where institutions affect relevant phenomena that would have otherwise changed due to other social forces (Peters 1999).

Organizational culture is also raised as factors for participation of women's in politics. According to Phillips (as cited in Mbugua, 2007) organizational culture is defined as the realities, values, symbols and rituals held in common by members of an organization and which contribute to the creation of norms and expectations of behavior. It defines conduct within an organization, determines what is and is not valued, and how authority is asserted. The values, which support the great majority of organizations, and thus define success, often include money, power and status. As McKenna (cited in Mbugua, 2007) the corresponding behaviors include working long hours and putting in face time, competitiveness and a willingness to put work above all else. These values and behaviors, which some authors define as being masculine, have come to dominate organizations for historical and socio-economic reasons but are increasingly being

challenged by women, and many men, who want to 'work to live' rather than live to work. The organizational and managerial values in some organizations tend to be characterized by stereotypical views of women's roles, attributes, preferences and commitments. These in turn influence decisions about who is suitable for particular positions, which is seen to have potential and so forth. When women find themselves selected or assessed on the basis of group membership rather than on their experience and abilities, they experience gender discrimination. According to Miller (2006), leadership and management continue to be the domain of men that is thinks manager, think male. This has implications for women and men, rightly or wrongly, are perceived in a particular way in society, which permeates organizations. They are assigned gender roles, which are shared beliefs that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex.

The other factor of women low participation in politics is gender stereotyping; gender stereotypes are generalized beliefs about the characteristics and qualities attributed to men and women in a society. In general, men are characterized as aggressive, risk-taking, decisive, and autonomous, whereas women are characterized as kind, caring, relational, and humble (Sikdar & Mitra, 2008). Gender stereotypes can be described as the characteristics, attitudes, values and behaviors that society specifies as appropriate for the particular gender. The differences may have arisen not just from biological differences but also from sex role socialization during childhood and the way in which men and women develop psychologically. Gender stereotypes have consistently demonstrated that men are generally seen as more agent and more competent than women, while women are seen as more expressive and communal than men (Ginige, 2007). Gender stereotype is also explains why women and men are over-represented in particular types of jobs. Women dominate in care occupations such as nursing, teaching, social care and

especially child-care. Men tend to be concentrated in construction and management areas associated with physical strength, risk-taking or decision-making. Such gender biases are also reflected in organizational practices. Male-dominated sectors tend to be more unionized, and men are more frequently selected for managerial positions because, some argue, they are perceived to be more willing to work longer hours and supervise others. Occupational, sectorial or time-related segregation can also be explained by women's preferences for job security or the manner in which societies force them to balance work and family responsibilities. These factors, among others including structural and legal context, could help explain the over-representation of women in public sector jobs and/or part-time work (G/Michael, 2014).

2.3. Empirical Perspective

Alemu (2014) conduct a descriptive study in pursuit of identifying the factors that affect women Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Position, Ethiopia. His finding revealed out that in public institutions, women's had low education status and non-leadership positions; furthermore, he found out that socio-cultural attitudes and lack of acquisition of the necessary experience for taking part in public decision-making, overburden of domestic responsibilities continuation of the negative attitudes regarding women's ability to lead and govern, and lack of role models of women leaders for young women and girls were the main factors that hinder women's from active political participation.

Kassa (2015), made a secondary data based qualitative research on challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia; basically, he used secondary sources mainly such as published journal article, books and report of government and non-government organization. The

finding of the study shows that different casual factors such as; economic, religious, social and cultural factors contributed to women's poor political participation in the country. The study further revealed that political participation allow women to address their basic problems and needs in their community and ensures the openness, real fight against rent-seeking, accountability, political commitment, political leadership, and political responsiveness of the existing national, regional, districts, and local levels. Furthermore, he contended that more than half percent of the world's population are women. But, they lack access to political decision making as compared to their counter parts at all levels of government. So that women's equal participation indecision-making and politics is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy, but a necessary pre-condition for women's interests to be taken into account.

Losindilo *et al.*(2010), used a causal research design of Logistic regression and cross-tabulation in order to examine the factors that hinder women Participation in social, political and economic activities in Tanzania; according to the findings of their study place of residence, region of residence and age group are the factors that hinder women from participating in social, political and economic activities. Their study also concludes that level of education and religion contribute less to women's poor participation in social, political and economic activities. Moreover, the study further concludes that place of residence (Urban, Rural) has a great effect on women's participation in social, political and economic activities. The study observes that women in rural areas have little knowledge of loan programs compared with women in urban areas; also rural women work more than urban women do.

Tundi (2015), employed a descriptive survey research design to study factors influencing women participation in political leadership at Kimilili constituency of Bungoma county, Kenya. The study found out that women were ignorant of their rights and moreover patriarchal system is still

a hindrance of women participation in political leadership. Due to social-cultural, economic, education and political factors, found to influence women participation in political leadership. The study also recommended that changing culture to suit the political needs of women would be a very challenging option to carry forward. It is not an issue which is solvable overnight; hence women's participation in politics should be actively pursued by women.

