UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
Department of Administration and Organization Theory

AORG351

Master's Thesis in Public Administration

Spring 2017

Women`s Political Participation in Local Government in Ethiopia: The Case of Two Districts in Amhara Regional State.

By:

Muhammed Hamid Muhammed

Table of Contents

I

III

IV

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my mother, Zeinab Muhabie, and all my sisters, for whom I have much love and respect.

Acknowledgement

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acronyms

ANDM	Amhara National Democratic Movement
ARS	Amhara Regional State
DLDP	District Level Decentralization Reform Program
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAP-GE	The National Action Plan for Gender Equality
NEWP	National Ethiopian Women's Policy
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Abstract

Ethiopian women have been excluded from public sphere for a long period. Their absence, especially from politics, has affected their life enormously. Since political participation increases gender equality and empowerment by promoting women's direct engagement in public decision-making, their participation is very important. Hence, the main objective of this study is, therefore, to explore the political participation of women in two local governments in Amhara regional state in Ethiopia and to analyze the factors that affect their participation. It attempts to explore the level of women`s representation and involvement in the political deliberations and decision-making processes. Recruitment theory, civic engagement models, and critical mass and act theories are used to build the theoretical framework and to conceptualize and operationalize both the dependent and independent variables. The study adopted a qualitative approach that allows incorporating the views of female council members and other stakeholders. The information gathered from the female council members forms the basis of this investigation. The secondary data is also found to be useful.

The finding demonstrates that women in both local governments' councils are adequately represented. However, it also shows that they are less represented in the executive councils and standing committees. It indicates that gender biases and patriarchal views prevailed in the society are still affecting the appointment of women officials for higher positions. It further reveals that elected women influence in the decision-making process in the councils has increased. Consequently, their impacts in the councils and the local governments, in general, have become very significant. Because of the existing political system in the country, system level factors highly influence the political participation of women. Therefore, the electoral system, party system, quota system, and the membership of the political party profoundly affect it. However, the result also indicates the importance of individual attributes for political participation. Finally, it demonstrates that there is no significant variation between the two local governments. The study concludes that though there are things yet to improve, women in the local governments are becoming visible in the political arena.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1　Introduction

Ethiopia is a country that has gone through its own peculiar socio-economic and political trajectories with a unique socio-political experience in Africa. Until 1885, the country is believed to have a decentralized governance system whereby autonomous kings, provincial and local nobilities had the powers to exercise self-rule in their respective locality (Assefa, 2007 Cited in Moshago et al. 2015). Since then the country was known for its authoritarian monarchic rule with centralized power till 1974. Though there were local government structures, especially in the reign of Emperor Hailessellasie, the Emperors had absolute power over provincial and local governments ending the autonomies of local governors in the country (Ayele, 2014). Soon after the assumption of power in 1974, the socialist military junta *(Derge)* introduced its version of local government. However, the nature and function of the local administration were like the imperial period as in both periods; local governments were used for only administrative convenience than empowering the local people to democratic self-rule.

In 1991, the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) assumed power and replaced the country`s political system with a federal structure. The federal system allows for a new form of decentralization in the country. Following the adoption of 1995 constitution, the country was decentralized into Nine (9) regional states. The regional states further decentralized into Zonal administration, Woreda or city administration depending on whether it is rural or urban, and Kebele administrations based on the 2002 National District Level Decentralization Reform Program (DLDP) (Mulugeta, 2012). It was a move to extend self- governance to the lowest level of government structures. It also aimed at empowering local people, institutionalizing decision-making process at the grassroots level to enhancing local participation, promoting good governance, and improving decentralized service provision (Meheret, 2007). Woreda and city administrations structures are convenient for local people to exercise self-governance as they are the lowest tiers of government having local councils whose members are directly

elected by the local population (Zemelak, 2014). These make woreda and city administrations crucial to study the political participation of women. This research explores women`s political participation in Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administrations in Amhara regional state.

1.2   Background of the Study

The patriarchal system rooted in every society has marginalized and disfranchised women from social, economic and political affairs for a prolonged period. Because of that, women hold the subordinate position in the society. Rooke (1972) and Bari (2005) argued that though women constituted almost half of every community, their participations, especially in politics, remain insignificant. Women in Ethiopia have been marginalized, and politics has been out of their reach. There has been strong perception embedded in the culture of the society to discourage women from political participation. The public-private dichotomy existed in the society, forced women to stay home while empowering men in the public sphere. There are many proverbs the society use to discourage women`s public appearance and decision making in the local language, *Amharic*. For instance, "SET WODE MAJET WOND WODE SEGENET" to mean "Let women to be in their kitchen but men to the offices", "SET BTAWK BEWOND YALK" to mean "No matter what a woman knows, it is by a man a thing is finished" and "YE SET ERAS WOND" to mean 'A man is the head of a women '. Such views had induced the idea in the society that women have no capacity to deal with politics and making a critical decision.

However, scholars tried to show how women`s political participation and representation is crucial for both women and the society in general from different perspectives. For instance, Henry J. Steiner (1988) finds women`s political participation from the norms of UDHR and ICCPR. The human rights perspective assumes political involvement as a human right. The rights enshrined in international human rights instruments recognize that political participation is a human right and all individuals have rights irrespective of their sex, race, and religion (UDHR, Art.2, 7, 21). Women as a member of society have the same right as men. Countries are also obligated to give effect to the rights and facilitate its practice among citizens (ICCPR, art.2 and UDHR art. 2). Ethiopia, as a

member and a signatory of these human rights instruments, is obliged to create a conducive environment for women to exercise the right. Labani et al. (2009) on the other hand see women`s political participation from a liberal principle perspective and argue that as citizens in a democratic system, women must be influential political actors. It is a fundamental democratic principle that each adult must be recognized as a citizen and should be able to take part fully in decision-making (Labani et al.,2009). Though some like Tronvoll (2010) and Gudina (2011) are cynical of it, the EPRDF government claims that it is committed to the democratization process in the country. If that is the case, the participation of women in politics is expected to be progressing as democracy sees women as responsible individuals, capable of taking decisions for themselves and the society.

Instrumental perspective on women participation advocates for women's greater involvement in politics by the fact that males and females are different. Because of historical, social, cultural, and economic conditions and other factors, men and women have different interests, priorities, and needs. Therefore, it is assumed that woman's voice is vital for democracy to embrace the plurality of needs and interests of the whole society (Bari, 2005). Ethiopia is a country that has been under the traditional patriarchal system. Hence the political participation of women is vital to protect and defend their rights and interests especially at local level. Local governments are critical levels of government whereby the policies and programs are expected to be implemented on the ground. Women`s participation at this level can help them to make sure that public policy and decisions makings and implementations are integrated with their issues and interests. The involvement of women in decision-making at the local level helps the sustainability of their economic and social empowerment (Husain and Siddiqi cited in Pandey, 2008).

1.3   Statement of the Problem

For the need to address the historical exclusion and improve the condition of women in the country, the Ethiopian government adopted different policies and programs which are endorsed by the Beijing Platform of Action and MDGs. It intends to address gender equality and gender gap through policies and institutions that help to attain the goal. Gender equality and empowerment of women is one of the aims of MDGs. Recently it

is widely recognized as central to fulfill all the rest of the MDGs. Improving Gender Equality and Empowering Women is the roadmap of making sustainable human development and to attaining other MDGs in the world (Okock and Assfaw, 2014). The government has mainstreamed and incorporated gender within various policies, legal and institutional frameworks. The first national policy initiative brought about was National Ethiopian Women's Policy (NEWP) endorsed in 1993. This policy primarily aims to institutionalize the political, economic, and social rights of women with a proper structure in every government offices and institutions to make the public policies and interventions gender-sensitive and to ensure equitable development for all (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2010). The National Action Plan for Gender Equality (NAP-GE) is also another commitment document to put gender mainstreaming into action across the various policies (Julie 2007, cited Okock and Asfaw, 2014).

The government has also created institutions at central and local levels that work for the protection of women's interest. These include the Ministry of Women, Children and Youth Affairs at different levels of governments and gender departments at each ministry and other government organizations (Zenebu, 2011, cited in Tefera, 2014). The commitment is strengthened by stipulating the rights of women in the national constitution and the revised family and Criminal laws (Tefera, 2014). The government further established gender as the cross-cutting issue through joint planning sessions between sectoral line ministries and ministry of women affairs at the national level (MoFED 2010).

With the intention of improving the political participation of women and their representation, the ruling Ethiopian People Revolutionary Front (EPRDF) party introduced voluntary party quota in 2004. The quota system reserves 30% of the candidacy in the party list for women. Shaffo (2010), Techane (2010), Okock, and Asfaw (2014) claim that after the introduction of the quota the participation of women in the national parliament has increased. The percentage of women representation in the national legislative has grown from 7.6 % in the election held in 2000 to 38.8% in the election of 2015.

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

No	Election year	Total number of seats in the parliament	Seats held by FPMs	% of the FPMs
1	1995	547	11	2.01
2	2000	547	42	7.68
3	2005	547	116	21.21
4	2010	547	152	27.79
5	2015	547	212	38.8

- FPM: female parliament members
- Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union: Ethiopia Yehizb Tewokayoch Mekir Bete (House of Peoples' Representatives)

Though the introduction of policies, legal frameworks, and quota system increased women's political participation at the national level, it is still low at the local level. Most women at the local level are not empowered to engage in politics. Crook & Manor (1998) cited in Mahamad (2010) argue that local politics has been traditionally dominated by men and especially those who are wealthy and educated. Women in Ethiopia have been alienated from the economic and education system consequently affecting their ability and motivation to participate in politics. This study explores the political participation of women in the Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administration and the factors that affect it.

1.4   Objective of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to explore the political participation of women in the two local governments and the factors affecting their participation.

The specific objectives are:

❖ To explore the representations of women in Fogera Woreda and Woreta City local governments. It attempts to explore the level of representation of women in the local councils, executive councils and standing committees of both local governments.

❖ To demonstrate how the political participation of women in the local governments does look like. It focusses on how women are involved in the political discussions and decision-making processes.

❖ To investigate factors affecting women`s political involvement in the local governments.

1.5   The Research Questions

The following research questions are given focus in this study:

1. How far are women represented in the local governments?
2. How involved women are in the political discussions and decision-making processes?
3. What factors controls the political participation of women in the local governments?
4. Does patriarchy affect women's participation or do their socio-demographic attributes enhance their participation?

1.6   Significance of the Study

Women's political participation has become the center of international organizations advocacy works. Several contributions have been made by these organizations to improve women`s political participation globally. In the academic fields also there are plenty of researches done on this matter. Especially women political participation at the local level is currently being a widely studied topic. The researcher has reviewed some studies conducted on this issue. Studies carried out by Panday (2008), and Khan (2010) in Bangladesh, Thinley et.al. (2014) in Bhutan and Mahamadu (2010) in Ghana are some of them. However, in Ethiopia, even though there are some researches done on the subject at the national level, such as studies by Okock and Asfaw(2014), Awotash(2010 and Kassa(2014), the issue at the local level is rarely considered. Hence, this research will fill the knowledge gap on women`s political participation at local government level in the country.

 It is paramount to study women`s political participation at the local level to get the real picture of the phenomenon. Mahamadu (2010, p.5) argues that it is important to study the involvement of women in politics based on local circumstance. It is impossible to get

the accurate picture of the reality if we consider women political participation in the country as a whole, putting all women in one pot. Hence, this research highlights the need to consider regional disparities to understand women political participation in Ethiopia deeply. Therefore, it will be used as an essential reference to analyze the political participation of women in other parts of the country.

From a theoretical point of view, three theories are applied in this research to explain the political participation of women. These are recruitment theory, civic engagement model and critical mass and act theories. The use of the different theories is found to be very vital as political participation is more complex at local level especially when it comes to women political participation. These theories are integrated to explain the issues of women`s political participation from different perspectives. Recruitment theory is used to explain how women pass through the recruitment process for political offices and factors controlling their recruitment. Civic engagement model is used to explain how individuals engage in politics particularly at the local level and the means of engagement and what factors influence their engagement. Both critical mass and critical act theories describe how the level of representation affect the political participations and decision making. Hence, this research provides the theoretical support for using different theories to explain women political participation at local level and its necessity. The research also has the Substantive contribution of demonstrating the factors affecting women's political participation at local level and recommending mechanisms to enhance their participation. It also highlights how local governments are structured in Ethiopia and how can they be utilized to empower women effectively.

1.7   Scope and Organization of the Study

This study is conceptually limited to the issue of women's political participation in local governments. Other aspects of women`s participations are not dealt unless, and otherwise, they are found to be necessary for the study. Geographically, it is limited to the Fogera Woreda and Woreta City local administrations. However, The result can analytically be inferred to the general population of study areas and other local governments in the country as the factors, circumstances, and influences shaping the

views and experience of the samples used may have a similar effect to other people and areas.

The thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one covers the introduction, background, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance and scope and organization of the study. Chapter two covers the conceptual and theoretical framework of the study. Chapter three discusses the methodology of the research, the method of data gathering, and sampling techniques, quality of the research, limitation of the research and ethical considerations are included. Chapter four describes the local government structure in Ethiopia and the profile of the study areas. Chapter five covers data analysis and discussion on the dependent variable and chapter six provides the analysis and discussion of the independent variables. Finally, chapter seven is dedicated to the conclusion of the study.

1.8   Conclusion

The chapter discussed the introduction, background, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance, and scope and organization of the thesis. In the introduction, the researcher touched upon the need to study women participation at the local governments. In the background, the perspectives on the political participation of women and women`s participation in Ethiopia is highlighted. The statement of the problem demonstrates the research matter and the need to investigate. The research questions and objectives specify the focuses of the study. The chapter also highlights the relevance, scope, and the organizational structure of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, theories, models, and concepts that explain the pattern of women`s political participation are discussed in depth. The researcher finds the discussions of the concept of participation and empowerment alongside theories vital for this research. Civic engagement model, recruitment theory, and critical mass and act theories are used as theoretical frameworks. Both the discussion of these theories and concepts highlight the theoretical linkages and explanations of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables.

2.2. Conceptualizing Political Participation

According to Uhlaner (2001 cited in Lamprianou, 2013), there is no universally accepted definition of political participation. For Huntington and Nelson (1976) for instance, political participation is an activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making. Similarly, Nie and Verba, (1972 cited in Gaventa et.al 1999) defined it as "*legal activities by individuals that are directly aimed at influencing the choice of governmental personnel and the actions they take.*" These two definitions focused on the objectives of the political participation which is influencing the selection of government officials and their decision-makings. Whereas Diemer(2012) and Riley et al. (2010), on the other hand, emphasized political participation as political engagement and outlined its means of participation. Diemer(2012, cited in Lamprianou, 2013) referred political participation as an "*engagement with traditional mechanisms in the political system, such as voting in elections and joining political organizations.*" Similarly, Riley et al. (2010, cited in Lamprianou, 2013) approached political participation as an engagement and asserted that it has traditionally been thought of as a set of rights and duties that involve formally organized civic and political activities (e.g., voting or joining a political party). Both approaches are necessary to conceptualize political participation in this research. For this study, political participation is

conceptualized as an engagement through which individuals could participate in traditional forms of political participation to influence the choice of government officials and their decision makings.

However, political participation does not appear in a single night. Often voluntary civic engagements grow into political participation through membership of civic associations with different interests in the society (see Skocpol and Fiorina, 1999, Putnam, 1993 and Verba et.al 1999). Schocpol and Fiorina (1999) argued that democratic civil society is a matter of individual and social groups influencing the government and public and vice versa. According to Verba et.al (1999), voluntary civic engagement is imperative especially for women, from three dimensions. The first, it develops the capacity of individuals. This is because civic engagement is educational, and those who participate become more independent, efficacious and cooperative. Also, they are willing to take responsibility and better to appraise their interest and the community, which consequently strengthen their social capital and political engagements (Putnam, 1993). Civic engagement is paramount for women, who have been under a strongly patriarchal culture that confined them at home for so long and unable to get the opportunity to develop skill and experience on the above issues. Second, civic participation will contribute to the creation of community and democracy. Finally, civic engagement will help to emphasize conflicting interest of individuals and groups by focusing on equal protection of interest. Consequently, it will help women to assert their interest and fight for their protection.

Broad participation in the decision-making processes is a prerequisite for proper democratic governance (Dahl, 1998, cited in Lamprianou, 2013). All member of the society should have equal opportunity to influence the decision-making process in the government through various means. However, according to Huckfeldt (1979), social context is determinant on the extent to which individuals engage in politics. He argues higher status people are more likely to perform most political acts than lower status people (Huckfeldt,1979). For that matter, this assertion associated political engagement and participation with the level of empowerment too.

2.3. Empowerment

In this study, empowerment is discussed based on Naila Kabeer`s (2001) conceptualization of women`s empowerment. The definition of power forms the basis for the conceptualization of empowerment in her analysis. Therefore, "power" is the ability to make choices whereas to be disempowered is to deny making this choice. Hence, her notion of empowerment is related to the condition of disempowerment. Empowerment refers to 'the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them' (Kabeer, 2001). Not all choices are equally relevant to the definition of power according to Kabeer. Some choices have greater significance than others regarding their consequences on people's life. Hence she came up with a distinction between first and second order choices. Accordingly, first order choices are those strategic life choices, such as choice of livelihood, where to live, when and whom to marry, to have children and how many, freedom to move anywhere and choice of friends (Kabeer, 2001). Kabeer asserts these choices are critical for people to live the lives they want and frame other secondary choices that are less consequential.

 Kabeer also sees empowerment as a process of change in three interrelated and interdependent dimensions that make up choice. These are resource, agency, and achievement. ***Resource***: forms the conditions under which choices are made. The Resources can be material, social or human. Not only to conventional economic resources, such as land, equipment, finance, working capital that we know but also to the various human and social resources which serve to enhance the ability to exercise choice. Human resources are embodied in the individual and encompass his or her knowledge, skills, creativity, and imagination. The social resource includes claims, obligations, and expectations, which inhere in the relationships, networks, and connections, which prevail in different spheres of life. Other resources are distributed through various institutions whereby the rules, norms, and practices that prevail in different institutional domains will decide processes and access to resources (e.g. Familial norms, patron-client relationships, informal wage agreements, formal contractual transactions, and public-sector entitlements) (Kabeer, 2001). The availabilities of such resources make women capable

of developing the agency. *Agency*: The heart of the process by which choices are made. It is the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. It encompasses "the meaning, motivation, and purpose, which individuals bring to their activity, their sense of agency, or the power within"(Kabeer, 2001). It is the individual's decision-making ability. It encompasses actions like bargaining, negotiation, deception, manipulation, subversion, resistance, protest, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis. Agency also includes collective, as well as individual, thoughts, and actions. It is the ability to make strategic choices. *Achievements:* these are the outcomes of choices made. It is the capabilities, the potential that people have for living the lives they want, of achieving valued ways of 'being and doing.'

Resource (Pre-condition)	→	Agency (Process)	→	Achievement (Outcome)
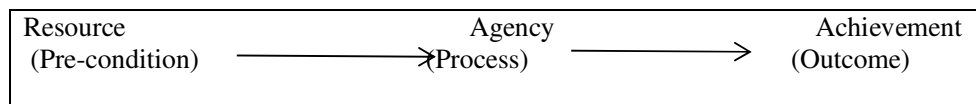
Kabeer's (1999) Empowerment Framework

Kabeer also came up with three levels of empowerment with different structural changes at each level. "Empowerment at immediate level occurs by the change of individuals and groups, in their sense of selfhood and identity, in how they perceive their interests and in their capacity to act" (Kabeer, 2001). At the intermediate level, it occurs in the rules and relationships, which prevail in the personal, social, economic, and political spheres of life. These are policies and regulations used by the government to empower women. Moreover, at a deeper level, it occurs in the hidden structures, which shape the distribution of resources and power in a society and reproduce it over time. Meaningful and sustainable processes of empowerment should occur both at individual and structural levels. The institution of rights within the legal framework of society should be able to bring real impact on the range of possibilities available to all individuals in that society (Kabeer, 2001).

The level of empowerment is related to political participation. In the process of empowerment; women are also building their capacity to political engagement. For this study empowerment at the immediate level, and the deeper level is useful. At the immediate level, it helps women to build certain personal traits and skills; self-identity and articulate their interests in a manner they can achieve. It motivates them to pursue

their interest through civic or political engagement like membership in political parties and other civic and social organizations. At a deeper level, it needs the redistribution of power and resource to bring women to the level where the rest of the society is. This level may require affirmative action and quota reservation which are used to improve women`s participation in politics. Countries introduced a quota system to improve the participation of women in the political process. For instance, Bangladesh has introduced quota system since 1971 to bring women into politics (Pandya, 2008). Similarly, the ruling party in Ethiopia has introduced a voluntary quota system in 2004 and reserved 30% the candidacy in the party list for women (Bari, 2005). Hence, empowerment at the immediate level and deeper level has a direct impact on women political participation.

2.4.   Civic Engagement Model

Civic engagement model helps to map out why some people are more active in political participation than others. This model considers political participation as a mechanism for citizens to communicate information about their interest, performance, and needs and generate pressure to respond (Varba et.al, 1999). However, in real life, not every citizen can participate. Varba et.al (1999), provide three reasons for why some people are more active in participation than others. These are "because they cannot" "because they do not want to," and "because nobody asked."

The idea of "Because they cannot" is related to the availability of resources, time to take part and money to contribute to campaigning and other political knowledge and skills to use these effectively. Historically, Women have been alienated to own resources. Consequently, that alienated them from political participation. Women in Ethiopia has passed through similar circumstances whereby they were unable to own property, has no time other than to take care of private family matters and has no knowledge of politics. Because of these reasons, they were isolated from any political participation. This experience has had implications on their level of involvement until these days.