Blomgren (2010), conduct a case study on Women and Political Participation: a minor field study on Hindrances for women's political participation in Georgia; the study revealed out that the major obstacles for women to participate in politics are public opinion, the electoral system and the nomination process in political parties. Further, influential individuals, so called policy entrepreneurs are seen as having an important role for the increase of women's political participation and gender-equality issues in general. The most likely action to be seen is continued training and education for society as a whole, mainly targeting women. Affirmative action's such as party quotas seem far away.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This is the third chapter of the thesis and it deals about the way and method how this research is carried out; hence, this chapter incorporate description of study area, research type, population and sampling design, research instrument, and data analysis technique.

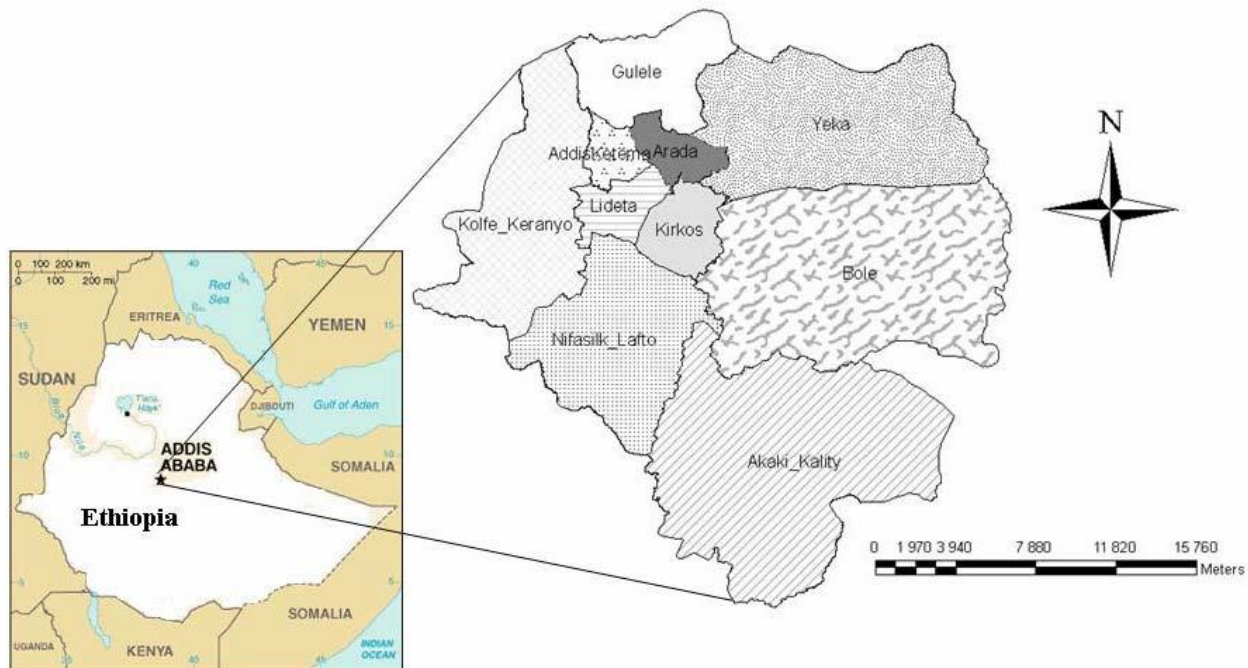
3.1. Description of the Study Area

The study is conducted at Addis Ababa Arada sub-city specifically at Wereda 07 district. Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia, the seat of the African Union (AU) and the United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa (UNECA). It is situated between 80 55' and 90 05' North Latitude and 380 40' and 380 50' East Longitude in the central plateau of Ethiopia. It's covers an area of 540 sq. km. Addis Ababa is founded by the 19th century Ethiopian king Emperor Menelik II and his wife Empress Taitu in 1887 (Teshome, 2012). Due to its average elevation of 2,500 meters above sea level, Addis Ababa has a suitable climate and moderate weather conditions. Besides, for political and administrative reasons, the city is made to be structured at three tiers: City Government at the top, 10 sub cities Administrations in the Middle, and one hundred sixteen woreda administrations at the bottom (Mulugeta, 2011). It has a population of 3,384,569 according to the 2007 population census, with annual growth rate of 3.8%. This number has been increased from the originally published 2,738,248 figure and appears to be still largely underestimated.

The city is made up of urban and peri-urban areas, and is divided into ten sub-cities which are Addis Ketema, Akaki-Qality, Arada, Bole, Gulele, Kirkos, Kolfe-Keranio, Lideta, Nifasilk-Lafto, and Yeka sub-cities. The Addis Ababa city Council is responsible for administration of the city. Seven of the sub-cities have urban agriculture offices under their sub-city capacity building

program offices; that is, except Arada, Addis-Ketema and Kirkos sub-cities. Based on Addis Ababa urban land use plan report (ORAAMP 1999), the total land area of Addis Ababa is 530.14 square-kilometers. As a chartered city (ras gez astedader), Addis Ababa has the status of both a city and a state. It is where the African Union is and its predecessor the OAU was based. It also hosts the headquarters of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and numerous other continental and international organizations. Addis Ababa is therefore often referred to as "the political capital of Africa" for its historical, diplomatic and political significance for the continent. The city is populated by people from different regions of Ethiopia. It is home to Addis Ababa University. The Federation of African Societies of Chemistry (FASC) and Horn of Africa Press Institute (HAPI) are also headquartered in Addis Ababa (fig 3.1)

Fig 1: Map of Addis Ababa



3.2.Type of Research Design

The type of study used for the purpose of this study is descriptive study. It has been used because it is a fact finding study with adequate and accurate interpretation of the finding. It describes what the reality is. It describes what actually exists within a situation, such as current practices, situations, etc of different aspects of the research. Since the present study is concerned with assessing about factors that are affecting women's political participation in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 Council, the researcher has assumed that the descriptive type of research is the most appropriate method to be used.

3.3.Data sources

To attain the aim of this study, both primary and secondary data sources have been used. The primary data are gathered from sample respondents which were chosen through sampling from the total study population. The main sources used for secondary data were previous studies, journals, different books in the area of political science, gender & leadership, internet and other documented sources from Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 07 administration communication affair office.

3.4.Population and Sampling Design

Study population is an aggregation of elements from which the sample is actually selected. Accordingly, the study population of this research paper was all the permanent residents of Arada Sub-City Woreda 07. Furthermore, to carry out this study/to assess factors that affect women's participation in council; first out of 45 Keble's 5 Keble's were selected purposely, this is because at this Keble's women's participation in the council politics is very low when it compares to other Keble's. Accordingly, 51 respondents from 4 each Keble's and 52 from the

last one were selected, and totally, 256 randomly selected respondents were interviewed for the purpose of this study.

3.5.Method of Data Collection

A survey method was followed and the method of data collection method which has been employed to this study was questionnaire and interview. The questionnaire had contained both closed and open ended formats. The questionnaire was selected because; it helps to gather data with minimum cost faster than any other tool. Moreover, most of the respondents were literate; so, they can read and answer the questionnaire more freely to express their idea on the issue. In addition to this, In addition to this, the questionnaires were translated to Amharic language for simplicity and to get more facts related to the issue.

3.6.Method of Data Analysis

As it is stated under the sub topic of type of research, this research is a descriptive type. Accordingly, for realization and successful accomplishment of the study, data collected from different primary and secondary sources were recorded, edited, organized, analyzed, interpreted and presented in relation to research questions. The data was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively by using descriptive statistical tools such as tables, figures, percentages, graphs and charts.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In line with the objectives questionnaires were distributed for selected respondents; accordingly, 256 questionnaires were returned successfully. Therefore, the collected questionnaires were analyzed for discussing and presenting the findings of the study. These sections incorporate three sub-sections, the demographic characteristics of respondents, women political participation and the barriers of women political participation.

4.1. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

4.1.1. Sex and Education Level of Respondents

Much of the sample respondents were female in terms of sex; this is because, basically the focus of the study was on the problems of women so that the generated information should be gathered from the right source which is females. Totally, there were 256 respondents of which 236 (92.2%) of them were females and the rest 20 (7.8%) of them were male. Furthermore, out of the total (236) female respondents 3 percent of them complete primary school, 5.2 percent of them were certificate holder, and the rest 84.7 & 7.2 percent of the female respondents were diploma and degree holders respectively. Out of the total (20) male respondents 5 percents of them complete primary school, the rest 60 & 35 percent of male respondents were diploma and degree holders respectively. There were no certificate holders of male respondents. Generally, out of the total respondents 3.1 percent of them were completed primary school, 4.7 percent of them were certificate holders, and the rest 82.8 and 9.4 percent of the respondents were diploma and degree holders respectively (table 4.1).

Table 4.1 description of sex and education level of respondents

Sex of Respondents Vs Education of Respondents Cross-tabulation							
			Education of Respondents				Total
			Primary school	Certificate	Diploma	Degree	
Sex of Respondents	Male	Count	1	0	12	7	20 (7.8%)
		%	5.0%	0.0%	60.0%	35.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	7	12	200	17	236 (92.2%)
		%	3.0%	5.1%	84.7%	7.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	12	212	24	256
		%	3.1%	4.7%	82.8%	9.4%	100.0%

Source: own computation

4.1.2. Age and Marital Status of Respondents

The survey covered a total of 256 respondents, according to the survey result there were only two age groups. The first age group was 31 to 40 years of age which accounts 57 percent of the total respondents and the rest 43 percent of the respondents belongs to the age group of above 41 years of age. Out of the first age group 32.9 percent were single, 58.9 percent were married and the rest 8.2 percents were widowed. On the other hand out of the second age group 18.2 percent of them were single, 63.6 percent were married and the rest 18.2 percent were divorced. Generally, the results of the study revealed that 26.6 percent of the respondents were single, 60.9 percent of them were married and the rest 7.8 and 4.7 percent of the respondents were divorced and widowed. The analysis indicated that in terms of proportion majority of the respondents were married, this is may be due to majority of the respondents were belongs to matured age groups.