"Because nobody asked them" is all about being approached by the network of recruitment through which citizens are mobilized to politics; how government institutions and parties mobilize people. Membership to political parties and other

organizations are critical for political participation. They help to develop experience, network, and support. However, the political culture of the country may affect the process of membership to organizations. For instance, historically women in Ethiopia have been barred from the public sphere. The dichotomy of the private and public sphere has been visible, and politics has been left as the domain of men. Hence, the network of recruitments focused only on men consequently affects woman`s participation negatively so far. Besides, as women have been marginalized from politics, their, knowledge, skill, and social connections are inadequate. Lack of political knowledge, competence and experience made women not preferred by networks of recruitments.

Whereas the concept of "because they do not want to" is associated with the absence of political engagement; a little or no knowledge about political process; lack of interest or little concern in politics i.e. personal motivation and interest to take part in politics. Squires (1999) associated the low participation of women in politics to their lack of motivation and interest. However, women`s lack of motivation to involve in politics may be related to their disempowerment. Feminists like Gilligan (1982, cited in Awotash, 2010) associated women`s invisibility in politics with their historical marginalization. Indeed, lack of knowledge and skill in politics affects their motivation as it affects their confidence. In general, based on the model, the participation of women in politics is affected by the availability of the resource, membership to political organizations and individual factors like motivation and interest.

2.5. Theory of Recruitment

Schertz (1969) defined recruitment as a process by which individuals, owning a particular personality and occupying a specified social position, screened by political institutions for elective office. In this definition, a certain personality trait and personal expectations or predispositions about politics form the motivation to seek positions. The important aspect of this definition is that the need to have specified social background and position, which is, somehow tended to be associated with the concept of motivation itself. It constitutes resource useful for individuals seeking office. The preference of the screening institutions is also central to the idea. Citizens take part in politics through a variety of channels; joining pressure groups, being community activists or becoming campaigners

or grassroots party members. These all have their regulating norms and procedures for selecting those who can and cannot join (Negiz, 2014). The process of political recruitment is competitive and selective as only a few eligible candidates manage to secure support and win part or get elected (Negiz, 2014). Pippa Norris in her institutional and individual framework of recruitment has broadly demonstrated the range of factors deciding recruitment process.

Norris`s framework of recruitment is made up of three structure design whereby the second and third level are derived from the first (Mahamadu, 2010). The first level comprises three upper-level structures namely, the legal system, electoral system and party system which Norris put them under a single umbrella called *political system*. These three factors decide who is elected and how, at the end of the recruitment process (Leduc et.al, 1996 cited in Mahamadu, 2010). The legal system manages the behavior of the political environment in general, the availability of affirmative action and quota system for vulnerable groups and women (Mahamadu, 2010). The quota system has become an important policy measure by countries to improve the participation of women in politics. According to Dahlerup (2005), the quota for women entails that women must constitute a certain number or percentage of a candidate list in parliamentary assembly or government offices. Different quota systems are introduced in the various countries. Thus, the impact of quota on the recruitment process may vary from country to country. In Ethiopia, the incumbent EPRDF government introduced the Voluntary party quotas, which obliges the party to list 30% of its candidate to be women to increase women participation within the party. Taking the dominant nature of the ruling party, the impact of the quota system adopted for women political recruitment is significant.

The electoral system decides how politicians are elected to office. In Ethiopia, candidates who received more votes than others are automatically elected, simple majority or "first past the post" system (NEBE, 2010). For national parliament, such system is considered unfavorable for women as it forces parties to nominate only a single candidate (Shaffo, 2010). Political parties assume that female candidates are not equally competitive as the male candidates and because they do not want to lose the seat, they present more competitive candidates, in this case, male candidates are preferred. However, in local

elections, there are more seats per constituency (kebeles), and parties have the opportunity to present more candidates for election.

Party system, on the other hand, refers the network of interaction relationship between and among political parties. It is a result of the structure of social conflict and interest in the country (Heywood, 2013). Party system is influenced by the electoral system adopted in the country. The electoral system may encourage or discourage alliance formation among and between political parties or party formation based on religion or ethnicity (Gebru, 2014). Depending on the number of political parties operating, Heywood (2013) classified party system as One-Party, two-party (Duopoly), Dominant-Party, and Multiparty Party system. In one-party regimes, single political party effectively holds power as a permanent government by banning opposition parties from participation in elections (e.g. China and Vietnam) (see Magaloni and Kricheli,2010, pp.123-143). In a two-party system, state power alternates between two major political parties (e.g. the Democratic and Republicans Party in the US). In dominant-party systems, a single dominant political party retains power for a prolonged period. The dominant party government permits the oppositions to compete in multiparty elections. However, it usually does not allow an alternation of political power (e.g., Malaysia, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, and Ethiopia (Magaloni and Kricheli, 2010, and Gebru, 2014). In multiparty systems, no party is large enough to rule alone, leading to a system of coalition government (e.g. the UK, Germany. Italy, France, and Israel) (Gebru , 2014).

The second level of Norris`s framework is recruitment structure comprising party organization, party rules and party ideology and non-party gatekeepers. This level is dominated by internal and external factors that affect the recruitment process. The party politics, rules, and norms followed; the interest of non-party gatekeepers and voters. The party politics, rules, and norms are related to the internal factors deciding the recruitment process within the party. They determine both membership and candidacy. Non-Party gatekeepers and voters are external factors that influence the recruitment process by influencing parties on whom they should nominate for candidacy. The last phase/ level show the recruitment process involving all essential elements.

The interests of the electorates and gatekeepers in the process of recruitment are critical as they focus on candidates who have higher education, financial resources, political backgrounds, or religious/cultural beliefs (Mahamadu, 2010). These are the crucial factors affecting the possibilities of women to be recruited as candidates. These individual factors are broadly discussed in Norris`s Supply-Demand Model. According to the model, supply-side factors in recruitment seek qualities that turn a qualified political aspirant into a successful candidate. One of the major factors mentioned by Norris influencing her supply-side explanation of the model at the individual level is personal motivation. Motivation is related to the drive, the ambition, and the political engagement that make aspirants willing to run for office (Norris, 1995, cited in Negiz, 2014).

2.6. Critical Act and Critical Mass Approach

Critical mass and critical act approaches are related to the concept of representation. They are associated with the concept of descriptive representations and substantive representations. According to Pitkin (1967), descriptive representation, alternatively termed as "standing for," refers to 'the idea that the linkage between the representative and the represented is based on shared characteristics or background, such as gender. The rationality behind descriptive representation is that the representatives possess particularly ascribed characteristics the group they represented, by virtue of that identity. Therefore, women representing women can be seen as a form of direct participation in decision-making bodies. Some scholars, however, argue that women's descriptive representation is simply about counting the number of women in political offices without examining what women representatives are doing for women substantively (EGM/EPDM Report, 2005). Whereas substantive representation which is termed as "acting for," favors an emphasis on whether the representative is able and willing to act on behalf of the interests and concerns of those represented (Pitkin, 1967 cited in Holli, 2012). It is about the impact of women in decision-making positions on policy formulations and implementations. It focuses on how women's presence is necessary for the development and implementation of policies on development, sustainable peace, and good governance and gender equality (EGM/EPDM Report, 2005). It is believed that

women in decision-making positions play a crucial role in developing meaningful gender mainstreaming strategies, which effectively and authoritatively ensure focus on gender equality in all policy areas (EGM/EPDM Report, 2005).

The underlying assumption of the critical mass theory is that an increase in women`s involvement in politics affects the content, style, and mechanism of politics as compared to male-dominated context (Holli, 2012). Mansbridge (1999) also argues "for women and historically disadvantaged social groups; the entry of representatives into public office improves the quality of group deliberations, increases a sense of democratic legitimacy, and develops leadership capacity" (Mansbridge, 1999.Cited in Lovenduski and Norris, 2003). It is argued that when women`s numbers increase in the political arena, women will be able to work more efficiently together to promote women-friendly policy change (Childs and Krook, 2008). However, women affect the content and quality of decision making only after their proportion reaches a certain "critical mass." According to Kanter (1977), the threshold varies from 15%-40% whereas Dahlerup (1988) set the threshold at 30% (Kanter, 1977and Dahlerup, 1988, cited in Holli, 2012).

Therefore, the focus of the critical mass is whether women have reached a critical mass and if that affects the political deliberations in the local governments. Whereas the underline assumption of Critical Act approach focuses not the number or dedicated quota filled by the women rather how far elected women stood for the interest and substantive enough in protecting women`s issues (Holli, 2012). Here both theories merged to create symbiosis in this study especially for the analysis of women participation beyond numbers. Hence, the theories are necessary to address the question of whether women representation in the local governments reached a critical Mass, if so, does it affect the contents and qualities of political deliberations and decision making in the local governments? Moreover, it also investigates if women representatives stood for interests of the fellow women. The critical mass approach is used to study the representation of women in the local governments and its impact on the political deliberations whereas the critical act examines the substantive contribution of women in the local governments.

2.7. Dependent variable

The dependent variable of study is the political participation of women in the local governments. There are different ways where women at the local level can engage in politics, joining civil and political organizations, as voters and candidates in elections and as elected members local councils and other organs of the local governments are some of them. In this study, the political participation of women is explained primarily by their participation as elected members of the local councils, and their decision-making capacity.

Local elections are conducted to create local councils in local governments at woreda and city administration levels. Local councils are synonymous to the national parliament as popular votes elect both through universal suffrage. Membership to local councils often opens the door for being appointed to the executive councils and standing committees, which are also very vital organs of the local governments. Both members of the executive councils and the standing committees shall be nominated among the members of local councils. The structural and functional behavior of the executive councils and the standing committees made them valuable in the political participation at local level.

On the other hand, a mere representation of women in the local governments does not reflect actual participation. Women need to be actively involved in the political deliberations and decision-making process. Therefore, political participation in this study also approached based on how much women are involved in the actual political deliberations and decision-making process beyond their numbers.   However, there are different controlling variable influencing the recruitment and participation of women in the local governments. Below, the discussion of the independent variables affecting the political participation of women in the two local governments is presented.

2.8. Independent variables

The independent variables are factors that affect women's political participation in the local governments. Based on the discussions on concepts, the theories, and the models

above three levels of variables are assumed to influence the political participation of women. These are structural/system level, group level, and individual level variables.

2.8.1. System/Structural Variables

 System/structural level variables affect the political participation of women at the higher level. They can be either rules, policies, or programs. In this study, the electoral system, party system, quota system, and affirmative actions are identified as system level variables. The electoral system is all about how elections are conducted. Ethiopia follows "first past the post" or simple majority system, under which the candidate who receives more votes than any competitors within a constituency is declared as a winner (NEBE, 2010). According to Studlar and Matland(1996 cited in Shaffo,2010), such electoral system is unfavorable for women candidates, as it allows political parties to represent a single candidate for a single constituency. The winner takes all nature of the electoral system forces political parties to nominate a more competitive candidate for the election. They want to win a seat by nominating candidates preferred by voters and gatekeepers as Norris points out in her framework. The candidate is expected to have more experience, knowledge, and skills as well as monetary and muscle power, in this case, male candidate. These put women in unfavorable condition as most of them lack these qualities because of their historical deprivations. Even though Shaffo (2010) argued that the electoral system has less influence on the political participation of women in Ethiopia at the national level because of its nature, the researcher believes it has strong influence at the local level. At the local level, the electoral system has a different mode of operation. Unlike elections for the national parliament, constituencies have multiple-number candidacies for local elections. That makes political parties to nominate more candidates. Consequently, parties to provide more chances of candidacy for women. Because of this, the electoral system is found to be an important variable.

The party system is currently a matter of debate in Ethiopia. Many assert that at the beginning of the democratization process in the country immediately after the fall of the military regime in 1991, the number of parties and the political environment convinced that there was a multi-party system (Mulusew, 2014). However, the continued changes in the political system have brought the debate whether Ethiopia is multi-party or a

dominant party system. Based on the elections results in the country where the ruling EPRDF won all the five elections, some scholars argue that the political system in Ethiopia is dominated by the ruling party (Gebru, 2014, Tronvoll 2010, and Gudina, 2011, Mulusew, 2014). Whereas, some including the late prime minister, Meles Zenawi, argues that there is a multi-party system in the country. Meles, after his party won the 2010 national election with a landslide victory, asserted that multi-party system is not determined by having or not having seats in the parliament (Dejene, 2015). However, more opinions inclined towards understanding the party system in the country as the dominant party system. The dominant nature of the ruling party may have a big effect on the participation of women in the local governments. It can win elections irrespective of the qualities of candidates running in the constituencies. That means the party has no fear of losing the election whoever is a candidate. Hence, if the party has a commitment to participate, women, it will nominate more women for candidacy in the elections.

Quota system and affirmative action are also variables affecting the political participation of women in Ethiopia. Affirmative action refers to attempts to bring a member of an underrepresented group that has suffered from discriminations into the higher degree of involvement in some beneficial programs (Kent, 1991, cited in Gebiremicheal, 2010). Ethiopia has recognized the historical exclusion of women and tried to address it first by providing affirmative actions. The need for affirmative action is first stipulated in the national constitution. The constitution takes the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women into account to entitle them with positive measures. The constitution entails that the purpose is to provide *special attention to women so as to enable them to compete and participate on the basis of equality with men in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private institutions* (FDRE Constitution Art. 35(3)). There are different policy instruments providing women affirmative actions in social, economical and political aspects hence affecting their political participation as they have the ability to build women`s capacity.

The quota system is also an important variable at the structural level. In the work of Mahamadu (2010), the importance of quota system to ensure the political participation of women in Ghana was highlighted. However, he noted that the opportunity is missed

because efforts for a specific number of spaces to be provided for females were failed. Accordingly, that has affected women political participation in the country. However, a different result is registered in Ethiopia. As a leading political party, EPRDF has adopted 30% quota for women in 2004. As a result, it affects the number of women represented in the national parliament significantly. Currently, women hold 38.8 % of the seats in the national parliament.

The quota system is expected to have an influence on women's representation and participation at the local government level too. In both Fogera Woreda and Woreta City, administrations, EPRDF is a party that has won almost all of the local elections. That provides the need to investigate the impact of the quota system adopted by the party at the local level. According to critical mass theory, women have a bearing on the content and quality of decision making, and political deliberations only after their proportion reach 30% (Kanter, 1977and Dahlerup, 1988, cited in Holli, 2012). If women secure the quota adopted by the party, it will enable them to become critical mass gradually and influence the decision-making process in the local governments subsequently.

2.8.2. Organizational /Group Variables

These variables are related to membership to groups or organizations which serve as a network of recruitment through which citizens are mobilized to politics. Membership to political parties and other social organizations are paramount for political participation. They help to develop experience, network, and support. Mahamadu (2010) showed that membership to organizations (either social, religious, cultural or political) was a very influential factor which helped candidates to secure their appointments or elections in his study in Ghana. Both Norris and Varba et.al, (1999) also considered a membership to a political party as an important step for recruitment as a candidate for political office. Similarly, Kabeer (2001) argues empowerment at an immediate level occurs based on how individuals and groups perceive their interests and capacity to act. Therefore, formation and articulation of group interests are vital for women empowerment. The adoption of a multi-party system in Ethiopia resulted in a proliferation of political parties operating both at national and local levels. There are also different social organizations

working in a multitude of issues. Traditional social organizations like "Idir," and "Iqub"[1] are also considerably vital in the society. Membership to such organizations can help women to develop knowledge, skills, experience and social capital consequently, affects their political participation.

2.8.3. Individual Variables

These variables are those affecting women political participation at the individual level. These are the resource, motivation, level of education, the level of empowerment, custom and tradition, family background marital status and age. Most of these variables have been used by other researchers to explain the political participation of women (see, Mahamadu, 2010 and Thinley et.al. 2014). Economic capacity or the degree of independence in owning resource and having own source of income matter for political participation. Kabeer`s (2001) process of empowerment puts resource at the first stage of women empowerment. Varba et.al (1999) and Norris (1995, cited in Negiz, 2014) also stressed on the impact of resource on women`s political participation. The study by Mahamadu (2010) shows that financial resource highly affected the election of women for local assemblies in Ghana. Women in Ethiopia have been excluded from owning resource that affects their capacity to organizing, mobilizing, and transforming themselves into leadership roles that may have affected their political participation. However, having resource is not enough for women to participate in politics. They need the motivation to participate too. Personal motivation is crucial variable especially, in local governments where women are expected to be less motivated because of different pressures. For instance, Thinley et.al. (2014) identified some motivational factors for women to participate in local elections in Bhutan. Such as for personal experience, for economic reason, to be a role model, or lack of candidates. Such and other factors may have a similar influence on women motivation for political participation in Ethiopia.

---

[1] "Idir is an organization created among people of a particular neighborhood to raise funds that will be used during emergencies, such as sickness and death, within these groups and their families. Whereas Iqub is an association established by a group of people to provide substantial rotating funding for members to improve their lives and living conditions" cited from Mammo, Tirfe. (1999). *The Paradox of Africa's Poverty: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Practices and Local Institutions--The Case of Ethiopia*. Asmara, Eritrea: Red Sea Press.

The custom and tradition are also important variables affecting women political participation. Shvedova (2005) and Sabbagh (2005) demonstrated that custom and tradition had been an obstacle for women political participation. For instance, Sabbagh (2005) argues that "social norms and attitudes that eulogized women's role in the private sphere while creating barriers to their participation in the public one remain a substantial obstacle in the Arab world". The custom and traditions of the society in Ethiopia also do not encourage women to participate in the public sphere openly. Religious norms support these custom and traditions to put pressure on women's participation. However, the more women are educated they develop the capacity to stand for themselves. There is a close association between educational attainment and political participation (Berinsky and Lenz, 2010). Education enables women to develop the qualities preferred by networks of recruitment and voters. Norris (1995), Verba et.al (1999) and Kabeer's (2001) pointed out that education is a fundamental element of political participation.

Women`s level of empowerment also affects women's participation. Kabeer (2010) has shown that the empowerment is all about the capacity to make choices. If women cannot make strategic choices by themselves, they cannot be able to decide to participate in politics. Strategic choices constitute the base for other choices like joining political parties and running for elections. Marital status has also its influence on women's political participation, especially at local level. Family background is also essential for the participation of women. Women who came from educated and well-to-do families may have the motivation and the capacity to participate in politics. Marriage is also another variable. Traditionally married women have more responsibilities than single women. These responsibilities may put pressures on their participation. Finally, age can be a factor. Even though older people are expected to have both resource and experience to participate in politics (Quintelier, 2007), it may not be the case when it comes to women in Ethiopia. Older women in Ethiopia have been affected by the historical exclusion than the younger generation. They are less educated and are venerable for cultural pressures. However, young generation may lack the motivation to participate because of lack of resource and commitment.

Independent variables

```
┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│ Structural/System Variables     │
│    • Electoral system           │
│    • Quota and Affirmative action│
│ Group/Organization Variables    │
│       • Membership to political │
│         parties and other       │
│         organizations           │
│ Individual Variables            │
│    • Resource and motivation    │
│    • Leve of education          │
│    • Level of empowerment       │
│    • Custom and Traditions      │
│    • Family background          │
│    • Marital status and Age     │
│                                 │
└─────────────────────────────────┘
```

Dependent variable

```
┌──────────────────────┐
│  Women`s Political    │
│  participation        │
└──────────────────────┘
```

Figure 1. The relationship between the dependent and independent variables

2.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, the main conceptual and theoretical foundations of the research have been demonstrated. The concept of participation and empowerment are highlighted using a number of literature. Three theories are used to conceptualize the dependent and independent variables of the research. The civic engagement model, recruitment theory, and critical mass and act theories are used to provide theoretical support for the conceptualization. Finally, the dependent and independent variables are presented and discussed broadly.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

According to Dawson (2002), research methodology is the philosophy or general principle, which guides the whole research processes. For Creswell (2003). "It is a broad framework of research adopted by researchers to offer guidance about all detail of the study, from assessing the general philosophical ideas behind the inquiry to the detailed data collection and analysis procedures". In this chapter, the researcher demonstrates the scientific methods used in the course of the research. The researcher explores women`s political participation through the views of elected female and male members of the local administration councils, the local administrators, the women`s affairs offices and spouses of female councils members. This research focuses on the local government administrations after the DLDP program was instituted in the country. Therefore, research covers women political participation since 2002 in Fogera Woreda administration and since 2007 in Woreta City administration. As a self-governing entity, Fogera Woreda local government was reformed in 2002 while Woreta City administration was formed in 2007. The research focuses on the local government administration set up in the three consecutive local elections in Fogera Wereda Administration i.e. 2002, 2008, and 2013 local elections and two elections in Woreta City administrations i.e. the 2008 and 2013 elections. The rationale for incorporating the past elections experiences is to examine changes and continuities in women`s participations in the two local administrations especially as elected member of the local councils.

3.2. Research Approach

The study explores the level of women`s participation and factors affecting their participation in two local governments in Amhara regional state, Ethiopia. The exploratory nature of the research requires a qualitative research approach because little

is known about the issue (Mouton, 1998 cited in Khan, 2010, p.39). Of course, women political participation and representation is a topic that is being researched currently. Some researchers in Ethiopia have also tried to touch upon issues. For instance, Okock, and Asfaw(2014) in their work '*Assessment of Gender Equality in Ethiopia: The Position of Ethiopian Women's Political Representation from the World, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Eastern Africa*' tried to compare women's representation in the Ethiopian parliament and other sub-Saharan countries. Similarly, Awotash(2010) in '*Women representation in parliament: a comparative analysis: special emphasis is given to South Africa and Ethiopia*' explores the status of women's political empowerment/ representation and political decision-making positions at the national level. Whereas, Kassa(2014) in '*Challenges and Opportunities of Women's Political Participation in Ethiopia*' approached women's political participation and representation in general. However, none of them specifically addressed the issue of political participation at the local government level. Because of this, the researcher believes little is known about women's political participation at local level in Ethiopia.

In addition to that, a number of researchers have used this approach to study issues focusing on a similar phenomenon. For instance, Mahamadu (2010) in 'The Challenges of Women Participation In Local Governance: the Case of Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies'; Thinley et.al. (2014) in 'Improving Women's Participation in Local Governance: an Explorative Study of Women's Leadership Journeys In Eight Districts of Bhutan'; and Panday(2013) in 'Women's Political Participation in Bangladesh: Institutional Reforms, Actors and Outcomes' have used qualitative approach. These researchers proved the approach to be convenient to study similar issues

Furthermore, as Creswell (2003) suggests a qualitative approach is followed when the researcher seeks to set up the meaning of a phenomenon from the views of participants. It is a means to explore and understand a social phenomenon by collecting data from individuals or groups (Creswell, 2009, p.4). In this study, the research is based primarily on information gathered from individuals. Hence, qualitative methods of data collection, interviews, and observations, were employed to gather first-hand information on the

matter. Interviews were conducted with elected female members from both local administration councils, the Woreda and city administrations women`s affairs offices, male council members, administrative heads of both local governments and spouses of female council members. The above rationales justified the use of qualitative research approach as a convenient method for this study.

3.3.   Research Strategy

A case study research strategy is followed in this study. According to Robert Yin (2003 &2009), three important tests must be considered to peruse a case study strategy in research. These are the type of research questions being posed; the little control the investigator has on events and the contemporary nature of the issue within real-time context. Most of the research questions in this study are the "how" questions. Thus, according to Yin, they are preferable to be deliberated through a case study method. In addition to that, the case study method allows the researcher to keep the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events that help the researcher to understand the complex social phenomenon that affects women`s participation in the local governments.

Furthermore, Yin recommends researchers that they should use case study methods when they want to cover contextual condition if the study is based on a contemporary set of events (Yin, 2003). The situations in this study fit the conditions. In fact, with the development of democratic ideals in the third world, women`s political participation and representation are becoming a contemporary research topic to ensure women's integration in developmental and political processes. Meanwhile, as the study is conducted in two local administrations, it shows the issue based on the local context of the selected local governments. Hence, the contextual nature of research is also considered.

3.4.   Description of the Study Areas

The researcher conducted case study in two local administrations of Amhara regional state in Ethiopia. These are "*FOGERA*" Woreda administration and "*WORETA*" city administrations. The two administrations are geographically adjacent to each other where

Fogera Woreda is inhabited by the dominantly rural community and Woreta City by urban community. Both are found in northwest part of Ethiopia in the South Gondar Zone, Amhara Regional State. Fogera Woreda has a population of 65165 males and 56789 females, in total 121954 inhabitants. The Woreda covers an area of 117.414 km^2 out of this 44.2% is arable land, 20% is irrigable land, 22.9% is pastoral, 1.8% forest, 3.7% is water body, and 7.4% is degraded land. The Woreda has a topography of 76% flat area, and 24% mountains and hills. It is found in 1820 meter above the sea level. It has 1284 mm annual rainfall with 19°c annual temperature. There are 93 primary schools, 57 satellite schools, and 200 integrated adult training schools. In the Woreda, there are nine health centers, 44 middle-level health centers, and 11 private clinics. The livelihood of the people in the woreda is mostly agriculture. The Woreda is classified as one of the surplus productive woredas in the agricultural sector in Amhara Region. (Fogera Woreda information and communication office, 2016)

Woreta City was founded by a person called Fitaworary Aberaha Meshesha in 1948. The city administration was formed in July 2007 based on the 2003-revised proclamation No.91/2003 for the establishment, organization, and definition of power and duties of urban centers of the Amhara regional state. The city administration has a population of 21298 males and 21297 females, in total 42,595. It is 78.59km^2 with a topography of 85% flat area, and 15% hills and mountains. The city is located at 2090 meters above the sea level and has a 10°c annual temperature. The religion composition of the city is 92% Orthodox Christians, 6.25% Muslims, 1%Protestants and 0.25% Catholic. There are eight private clinics and one health center in the city. There is also one agricultural college, one preparatory school, one secondary school, two primary schools, one technical and vocational school and one kindergarten school. There are 36 and above standard hotels and restaurants. The city has 24 hours' water and electricity service.

The two administration has major differences. The rural administration nature of the Fogera Woreda and urban nature of the Woreta City administration is one of the major difference. According to the Ethiopian local government structure, the local government next to zonal administration is divided as rural and urban. While the woreda administrations stand for the rural administrations, the city administrations stand for

urban areas. On the other hand, population wise Fogera Woreda has much higher population size than the Woreta City, and geographically, the woreda is wider than the city administration.

3.5. The Selection of the study areas

Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administrations have their separate administrative councils constituting representatives directly elected by their respective local people. Fogera Woreda administration council members dominantly come from the rural areas while Woreta City administration council members originate from the urban dwellers. The intention behind choosing these two administrative councils for this study is to investigate if there is a significant variation in women`s political participation and the influencing factors, taking the socio-economic and other demographic disparities existing between the rural and urban women. Women living in urban areas usually are in a better position than their rural counterparts regarding studying in school; women marry later and have smaller families, and low infants' mortality (Population Reference Bureau, 2015). These differences create socioeconomic, and other disparities among women living in rural and urban areas and may, therefore, affect their participation in politics.

The rationale for choosing Amhara region is among others; it has historical significance in the social and political developments of the country. Amhara as a region and its people has an important place in Ethiopian society. Amhara as an ethnic group and as nationalist identity has been at the center of Ethiopian state system. Since 1270 AD, the language and the culture of Amhara people were used in the Imperial Court (Pausewang, 2009). The lines of kings who had been ruling the country for many centuries were originated from the historical Amhara province (Pausewang, 2009). Thus, the imperial court kept an Amhara culture as the culture of the imperial court until 1974. Consequently, Amhara culture became a culture of integration and a dominant culture in the country. One can note the influence of the Amhara culture and way of life on the rest of the country easily. Also, the researcher has an in-depth knowledge of the region that has been essential in conducting the research.
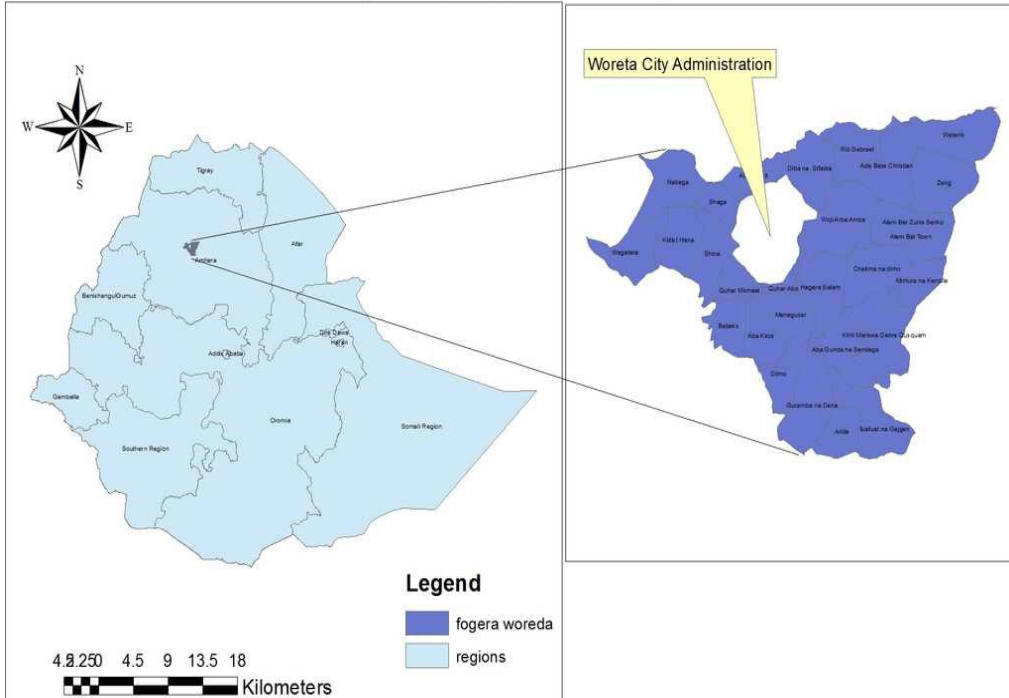
Figure.2. Map of Fogera Woreda and Woreta City Administrations

3.6. Target Populations

The target population of the study includes critical stakeholders that have a direct influence on women`s participation in the two local administrative. Therefore, target population consists of elected female members from both local administration councils, the Woreda and city administrations women`s affairs offices, male council members, administrative heads of both local governments and spouses of female council members. The views of female council members, local administrative official, women affairs officers, male council members and spouses of the female council members are used to demonstrate a clear picture of how the political participation of women does look like in the local government administrations

3.7. Sampling Technique

In this research, the purposive sampling method is used at the various stages of the sampling processes. The technique was adopted to select information-rich informants for interviews. According to Patton (1990), information-rich informants are those from which one learns a great deal of issues of vital importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 1990, cited in Layder, 1998). Therefore, individuals and institutions were thought to give significant information for this study was purposively selected.

3.8. Sample Size

According to Layder (1998), in qualitative research where samples are selected purposively based on the information-richness, the researcher gathers information or data up to the point where she /he has enough to supply answers to the research questions that initially prompted the study (Layder, 1998.p.46). From this, it can be understood that in qualitative research, the sample size will change depending on the condition. However, in this research, an adequate sample size is chosen. The sample includes female members from both local administration councils, the Woreda and city administrations women`s affairs offices, male council members, administrative heads of both local government and spouses of some women council members. The respondents of the study are presented in the table below.

Table.2. Sample Size

Sample population	Sample size		Total
	Fogera Woreda	Woreta City	
Elected female council members	6	6	12
Elected Male council members	3	3	6
Administrative officials	1	1	2
Women affairs office	1	1	2
Spouse of female council members	1	2	3
Total	12	13	25

3.9. Methods of Data Collection

In the conduct of social science research, there are methods by which researchers use to gather relevant information for their research. According to Yin (2009), there are six frequently used data collection methods for a case study. These are documentations, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts (Yin, 2009). As the researcher intended to use both primary and secondary data, the three methods of data collection are used for this study. These are interviews, documentations, and direct observation.

3.9.1. Interviews

Interviews are the most important source of information for case study research because most case studies are about human affairs or behaviors events, and well-informed informants can give important insight into such issues or events (yin, 2009). In addition to that, interviews are like guided conversations than structured queries. Therefore, they are likely to be flexible keeping the line of inquiry consistent rather than rigid (H.J. Rubin and Rubin, 1995, cited in Yin, 2009). They help the researcher to ask follow-up questions based on the information given by the interviewees. Interviews were the primary source of information for this research. As the case focuses on women`s political participation at the local government level, it was imperative to find individuals who could give substantive information on the issue.

The interviews are used as core and primary sources of data for this research. Therefore, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 25 informants, who were thought to be well informed and could give valuable insights into the case in the research. The interviews offered opportunities for the researcher to engage in in-depth conversations with the informants. Consequently, it helped the researcher to be able to understand the issues from different perspectives. The interviews were conducted in a friendly environment. The researcher tried to make the interviewees feel relaxed by letting them talk about issues they prefer to talk. However, to meet the purpose of the research, follow-up questions were asked to collect more in-depth information.

3.9.2. Documentary Sources

Documentation like reports, records, and many published and unpublished materials, books, legal documents, government policies and directives were gathered from the office of the two local administrators, the office of administrative council spokespersons, the two local administrative women`s, children and youth affairs offices. These documents gave information about historical phenomena and political structure in the study area as well as information concerning regional and local economic, social and political trends. Among the documents collected, reports of the Woreda and city administration offices and women`s, children and youth affairs, proclamations regarding the power and prerogatives of local government councils, the Amhara regional state constitution, and Amhara regional state yearly information books. However, in the process of collecting documentary sources, the researcher found it difficult to visit different government offices to gather more documents and information. It was because of the political crisis facing the country at that time and which forced many government offices to stay closed for an extended period. Hence, it was hard to get access to some basic information.

3.9.3. Observation

Observation is an important means of data collection in social science research, as evidence from observation are useful in understanding the topic under study (Yin, 2009). The direct non-participatory observations were conducted in the two local government administrations in this study. The observations were carried out in the council meetings to understand the activities and behaviors of female council members in the natural setting of the local councils. Yin (2009) argues that because of the case study should take place in the natural setting of the case; the researcher is creating an opportunity for direct observation. Observations were also made in the first quarter annual meetings for budget allocations in both administrations which took place in July 2016. The women's forums were also conducted at the same time parallel to the annual meetings, and the researcher had the opportunity to be present in the forum. Attending women`s forum provided a chance to observe female council members discussing their issues in the absence of their male counterparts. Observations were also made to the two local government

administration offices and the offices of the house of speaker of the two local councils. The researcher paid a visit to the office of the Woreda and city administrations women affairs and other sector offices.

Table.3. Data Collection Instruments used, and Information collected

No	Data Collection Methods Employed		Type of Information Gathered
1	Interviews	With Elected Female Council Members	• Family, educational, economic, and social background • Political participation and party membership • Their motivation to take part in politics • About their Local elections experience • About their Local government council experiences • Factors affecting their participation
		With Male Council Members	• Views and opinions regarding women`s participation in their local government • Their interaction with female council members
		With Local Government Head Administrators and Women's Affairs Offices	• General overview of women`s condition in the study areas • Views on women's participation in local elections and local councils • Initiatives taken by local governments to improve women's involvement in politics

			• Actions taken by the local government to solve problems facing women
		With spouses of female council members	• Views on spouse's political career and women political participation in general
2	Documents Collected		• Reports and records on local elections, women council members • Annual report of women`s affairs offices • Legal documents; Government policies and directives about local government • Published and unpublished materials from both local governments on the general activities of the local administrations and local councils
3	Observations		• Women`s participation, confidence level of communication and decision-making capacity • The condition of meeting places and offices • The local administration's situation

3.10. Data Analysis

The data analysis is based on the content of the interviews and the information collected from the informants. The content analysis method is a qualitative method of analysis that assumes that the researcher is aware of the relevant categories before the analyses

commence (Ezzy, 2002). Hence, relevant contents are identified based on the research questions and the interviews. During coding the data, the researcher finds issues that are given more emphasis by the informants. Therefore, the researcher analyzed and discussed the issues that were given more emphasis by the respondents in the interviews corresponding to the research questions. The data collected from the respondents and documentary sources are presented in the discussions form. They are integrated and presented in a manner to give sound meanings for the discussions. Most of the time, the researcher used description and discussions of findings to show nature of opinions among informants. In the discussions, the respondents are coded with numbers from RP01to RP25, where RP stands for Respondent.

3.11. Validity and Reliability

3.11.1.Validity

Construct validity is maintained by identifying accurate operationalized measures for the concepts being studied (Yin, 2009). The researcher operationalized both dependent and independent variables based on the theories and concepts used and the context of the study. Women political participation in the local governments as a dependent variable is operationalized by the representation and participation of women in the local councils, executives, and the standing committees and their participation in the political deliberations and decision-making process. The investigation of women political participation in local councils and other vital organs of the local administrations shows the status of women representation in the local governments because they are local government bodies where important local issues are entertained. Meanwhile, the active participation of elected women in the discussions and decision makings process on the local councils is also integrated to show the political participation beyond the representations clearly.

The independent variables also operationalized by concepts that can measure them well based on the theories used in the research and the context of the study. The variables are operationalized using recruitment theory, civic engagement model and critical mass and act theories. Most of these variables are operationalized and measured by similar

concepts that are used in Norris (1995), Kabeer (2001), Varba et.al (1999), Mahamadu (2010) and Thinley et.al. (2014). Therefore, the construct validity of this study is strengthened by the continued usage of the variables by different researchers. Another way of maintaining construct validity is also to use 'multiple sources of evidence. According to Yin(2009), data triangulation has the potential to address construct validity as multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures for the same phenomenon. As it is described in the data collection methods part, the researcher uses data from interviews, documentary sources, and observations.

Internal validity is maintained by the strong relationship between the dependent and independent variables. Evidence from previous studies shows that there is a strong correlation between the independent variables used in this study and woman political participation. Thinley et.al. (2014) used most of the variables that are utilized in this study to explain women participation in local governance in Bhutan. For instance, resource, motivation, education, family background and culture, and tradition are used as independent variables. According to Thinley et.al. (2014), the variables are proven to have a strong relationship with women participation in local governance. Similarly, way, Mahamadu (2010) in his work *the challenges of women participation in local governance in Ghana*, demonstrated the relationship between women political participation and resource, education, quota system, membership to organization, culture, and religion, as independent variables. Most of the variables that are used in both research are also employed in this study too. Hence, the researcher believes that there is a robust and proven relationship between the dependent and independent variables of this study.

External validity focuses on the domain to which the research could be applied or the generalisability of the results to areas beyond the research domain. This research is based on two local governments which make it difficult to replicate the result to another area. Specifically, the statistical part of the result can not be generalized to other local governments even though it is better than a single case study. However, in the data analysis process, the researcher noticed that it is possible to make analytical generalizations based on theoretical analysis of the factors affecting women political participation and the local contexts. Obviously, there is not that much difference among

local governments in Ethiopia regarding the status of women that make it possible for analytical generalization. Hence, based on the theoretical implications of the result, some generalizations can be made on women`s participation in other parts of the country. Especially when it comes to political and policy implications, culture and gender views and other individual factors that affect women equally wherever they are in the country.

3.11.2.Reliability

Reliability shows the operation of the study starting from the data collection to analysis and reporting hence if others follow the same procedure will arrive at the same result and conclusion (Yin, 2009). Regarding this, the researcher has followed the scientific procedures clearly described in the methodology part of research. Of course, another way of maintaining reliability is by maintaining chain of evidence. It is making sure that the derivation of any evidence can be followed starting from the research question to the conclusion (Yin, 2009). The researcher also has created a case study database to maintain the chain of evidence. Accordingly, procedures followed in the research and data collection process has been documented. The researcher has also tried to follow the ethical aspect of the qualitative research strictly to maintain the reliability. Hence, it is the researcher belief that the reliability of the research is maintained.

3.12. Limitation of the Study

Unfortunately, the field work was conducted in a time where Ethiopia was going through a difficult period of political unrest. The political chaos was started at the end of July and the beginning of August 2016 in the province of Gondar in Amhara region where the field research was conducted. Apart from making data collection challenging in many ways, the situation was unsafe for all. In the course of data collection, the researcher faced different challenges. Such as many council members were occupied with endless meetings, government offices were closed and unable to know when they were going to be opened and the lack of transportation to move from one place to another for interviews. In addition to that the unwillingness of council members for giving interviews for fear of being targeted or suspecting that they will be exposed to and victimized by the government. Further, communication was disrupted because of lack of

communication as telephone and internets were blocked. Because of these and many other reasons, the data is collected from interviewees who live in areas that were easily accessible and willing to help. Therefore, the above situation impeded collection of data.

3.13. Ethical Considerations

Ethics is critical for any kinds of research and most importantly in social science research. Ethical considerations were given importance in both the process of the interviews and data presentations and analysis. Therefore, informants` consent, confidentiality, personal integrity, and anonymity are considered. Before any interview was commenced, letter of recommendation was submitted to the two local administrations offices to get permission to conduct the research in their local government. The two local offices have provided official letters to be presented to two local government council speakers (AFE GUBAY in local language). The speaker of two local administrative councils then provided all the necessary information about the local councils and presented the names and addresses of all elected local council members. The researcher has made all interviews keeping the interest of the interviewees respected. In the process of data analysis, maximum care is taken to maintain the objectivity of the research.

3.14. Conclusion

In this chapter, fundamental methodology issues have been assessed broadly. It is demonstrated that the research follows a qualitative approach with a case study strategy. The description and the rationale for selection of the study areas are also presented clearly. The chapter also introduced the target population, the sample size, the data collection and analysis methods. The issues of validity, reliability, and ethics are also discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE IN ETHIOPIA

4.1. Pre-1991 Local Government Structure

Local government is not a recent phenomenon in the Ethiopian history. Though the power and the structure might be different from time to time; the structure has been there as the system of governance. In much of its history, the country had a decentralized system of governance. As back to the medieval period (since 1270) number of kings, sultanates and provincial nobilities had existed parallel to each other ruling their respective territories (Owens, 2008 and Ayele, 2008). However, with the coming to power of Emperor Tewodross II (1855-1868) and his project of centralization has put an end to the long-held decentralized political culture in the country (Ayele, 2008). Emperor Menelik II who gave the current territorial shape for the country further continued the process of centralization and territorial expansion. This condition has continued to be a state of affairs in the country until the fall of the military government in 1991.

According to Ayenew (2007), contemporary Ethiopia has limited experience in decentralized governance. He claimed that much of the country`s recent history proves that it has been under a highly centralized administrative system whereby local governments were given few responsibilities and authorities. Thus, local governments were made to work as a field agent and administrative instrument of the central government than being autonomous structures with full and adequate decision-making authority and control over resources (Ayenew,2007).The foundation of modern local government in Ethiopia was laid by Emperor Haile Selassie I with the introduction of the first administrative proclamation No.1/1942 and No 6/1942(Ayele,2008 and Ayenew,2007). The provincial administration was created with four-tier of local government structure. These were Teklay Gizat, Aworaja, Woreda, and Mikitil Woreda in descending order. In line with the highly centralized nature of the system, the central government appointed governors of these local governments to act as an agent of the

imperial throne. Besides, there was also no elected local council (Clapham, 1969, cited in Ayenew, 2007).

Following the collapse of the imperial government in 1974, the socialist military government (Derge) continued with the same local government structure and centralized system inherited from the imperial system (Ayenew, 2007). That has put the country into prolonged civil war as many groups were striving for autonomy and democratic governance. In the mid-1980s, the military government introduced a policy to grant partial autonomy in areas where the ethnic insurgency was stronger hence, Eritrean, Tigre, and Ogden provinces were granted limited autonomy (Ayenew, 2007). However, that did not help the government from being removed by the popular forces in 1991.