Table .2 Ages and marital status of respondents

Age of Respondents * Marital Status * Sex of Respondents Cross-tabulation									
Sex of Respondents				Marital Status				Total	
				Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed		
Male	Age of Respondents	31-40	Count	3	6	0	--	9	
			%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	--	100.0%	
		above 41	Count	3	6	2	--	11	
			%	27.3%	54.5%	18.2%	--	100.0%	
	Total			Count	6	12	2	--	20
				%	30.0%	60.0%	10.0%	--	100.0%
Female	Age of Respondents	31-40	Count	45	80	0	12	137	
			%	32.8%	58.4%	0.0%	8.8%	100.0%	
		above 41	Count	17	64	18	0	99	
			%	17.2%	64.6%	18.2%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Total			Count	62	144	18	12	236
				%	26.3%	61.0%	7.6%	5.1%	100.0%
Total	Age of Respondents	31-40	Count	48	86	0	12	146	
			%	32.9%	58.9%	0.0%	8.2%	100.0%	
		above 41	Count	20	70	20	0	110	
			%	18.2%	63.6%	18.2%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Total			Count	68	156	20	12	256
				%	26.6%	60.9%	7.8%	4.7%	100.0%

Source: own computation

4.1.3. Education Status of Respondents

Another important variable was education status of respondents, according to the survey result majority of the respondents were diploma holders, and it accounts 82.8 percent of the total respondents. 9.4 percent of respondents were degree holders and the rest 4.7 and 3.1 percent of the respondents were certificate holder and primary school completed respectively (table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Education status of respondents

Education of Respondents					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary school	8	3.1	3.1	3.1
	Certificate	12	4.7	4.7	7.8
	Diploma	212	82.8	82.8	90.6
	Degree	24	9.4	9.4	100.0
	Total	256	100.0	100.0	

Source: own computation

4.2. Women Participation in Politics

4.2.1. Status of Women Participation in Politics

Status of women political participation in this research context means the participation of women in any political affairs of woreda 07 council. Accordingly, majority (92.2%) of the respondents disagree that under present level Ethiopian democracy women's cannot participate in politics, which insight women's have good opportunity to participate in any political issues. 34.4 percent of the respondents reject the issue that their political party does not encourage women to contest for positions for fear of losing the seat to other political parties, on the other hand considerable (56.3%) amounts of respondents couldn't decide on this issue. Moreover, 84.4 percent of the respondents also disagree on that the government and the political parties themselves are not willing women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement are excluded them from their supremacy in the political arena, this indicates women's didn't have pressure from government and political parties that makes far away them from being part of any political arenas. Apparently, 46.1 percent of the respondents oppose the argument of women have less membership number in the political parties, which limits them to have an equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections; however, close to 46.1 percent of the respondents agree on that less membership number of women's in the political parties limits women's to have an equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections. Around 52.3 percent of the respondents disagree on argument that contend low level of women representation in party executive does not give them the opportunity of contesting for political positions, however, considerable (47.7%)

amounts of respondents agree that low level representation of women in political party executives blocks them from contesting for political positions.

Generally, seven items were used for the purpose of measuring the status of women participation in politics; hence, 4.24 percent select “Strongly Agree”, 20.54 percent select “Agree”, 13.4 percent select “Neutral”, 46 percent select “Disagree” and 15.84 percent select “Strongly Disagree”. Furthermore, the grand mean score of this variable was 3.48 which lie between neutral and disagree level (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Status of women participation in politics

List of Items	Measurement scale in %						
	SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean	St. dev
With the present level of Ethiopian democracy, women cannot participate in politics	3.1	4.7	0	62.5	29.7	4.11	0.870
My political party does not encourage women to contest for positions in the Woreda 06 council for fear of losing the seat to other political parties	0	9.4	56.3	21.9	12.5	3.38	0.821
The government and the political parties themselves are not willing women’s political participation, because they believe that women’s political involvement are excluded them from their supremacy in the political arena	4.7	3.1	7.8	64.1	20.3	3.92	0.908
Women have less membership number in the political organizations/parties, which limits women to have an equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections	8.6	37.5	7.8	35.2	10.9	3.02	1.230
Low level of women representation in party executive does not give them the opportunity of contesting for political positions	8.6	39.1	0	41.4	10.9	3.07	1.260
Since women has no majority in the seats of the councils, women’s voice is unheard	0	28.9	3.1	53.9	14.1	3.53	1.055
Women lack communications and access of information in decision making process	4.7	21.1	18.8	43	12.5	3.38	1.092
Status of women political participation	4.24	20.54	13.4	46	15.84	3.48	1.0337
Where, SA=Strongly Agree, A=Agree, N=Neutral, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree							

4.2.2. Barriers of Women's Participation in Politics

Barriers of women participation in this context mean what makes women to participate in politics in low rate. Accordingly, 27.3 percent of the respondents replied that women's low education status make their participation low in politics. In this regard 45.3 percent of respondents neither agree nor disagree on that the low education status of women makes them stagnant to participate in politics. However, 27.3 percent of the respondents disagree that women's low education contribute for their low participation. 27.3 percent of the respondents agreed that the kind of occupations of women in this Woreda do not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics, 40.6 percent of them were neither agree nor disagree, however, 42.2 percent of the respondents were not agree on that the kind of occupations of women didn't afford them the opportunity to participate in politics.