4.2. Post-1991 Local Government Structure

Following the removal of the military regime in 1991, a new form of local government structure was set up. The new FDRE constitution has resulted in a federal form of state by restructuring the unitary system in 1995. The decentralization is based on an ethnic line whereby regional states are structured by the settlement patterns, language, identity, and consent of the people concerned (FDRE constitution art.39, 1995). The constitution has created nine sub-national (regional) states and two city administrations. These regional states are the state of Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somalia, Benshangul/Gumuz, the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples, Gambela and Harari People. The two city administrations are the capital city, Addis Ababa and the Deri Dawa city administration.

Regional states authorized to draft, adopt, and amend their constitutions thereby allowing each of the regional state to use its law to design and take a system and structure of local government befitting its circumstances (Ayele, 2014). It also authorizes the regional states in determining the number of tiers and units of local government. The goal is to enhance democratic participation of the public and the provision of service delivery to the lowest level (Ayele, 2014). However, the general survey of local governments conducted by Serdar and Varsha (2008) shows that the nine sub-national governments followed an asymmetric pace of decentralization whereby the four most populous regions

i.e. Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nation Nationalities, and Peoples (SNNP), and Tigray decentralized rapidly than the rest of the regions. Accordingly, the four regions have further devolved into Zones and Woreda/city administrations. Zones play a different degree of an oversight role in each region (Serdar and Varsha, 2008).

The local governments below the zones are divided into rural and urban local governments, Woredas (districts) in rural areas and City administrations in urban areas (Ayele, 2008). Woreda and City administrations are filled with representatives whose member are directly elected by the local people that make them the only local governments having elected officials below the regional state. In each Woreda and city administration, there is also an executive council that is chaired by a chief administrator (for Woreda) or a mayor (for city administrations). The Woreda and city administrations have all the powers within the jurisdiction to prepare and decide on the economic development and social service plans as well as to implement policies, laws, regulations and directives issued by the regional state organs (Fenta, 2014). The local governments follow a similar tripartite structure of governance; have an elected head of administration, have a council with an executive and a sector bureau (Serdar and Varsha, 2008). The woreda and city council members are directly elected representatives from each *kebeles.* Kebeles are the lowest forms of local government below woredas and have no jurisdiction over anything but accountability for implementing policies, programs, laws, regulations and directives of Woreda or city Administrations.

```
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │   Federal government    │
        └─────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │  Regional governments   │
        └─────────────────────────┘
          │                     │
          ▼                     ▼
┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ Zones as intermediaries│ │ Zones as oversight bodies of│
│ in Oromia and Tigray  │ │ Woreda/city  Administrations │
│ regions               │ │ in Amhara and SNNP regions  │
└──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────────┘
                │                  │
                ▼                  │
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │      Woredas/city       │◄──┘
        │    administrations      │
        └─────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │        Kebeles          │
        └─────────────────────────┘
```
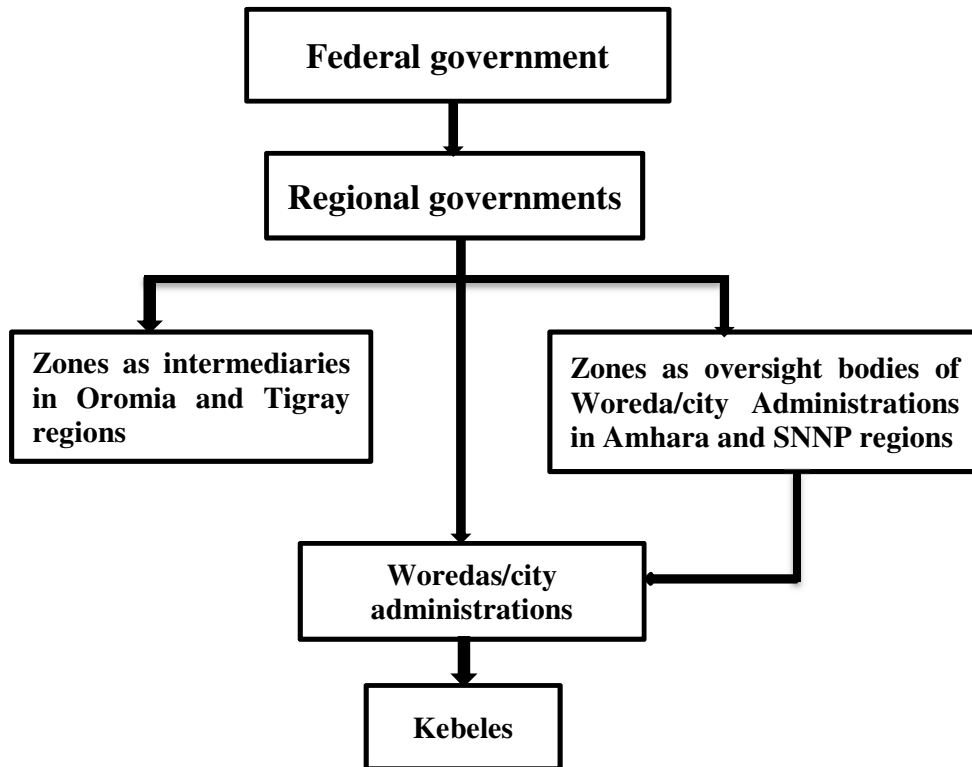
Figure.3. Local Government system in Ethiopia (adopted from Ayele, 2014)

4.3. Fogera Woreda Local Administration Structure

Fogera Woreda administration is found in Amhara regional state in South Gondar zonal administration. The woreda was created following the 1992 election to organize Woreda and Kebele administrations in the country. The establishment was further strengthened by the DLDP program in 2002. In line with the rationales for creating local government structures in the country, Fogera Woreda administration has entitled different powers that enabled it to self-governance. Among others, the authority to prepare and decide on economic development and social service plans; carry out policies and regulations; and have the authority of self-administration (ARS revised Constitution Art.84, 2001). The powers enshrined in the regional and national constitutions and regulations have created an opportunity for the woreda administration to exercise both economic and political power independently. The woreda administration comprises three principal organs. These are the woreda council, the executive council, and the judiciary. The woreda

council is established by the composition of popularly elected representatives from each kebeles. The woreda executive/administrative council is derived from the woreda council. The judiciary is established in line with the national constitution (see FDRE Constitution, Art.78-84). Based on the principle of independence, the judiciary is out of the influence of local politics at least in principle

4.3.1. Woreda Council

The Fogera Woreda Council is the central organ of the woreda administration. The council is formed by representatives elected directly by the inhabitants of the kebeles embraced in its territorial area through regular elections (Fogera Woreda Council Guideline, 2013). The number of kebeles in the woreda determines the number of seats in the council. However, the number of kebeles has changed following modifications in the territory of the woreda. In the beginning, when the woreda was formed, there were 30 rural kebeles and five urban kebeles. However, following the formation of the Woreta City administration in July 2007, which was formerly found in the geographical territory of Fogera Woreda, the number of kebeles included in the woreda administration decreased to 31. The number of representatives in each electoral kebeles also may vary depending on the size of the population in the kebeles. Since 2002, the number of woreda council seats increased from 84 in 2002 to 136 in 2013. It is noted that even if the woreda administration has lost some kebeles, the number of seats in the woreda council has increased. It must be because of the increasing size of the population in the woreda.

The woreda council is the highest body of state authority within the woreda. It is accountable to only the electorates and the regional council. The woreda council is vested with different powers based on the national and the regional constitutions. Among others to examine and approve the economic development, social service, regulatory programs and plans, and the budget of the woreda. It has the power to endorse the appointment of the speaker and deputy speaker of the council, the chief administrator, and other members of the administrative council. It also has the power to regulate the activities of other bodies through rules and guidelines (ARS revised constitution, 2001). The term of office for the woreda council is five years. The local election takes place in the woreda in every five years following the national election. However, regional states may regulate the

timetable for local elections depending on the reality on the ground. For instance, after the 2005 election crisis in the country, the regional government has extended the local government election in some areas for one year (ARS Proclamation No.128/2006). Therefore, the time for the local election is not fixed as the national election. It is only presumed that the election takes place soon after the general election for the national assembly. Fogera Woreda Council has three primary bodies, the general council, the office of the speaker of the council and the other committees

The Fogera Woreda Council general assembly meets every quarter of the year. It has a general meeting that includes the woreda executive councils, standing committees, and the rest of the council members. The general meeting is a formal meeting where the council executes its responsibilities. However, whenever the need arises the council may call for extraordinary meetings. Both the speaker and the deputy speaker of the council are elected from the general council and have the responsibility to facilitate the activities of the Council (ARS Proclamation No.128/2006). The standing committees are groups of council members created by the general council to oversight the activities of the executive branch of the woreda administration`s sector offices. They are very active organs of the local council. The council appoints the members of the standing committees from among member of the local council. They are formed to oversight the activities of the executive council through field visitations and remarks. This makes standing committees vital organs of the administration.

4.3.2. Woreda Executive/Administrative Council

The daily political activity, which enforces the economic, social, political programs in the woreda is the executive council. That makes it very imperative in the woreda administration system. The woreda executive council is the highest executive body led by the chief administrator and is accountable for the woreda council. Because of the political system existed in the country, the executive members are legally the member of the woreda council. That automatically makes them accountable to the electorate too. The woreda executive has different power and responsibilities among others, to implement policies, regulations, and directives formulated by the woreda council and the regional and federal government. The collection of income tax and other revenues;

preparation of annual budget, and keeping peace and security are also its responsibilities. The chief of the executive is appointed from among the member of the woreda council, nominated by the political party that has the highest number of seat in the Woreda Council. The tenure of the chief executive is similar to the woreda council (ARS Proclamation No.128/2006, Art.92).

The woreda executive council is made up of the office of the chief administrator and sector offices in the woreda. As heads of the executive, the chief and deputy administrators play an important political role. The chief administrators and the head of sector offices create the cabinet of the executive council. The chief administrator creates a cabinet with the approval of woreda council after being appointed by the woreda council, Individuals who are thought to be capable of leading sector offices are often appointed from among the member of the local council.

4.4. Woreta City Local Administration Structure

Woreta City administration was established in July 2007 based on the 2003-revised proclamation No.91/2003 for the establishment of urban centers in Amhara regional state. The establishment of the city administration enables the City for physical development, service delivery; socio-economic development; and taking over political and administrative powers and responsibilities (ARS proclamation No.91/2003). The creation of Woreta City administration is also based on the working principles of democratic leadership and good governance; development and self-sufficiency; coordination, cooperation, and partnership (ARS proclamation No.91/2003). The City is found in a strategic place where three main highways from three major directions in country intersect. The city connects the regional capital, Bahir Dar city, to the city of Gondar in North West and the city of Mek`ele in North East of the country. The city also serves as a major supplier of agricultural and small-scale industrial products. The growth in agriculture products, small level industries, and trade and hotel tourism made the city to attract many people consequently, increasing its population. Because of this, creating independent city administration was deemed to be necessary to manage the city (Office of the City Mayor, 2016). The city administration was first set up with seven kebeles then currently restructure into four main kebeles.

The city administration has the authority to make local policies and regulations, to formulate and execute urban development plans; to draws up, approve, and manage the budget of the city. It also has the power to administer natural resources; collect taxes, dues, and fees; promote micro and small trade enterprises and industrial works, encourage and support investment activities; represent and voice the opinion of the community. City administration is made up of different organs. However, three organs are found to be vital for this discussion; the City Council, the Executive Council and Standing Committees.

4.4.1. The City Council

Woreta City Council is composed of representatives elected from the four kebeles for five years' term. As it is discussed above the number of voting kebeles and the population determines the number of representatives/seats in the local councils. However, in city councils, the number representatives from each kebele shall not be less than 11 in any case (ARS Proclamation No.91/2003). The current number of seats in Woreta City Council is 92. The city council`s election takes over as per the national election program, however, based on the fact on the ground the election time may be regulated by the regional government. The City Council has the supreme power in the city administration. Based on that fact, it has the authority to formulate local policies and programs; to elect a speaker and a deputy speaker of the council and the city mayor and to establish and follows up activities of various committees. Beyond this, it has the power to approve and ensures the implementation of the city plan, the annual work program, and the budget. It also can call the mayor, the mayor's committee, and other officials for questioning; Causes the auditing of the finance and property of the city administration, and establishes the executive organs of the city (ARS Proclamation No.91/2003).

The city council has three organs, the general council, the office of the speaker of the Council and standing committees. The General Council holds a regular meeting once in three months unless otherwise extraordinary meetings are called by the speaker or at the request of one-third of the council members. The presence of two-thirds of the council members forms a quorum. Many of those in the quorum take decisions in the Council. However, the regulation gives that in the case of a tie, the Speaker has a casting vote.

The speaker of the council is elected from among the council members and be accountable to the council and serves five years (office of the speaker of the city council, 2016, unpublished). The speaker has the responsibility to organize all the activities of the city council and arrange and lead meetings. Standing committees are formed by the Council to oversight the activities of sector offices in the city administration. There are five standing committees with three members each and one aggregate committee having six members. The standing committees meet once a month. The power they have and their activities made the standing committees vital organ of the city council. The standing committees conduct field works to follow up the activities of the executive body and report to the council.

4.4.2. The City Executive Council

The city executive council is made up of the city mayor; the mayor is the committee, the head of executive offices, and the commissions. The members of the city executive council can be appointed from both inside and outside of the members of city council. However, in most cases, they shall be nominated from among the city council`s members. The city mayor is the most politically active individual in the city. The mayor is appointed from among the members of the city council on the recommendation of the political party or coalition of parties that constitutes a majority seat in the city council (ARS Proclamation No.91/2003). Since the establishment of the city administration, there has never been any opposition party winning a single seat in the city council. In the past two consecutive elections, EPRDF`s regional representative ANDM won all seats. That made the appointment of the city mayor much easier than it should be. The mayor is the chief executive, chair of the mayor's committee and the representative of the city administration. The mayor has the power to appoint the manager of the city service, who acts as the chief of services; heads of executive offices of the city administration and commissions; and the president and the deputy president of the city court with the approval of the city council. It has the Powers to chair, direct, coordinate and represent the mayor's committee; execute and follow up federal and regional laws, policies, and guidelines (ARS Proclamation No.91/2003).

4.5. Conclusion

The above discussion highlights the local government development in Ethiopia and the structures and functions of the local governments selected for research. The local government structure in Ethiopia demonstrated how the federal system organized till the kebele level. Whereas the discussion on structures and the functions of the two local administrations highlighted that both administrations were established as self-governing entity following the DLDP regulation that gives self-administration opportunity for local governments in the country. The discussion also points out Fogera Woreda administration is made up of 31 rural kebeles while Woreta City administration is made up of only four urban kebeles. Hence, currently, the number of seats in the woreda council is 136 whereas in the city council is 96. The discussion also highlights the powers and authority of the City and Woreda councils, executive councils and the standing committees as vital organs of the local administrations.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and discussions of the data on the dependent variable. Women`s political participation as a dependent variable is analyzed and discussed through women`s representation in the local councils, executive councils, and standing committees; and by their active involvement in political deliberations and decision-making processes. The discussion also highlights the views of male council members, the local administrators, women affairs officials and spouses of the female council members on the political participation of women in the local governments. For anonymity purpose, the informants in the interviews are coded from RP01 to RP25 in the discussions where RP stands for respondent.

5.2. Discussion on Women`s Representation

5.2.1. Fogera Woreda Local Council

The Fogera Woreda Council (here after the woreda council) is the branch of the Fogera Woreda administration whereby the will of the electorates is executed through their elected representatives. The current Woreda Council has one hundred, and thirty-six (136) elected representatives. The representatives come from 31 kebeles that serve as electoral areas in the woreda. Out of the 31 kebeles of the woreda, nineteen (19) have four (4) representative each, and twelve (12) have five (5) representatives each. Thus, currently out of the 136 members of the local council half of them are women representatives. Hence the number of elected female representatives in the woreda council is sixty-eight (68), which is 50% of the local council.

The number of women in the woreda council shows that women have already reached a critical mass. According to Kanter (1977) women can reach critical mass if their representation falls in the threshold between 15%-40%whereas Dahlerup (1988) argued

that critical mass can be secured if there is 30% representation. Women representation in the woreda council has already secured more than the percentages set by both scholars. The critical mass nature of women representation in the woreda council is necessarily for the political deliberations and engagement of women in the Woreda Council and beyond. The woreda council is headed by two speakers who are appointed by the general council. The positions of speakers` of the council are shared between male and female members. Accordingly, the speaker is a male while the deputy speaker is a female.

The data shows that there is a remarkable growth in the representation of women in the woreda council. It also indicates that there has been continuous growth since the 2002 local election. The increase of female representatives in the woreda council is in line with the growth of women representatives in the national assembly. The representation of women in the national parliament has increased from 7.6 % in 2000 to 38.8% in 2015 national election. Studies associated the growth with the introduction of the voluntary party quota by the ruling party (Awotash, 2010, Shaffo, 2010). The increase in the woreda councils follows a similar trend. The chart below shows the number of female representatives in the woreda council in the last three consecutive local council elections.
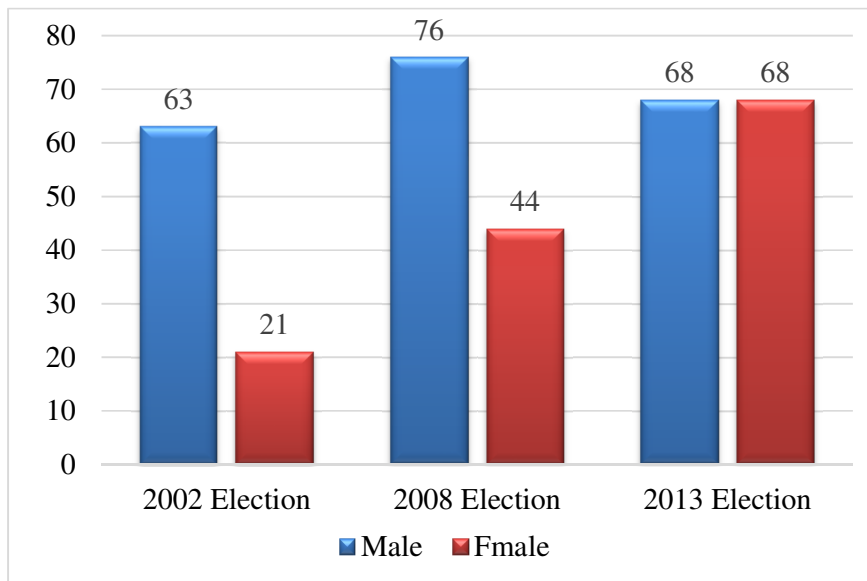

Figure.4. Number of Male and Female Representatives Elected for Fogera Woreda Council in Three Elections

The chart above illustrates that the number of elected female representatives in Woreda Council increased significantly in 2013 compared to 2002. It increased from twenty-one (21) which is 25 % of the 84 local council members in 2002 to forty-four (44) which is 36.7% of the 120 council members in 2008, and to sixty-eight (68) which is 50% of the total 136 council members in 2013. Such development shows much has been done to increase women representation in the woreda council. Considering the condition of women in the country and their experience, it is an enormous success for women in the woreda. Techane (2010) believes that mass representation is the first step for a substantive or equitable representation of interests. Therefore, the current representation of women is more than enough to make them capable of representing the interest of women.

Meanwhile, the representation of women in the woreda executive council and the standing committees are found to be very relevant to this discussion. The structure of the woreda administration shows that both the executive council and standing committee are directly related to the woreda council. Two justifications are presented here to justify the need to investigate women`s representation in the executive council and the standing committees. The first is because both the members of the executive council and the standing committees are derived from the local council through appointments. That makes some of the members of the woreda council legal members of the executive council. There is a fusion of membership between the woreda council and the executive.

Secondly, the powers and authorities of these organs are critical in the local government politics. The discussions on the representation of women cannot be complete without the inclusion of these organs. Standing committees are organized to oversight the implementation policies, programs, and directives by the executive. They are supervisors of the executive council. Also, the members of the executive organ are the direct implementers of the policies and programs. They have more power to decide on the way how policies are implemented in the woreda. It becomes logical to investigate if women are getting opportunities to be appointed in these organs.

Hence, in the Woreda Council, there are five main standing committees with three members each, established to follow up the activities of the executive council in five

broadly divided issues, and there is also one combined committee made up of five members. The main standing committees are economic affairs committee, social affairs committee, women and children's affairs committee, good governance committee and budget committee. Of these, the economic affairs and the budget standing committees do not have female members. Whereas, the social affairs and good governance standing committees have one (1) female member each. Women and children's affairs committee has all female members. Therefore, out of the 15 members of the standing committee, there are only five female members who make 33% of the total. Also, out of the five (5), members of the combined committee two (2) of them are female. When the leadership positions are assessed, of the five standing committees and the combined committee, only Women and Children's Affairs Committee is led by a female head.

The chief administrator appoints the members of the executive council with the approval of the local council. Often the members are recruited from the local council itself. It is practiced at the national level even. The experience shows that the winning party prefers and has a legal right to nominate executive members from among the legislative members. The woreda executive council members are appointed to lead sector offices as heads and deputies. There are forty (40) executive members in the woreda council leading twenty sector offices. Out of the forty (40) executive members, only Nine (9) members are female, which is 22.5%. However, out of the twenty sector offices women head only two (2) sector offices, women and children's affairs office, and the commercial and finance office. The chart below illustrates the number of male and female appointed to the executive council in the last three consecutive elections.
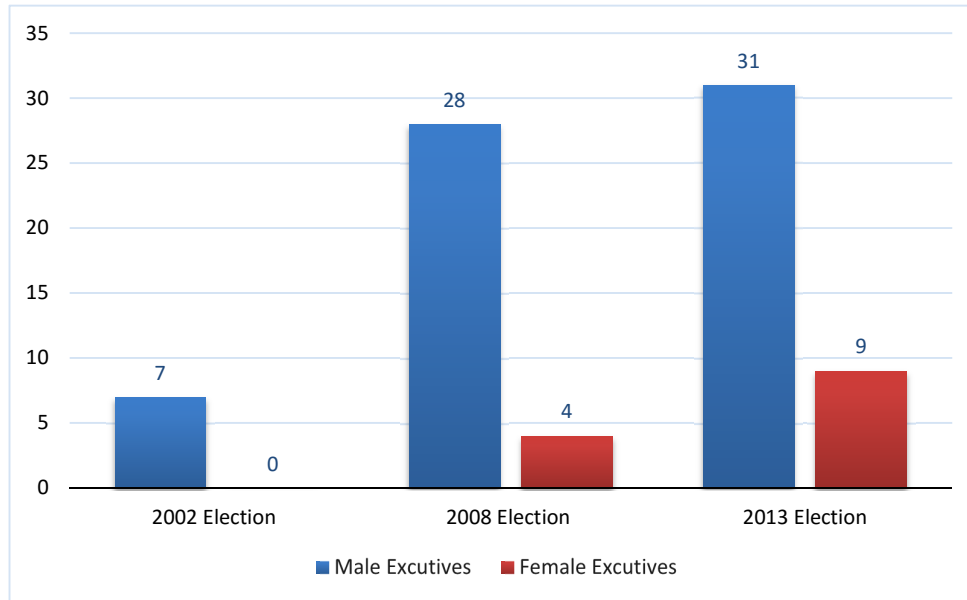
Figure 5. Number of Male and Female Executive Council Members in the Three Elections

The chart above demonstrates that the number of women executive members grew from none in 2002 election to nine (9) in 2013 election. The growth is quite slow compared to the male that grew from seven (7) in 2002 to thirty-one (31) in 2013. The data also show that none of the women members has got the opportunity to be elected as chief administrator or a deputy in the woreda administration.

The discussion demonstrated that women are equally represented in the woreda council. The data also shows that there has been a continuous growth since 2002. The analysis also showed that women are less represented in the woreda council`s standing committees and the executive councils. In the executive council, however, a slight change is registered since 2002 as it grew from none to nine members. However, considering the significance of the executive council the current level is unsatisfactory.

5.2.2. Woreta City Local Council

Woreta City Council (hereafter the city council) is made up of representatives elected from the four kebeles of the city administration. The city council members are elected by the people to act as the highest organ of the city government and serve for five years.

Kebeles are the lowest local government structures which act as a base for the local government and serve as electoral areas. According to, the Amhara Regional State Proclamation No.91/2003, the number of each kebele representatives in any city council cannot be less than eleven (11). Taking this proclamation into consideration, City Council provides twenty-three (23) seats for each kebeles found in the city administration. Currently, the City Council has Ninety-two (92) members represented from the four kebeles. Out of the 92 members, women accounted for half of it. In other words, the number of male and female representatives in the city council is equal, 46 males, and 46 females. The city council is led by a speaker and deputy speaker. The position of the speaker is occupied by a man, and the deputy is a female.

It is also important to see the development in the level of women representation in the city council. To do so, it is necessary to discuss women representation in the previous city council. It is mentioned previously that the Woreta City local administration was formed in 2007 and had its first local council election in 2008. Therefore, there were only two local elections in the city government so far since its formation. That makes only the 2008 local election a point of reference to study the development in the number of women representatives in the city council. So, in 2008, the city council had 90 representatives of which the number of female representatives was also half. The number of male and female representatives was 45 each which is 50%. There was no difference in the number of representation between the 2008 and 2013 election. Women were equally represented in the local council as men since the formation of the city administration. Similarly, the position of the speakers of the city council was also divided between men and women as the speaker and the deputy speaker respectively.

The discussion of women representation in the city executive council and the standing committees follow similar rationale given above in the discussion of Fogera Woreda administration. Meanwhile, Woreta City executive council members are made up of the city mayor, the deputy and chief of executive offices of the city. The executive council members are often appointed from among the members of city council even though legally, it is possible to appoint out of the council. The appointment takes place by the nomination of the city mayor and the approval of the city council. The city executive

council is considered as an administrative wing of the city council. The way how it is created and the power bestowed on it makes the analysis of women`s representation in the executive council imperative. Thus, the city executive council is made up of individuals leading 19 sector offices as chief and deputy of executive officers. Out of the 19 sector offices, only four (4) offices have deputy chiefs. Hence, currently, there are twenty-three (23) executive members in the city administration.

Figure 6. Male and Female Executive Members in Woreta City Administration
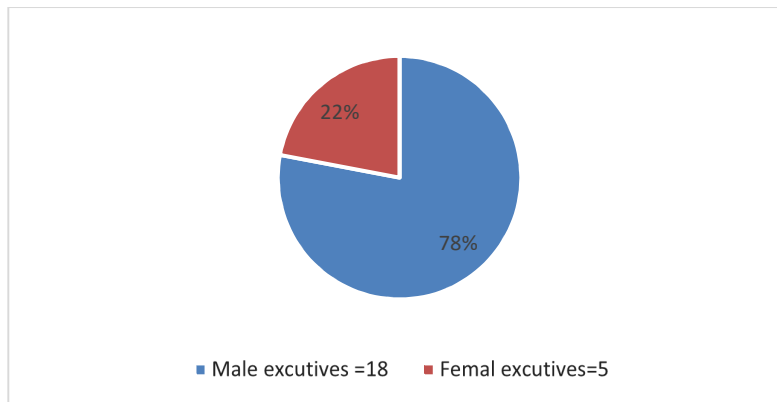
The chart above shows that out of the 23, executive officials, male members comprise fifteen (15) positions as chief and three (3) positions as a deputy chief. Collectively eighteen (18) or 78% of the executive council members are male, whereas women hold only three (3) offices as chief and two (2) positions as deputy. There are five (5) women in the executive council which are only 22%. The number of female executive members is highly inadequate compared to the number of women local council members. That affects the number of public offices run by women. The development of the number of female executive council members in the city administration is also very slow too. The difference in the number of female members of the 2008 and 2013 executive councils is very insignificant. The number of executive council members in the 2008 elections was also twenty-three (23) out of which the males were twenty (20), and women were only three (3). It is also found out in the two consecutive executive councils, the city mayor and the deputy are male too.

Coming to the discussion on the standing committees, City Council has five (5) standing committees with three members each and one combined committee with five members. The members of the standing committees and the combined committee are appointed from among the city council members. Each standing committee has a leader. The standing committees follow up the activities of the executive committee and the city mayor. They are supervisors of the activities of the executive council and are pertinent in giving feedbacks on the implementation of the policies and programs of the city administration.

The five standing committees are economic and development affairs committee, human resource and tourism development affairs committee, women and children affairs committee, law, justice and good governance affairs committee and budget and finance committee. Totally, there are 15 members of the standing committees. There are nine female members and six male members which are 60% and 40% respectively. Women members of the standing committee are higher than the male. However, the data show that men control more leadership positions in the standing committees. Women are heading only 2 of the standing committees while men are leading three. Out of the five members of the combined committee also 2 of them are women, and the rest are male including the leader. It shows that even though the number of women in the standing committees is more than men, they lead less standing committees than men. Also, their membership in the combined committee is less than men too.

The discussion shows that the status of women representation in the city council is equal to men. The number of female council members has been constant since the formation of the city council. The city council has kept gender equity since its formation. However, even though there are more female members in the standing committees than males, they are heading fewer committees than men. On the other hand, there are few female members of the city executive council and the development is very slow too.

5.2.3. Comparing the Councils

The discussions on the local councils demonstrated that women in both local councils comprise half. They are equally represented in both local councils. At the same time, the

data indicate that the number of female representatives in the two local governments` executive councils is low and the difference between the two local governments is also insignificant. It is illustrated that only 22.5 % of the woreda executive council and 22% of the city council members are women. Also, out of the twenty (20) sector offices in the woreda, only two offices are headed by women. Similarly, out of nineteen (19) sector offices in the city, only three offices are led by women. It is possible to say that there is no much difference in the number of female executive members and the offices they head in both local administrations. So, it can be concluded that in both administration's executive councils, women are less represented.

Meanwhile, the information from both administrative offices shows that there are plans to increase women`s representation up to 25% in the executive council in Fogera Woreda and 30% in executives Council in Woreta City (Interview with RP13 and RP17). Though the plan is higher than the current percentage of women executive council members, it is difficult to say that the proposed plan is still enough especially, considering the number of women represented in the local councils of both administrations. If most of the members of the executive councils are nominated from the local councils and if the number of male and female representatives in the council is equal, many women are expected to be represented in the executive councils.

When it comes to the number of women in the standing committees, the data shows that Woreta City Council has higher female members in the standing committees than Fogera Woreda Council. It is illustrated that in the city council, out of the 15 members of the standing committees, 9 of them (60%) are female which is big. Also, women in the city council lead two standing committees. Whereas, in Fogera Woreda, out of 15 standing committee members, women are only 5(33%). Besides, in the woreda council, women lead only one standing committee. About the standing committees, there is a slight difference between the two local governments. In figure 5 below, it is shown the number of female representatives in the local councils, executive councils and standing committees in the two local administrations.

	Female council members	Female excutives	Female standing committee members
■ Fogera Woreda	50%	22.5%	33%
■ Woreta City	50%	22%	60%

■ Fogera Woreda   ■ Woreta City
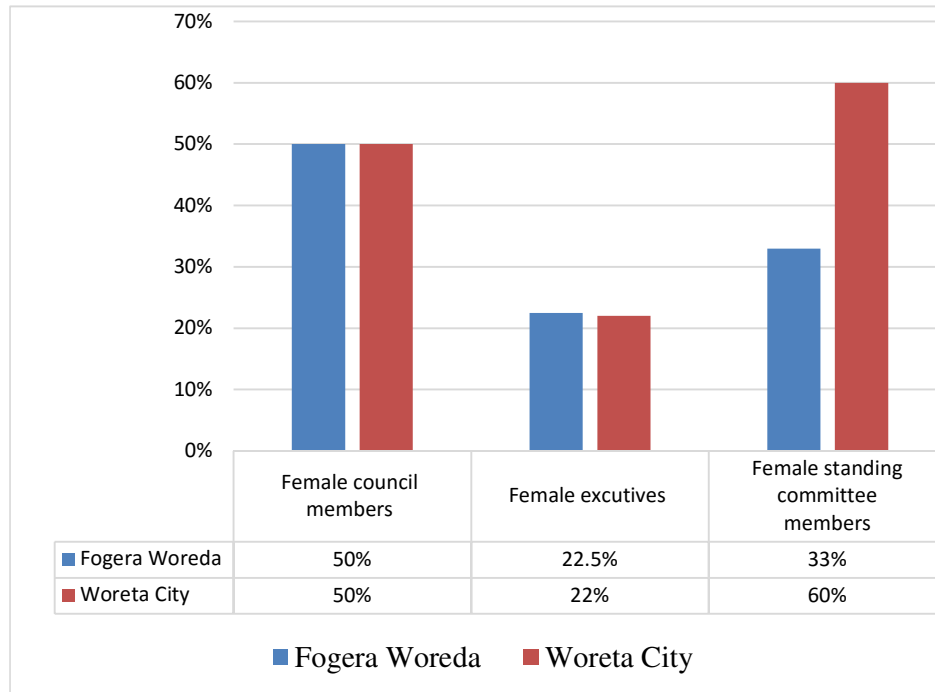
Figure 7. Number of Women In The Councils, Executive Councils and Standing Committees in Fogera Woreda and Woreta City Administration.

As it can be seen on the chart above, the number of men and women in the two local councils is the same. In addition to that, there has also been a continuous development, especially in the woreda council. The number of women in both local councils is astonishing in the sense that in a period where women have not yet represented adequately in the national parliaments of many countries, securing 50% at the local government level is very remarkable. In fact, the number is also higher than the representation of women in Ethiopian national parliament. Currently, women comprise around 39 % of the national parliament seats.

However, the representation of women and their leadership status in the executive councils and standing committees is found to be inadequate. Of course, there are more women in the standing committees of the city administration. However, they still head fewer committees than men. Fewer numbers of women in the leadership position may indicate that women have less access to leadership positions. Though the number of the

women representatives in both local councils is equal to men, fewer women are appointed to the executive and standing committee positions. The structure of the local government shows that these positions are politically influential. Hence, the mass representation of women in the local councils does not indicate that they are also appointed as executives and members standing committees. In this regard, their numbers are far below than that of men. This situation may have an adverse impact on the broader participation of women in both administrations.

5.3. Participation Beyond Numbers

The discussion above demonstrated that women are represented well in both local councils. Representation is assumed to be the first step for women's political participation. For this reason, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action exhorted all governments to adopt affirmative-action measures to ensure a quota for women to increase their representation(Falch,2010). It is asserted in the critical mass theory that if women reach a certain level of mass representation in the legislative, their political impact, and visibility increases. Molly (2012) also asserted that women's mass representation could affect the content, style, and mechanism of the politics as compared to male-dominated one. Hence mass representation of women can diversify the substance of the issues discussed in the local councils.

Moreover, the critical mass nature of women representation can improve the quality of group deliberations (Mansbridge,1999). Critical mass is a small segment of the population that chooses to make big contributions to the collective actions. In the case of the local councils, women representatives are regarded as critical mass as they are assumed to represent local women whose interest has been ignored by the majority. Power(1987) argued that collective actions usually depend on a 'critical mass' that behaves differently from other group members. The level of the critical mass and their viewpoints are keys to predicting the probability, extent, and effectiveness of collective action(Oliver et al. 1985). Hence, the level of women representation as a critical mass influence group deliberations in the local councils. The data from the Woreda and the City Councils confirmed that women had reached critical mass. Women hold much

higher seats in the councils than the threshold set by both Kanter (1977), 15%-40% and Dahlerup (1988), 30%. On the other hand, critical act theory focuses on the substantive contribution of women representatives for their constituencies most specifically women. In the next section, discussions are made about the participation of women in the local governments and whether their participation is making a difference. In other words, do they have a voice in the decision-making process in the local councils?

5.3.1. Group Deliberations

According to Mansbridge (1999), mass representation helps to improve the quality of group deliberations. Fearon (1998) defined group deliberation as a process allowing a group of actors to receive and exchange information, to critically examine an issue, and to come to an agreement which will inform decision making. It is a communication process in which groups engage in a rigorous analysis of the issues at hand and engage in a social process that emphasizes equality and mutual respect (Black et.al, 2004). In this regard, informants' view from both local councils reinforced the assertion that mass representation improved group deliberations in the local councils. They claim that female council members' engagement in the political discussions and decision-making processes in the councils has developed following their increase in number. They are presenting their perspective as much as they can and contributed for the political deliberations.

Many of the informants declared that women are actively involved in the discussion and debates making the local councils` environment more attractive. Female council members are becoming more outspoken and very committed as stated by an informant from the city council (RP09). Admittedly, when the number of women increased in the councils, their contributions have also increased. They bring more diverse ideas and issues to the local councils. On the other hand, being in the councils can help them to develop skills of critical thinking. Some informants stated that women started to make very crucial and constructive comments in the councils (RP04 and RP09). Some of the informants believed this is because of the exposure and the training provided to them.

Meanwhile, Group deliberations may be affected by the kinds and the substances of ideas entertained in the councils. In this regard, female council members contribute to the Council by bringing in different perspectives and issues. An informant from the city council argued in the following manner regarding female council members' contribution:

"Issues discussed in the council used to be more of routines like budget, regulations, and appointments. Women used only to raise their hand for the supporting vote. Current developments show that female council members are using the council to advance social, economic and political interests of their society. They bring problems that are ignored or undervalued by others. Women like to discuss the issues than just vote, especially when it comes to the issues of women" (RP8).

In fact, the process of group deliberation can also be affected by the confidence of women council members to discuss and deliberate their views without fear openly. In this regard, informants believe that the mass representation of women in the councils increased their confidence to speak openly and freely. A respondent from the Woreda Council who is elected to the council for the second term said the following;

"In the previous local council, it was not easy for women council members to stand up and express their views in the male-dominated council. The traditional views upheld that women are not supposed to speak in front of a crowd, and the dominant nature of the male council members made women be restrained from expressing their views. Often when a female council member stood to speak, some men feel uncomfortable. As many of the Fogera Woreda representatives came from rural areas, their attitudes for women were not positive. However, now things are totally changed because of the increasing number of women in the local council" (RP03).

Another informant also expressed that previously not only women were apprehensive to speak in the council but also some male council members often used to make a fun of women and sometimes laugh at them. However, now because of the mass representation of women, they are confident to stand and speak without any fear or shyness (RP02).

Bari (2005) asserts that female mass representations help women to develop confidence by creating solidarity among themselves.

The way how local council meetings are conducted can have an influence on the political deliberations of women in the councils too. How convenient are meeting place and time and whether meeting agendas are communicated clearly before the meetings are important. Informants from both local councils responded to these questions affirmatively. They claimed that local councils` meeting halls are made to fulfill basic needs and are convenient. The researcher also observed that both local governments' council meetings are conducted in rooms which are fully equipped and are suitable for meetings. The meeting hours are also strictly observed, and it is always from 9 am to 5 pm. Informants believe the meeting hours are convenient them. They also stated that they are often informed about the agendas some days before the meetings except for extraordinary meetings. The local government councils` rules also said that the local councils should inform the council`s members about the agenda, time and meeting place before the meetings (Fogera Woreda Council Guideline, 2013) However, the rule does not state a specific date. It arises from the discussion that mass representation of women in the local councils has an influence over the way how women participate. The data also shows there is no difference between the city council and the woreda council. In both councils, the respondents expressed similar views on the matter.

5.3.2. Substantive Contributions

According to critical Act approach, women`s participation is measured substantively through their contribution to protecting the interest of women and the people in constituencies (Holli, 2012). It is related to their commitment to address the problems inside and outside of the local councils. Elected women can contribute to by bringing the issues into the local councils' agenda setting process. They also can participate by following up their implementations in the local administrations. Indeed, the responsibility of the standing committees is to follow up the execution of the councils` decisions by the executive councils. However, elected women can contribute more to the implementations process. In this regard, informants from both local councils stated that elected women are becoming increasingly active in bringing social, economic and

political issues to the local councils that are pertinent to their constituencies in general and women in particular. Informants noted that women council members are more valuable in addressing women`s issues as they are more familiar and informed than men. An informant argued that women are more open to express their problems to female council members than the males (RP04).

The substantive contribution of women council members is necessary because representation without real participation does not add up anything in value for women's empowerment and the society. So, the data revealed that women in both councils are contributing a lot to the society. Considering their recent entry into local politics, their improvement is impressive. An informant from the woreda council expressed the rise of women participation as follows:

> *"It is my second term in the woreda council. I observe significant changes in the involvement of women in the council. They are now contributing a lot for the woreda, especially for women. It is evident that some policies and programs were formulated by the government to help women in the country. However, their implementation at the local level was poor because of lack of follow-up. However, female council members are working hard to see the implementations of those policies and programs to help women in the woreda. Positive results are being seen for example, on the issues of maternity right, the equal share of properties in marriage and inheritance, provision of affirmative actions and in the fight in traditional harmful practices"* (RP02).

An informant from the Woreta City Council stated that women in the city council had addressed many problems faced by women in the city. She indicated that they influence the city administration to provide health access to women engaged in sex work, arrange financial supports and loan access for widowed and unemployed women and organized them in micro-enterprise hence they can work together(RP07). Another informant from the woreda council also stated that as a rural woreda, women`s problems in Fogera Woreda are more complicated than the city administration. She asserts that women in the rural areas are not open to talking about their problems because of the cultural issues. Hence, female council members are usually expected to spend more time and energy to

investigate the problems. She claims that the matter of property right, especially access to land, and equal share of wealth and household responsibilities and decision-making power, sexual violence and gender discriminations are given more focus because of their widespread nature, and many of these issues are being addressed (PR04).

The female council members' substantive contribution can be measured by the project they developed to help women and the society at large. In this regard, informants stated that they had proposed different projects to improve the life of women. A respondent from the woreda council said that projects to address the issue of early marriage, sexual violence, and female education have been proposed and accepted in the woreda (RP03). Similar projects are also implemented in the city administration. Moreover, plans to ensure women`s economic opportunities have been proposed (RP08).

The discussion shows that female council members from both local councils are substantively contributing to their part in defending the interest of women in the local governments. This is in line to the assertions of the critical mass and act theories. It is imperative to make sure that women are adequately represented in the local councils. In addition, the environment of the local councils should be more convenient hence women can fully participate and contribute substantively. However, representation of women in the local councils is not enough to make sure women political participation in local governments. Informants believe that women should be appointed to influential positions. They asserted that female council members are not appointed to prominent positions because of the wrong perception of the local officials about the capacity of women. Informants recognize that there are many women with less education level in the councils. However, they stated that even those educated and capable women are unable to secure positions (RP06 and RP09).

Some informants even believe that the very reason women`s representation increased in the local councils is that of the quota system. Mass representation of women in the local councils does not mean women are politically empowered unless women have equally access to higher positions. It is important to notice that the political system in the country could make local councils weaker even though in principle the councils are the highest organs of the local governments. The one-party nature of the local councils makes the

decision-making process much easier than the usual. The executive councils can bring any policy and program for decision in the councils which it will automatically approve. The only reason that the programs and policies might be brought to the local councils is for legitimacy not for a viable political deliberation. In this case, women in the councils may not be empowered enough to influence any policy decisions. Hence, if their number is insignificant especially in the executive councils, it is hard to think that they would make any impact at all. Some critics of the government also argue that the ruling party is using women only for show off – a typical case of window dressing. They argue that it organizes women without genuine civil society activity and empower them without real power. This symbolic gesture enables the government to hijack the legitimate question of women (Midekssa, 2012).