54.7 percent of the respondents also agreed that the women who hold political positions were faced many challenges among others lack of political experience and skills of leadership, however, close to 31 percent of respondents didn't agree that leadership skill and experience are the challenges of women's who are in political positions. 35.9 percent of the sample respondents agreed that weak financial capacity of women's makes it difficult for them to participate in politics, around 33 percent of respondents neither agree nor disagree with regard to political participation and weak financial capacity of women's, on the other hand, more than 32 percent of the respondents didn't agree on that low financial capacity influence women political participation.

41.4 percent of the respondents agreed that the level of women's literacy hinders them from participating in politics, 15.6 percent of the respondents neither agree nor disagree concerning

women literacy and political participation; however, 42 percent of the respondents disagree that women political participation was determined by their literacy. In the study district most women do not see themselves capable enough to hold political offices, and this is confirmed by 43.1 percent of the respondents; conversely, 36.7 percent of the respondents disagree on the argument that women's didn't see themselves capable enough to hold political offices. According to the respondents (17.2%) considering our moral and beliefs women shouldn't be encouraged to participate in politics, nonetheless, 82.8 percent of the respondents didn't agree on this argument, which is they didn't support discouraging women to participate in politics by considering moral and beliefs. Furthermore, 65.7 percent of the respondents believed that considering political competence, our society rates men over women, yet 28.1 percent of the respondents had reservation on this issue, they didn't believe that the society rates men over women for political competencies.

44.2 percent of the respondents agreed that political activities were dominated by men and this discourages women from participating, conversely, 37.5 percent of them didn't agreed that the political activities were dominated by men, the rest 18 percent neither agree nor disagree. 53.9 percent of the respondents were believed that the culture we had doesn't encourage women's involvement in politics, on the other hand, 43 percent of the respondents didn't agree that women's political involvement has nothing to do with our culture. Furthermore, 18 percent of the respondents also believed that the existing religious heritages do not encourage women's to participate in politics; however, majority (72.6%) of the respondents didn't believe that our religious heritage influence women's participation in politics. 54.1 percent of the respondents confirmed that family responsibilities hinder women from participating in politics, 31.1 percent of the respondents however replied that family responsibility didn't hinder women participation

in politics; the rest 4.7 percent neither agree nor disagree. Apparently, the discrimination against women during the last military rule in Ethiopia has discouraged many women from political participation, this is confirmed by 35.9 percent of the respondents, on the other hand, 37.5 percent of the respondents were disagree on that the discrimination against women during the last military rule in Ethiopia has discouraged many women from political participation; the rest 26.6 percent of sample respondents couldn't decide on this issue.

Generally, thirteen items were employed for the purpose of measuring the barriers of women participation in politics and related issues; accordingly, 6.24 percent of the respondents were select "Strongly Agree", 33.63 percent of the sample respondents select "Agree", 18.21 percent of the respondents select neither agree nor disagree, they select "Neutral", and 30.53 percent of the respondents select "Disagree", and the rest 11.34 percent of the respondents select "Strongly Disagree". Furthermore, the grand mean score was 3.48 with a standard deviation of 1.046. According to the result of the mean score it is possible to conclude that the selected issues were not as such barriers for the participation of women in politics. Furthermore, the analysis indicates that women have the opportunities and possibilities to encourage and participate in politics (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 barriers of women's political participation

List of Items	Measurement scale in %						
	SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean	St. dev
Majority of women in this 06 Woreda are not educated enough to participate in politics	3.1	24.2	45.3	27.3	0	2.97	0.801
The kind of occupations of women in this Woreda do not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics	5.5	11.7	40.6	39.1	3.1	3.23	0.896
Women who hold political positions are faced many challenges among others lack of political experience and skills of leadership	10.2	44.5	14.1	14.1	17.2	2.84	1.288
Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this Woreda to participate in politics	10.9	25	32.8	26.6	4.7	2.89	1.064
The level of women's literacy in this Woreda hinders them from participating in politics	3.1	38.3	15.6	33.6	9.4	3.08	1.103
Most women in this woreda do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office	4.7	38.3	20.3	28.9	7.8	2.97	1.084
Considering our moral belief, women should not be encouraged to participate in politics	3.1	14.1	0	43	39.8	4.02	0.611
On the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women	10.2	55.5	6.3	20.3	7.8	2.6	1.150
Political activities in this woreda are dominated by men and this discourages women from participating	3.1	41.1	18	34.4	3.1	2.93	1.003
Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics	7.8	46.1	3.1	30.5	12.5	2.94	1.257
Our religious heritages do not encourage women to participate in politics	0	18	9.4	49.2	23.4	3.78	1.001
Family responsibilities hinder women from participating in politics	4.7	59.4	4.7	23.4	7.8	2.70	1.116
The discrimination against women during the last military rule in Ethiopia has discouraged many women from political participation	14.8	21.1	26.6	26.6	10.9	2.98	1.230
Barriers of women's political participation	6.24	33.63	18.21	30.53	11.34	3.07	1.0464