5.4.   The Views of Local Officials and Male Council Members

This discussion presents the findings from the interviews with local governments` administrators, women`s and children's affairs offices (here by women`s affairs offices) and male members regarding the political participation of women in the local governments. Accordingly, the data show that informants from both administrations reflected the views that the involvement of women in the local politics shows significant development. The informants argued that women should be more involved in the political activities of the local governments. Traditionally men used to control the local politics dominantly. However, the policy adopted by the ruling party since 1991 has significantly changed the political participation of women for the better (RP13 and RP17).

The administration officials argued that the current local councils enjoy, not only a high number of women representatives but also their active engagement. Women council members' motivation to participate in politics is showing encouraging progress (RP13 and RP17). The informant from Fogera Woreda administrative office said *"previously, women council members were not active in the council hence it was not possible to know what they think about issues discussed in the council. However, currently, they are actively taking part and driving the council`s discussions"* (RP13). The assertion is in line with the gradual development of women representation in the councils, particularly

in the Fogera Woreda. Like the views of the female council members, informants from the administration offices believed that the mass representation of women in the council has contributed to the development of women's participation in the council.

The informants also stressed that the motivation and commitment of female council members to address the societal problems is also growing. According to an informant from the city administration office, women`s commitment to solving problems in their constituencies is increasing, and it brings legitimacy to them (RP17). He further said *"people believe that women genuinely represent their constituencies; they think women are less corrupt and are dedicated to solving their problems. Hence they (people) develop trust in women council members"* (RP17). Some studies show that women are less corrupt and their increased participation in government are associated with lower levels of corruption. According to Transparency International, it is associated the high standard of ethical behavior of women and their concern for the public interest (Transparency International, 2000). Local people are learning this fact and are showing a preference for women in important public positions. This may have affected the recruitment of women in the local councils. However, the researcher could not verify this as voters are not involved in the interviews. However, it makes sense to believe that people always prefer politicians who are less corrupt and industrious.

Male council members and informants from both women`s affairs offices also share the views of the two administrative offices. The respondents from the women`s affairs offices claimed that the participation of women in the local governments is getting improved. An informant from the woreda women`s affairs office said that women in the woreda are showing progress.  She further said *"We are witnessing the changes in women`s life from the time when they did not have any right in their house to the present situation when women hold 50% of the local council seats. This is a substantial change though there are still things to improve"* (RP21). The women's affairs offices officials claimed that elected women in the councils are becoming more powerful and visible in the local governments, especially in addressing social problems. They have contributed much to women in the areas by organizing awareness creation movements on gender issues and women rights (RP21 and RP22). They claim that women council members are

also giving extended support for their offices. The informant from the city administration women`s affairs offices argued that female council members are very supportive to their office and even ask for more budget allocation in the council. The informant explained that men Council members do not usually understand the work the women affairs office does. However, women council members are aware of the fact that the office has many things to do (RP22).

The opinion of Male council members is also positive. They reflected the views that the participation of female council members in the local councils is very encouraging. Many of them related the development of the women`s involvement with the government's policy (RP14, RP17, RP19, and RP20). They argued that the ruling party is determined to increase women`s participation in politics. A male informant from the woreda council stated that ensuring women's political participation is a policy goal for the ruling party. So, it is doing its best to make sure that women are actively participating in local politics (RP14). He further argued that the growth in the representation of women is also reflected in their active participation in the council and out of the council (RP14). Some informants even argue that women are dominating the local councils (RP16 RP18). They claim that political deliberations in the councils are becoming more attractive because women are increasingly active.

Regarding the support for female council members, the informants from the local administrative offices stated that their administrations are providing continued support for women in the council and in the local governments in general to improve their participation. They claim that several pieces of training were given to develop necessary skills. They declared that the ruling party`s decision to increase the representation of women at local councils to 50% is the part of the support. The ruling party has 30% quota in the party list for women at the national level. However, the party has decided to make it 50% at the local level. The informants claimed that their administrations were successful in helping women to win seats provided by the quota (RP13 and RP17). The quota system is considered the primary factor for increasing the number of women in both the local councils.

Meanwhile, informants from the administrative offices, women affairs offices, and male council members believe that it is not possible to conclude that the current women participation is adequate. They indicated that there are still some noticeable gaps. Of these gaps, cultural influences and the inability of women to have confidence in themselves are cited by male council members and officials from the two administrations frequently. They claim that women still have the feeling that they cannot be equal to men. Most of the time women tend to accept the decisions of people even if they disagree with it. *"Men are ready to work with the ladies; however, women are still under the pressure of tradition. There are still many women who think that speaking in the crowd is unethical for women"* said RP13. It may be true that some women may still feel this way,

However, both informants from women's affairs office argued differently. They both believe that there are still hindrances for women in the local governments. One of the problems facing women in the political aspect is the resistance from the officials to believe that women have the capacity to lead. Regarding this, the informant from Fogera Woreda women's affairs office explained it as follows;

> *"Women have fewer opportunities to be appointed to the executive councils to chair public offices because they are considered incapable of holding such a power. Officials have no trust on the capacity of women. I witnessed that the officials prefer male than female even if they are not as capable as women. I think the increasing representation of women in the local councils is just because of the party policy and it must be enforced. I do not believe that there is a genuine belief from the officials to increase women`s participation."* (RP21)

The informant from Woreta City women`s affairs office also shared this frustration.

Female council members also mentioned that they have been experiencing pressures from male colleagues. Patriarchal views and gender biases have often affected women participation. Informants from women affairs offices asserted that more attitude change is required among men especially those having higher positions.

However, officials from the office of the two administrations claim that the reason for the few appointments of women in the executive offices is because of lack of capacity and leadership skills of women. "*It is hard to handle power for incapable individuals. It is the government`s responsibility to make sure that policies and programs are executed well. Unless we have appointed capable people, we may not be successful. There is no quota system for appointments. It is based on ability*" said the official from the city administration (RP17). Note that though, this argument may refute the claim by both administrative offices on giving a continuous training to build the capacity of female council members. The training should have helped them for acquiring the expected skills.

5.5. Conclusion

The above discussion demonstrates that women in both local governments` councils are adequately represented. It also highlights that the representation of women in the local councils has increased through time especially in the Woreda Council. On the other hand, the discussion also shows that women are still less represented in the executive councils and head few local offices in both local governments. Regarding representations in the standing committees, it is found out that fewer women are represented in the woreda council's standing committees while more are represented in the city council`s standing committees than men. However, women in both local councils led fewer standing committees than men.

The discussion also illustrates the political participation of women beyond their representation. The group deliberation and the commitment of women representative to address local issues are used to demonstrate their involvement beyond their number. Accordingly, it is highlighted that their political deliberation and the substantive contributions have increased through time. The analysis also highlights the views of the local officials and male council members concerning the political participation of women in the local governments. The discussion demonstrates that there is a development in this regard. However, it also highlights that there are some obstacles among others is the failure of the local officials to recognize the capacity of women which consequently affect the effective political participation of women.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION ON THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter covers the discussion on the independent variables affecting women's political participation at various levels. Based on the theories and model used in the study, structural, group/organizational and individual variables have been identified and are going to be discussed. The discussion demonstrates the implication of the data over the theories and models used through the variables. The data gathered from interviews and secondary sources are integrated in a manner that makes a sound and structured discussion.

6.2. Structural/System Variables

Political participation is a complex phenomenon which is influenced by several factors in a country. Structural or system variables are factors which affect the political participation at a higher level. The governments introduce rules and regulations that guide the conduct of elections and how political parties can be organized and function or policies that provide special treatment for minorities, women and other groups. Such rules, regulations, and policies affect the political participation of citizens as structural variables. As most of these variables are introduced nationwide, their impact is also general. In Ethiopia, there are structural factors that influence the political participation of women. These are the electoral system, party system, quota system and affirmative actions. Below is the discussion of these variables and how they affect the political participation of women in the two local governments.

6.2.1. Electoral system

According to Norris (1997), the electoral system decides how individuals or political parties are elected to office or how votes are counted to allocate seats. In the theory of recruitment, Norris put the electoral system as an important structural variable influencing the recruitment of public officials. The electoral system in Ethiopia is a

simple majority or first past the post systems which some scholars regarded as unfavorable for women representation. The system allows a candidate who receives the majority of the votes than competitors within a constituency win the electoral district (NEBE, 2010). Matland (2005) argued that in almost all these systems (i.e. the winner takes all), the parties nominate one person for each constituency which is hard to balance among candidates. Hence, they are compelled to choose only men as they do not want to deny the aspirations of the most powerful male politician in the constituency (Matland, 2005). However, also, parties prefer to win the constituencies by nominating the strong candidates.

However, it is discovered that the number of seats in the case of local elections is more than one. Kebeles, as Constituencies in the woreda and City administrations, have multiple seats. In Fogera Woreda out of the 31 kebeles, 19 of them have four seats each and 12 of them have five seats each. In the woreta city, the four kebeles have 23 seats each. These make the situation in the local government elections distinct from the national election. It creates an opportunity for political parties to nominate more candidates. Therefore, if a political party has a commitment to recruit more women for candidacy, the electoral system provides the opportunity.

The existence of multiple seats in the kebeles makes the situation easy for aspirants to get the opportunity of nominations from their parties. Unfortunately, this study only includes the opinions of women in the ruling party as there are currently no other parties having seats in the local councils of both administrations. Informants from both local councils aware of the fact that the existence of multiple seats in the kebeles has contributed for their recruitment. For instance, a respondent from the Woreda Council clearly stated that one of the reasons for her getting the opportunity to run for election was the existence of multiple seats (RP1). She states;

"I know that women are still treated as less capable of leading critical positions. That is why it is hard to find women in higher positions. If there is only one seat for kebeles, I may not be nominated. Even in some kebeles, women still face resistance to get nominated. I remember in one kebele in the woreda; the kebele

leader nominated few female candidates. However, party leaders at the higher level recommended him to balance both men and women" (RP1).

The existence of multiple seats in the kebeles also gives confidence for party leaders to recruit more women. Matland (2005) argues that when the number of seat increases in the electoral districts, the probability of a party to win several seats in the constituency increases. When a party expects to win several seats, it will be much more conscious of trying to balance between men and women. Furthermore, the presence of multiple seats in the kebeles enables women to put pressure on their political parties for more recruitment of candidates. An informant from the city council said;

"I knew it is possible to nominate many candidates in the kebeles for city council`s elections. As I have been active in the party for quite some time, I have done many good things for the party. Because of that, I was sure that the party leaders would nominate me when I filled the application form" (RP8).

In the 2013 election, the ruling ANDM/EPRDF party nominated 15 candidates for each kebeles having 4 to 5 seats in Fogera Woreda administration. In the city government for each kebeles having 23 seats, the party has nominated more than 30 candidates. The number of nominees from the single opposition party was very few, and there were no female candidates too. It is understandable that the opposition parties in the country are far more behind from the ruling party in various aspects. Nominating female candidates would feel being less competitive to them. Unless women have headway in politics as it has been seen in some women representing opposition parties at the national level, it was difficult to find them in local elections.

The electoral system as a factor in the recruitment of women is visible. Looking at the appointment history of women in the executives and standing committees of the local governments, if the kebeles had had single seats, the representation of women in the local councils would have had a different picture. Therefore, even though the impact of the electoral system on women's recruitment at the national is still unfavorable, it has a positive impact at local level.

6.2.2. Party System

As it is discussed, the electoral system influences the recruitment of female candidates for local elections. It is based on the fact that there are multiple seats in the kebeles which allowed parties to nominate more female candidates. However, it is hard to assume that only the existence of multiple seats in the constituencies, can give political parties the confidence to recruit women. Because, in a highly competitive political system, political parties may still fear to lose their seats if they nominate more female candidates than others. Both the presumption of women being less skilled and the cultural attitude towards them are excuses for political parties to opt for nominating more male candidates. Political parties should have more strong reasons to recruit women than men.

The party system in Ethiopia is another reason for the growing recruitment of women. In Ethiopia, there is a dominant party system in which the ruling EPRDF party controls the political system and has been doing it for more than two decades. As a dominant political party, EPRDF has won all national elections conducted since 1991. Its regional party, ANDM has also won all the local elections held in the last elections in the local governments. Many critics argue that the dominant nature of the ruling party has discouraged other political parties from participating in the local elections.

The data illustrate that it is only the regional party, ANDM/EPRDF, involved in the past local elections. In the 2013 election, however, one opposition party has competed but failed to secure a single seat in both administrations. Some people argued that opposition parties are weak. They lack resources and mobilization capacity. Mobilization is essential for political parties especially in election periods. Political Parties with more resources and ability to mobilize have the possibility of winning more seats. The ruling party has material and human resources to reach out to people anywhere in the country for campaigns. An informant narrated what they did as a member of the ruling party in the 2013 local election as follows;

> *"In the 2013 local election, there was one opposition party that tried to participate in the woreda election. It distributed flyers and called the people for meetings to the campaign. However, nobody came out to its campaign. The*

ruling party effectively neutralized the pressure by sending a large number of its members to conduct door to door campaigning" (RP4).

The ruling party has a significant number of party members in the country. An attempt by other political parties to compete is always unsuccessful. The dominant nature of the ruling party has left the elections without any possible competition from contending political parties. Consequently, women in the ruling party have got more chance of nomination as there is no threat to the ruling party. Women in the ruling party are politically in a better condition. Their party has been in power since 1991 which enable them to have a better resource to mobilize and support them in elections (Shaffo, 2010). However, women who are not members of the ruling party or those who are a member of opposition parties have limited probability of recruitment. The political system in the country is unfavorable to women who are in the opposition parties.

Informants are also well aware of the political environment in the country. Many of them have a positive attitude for the dominant nature of ruling party as they think it is favorable to them. Some of the informants related the dominant character of the party with the party's political programs and policies. For example, an informant from Fogera Woreda said *"it was clear that only the ruling party is a choice for the women in our woreda. The programs, the policies and the successes achieved by the ruling party made it preferred by women. Hence, no political party is capable of competing with it"* (RP4). Others related it to the policy of the party to women. An informant from the city council said that the government is the only party that has clear agenda for women. She further asserted *"There is a significant change in the life women because of the policies adopted by the ruling party. For example, the quota system and affirmative action programs and the introduction of different institutional and legal mechanisms to specifically address women`s issues"* (RP7). The arguments of the women council members seem to emanate from party affiliation. However, Whatever the case is, it is the ruling party which is capable of realizing the political ambition of women in the current political condition in the country.

Even though the dominant party nature of ANDM/EPRDF helped more recruitment of women to run for elections, it is assumed that women still must compete with male

members of the party. In this case, neither the multiple seat nature of the kebeles nor the dominant character of the party would have affected the electability of the candidates; rather it is the quality of the candidates and the voters` preferences. However, if political parties are committed to making a balance between male and female representatives they are supposed to use closed party-list. In closed party lists, it is the political party that determines the rank-ordering of candidates (Matland, 2005). Accordingly, the ruling party uses a closed party-list. Hence, voters cannot identify the identity of the candidates in the voting process. This helps women from being discriminated against voters. Voters know only for which political party they vote for and not for particular individuals. The sum of the number of votes from each candidate will be counted to decide the winner. However, within the party, individual candidates get seats according to their number of votes. Therefore, the party decides who is elected based on the lists.

Women representation is growing since 2002 in the woreda council and since 2008 in the city council. The party system has affected the political participation of women in the local administrations by enabling women to be recruited and consequently elected with a significant number of both local governments. It has created favorable conditions within the political environment that exist in the country.

6.2.3. Quota System

The quota system is a policy measure which enables women to constitute a particular number or percentage of a candidate list for government offices (Dahlerup, 2005). It aimed at increasing women's representation in public institutions. The main reason for the introduction of the quota is the historical exclusion of women. Therefore, quotas commit those who are in charge of nomination to recruiting more women and give women an opportunity of participating in politics. There are various quota systems introduced across the world with different impacts. The quota may be *Candidate quotas* which specify the minimum percentage of women candidates for election or *Reserved seats* that set a certain number of seats for women among representatives in a legislature determined by legal provisions or *Gender-neutral* that is provided for both genders (Dahlerup, 2005). The quota system introduced in Ethiopia is one of the variants of candidate quota, *voluntary party quota*. It is a type of quota adopted voluntarily by

political parties. The ruling EPRDF party introduced the voluntary party quota in 2004, which allows the party to list 30% of its candidate to be women to increase their participation in the country's political system. The discussion on the party system above has revealed that the ruling party is the dominant political party in the country. Considering that the dominant nature of the ruling party, it is reasonable to argue that the quota system adopted by the party may have a significant impact on the political participation of women in the country. This discussion presents the views of female council members on quota system introduced and how much it affects their representation in the local councils.

Surprisingly, all the 12 female council members interviewed from both local councils affirmed that the quota system has a great contribution to the increasing of women's representation in the local councils. Some of the respondents even stated that one of the main reasons the ruling party impress the heart of many women in the country is the introduction of the quota system (RP02, RP04, RP08, and RP11). The impact of the quota system can be examined by comparing the number of women in the local councils before and after the introduction of the quota system, especially in the woreda council, as it has an election conducted before the introduction of quota in 2002. In 2002 election women held only 25% seats in the woreda council. However, after the introduction of the 30% quota, the number of female representatives grew to 36.7% in 2008 election. The ruling party committed further to increase women`s representation in the local councils by deciding to increase the voluntary quota at the local level to 50% in 2013. As a result, the local councils in both local governments have 50%, female representatives.

The current level of women's representation supports the claim by respondents regarding the quota system. The asserted that the quota system influenced women's recruitment for candidacy in the election and their subsequent representation in the local councils. An informant stated that the quota system had forced the party recruiters (gatekeepers) at the local level to nominate a balanced number of male and female candidates for the local election (RP08). Another respondent also said the following about it;

> *"The impact of the quota system on the representation of women is clearly visible when we see their representation in positions that do not have a*

dedicated quota. For instance, women are invisible in the executive posts. It is clear that the reason that there are more women in the local councils than in the executive councils is that of the introduction of the quota for the local councils and not for the executive councils." (RP01).

However, the quota system introduced in Ethiopia seems to be related to the political atmosphere than the commitment to increase women's participation. The dominant nature of ruling party influenced not only the introduction of the quota system but also to increase the quota to 50% at the local level. It is evident by the type of quota introduced in the country. If the party were committed to ensure women's political participation and enhance their representation, as Dahlerup, (2005) argued, it would have introduced the '*Legal candidate quota*' or '*Reserved seats'* which need to be laid down in the constitution, or other legislations hence their enforcement is not conditional to the political environment. However, the sustainability of the current voluntary party quota seems to be related to the nature of the ruling party.

Meanwhile, some informants stated that even though the quota system helped women to be recruited as candidates; they believe that women competed equally to secure the seats in the councils (RP01 and RP09). However, the absence of strong opposition parties, which informants themselves are aware of and the closed list nature of the electoral list have contributed to winning more seats by women in the councils. The nonexistence of opposition parties in the elections has made the competition only among the members of the ANDM/EPRDF which makes the party confident to nominate female candidates. The closed party list nature of the electoral list, on the other hand, neutralized the voters' considerations. The result would have been different if it was an open party list. Matland (2005) argues that open party list may be both advantageous and disadvantageous for women candidates. If women are politically active and capable of organizing to striking out of male names and voting for women names, it may be advantageous, for example, women in Norway local elections in the early 1970s (Matland, 2005). However, it is possible only in a country where women`s political consciousness is highly developed which is not the case in Ethiopia. Therefore, the closed list nature of the electoral list has a positive contribution. Some informants also claimed that voters are showing preference

to women candidates because women are less corrupt and honest which suggests that they could have been elected even if it was an open party list. However, this needs further research to corroborate the claim. In general, the data suggested that the quota system is one of the major factors increasing the participation of women in the local politics. Matland (2005) suggests that the crucial points in women political participation are to convince women to participate and to convince the parties to choose women as their candidates. Hence, in the case of choosing women as candidates, the quota system has contributed much.

6.2.4. Affirmative Actions

Unlike quota system, Affirmative actions do not have an immediate impact on the recruitment process. Rather they contribute to strengthening women`s the capacity and motivation which consequently impact their political participation. Affirmative actions are policy measures to enable women to share social and economic benefits and consequently empower them. According to Kabeer (2001), it is important to redistribute power and resource to bring women to the level where the rest of the society is. So, affirmative actions serve as means to redistribute power and recourse for groups that are vulnerable. Women are historically discriminated in Ethiopia. So as to redress their historical legacy of discrimination from social and economic benefits, the government adopted numerous affirmative action schemes. The most noticeable affirmative action measures taken by the government are in education and employment. In higher education proclamation No.351/2003 women are admitted to high schools and universities with lower grades. It also allows universities to set aside 25% from the total number of students for female students. Women are also prioritized when there are educational opportunities for public employees. Similarly, the civil service proclamation No.262/2002 also provides preferential treatment for women in public employment. It allows giving additional points for female candidates and 'equal or close score' over male candidates. Affirmative actions on education help women to get access to education which helps them to build their knowledge and skill. Employment opportunities also assist them to develop themselves economically. In recruitment theory, political engagement theory, and in the conceptualization empowerment both education and economic resource are the enabling factors for women's political participation.

The view of informants on the contribution of affirmative actions to women political participation is almost similar. They affirmed the existence of different types of affirmative action opportunities for women in the local government. They also assert that women are getting empowered using the affirmative action schemes in the local governments. An informant from the woreda council witnessed that affirmative actions are contributing a lot for females. She asserted that many women who are in better positions in the woreda might have got educational or employment opportunities at least once in their life (RP02). A respondent from the city council also said that many women who graduated from universities since the introduction of educational affirmative action have already got the opportunity (RP012).

Among the informants, many of them have also got educational or employment benefits from the affirmative action policy. Out of the 12 female council members who were interviewed in either local governments, nine or 75% of them have got these opportunities. Three of them are from the city council, and the rest six are from the woreda council. Indeed, women in urban areas have more access to education and employment opportunities than those in rural areas. Thus, women in urban areas may not need affirmative actions as much as the rural women. Moreover, informants who got affirmative action opportunities stated that the possibilities had contributed a lot to their current positions. An informant from Fogera Woreda describes how it helped her to build herself:

> "After completing high school, I could not join university because of my poor grade. It was difficult for me to start college by myself because of financial constraints. Hence, I was forced to stay home with my family for a long time. Then I had got the opportunity to continue education when the government provided affirmative actions for female students who could not join universities to train as teachers in colleges. I have used that opportunity to develop my capacity. Then after, I was working as a teacher in a remote rural area. Then I was given another chance to continue my bachelor degree. Now I am here". (RP04)

Similarly, an informant from the city council also stated that without the affirmative action she got from the city administration that helped her to get her diploma, life would have been difficult. She asserted that women usually score poorer in the national exams because of poor educational background. This forced her and other women to stay at home. However, the affirmative action schemes introduced by the government provide second chances for many women (RP12). Some informants also mentioned that it is not always the case that women enjoy affirmative actions. There are times when officials may not observe affirmative actions` rules. An informant from the city council explains that sometimes jobs may be very competitive and officials ignored the affirmative action rules because they prefer to have the best candidate for the job. Moreover, usually, males are considered ideal candidates for jobs (RP08). An informant also mentioned that affirmative actions are used as a means to discredit the capacity of women (RP01). She asserted some people consider women who are employed trough affirmative action less capable of doing their work. That affects the chance of women getting higher positions (RP01). The data shows the introduction of affirmative actions has helped women to build their capacities. When women develop themselves economically and get knowledge and experience through education, their confidence and motivation to participate in local politics government grow.

6.3. Group/ Organizational Variables

Group or organizational level variables are factors that determine the political participation of individuals based on the fact that they are members of certain social or political organizations. These organizations serve as networks of recruitment through which citizens are mobilized to politics. Women who participate in such organization have more opportunity for political participation. These organizations serve multiple functions that can enable women to be politically more capable. For instance, being a member of social organizations can help women to build social connections, develop communication skills and build social capital. Whereas membership in political organizations creates opportunities for training, the chance of being recruited and selected as candidates and organizing and mobilizing campaigns. In Ethiopia, there are a handful of such organizations that provide similar opportunities. Below is the

presentation of the data on the impact of social and political organizations on women political participation in the local governments.

6.3.1. Membership to Social Organizations

Currently, two social organizations are functioning in both local governments. These are the 'Idir' and 'Iqub.' Idir and Iqub are among the most relevant socio-economic organizations in the local governments.'Iqub' is an association established by a group of people to provide substantial rotating funding for members to improve their lives and living conditions(Mammo,1999). Whereas 'Idir' is an organization created among people of a particular neighborhood to raise funds that will be used during emergencies, such as illness and death, within these groups and their families (Mammo,1999). Membership to these organizations creates opportunities to develop different skills and gain experiences. They provide leadership and other numerous responsibilities that create opportunities for members to develop talents. Also, they help to create healthy interpersonal relationships among members. As members of such organizations, female council members may develop skills, experiences, and connection that could contribute to their political engagement. The table below shows the membership of women council members selected for the interviews to the two social organizations existed in both local governments.

Table.4. Female Council Members Who are Members of Social Organizations

Social organizations	Fogera woreda		Woreta City		Total		%	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Idir	3	3	3	3	6	6	50%	50%
Iqub	3	3	2	4	5	7	41%	59%

The table illustrated that almost half of the informants are a member of Idir and 41% of them are members of Iqub. As idir and iqub are the very familiar social organizations in the society, it was expected to find most of the female council members being a member. However, the data shows almost 50% and 59% of them are not a member of Idir and Iqub

respectively. These respondents stated the lack of interest, time and capacity not being a member of the social organizations (RP04, RP05, RP09, RP11). An informant stated, *"to be a member of Iqub one needs to be financially stable because it is based on savings capacity"* (RP11). Another respondent also indicated that because of the time the organizations require from members, she could not be a member (RP05).

Meanwhile, respondents who are members of the social groups explained how their membership helped them for their political engagement. A respondent from the woreda council stated that her membership to these organizations gave her important social supports, financial stability and the opportunity to meet different people. She said that it created a real space to know many of her Kebeles residents (RP01). Another respondent from the city council also stated that because she was serving as a secretary in the Idir in her kebele, it helped her not only to develop the skills of leadership but also to build trust among the members. She said, *"Most people including the kebele officials knew me while serving in the Idir for many years as a secretary that may have influenced my nomination from the party to run for election"* (RP12). The experience of informants who have been members of the social organizations shows that membership in these organizations can help women to develop skills that will be substantial for their political engagement. Also, it will assist them to connect with party gatekeepers that eventually affect their recruitment. However, the number of the social organizations existed in the local governments and the level of membership of the respondents indicate that they have less impact than assumed. Also, both respondents who are and who are not members of the social organizations are being elected to the local councils. This hints that the membership to social organizations does not affect their recruitment. However, it can affect their effectiveness in executing their responsibilities. Consequently, they have a moderate influence on the general political participation of women.

6.3.2. Membership to Political Organizations

Membership to political organizations is considered as an influential factor that affects individuals' success for political offices. For instance, Varba et.al, (1999) found a membership to a political party as a crucial step for recruitment as a candidate for political office. Not only recruitment opportunities but also training, organizing and

mobilizing campaigns and other political support. Concerning membership to political organizations in the two local governments, it is found out that two political groups are operating in the local governments. These are the ruling party ANDM/EPRDF and the Women`s Forum. ANDM/EPRDF is the only political party operating in the local governments whereas the women`s forum is a forum created by female members of the local councils. Both local councils have their own women`s forum. There is, however, a claim by critics of the government that the ruling party initiated the formation of the women's forum. All members of the women`s forums are from the ruling party. Therefore, influence from the ruling party regarding the agendas and programs of the forum are expected. It is hard to find organizations free from influence for many reasons let alone a forum formed by single party members. However, it can be assumed that women still can get the intended skills and experiences irrespective of political influence. The table below shows the membership of female council members selected for the interviews to the two political organizations.

Table.5. Female Council Members interviewed who are Members of Political Organizations

Political Organizations	Fogera woreda	Woreta City	Total	%
Women`s forums	6	6	12	100%
Political Party (ANDM/EPRDF)	6	6	12	100%

All the informants are the member of the women`s forums and the ANDM/EPRDF party. In fact, the data gathered from both local administrations indicates that all female members of both local councils are a member of the women`s forums. That makes the forums dominated by the members of the ANDM/EPRDF. Women's membership to the political party and women forums got a high rating from the informants for contributing to their political participation. Indeed, political parties serve as important institutions for political engagement. Heywood (2002, cited in Gebreyohans, 2014) asserted that "political parties are critical institutions to organize and lead people by offering alternative political platforms, ideological directions and re-defining government

agendas. Parties provide opportunities for recruitment and representation, socialization and mobilization of citizens and if they win elections, the formation of the government". Unfortunately, there is only one party dominating the political environment in local governments. That makes only women who are the member of the ruling party to enjoy the opportunities.

Meanwhile, informants are aware of the importance of being members of political parties. Most of the interviewees regarded their party membership as a valuable asset for their political development. An informant from the Woreda Council states that her membership to the party enabled her to pursue in politics. She said that her party provided her the opportunity of being recruited for election twice. She also indicated that it created the opportunity to participate in local and international training to improve her leadership capacity (RP04). In support of this, another informant from the woreda narrates her experience as follows,

> *''The party recruited me as a member while I was at the University. I was given political, ideological and leadership training which helped me to understand politics well. It helped me to understand the rules and principles that govern the party and guided me about its vision better. The training boosted my confidence. Moreover, the party provided me the opportunity to be recruited as a candidate in the election"* (RP01).

Political parties create opportunities for their members to improve their capacity through training and further education, especially if the party is well organized and vigorous. In this respect, the ruling party is the most robust and well-organized political party in the country with a clear agenda for women and gender equality (Gebreyohans, 2014). Many of the informants agree that their involvements in political parties depend on the policies of the parties, in particular for women. Many of them affirm that the ruling party provided unique opportunities for women, considering their historical marginalization. They believe that the party is addressing women`s problems in the country. Informants claim it is ANDM/ EPRDF that helps them to liberate themselves from a historical subjugation. They believe that membership to the political party has created an opportunity to know more about politics, public agendas, and techniques of addressing social problem

especially the complex issues surrounding women (RP03, RP04, RP05, RP09, and RP11).

Informants also argue that the women`s forum is being instrumental for elected women`s capacity building. It is a place for women to discuss issues and get feedbacks from fellow women openly. It is becoming a place to develop political knowledge, communication skills and to build confidence. They also asserted that the women`s forum is a place where they learn more about their power and responsibilities as council members. Informants stated that the government and other non-governmental organization support the forum by organizing training necessary for women council members. Many of the informants believe that the women`s forum is helping them to execute their power as council members effectively.

The discussion demonstrates that the women's forums and the ruling political party are synonymous to each other. All the members of the forums are from the ruling party. That makes the possibilities of having diverse experience very less. However, concerning the impact on the recruitment of women for the local council, membership to the ruling party is found to be the key. It is impossible to assume that female council members would have had a chance to be recruited and get elected without being a member of the party. Because of that, the contribution of membership to the political party is the most vital factor for women`s representation in the local councils.

6.4. Individual Variables

Individual variables are the socio-economic and demographic factors that influence women political participation at the individual level. Personal motivation, resource, the level of education, the level of empowerment, family background, culture and traditions, marital status and age are identified as individual variables which are assumed to affect women`s political participation. Below is the discussion of these variables based on the view of female respondents.

6.4.1. Personal Motivation

Personal motivation is one of the most influential factors guiding people to political participation. Norris (1995, cited in Negiz, 2014) in recruitment theory put personal motivation in the supply-side factor. It is related to the drive, the ambition, and the political engagement that make individuals willing to run for office. Similarly, motivation is considered as a critical determinant influencing the participation of women in politics in Civic Engagement model. Some scholars assert that women are mostly not interested to get engaged in politics. For instance, Varba et.al (1999) argued that women not want to participate in politics because of lack of political engagement; a little or no knowledge about political process; lack of personal motivation and interest to take part in politics. The personal motivation to engage in politics and get recruited as a candidate to run in elections is a crucial step in women`s political participation. The discussion on the motivation of female council members helps to understand how much personal motivation contributed to their recruitment and subsequent political engagement in the local governments.

Accordingly, it is found out that eight informants, three from Fogera Woreda, and five from Woreta City councils stated that they were personally motivated to participate in the local elections. They indicated that they were inspired to represent the interest of women in the local councils. Being a member of the local councils help them to influence in the formulations, discussions, and decision of policies and programs in the local administration that may affect the life of women and society in general. Protecting the rights and the interest of women is the motive of those informants. One of the informants in the woreda council who is personally motivated said *"people give high regard to the local council. The issues discussed in the local councils get more attention and has more impact in the society. Because that I wanted to be a part of it and play a major role in solving women`s issues in the woreda"* (RP04).

Another informant from the city council also stated that the very reason she joined the political party was her motivation to represent women in the local council (RP08). She argued *"As a citizen, women are also supposed to be part of the political process. I have been concerned why few women are involved in politics while political decisions affect*

all of us equally. I wanted to contribute my part to the change ." Another informant from the city council also stated that she was motivated to be a role model for women, to show that women can do something important. She said *"Many women see themselves as they are incapable of doing something big other than what they are assumed to do traditionally. They think that politics is not for women. I wanted to change this perception of women. I wanted to show them that it is possible to be what they want to be "(*RP09). Most of the informants were motivated to represent the interest of women. They wanted to change the current notion in society about women.

The four informants, three from the woreda council and one from the city council, however, found to be less motivated to take part in the local election and be members of the local councils. They declared that they were recruited to the local election based on the recommendations of their party leaders. One of the informants stated that she was recruited by the political party only because the party believes that she is capable of being in the local council even though she was not interested (RP02). Similarly, an informant stated that the party nominated her without her consent and informed her that she was nominated for candidacy (RP03). Another informant also indicated that she did not have the intention to participate in the council. She was recruited because the party wanted candidates in her constituency (RP10). The responses of these informants indicate that it is not always those who are motivated to be recruited to run for public office, rather sometimes party gatekeeper may decide to recruit those whom they think are capable even if they do not have the motivation to be in the local councils. However, there is a question whether those who are elected without personal interest would be active in the councils? The data shows that in fact after getting elected to the local councils, even those who did not have the motivation to be enrolled become motivated to work for the interest of women and their constituencies in general.

It is, in fact, tough to assume that female council members are elected based on their personal motivation entirely. From the cultural and, historical ground it can be presumed that women would not be ready to be members of the local councils as they need some knowledge and experience. However, the majority of the respondents demonstrate that they have the interest to be on the council. Even those who were not motivated to be

recruited for the councils have declared that their commitment has grown after being a member of the local councils. Meanwhile, the interest of women to engage in politics can be understood by their membership to the political party itself. However, some people say that the ruling party is forcing women members into the local councils to only boast about women's representation. It noted, however, that even though personal motivation was not the main reason to be recruited for the local councils, it played a considerable role in women's participation in the councils. Irrespective of their level of motivation before being elected, female council members play a significant role once they get elected. The table below illustrates the level of motivation among female council members selected for the interviews from both local councils.

Table.6. Level of Motivation of Female Council Members Interviewed

Level of Motivation	Fogera Woreda	Woreta City	Total
Motivated	3	5	8(67%)
Not Motivated	3	1	4(33%)
Total	6	6	12

The table shows that more women the city council are motivated than the woreda council. Even though it is not possible to make a generalization based on the interviews it is possible to assume that the reason may be related to their urban and rural nature of the local government. Because Woreta City is an urban administration woman may be more interested in politics than those in the Fogera Woreda which is a rural one. However, other individual factors may have affected their personal motivation too. These are the availability of resources, the level of education, family background, the level of empowerment, culture and tradition, age and marital status.

6.4.2. Availability of Resource

The availability of resources is considered as a significant factor for political participation. Varba et.al (1999) asserted that resource is the primary factor for women's

political engagement. Norris (1995, cited in Negiz, 2014) believes the availability of resources is critical for individuals to be recruited for political offices. Resources can be money for contribution or campaigning, time to take part in political activities and civic skills (communications and organizational skills) that facilitate effective participation (Brady et.al,1995).

Concerning the influence of financial resource over the recruitment process, the data indicated that there is no immediate relationship between the recruitment process and their financial capacity. All the twelve (12) respondents asserted that their recruitment has nothing to do with their financial position. According to the respondents, the key criterion for their recruitment is their membership to the political party. The reason that financial resource is not the primary influencing factor for political participation in Ethiopia is that individuals are not expected to spend their personal money on election campaigns. According to the revised political parties' registration proclamation No.573/2008, individuals are not supposed to spend money in elections. It is the political parties that are expected to cover all election campaign costs. The government also may grant support for election campaigns to political parties. The support may be both financial or material. It may also allow political parties to use the media for campaigning purpose. Because of this political parties are the one that covers the cost of campaigning.

Also, Informants stated they were not expected to do individual campaigning for local elections too. They said that individual members might join the campaign for the party. One of the informants said the following about the campaigning process;

> ''As a member of a political party, I campaigned for the political party I am a member. I did not make any campaign about myself. Because of that, I did not spend money for personal campaigning. My campaigning is all about the party not about me hence I did not spend my own money'' (RP04).

Almost all of the informants interviewed shared this idea. They claimed that they did not campaign for themselves individually rather they campaigned for their party. Similarly, regarding support from family members, neighbors, and friends, all the informants responded that they did not get any help from anyone for election campaigns. As there

are no individual campaigning activities, candidates did not require any support from family members or other people. Therefore, it can be concluded that financial resource did not matter in the recruitment process of women council members in both local governments.

With regard to time as a resource, however, many of the informants stated that time is imperative to participate in politics. Some of the informants reported that political participation is very demanding when it comes to time. Women have more responsibilities at home and in the community. Therefore, they need to sacrifice a lot to be involved in politics. When it comes to civic skills, the discussion on membership in organizations demonstrated that some informants mentioned their organizational and communication skills helped them to be recruited by their party. However, this does not seem very significant when it comes to membership in other organizations other than their political party.

Because of the political system in the country individuals do not spend money on political campaigning. That makes financial resource not to be directly related to the recruitment process. However, it is crucial to remind that financial resource is vital for women to empower themselves. If women have no financial autonomy, they may not be empowered. On the other hand, some respondents mentioned the lack of finance as an obstacle to further education(RP03). Indirectly financial resource is influencing women political participation. So, It can be concluded that even if it has less impact on the recruitment process, it is necessary for women`s overall political participation.

6.4.3. Level of Education

 The level of education is also one of the essential factors for political participation. Scores of literature suggest that education increases political participation. Berinsky and Lenz (2010) argue that education gives citizens the skills and resources needed to participate in politics. Similarly, Brady et al. (1995) argue that education not only increases levels of participation but also allows citizens to acquire the civic skills necessary to communicate and organize effectively. According to Norris (1995), the recruitment process of candidates is highly influenced by the educational level of the

candidates. Voters prefer people who are more educated. Women who are more educated have a better chance of being recruited. The methodology of the research allowed to interview respondents who are information rich and active in the local governments. Consequently, many of the informants were better educated than the majority of the female council`s members. For the sake of broader discussion, the following table presents the level of education of all female council members in both the local councils.

Table.7. The Level of Education of Female Council Members in the Local Councils

No	Level of education	Fogera Woreda	Woreta City
1	Reading and writing	25(37%)	0
2	From 1-8th grade	24(35%)	4(8.5)
3	From grade 9th -grade 10^{+2} (pre-diploma)	8(12%)	9(19.5)
4	Diploma-Master's Degree	11(16%)	33(72%)
5	Total	68(100%)	46(100%)

The table illustrated Woreta city council members are more educated than women members in Fogera Woreda. Accordingly, 37% of female members of the woreda council can only read and write which means they have never attended any formal education. Also, 35% of female members are from grade 1st to grade 8th. However, all women in the city council had engaged in formal education. Only 8.5% of women in the city council are those who are from 1st to 8th grade. There are also 12% of the woreda council women attended education from grade 9th -grade 10^{+2} (pre-diploma). In the city council, however, those who completed from grade 9th -10^{+2}(pre-diploma) are 19.5%.

Women who have educational achievement from diploma to master's degree in the city council are much higher than the woreda council. In the city council, women who have from diploma to master's degree holds 71% while in the woreda council they only hold 16%. The result demonstrations that there are more educated women on the city council

than in the woreda council. It may be related to the fact that urban women used to have more access to education than rural women. Education was not accessible for people who live in rural. Rural People were forced to travel very far to go to school. The inaccessibility of the schools affected women as families do not allow them to walk far. On the other hand, many women get married at early ages. Consequently, they forced to stop their education.

However, even though more women in the woreda council are less educated, the representations of women in both local government councils are equal, i.e. 50%. That leads to the conclusion that women`s recruitment for local councils is less affected by the level of education. Even though the closed list nature of the local elections process diminished the possibility of the voters to decide on the quality of the candidates, the party gatekeepers could have influenced the recruitment process if education was considered as a criterion. It may be the case that party leaders do not consider the educational level of women or maybe there are few educated women in the area or may be educated women are not interested in becoming a member of the ruling party. Croke et.al (2016) argued that in countries that are less democratic, educated people may be deliberately disengaged from politics. The dominant nature of the ruling party has affected the political environment in the country, and many people accuse of the ruling party being authoritarian. That may consequently discourage people from actively engaging in politics.

Although the educational level of informants from both councils is better than the majority of female council members, most of them have little knowledge and skills on how to execute their responsibilities in the council. Many of the informants stated that they did not have any knowledge of their power and responsibilities before they were elected to the councils. They learned their duties and powers through training given to them after they are already elected. Training is an important mechanism to build the capacity of women in the councils. Continued training provided to women council members has boosted their capacity and confidence. Informants argued that before they got training on relevant skills, they were passive in the local councils. They stressed that the training was vital to enhance the participation of women in the councils. Even though

female council members` level of education does not influence their recruitment for the local councils, it is important to note that training given to them have contributed for their political participation. It is stated in the previous discussions that the improvement of women political deliberation is directly related to the training given to them.

6.4.4. Family Background

Family history is also a key factor for individuals to involve in politics. People who came from families who are politically active may develop the motivation to engage in politics. Similarly, individuals who are from educated and well-to-do families have the motivation and the capacity to participate in politics. In this regard, the family background of informants from the Woreda Council shows that majority of them come from less educated and economically less advantageous families. Out of the six informants, four of them came from families who are farmers. Two of the informants come from a family of traders and a government employee. The educational level of the families also shows that only one family of a respondent is educated. The backgrounds of the informants from the city council also indicate that two of the interviewees' families are farmers, three of them are from families running a business and one from a government employee. The educational level of the parents, however, shows they are also less educated except one informant whose parents are government employees. From this, one can assume that the influence of families on the political participation of the informant is insignificant.

Informants also reflected views supporting the conclusion. Many informants from the woreda council stated that their parents` background did not contribute to their political participation. A respondent reported that her father is a trader, and her mother is a housewife, and they never have the opportunity to engage in politics (RP04). Similarly, another respondent stated that her families were not educated at all let alone to be politically involved which is a rear thing to do in the past (RP05). Some respondents from the Woreta City Council expressed that their families have no experience in politics. A respondent stated that she grew up in rural areas and her families were uneducated farmers who have no political background (RP07). Generally, family history of the informants is found to have no influence on their political participation.