Where, SA=Strongly Agree, A=Agree, N=Neutral, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree,

Source: own computation

4.2.3. Ways to Increase women participation in politics

65.7 percent of the respondents confirmed that the level of women's involvement in politics will increase if a specified percentage of political posts are reserved for them, conversely, around 29 percent of the respondents didn't agree on this issue which is arranging some quota doesn't change the level of women's participation. Moreover, 70.3 percent of the respondents believed that adopting electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation, to the reverse 26.5 percent of the respondents replied that electoral quota could not be a solution for empowering women in political participation. Apparently, 78.1 percent of the respondents feel that in Ethiopian women's political participation will increase if proportional representation electoral system is adopted, although 21.9 percent of the respondents didn't agree on this issue. In line with the above statements 51.6 percent of the respondents also agreed that the level of women's political participation will increase if the constitution mandate parties to allow for equal gender representation, however, 43.8 percent of the respondents didn't believe that mandating political parties would increase women's political participation.

Apart from this, a qualitative interview were made and respondents were raised points that is expected from government, political parties, civil societies and from women's themselves in order to increase the participation of women in politics. Accordingly, in addition to creating opportunities for women to join higher education, the government should give special attention and support for females to participate in politics. According to the respondents government should also organize and provide continuous and extensive seminars, trainings, and activities for women's particularly, and in every leadership position women should have quota; Organizing women vie women's league was also another ways raised by the respondents. On the other hand political parties are expected to encourage and support females based on their interest and performance and inform them they are the sole decision makers on political matters, and teach them their involvement will benefit the party. Moreover, political parties should include in their internal rules and

policies that oblige the party to have equal seat on leadership position, and putting women's involvement as a precondition for recognizing as a party. Civil societies are also expected to create link with education centers and make women's competent in terms of leadership. Finally, women's by themselves should understand they can be a leader without any external influence and stops undermine themselves.

Four items were employed in order to find out the ways and possibilities of increasing women participation in woreda 07 council politics. From literature four suitable and important remedial ways were raised for respondents to rate them; these are reserving specified percentage of political posts for women's, adoption of electoral quota, proportional representation electoral system and constitution mandate parties to allow for equal gender representation. Accordingly, 25.4 percent of the respondents were strongly agreed that the recommended solution would increase women's participation, 41.02 percent of the respondents agreed that women's participation would be increased if the mentioned solutions are implemented, conversely, 21.87 percent of the sample respondents disagree that the selected remedial actions would increase the participation of women's in woreda 07 council politics, and also 8.6 percent of the respondents strongly disagree that the participation of women in the council would be increased through these remedial actions. On the other hand, 3.12 percent of the respondents neither agree nor disagree regarding the participation of women and its remedial actions (table 4.6).

Table 4.6 ways to increase political participation

List of Items	Measurement scale in %						
	SA	A	N	D	SD	Mean	St. dev
The level of women's involvement in politics will increase if a specified percentage of political posts are reserved for them.	31.3	34.4	4.7	12.5	17.2	2.50	1.471
The adoption of electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation	25	45.3	3.1	23.4	3.1	2.34	1.178
Women's political participation will increase if proportional representation electoral system is adopted in Ethiopian	23.4	54.7	0	14.1	7.8	2.28	1.194
The level of women's political participation will increase if the constitution mandate parties to allows for equal gender representation	21.9	29.7	4.7	37.5	6.3	2.77	1.322
Status of women political participation	25.4	41.02	3.125	21.87	8.6	2.47	1.2912
Where, SA=Strongly Agree, A=Agree, N=Neutral, D= Disagree, SD= Strongly Disagree,							

4.2.4. Women's Involvement in Political Parties and Decision Making

Under this sub-topic women's political party membership and their involvement in decision making process would be assessed. Accordingly, majority (61%) of the respondents were a member of the ruling party EPRDF, 18.8 percent of the respondents were a member of other political parties which participate actively in the countries politics and the rest 20.3 percent of the respondents were not a member of any political party. Respondents also asked whether their party encourage women to vie for party candidature in political position; accordingly, out of those who were members of political parties 40.19 percent of the respondents replied that their encourage women to participate for candidature in political position, 22.54 percent of the respondents said their party didn't support women to involve in political candidature, and the rest

37.25 percent of the respondents didn't know whether women's were encouraged or not. Furthermore, 84.31 percent of the respondents replied that they participate attend party and caucus meeting regularly and the rest 15.68 percent of the respondents didn't participate party meeting regularly. Apparently, 51.96 percent of the respondents confirmed that women actively involved in the decision making process of their party, on the other hand 13.72 percent of the respondents didn't believe women actively involved in the decision making process of their party, the rest 34.31 percent of the respondents didn't know anything about this.

Table 4.7 women's involvement in decision making and political parties

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Which of the political parties do you belong to	EPRDF	156	61	61
	Other party	48	18.8	18.8
	non	52	20.3	20.3
	Total	256	100.0	100.0
Does your party encourage women to vie for party candidature in political position?	Yes	82	40.19	40.19
	No	46	22.54	22.54
	I don't know	76	37.25	37.25
	Total	204	100	100
Do you attend party and caucus meeting regularly?	Yes	172	84.31	84.31
	No	32	15.68	15.68
	Total	204	100	100
Are women actively involved in the decision making process of your party?	Yes	106	51.96	51.96
	No	28	13.72	13.72
	I don't know	70	34.31	34.31
	Total	204	100	100

Source: own computation

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Summary

This study was intended to answer the factors that affect women's participation in woreda 7 council politics; in order to analyze this descriptive research design was followed and 256 respondents were used as a source of primary data. Furthermore, questionnaires and interview were the main instruments of data collection.

Totally, there were 256 respondents of which 92.2 percent of them were females and the rest 7.8 percent of them were male. Furthermore, out of the total respondents 3.1 percent of them were completed primary school, 4.7 percent of them were certificate holders, and the rest 82.8 and 9.4 percent of the respondents were diploma and degree holders respectively. Furthermore, there were two age groups, 31 to 40 years of age which accounts 57 percent of the total respondents and the rest 43 percent of the respondents belongs to the age group of above 41 years of age. Apparently, 26.6 percent of the respondents were single, 60.9 percent of them were married and the rest 7.8 and 4.7 percent of the respondents were divorced and widowed. In addition to this, 82.8 percent of the respondents were diploma holders, 9.4 percent of respondents were degree holders and the rest 4.7 and 3.1 percent of the respondents were certificate holder and primary school completed respectively.

Status of women political participation means the participation of women in any political affairs of woreda 07 council. Accordingly, seven items were used in order to measure the status of women participation; hence, 4.24 percent select "Strongly Agree", 20.54 percent select "Agree", 13.4 percent select "Neutral", 46 percent select "Disagree" and 15.84 percent select "Strongly

Disagree”. Furthermore, the grand mean score of this variable was 3.48 which lie between neutral and disagree level.

A barrier of women participation means the factors that hinder women from active political participation. Thirteen items were employed for the purpose of measuring the barriers of women participation in politics; accordingly, 6.24 percent of the respondents were select “Strongly Agree”, 33.63 percent of the sample respondents select “Agree”, 18.21 percent of the respondents select neither agree nor disagree, they select “Neutral”, and 30.53 percent of the respondents select “Disagree”, and the rest 11.34 percent of the respondents select “Strongly Disagree”. Furthermore, the grand mean score was 3.48 with a standard deviation of 1.046.

In order to find out the ways and possibilities of increasing women participation in woreda 07 council politics four way were raised, reserving specified percentage of political posts for women’s, adoption of electoral quota, proportional representation electoral system and constitution mandate parties to allows for equal gender representation. Accordingly, 25.4 & 41.02 percent of the respondents were select “Strongly agree” and “Agree” respectively, that the recommended solution would increase women’s participation, conversely, 21.87 percent of the sample respondents select “Disagree” and “Strongly Disagree” for the issue the selected remedial actions would increase the participation of women’s in woreda 07 counsel politics respectively. , and the rest 3.12 percent of the respondents neither agree nor disagree regarding the participation of women and its remedial actions. Furthermore, 61 percent of the respondents were a member of the ruling party EPRDF, 18.8 percent of the respondents were a member of other political parties and the rest 20.3 percent of the respondents were not a member of any political party. Apparently, out of those who were members of political parties 40.19 percent of the respondents replied that their party encourages women to participate for candidature in political position,

22.54 percent of the respondents said their party didn't support women to involve in political candidature. 84.31 percent of the respondents attend party and caucus meeting regularly and the rest 15.68 percent of the respondents didn't participate party meeting regularly. Apparently, 51.96 percent of the respondents confirmed that women actively involved in the decision making process of their party, on the other hand 13.72 percent of the respondents didn't believe women actively involved in the decision making process of their party.

5.2.Conclusion

Despite the availability of opportunities to participate in politics, and the fact that women constitute low participation rate, different stake holders still need improvement to recognize women's potential on the political stage and often ignore the fact that women's interests are underrepresented. This automatically affects the gender imbalance in many key areas such as employment, welfare, health, education, and economic development. Furthermore, women participation in the Woreda politics is an issue of great importance.

Women have been put at the background politically for years; this has engendered a consciousness of women under-representation in public life. However, the intention of women participation in politics is at good status in terms of opportunity, contest and representation. Even though, education, occupation, leadership experience, self confidence, moral and belief, society perception, culture, and family responsibility and influence of previous regime were the main determining factors of women's political participation, however, unlike most literatures the extent of the influence is low.

5.3.Recommendation

Active participation of women, on equal terms with men, at all levels of decision-making is essential to the achievement of equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy and the inclusion of their perspectives and experiences into the decision-making processes can result to the solutions that satisfy larger number of the society, which have social benefits, better and more appropriate social, political, legal, and economic solutions for their problems. Hence, based on the major findings of the study, the researcher forwarded some recommendations in which he believed they are good alternatives to increase the women's participation and alleviate the raised problems. However, recommendation by itself is nothing without putting them at ground level.

The role of women in political life in the wereda counsel specifically, and in the country generally is in need of the creation of positive directions towards the absolute political example for women from the government, the men, and from women themselves. Considering certain number or proportion of seats for women (a women quota in the counsel)) is important, this is because until society comes to believe in women's political abilities provide quota for female is a right justification for a certain period time. Furthermore, adopting the quota system can be considered as beginning stage in order to demonstrate the efficiency of women in politics, so that in the future women could gain access to lower to higher level competition instead, which would depend on the ability of society to elect representatives without regard to race, ethnic identity, sectarianism, tribalism or gender.

Furthermore, societal awareness creation should be done which compel the society that women's are good competent enough with men's. Thus, it is upon both men and women, as well as the government to research the factors that increase the power of women and use various tools to inform the social structure of the importance of these society factors and to attempt to reveal the

correct way of using them with the intention to improve the status of women and their participation in political affairs. Likewise, it is upon the government to open or provide opportunities that are equivalent to those given to men so that they may be able to reach the higher positions in the official governmental and organizations.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Department of Political Science November 5, 2016

Dear Sir/Madam

This questionnaire is designed to investigate Factors Affecting women's political participation in Addis Ababa Arada Sub-City Woreda 06 council. This project is being undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master's Degree (MA) in Political Science in the above institution. Please kindly complete this questionnaire as honestly as you can. All information supplied will be used solely for the purpose of this study and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Minase Getahun

SECTION A – PERSONAL INFORMATION

Please Select by Circling

1. Sex A. Male B. Female
2. Woreda _____ Kebele _____
3. Age: A. 18 – 30 B. 31 – 40 C. Above 41
4. Marital Status: A. Single B. Married C. Divorced
5. Occupation: A. Civil Service B. private PLC employee C. other _____
6. Academic Qualification: A. Primary B. High school C. Certificate D. Diploma
E. Degree F. Masters G. other _____

Section B

These sections are related to certain aspects of political participation you experienced in different aspects. Please mark the appropriate response to indicate your own personal feeling by making tick (√) on the following scale

1= Strongly agrees; 2= Agree; 3 = Undecided; 4= Disagree; 5 = Strongly Disagree

S/N	POLITICAL STRUCTURE	1	2	3	4	5
1	With the present level of Ethiopian democracy, women cannot participate in politics					
2	My political party does not encourage women to contest for positions in the Woreda 06 council for fear of losing the seat to other political parties					

3	The government and the political parties themselves are not willing women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement are excluded them from their supremacy in the political arena					
4	Women have less membership number in the political organizations/parties, which limits women to have an equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections					
5	Low level of women representation in party executive does not give them the opportunity of contesting for political positions					
6	The level of women's involvement in politics will increase if a specified percentage of political posts are reserved for them.					
7	The adoption of electoral quota is an effective way that can empower women in political participation					
8	Women's political participation will increase if proportional representation electoral system is adopted in Ethiopian					
9	The level of women's political participation will increase if the constitution mandate parties to allows for equal gender representation					
10	Majority of women in this 06 Woreda are not educated enough to participate in politics					
11	The kind of occupations of women in this Woreda do not afford them the opportunity to participate in politics					
12	Women who hold political positions are faced many challenges among others lack of political experience and skills of leadership					

13	Lack of financial strength makes it difficult for women in this Woreda to participate in politics					
14	The level of women's literacy in this Woreda hinders them from participating in politics					
15	<i>Most women in this woreda do not see themselves capable enough to hold political office</i>					
16	<i>Since women has no majority in the seats of the councils, women's voice is unheard</i>					
17	<i>Women lack communications and access of information in decision making process</i>					
18	<i>Considering our moral belief, women should not be encouraged to participate in politics</i>					
19	<i>On the basis of political competence, our society rates men over women</i>					
20	<i>Political activities in this woreda are dominated by men and this discourages women from participating</i>					
21	Our culture does not encourage women's involvement in politics					
22	Our religious heritages do not encourage women to participate in politics					
23	Family responsibilities hinder women from participating in politics					
24	The discrimination against women during the last military rule in Ethiopia has discouraged many women from political participation					
25	The marginalization of women during the previous ruling periods affects women's political participation					

SECTION C: PARTY POLITICS

1. Which of the political parties do you belong to? _____

2. Do you attend party and caucus meeting regularly? A. Yes B. No

3. Does your party encourage women to vie for party candidature in political position?
 A. Yes B. No

4. If your response to question number 3 above is **No**, what are the likely reasons for such?

5. Are women actively involved in the decision making process of your party?
 A. Yes B. No

6. If your response to question number 5 above is **No**, what do you think is the reasons?

SECTION D: WOMENS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE

1. How women’s participation in politics should be encouraged in your Woreda and what do you think of the responsibilities of different stakeholders mentioned below?

Government.....

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Political Parties.....

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Civil Society.....

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Women.....

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Others

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