6.4.5. Level of Empowerment

The level of empowerment is also assumed to affect women`s political participation. According to Kabeer (2001) empowerment is all about the capacity to make choices. If women cannot make strategic decisions by themselves, they cannot be able to decide to participate in politics. Strategic choices constitute the base for other choices. Such strategic choices include the choice of livelihood, where to live, whether to marry, whom to marry whether to have children, how many children to have, freedom of movement and choice of friends. However, according to Kabeer, measuring the empowerment of women to make these choices is not an easy job. However, she listed out a combination of resource -agency- achievement measurements of women empowerment. Among those measurements, decision-making capacity, financial autonomy, equality in marriage and participation in education are used here.

Concerning the ability and the freedom to make strategic choices, respondents from both local councils responded affirmatively. Many of the respondents assert that they do not experience influence from their families' members or spouses concerning the above issues. An informant explained that previously family members tried to influence her choices on the issues of whom to marry or where to live. However, now her parents understand that she can decide anything for herself (RP04). Indeed, there is more pressure on women who lives with parents. It is, even more, stronger if women do not have a stable job as a source of income. That is why Kabeer (2001) asserted financial autonomy as share household income is crucial for women to empower themselves. Another informant also stated that she and her husband have equal power to decide on family matters. She said that when she decided to participate in the politics, her husband accepted her decision after a lengthy discussion(RP01). Empowerment is always related to the ability of decision making. If women developed the capacity to decide on issues in their household, it could be argued that they are empowered. Respondents who are married asserted that it is sometimes expected to face some resistance from spouses especially on the issue of family planning. However, they affirm that they have the freedom to decide (RP03 and RP08).

Regarding financial autonomy, six of the respondents from the woreda council and five informants from the city council have a regular source of income. Having a stable source of income enables women to decide on strategic issues without the influence from family members or spouse. Many of the informants who are married argue that there is equality in their married life too. In Ethiopia, women did not have equality in marriage for so long. Only the husbands owned assets gained after marriage. However, following the new family code women have got the right to share the wealth equally. The property which the spouses possess on the day of their marriage, or which they acquire after their marriage by succession or donation, shall remain in their personal possession (The Revised Family Code, Proclamation No. 213/2000). Accordingly, respondents affirmed that they share equal ownership of properties.

Many of the informants selected for the interviews had the opportunity to engage in modern education too. They have mentioned many times in the interviews that education is paramount for their personal development. Hence it can be argued that education has contributed to their empowerment. Only education can not be a sole source of empowerment. As we have seen above many female members of the local governments are less educated. On the question, if they have the capacity to develop themselves through further education, many of them stated that it is hard to peruse further education by themselves. They mentioned the lack of adequate finance and time as constraints. A respondent from the woreda council stated that even though she has the interest to develop herself through further education, it is impossible to afford it. She indicated that unless she gets a chance from the government, it is not possible to continue by herself(RP03). Affirmative action is very useful, but it takes a long time to get those opportunities. Another respondent also said that because of the political responsibilities of the council and in her party, she is unable to continue her education even if she is interested. She said that being a council member makes her life busy(RP04). Many informants supported her view that political participation is very demanding.

It is possible to argue that most of the female respondents are empowered on the personal level. Hence, it can be assumed that their empowerment contributed to participate in the local politics. However one thing is also clear , respondents need more access to

education hence they can further empower themselves. In fact, the educational profile of the female council members demonstrated that women require further education and training, especially women in the Fogera Woreda Council. The discussion generally highlighted that the empowerment of women has a positive influence on women`s political participation. Women first need to be empowered to decide whether to engage in politics. May informants are found capable of making strategic choices that are the basis for other decisions.

6.4.6. The Impact of Culture and Traditions

Considering the impact of culture and traditions in society is essential when the political participation of women is concerned. In many communities, tradition focus on women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and to restrict them in those roles. Traditional and patriarchal value systems favor sexually segregated roles, and 'traditional cultural values' stand against the advancement, progress, and participation of women in any political activities (Kassa, 2015). Ethiopia is one of such countries having a strong patriarchal and religious value which tends to restrict women from participating in the public sphere. Informants have a shared perspective and experience on the influence of tradition and culture on their political participation. Many informants from both local councils recognize the influence of the culture and tradition both in the society and in the local councils.

The majority of the respondents mentioned that they faced different discouraging comments from the society. An informant from the city council stated that she often encountered discouraging comments from people because of her gender. She recalled that she was frequently humiliated by individuals in front of crowds when she was trying to address the people in her kebele(RP09). Many people still believe that women are not supposed to speak in front of the crowd. According to the tradition, a noble woman is one who does not speak loud. Such views are obstacles to realizing genuine participation of women. A respondent from Fogera Woreda also stated that some people from the Muslim community did not like women participating in the local politics. She said it is tough to be politically active and lead an active social life simultaneously. She mentioned that the reason she is still a widow is that people think she is not a good Muslim only

because she participates in politics actively (RP04). Religion has a strong influence in Ethiopian society. As major religions in the country, both Christianity and Islam dictate the life individuals and the society as a whole. Scholars argue both religions discourage the public presence of women. Especially Islam does not allow women to be mixed with men in the same space.

Many respondents linked the inadequate representation of women in the executives and the standing committees with the traditional view of gender. They argue that securing an appointment in the executive councils or any position of leadership is still difficult. The view that women are incapable of leading is still in place. The nominations are usually done by the chief and mayor who prefer males (RP01and RP09). An informant from Woreta City Council said "*getting an appointment for an office in the executive committee or standing committees is difficult as men are usually preferred. If a woman is appointed, she is appointed as deputy. Even if the woman has the experience and professional capacity to lead the office, she may not get the appointment*" (RP09).

Informants also mentioned that even effective participation in the council might sometimes be treated as unethical for women. The experience of an informant from the city council is necessary for this discussion. She argued that because she opposed an argument of a male council member firmly, she was told by other council members that she was supposed to let it go because a woman is not expected to act like that (RP09). Traditionally women are not expected to speak on equal terms with men. This view is affecting women to peruse in their political career. It can be concluded that culture and tradition are still impeding effective participation of women in the local governments.

6.4.7. Age and Marital status

It is assumed that married women are less likely to participate in politics (Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2010 and the Electoral Commission, 2004). Traditionally, married women have more responsibility than unmarried women. Moreover, they may be pressured by their husbands to not to participate in politics. Marriage in Ethiopia has a prominent place in society. Most of the time women who are not married have less respect in the community than those who are married. Hence, women usually tend to get married early. Therefore,

it is possible that most of the female council members in both local administrations are likely to be married.

The marital status of the informants shows that out of the six informants from the woreda council four are married and two of them are widowed. In the city council, three are married, and the other three are unmarried. However, the view of married informants from both local governments shows that their marriage has not affected their political participation so far. They stated that except the seldom frustrations on the demanding nature of the politics participation, their spouses are okay with their involvement. Hence, none of the married female council members indicated that they have pressure from their husbands on their political involvement. Rather some informants reported that their husbands are supportive of them and encouraged them to be more active. Two informants from the woreda council stated that their spouses are politically active and encourage them to get more involved (RP01 and RP06). Similarly, a married informant from the city council argued that even if her husband does not support the ruling political party, he always encourages her to be more active in her political career (RP09).

The researcher also learned that three spouses interviewed, have expressed a positive attitude towards their wives' political participation. The male spouses stated that they are proud of their wives. One of the spouses from Woreta City indicated that he feels very positive about his wife. He said he gets much respect from people because of his wife's political involvement (RP25). Another respondent stated, "*Even though her political participation does not bring anything to our house I respect her decision to engage in politics*" (RP23). All of the three spouses interviewed stated that they always support their wives in different ways. A husband from the city said that he usually helps his wife with kitchen works and taking care of kids while she is away (RP24).

The age of informants falls between 27-50 years. It was also found that more female council members are in the age category between 35-50 years old. Hence, many female council members are older. Quintelier (2007) argued that seniors may have more motivation to participate in politics than younger ones because older people are expected to have both resource and experience to take part in politics. However, it is hard to assume that Ethiopian women have that much political experience. Women in Ethiopia

were historically marginalized from politics. Hence, they could not have more experience. Hence, the case in the local governments may be that older women felt they are more responsible for solving the problems in their society than younger women. However, only being concerned with social issues may not explain the age issues. There may be other factors that allow more senior women to be in the local councils than the young one. Generally, the data in this study shows more senior women are involved in the local council than the youngsters.

6.5. Ranking the Variables

Based on the theories and model used, several independent variables were assumed to have influence over the political participation of women in the local governments. The electoral system, party system, quota system and affirmative actions as structural/system variables; membership to social and political organization as group/organizational variables; and personal motivations, availability of resource, level of education, empowerment, family background, the culture and custom of the society, marital status and age as individual variables were assumed to have some degree of influence over the recruitment, selection and participation women in the local councils. However, not all the variables found to have influence and even those having impacts do not affect with similar magnitude. The researcher tried to rank the impact of the variables based on the above discussions. Accordingly, the result shows the electoral system, party system, quota system, affirmative actions and membership to political parties are found to have a substantial impact on the recruitment process of candidates and their ability to be elected to the local councils. This shows that structural level and some group level variable are found to have a strong impact.

The electoral system confirms that if political parties committed to having more women representatives in the local councils the existence of multiple seats in the constituencies provides them the opportunity to nominate more women candidates without compromising their chance to win the seats. It helps the political parties to nominate many candidates from both genders. The dominant party system in the country allows only the ruling ANDM/EPRDF party to control the politics in the country. In the meantime, policy-wise, the ruling party is the only party that introduced a quota system

for women which affects women's representation and subsequently their decision-making power in the local councils. The government has been committed to improving the condition of women in the country since assuming power in 1991. The quota system is one of its commitments. The impact of the quota system on women representation in the councils is enormous even if membership to the ruling party is the only way to enjoy the dedicated quota. The data demonstrated that since the introduction of the quota system, women representation in the local councils has grown large. Affirmative action policy also has a positive influence on women participation as it gives priorities to them in different areas. Therefore, the above variables found to have a high impact on the general participation of women in the local governments.

Among the individual variables, the level of empowerment, culture and tradition and age are found to have very noticeable influence than the other individual variables. The majority of the respondents are found to be empowered at the personal level. In traditional patriarchal society, it is hard to imagine women could freely participate in politics unless they develop their capacities. The data shows that respondents from both councils are in some level empowered. Concerning age, the data demonstrated that most female council members are from 35 to 50 years old which proves Quintelier`s (2007) argument that states seniors are more inclined to participate in politics than younger ones as older people have more experience to take part in politics than the youths. Hence, the influence of age over political participation is very noticeable. Similarly, the influence of culture and tradition on women political participation is still highly visible. Data shows there is still pressure on women in the local governments in general and in the councils in particular that hinder their active political participation.

Whereas, because of the magnitude of their impact, variables like membership to social organizations, the level of motivation and education and financial resource are found to have moderate influence. Idir and Iqub as social groups are proved to serve as arenas for women to develop communication skills and social capital. However, only some respondents mentioned it helps them for their political participation. Similarly, about motivation, some respondents indicated that they were not motivated when they were recruited. However, the majority of respondents stated that, after being elected to the

local councils, their motivation has grown. The data also shows that the educational achievements of most of the female council members especially in Fogera Woreda are poor. However, in both local councils, women are adequately represented. The less educated nature of most female council members affected neither their recruitment nor their participation in the councils. However, it is noted in the discussion that education is essential for the empowerment of women which in the long run have an enormous impact on the political participation of women. In addition to that, the continued training provided to women councils' members demonstrated that education helps the political participation of women. Therefore, though education did not have direct influences on the recruitment process, it is fundamental for the development of the political capacity of women. Similarly, though financial resource has no a direct impact on the recruitment and selection of candidates, it has influence over the political participation of women. It is important to note that financial resource has affected their empowerment. It is indicated that one of the main constraint respondents mentioned for their further education is a lack of finance.

the data also demonstrated that family history and marital status have little or no influence on the political participation of women in the local governments. They affected neither, the motivation, recruitment, and selection nor their active involvement in the councils. Both married and unmarried women are involved in the local councils. Married respondents reported that they are not experiencing any pressure from their spouses because of their political activities. The spouses interviewed also warranted that they have a positive view on their wives' political participation. Similarly, informants' family background has little or no link with their political participation. Hence, marital status and family background are found to have little or no impact on women's political participation of women in the local governments.

finally, the data also shows that there is little or no substantive difference on the impact of the independent variables on women`s political participation between Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administrations. The table below summarizes the level of influence of independent variables based on the data presented.

Table.8. Ranking of the Independent Variables

The Three Independent Variables		High Impact	Moderate Impact	Negligible Impact
Structural	Electoral system	✓		
	Party system	✓		
	Quota system	✓		
	Affirmative actions	✓		
Group	Social organizations		✓	
	Political organizations	✓		
Individual	Motivation		✓	
	Financial Resource		✓	
	Education		✓	
	Empowerment	✓		
	Culture/tradition	✓		
	Family Background			✓
	Marital status			✓
	Age	✓		

6.6.   Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed the impact of the independent variables over the dependent variable based on the views of respondents and documentary sources. It broadly exhibited the influence of the variables and the implications the data over the theories and models. The electoral system, party system, quota system and affirmative actions are explained as structural variables. Whereas, membership to political parties and other social originations is presented as group factor. Finally, personal motivation, financial resource, educational level, the level of empowerment, culture, and tradition, family background, marital status, and age are addressed as individual variables. Whenever it is necessary tables were also used to present the data in percentages.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.1.   Introduction

This chapter summarizes key findings on the political participation of women in the two local governments and the factors that influence women`s participation. it also highlights some implications of the results.

7.2.   Summary of the Major Findings and Implications

Gender discrimination is still a major problem in most developing countries. Women are still excluded from most basic social lives in these countries. Most importantly women are seldom observed in the political scenario. Their absence from the political arena deeply affects their empowerment. Political participation is an essential requirement for gender equality and growth of democracy. It promotes women's direct engagement in public decision-making. Above all, it is the issues of justice, fairness, and human rights. Equal participation of women in politics at all level is one of the fundamental human rights. Various studies have been conducted on the participation of women in the national parliaments` in many countries. However, because of its importance, their involvements in the local politics are also receiving attention globally. Local governments, especially in federal states, are becoming very instrumental in mobilizing more participation of women. Ethiopia is a federal state with various layers of governments. Woreda and City administrations are the last stages of local governments with a constitutionally granted administrative autonomy. They serve as means of exercising self-rule for local people.

The primary objective of the study was to explore the political participation of women in Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administration in Amhara regional state in Ethiopia and analyzing the factors that may affect their participation. The study adopted a qualitative approach and the qualitative methods allowed obtaining significant information on a variety of issues influencing political participation of women in the local governments.

Interviews were conducted to get firsthand information on the perception of female council members on the subject. The information gathered from the female council members forms the basis of this investigation. However, the interviews with other stakeholders were also very imperative. In addition, the secondary data was also proved to be useful.

Civic engagement model, recruitment, critical mass and act theories are used to conceptualize and operationalize the fundamental research issue (i.e. Political participation) and the determinant factors. Political participation is operationalized through the representation of women in the local councils, executive councils, and standing committees and the active participation of women in the political deliberations and decision-making process of the local councils. The factors that affect political participation (i.e. the independent variables) were also identified and operationalized. The independent variables were the electoral system, party system, the quota system, affirmative actions, membership in political parties and other social organizations, personal motivation, availability of resources, and socio-demographic variables such as education, age, family background, etc.. These variables are also broadly classified as a) structural level, b) group level and c) individual level variables in the discussions. The findings demonstrated that among the theories and models used, recruitment and critical mass theories are most significant for the study. Most of the variables that have a significant impact on women`s political participation are described through these theories.

7.2.1. Major Findings

One of the major findings is the level of representation of women in the local councils. The result demonstrated that women hold 50% of the local councils` seats in both local governments. This is the most unexpected and remarkable result in this study because of two reasons. First, it was rather assumed that since many women in the local governments are less educated, economically more dependent, deep-rooted patriarchal norms and practices, and gender bias in the society, fewer women were expected to be represented in the local councils. Second, more women are represented in the local councils of both

the local governments studied in this research compared to the national parliament. Currently, the percentage of women representation in the national parliament is 38.8%.

It is also indicated in the finding that 22.5 % and 22% members of the executive councils in Fogera Woreda and Woreta City administration are women respectively. While the executive organs are vital organs in the local governments` structure, women are less represented. Whereas, women hold 33% in Fogera Woreda and 60% in Woreta City Councils` standing committees which means more women are represented in the city councils` standing committees than the Woreda councils. However, few women in both councils head standing committees. Men lead the majority of the standing committees. Therefore, the representation of women in the executive councils and standing committees indicated that both local governments are lagging behind on women`s appointment to prominent positions. It is reported that often local officials do not trust in the capacity of women. Many respondents associated this with the patriarchal views and gender bias prevailing in society.

Meanwhile, The result reveals that following the enhancement of women's representation in the local councils, their involvement in the discussions, debates, and decision-making process in the councils have increased. Consequently, their impacts in the councils and the local governments, in general, have become very significant. It proves the claim that mass representation of women can affect the substantive nature of political participation. The critical mass theory states that women are not likely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes until they grow from a few symbolic individuals into a significant minority. Women can work more effectively together to promote women-friendly policy change and approve legislation promoting women's concerns only as their numbers increase (Childs and Krook, 2008).

The finding also shows that the structural/system and group level factors have more influence on the political participation of women in the local government than individual variables. The recruitment of women, their participation in the elections and later their participation in the local councils are profoundly affected by the electoral system, party system, quota system and affirmative action, and the membership in the ruling party. The political system in the country contributes to the dominance of the system and group

level variables. These factors are the most enabling factor to realize mass representation of women in the local councils. On the other hand, mass representation is found to be the drive for women to develop their confidence and motivation to participate in the political discussions actively and decision-making process in the local councils. Therefore, the structural and group variables hugely contribute to the political participation of women. However, it is noted that the quota system implemented in Ethiopia is voluntary party quota. Only women who are members of the ruling party have the possibility to use it. Such a quota is useful to ensure women representation only when the party is in power. Any change in the ruling party`s political success may affect the status. For the quota system to be more accessible and sustainable, a more robust quota system need to be introduced in the country.

The level of empowerment, age, and culture and tradition are also among the individual level variables that influence political participation of women strongly. Many respondents believe that they are empowered to make strategic choices. It also indicated that the majority of elected women are between 35 and 50 years of age which suggest that only matured and senior women are politically active. Culture and tradition, on the other hand, are found to have a strong negative influence on the appointment of women to the executive councils and standing committees. Women still feel that the patriarchal view and gender bias rooted in society have overshadowed their presence in the local government politics. The main reason provided by respondents on the less number of women in important positions in the local governments is local officials' perceptions that women are less capable than men. This highlights the need for more awareness creation campaigns to address the cultural pressure on women at all level. Ethiopia is a country where patriarchal views and gender bias are highly entrenched in the society. This is hindering women`s political empowerment. Therefore, the governments need to address this issue by designing a proper awareness creation campaign and by enacting strong regulations. Patriarchal views are very deep-rooted and require multifaceted efforts to address them.

The finding of personal motivation, financial resource, and level of education shows that they have moderate influence over the political participation of women in the local governments. Their influence is surpassed by the impact of the structural and group level variables. This is contrary to previous assumptions. A stronger impact was expected from these variables as previous research works demonstrate that they have a strong correlation with political participation. Varba et.al (1999) mentioned that one of the main reason, why women could not participate in politics well, is because of financial problems. The same is true with motivation. For instance, Squires (1999) associated the low participation of women in politics to their lack of motivation and interest. Educations is also one of the main factors for political participation. Even though its impact seems to be less on the recruitment process of women in this study, as many elected women are less educated, it is a vital tool to ensure the political participation of women. Education builds women's political capacity and motivation. Hence, more educational opportunities should be provided to for women to increase their capacity and political motivation. Further training on political skills also should be given for elected women. Many of the respondents indicated that the training they got had contributed a lot for their active participation in the councils.

On the other hand, the influences of marital status and family backgrounds were found to be insignificant. No informant stated her family`s history as motivation or as means for political participation. Similarly, marital status does not matter for women's political participations. No significant variations between the two local governments are noticed. It was assumed that more women would be represented in the City administration than in the Woreda administration as women in the urban areas have more access to political power than those in the countryside. However, except in the standing committees, there is no significant difference between urban and rural local governments.

7.2.2. Implications of the Study

One of the implications of this study is the importance of structural and group level variables for the realization of women's political participation. This indicates that mass representation of women can be achieved through the introduction of proper systems and policies at the national level. For developing countries like Ethiopia, the

institutionalization of such mechanisms at the national level could enable women from all walks of life to participate in the political process irrespective of other personal attributes. Therefore, the political will of the party in power and its gender-sensitive policies do ensure more women's participation in politics as it is demonstrated by this study. However, it is also important to note that individual level variables are vital too. For instance, education and training are essential for the active participation of women in politics. Women who are educated and have more skills are more motivated to participate actively. It is also necessary to address the influence of culture and tradition. Patriarchal views and gender bias could significantly inhibit women's political participation. This study also reveals that individual level variables help to make women's political participation more substantive and sustainable.

Another implication is that the importance of considering the political condition while investigating women's political participation. The political environment could affect Women`s political participation considerably. Studies on the political participation of women need to consider the political situation in the country. In this study, it is observed that the political participation of women is highly influenced by the dominant nature of the ruling party. In a participatory democratic system, the presence of different potential political parties creates chances for the participation of women from a diverse social range. The political space in the country needs to be more open for other political parties to operate freely and women from diverse social and political spectrum could participate. Moreover, more social and civic organization should be encouraged to work in the local areas; hence they could contribute to the development of democratic society. As a member of the Society, Women could be highly benefited from such organizations. it should be noted that this study did not try to address the influence of the political situation in-depth other than simple highlighting. The impact of the dominant party system on the development of democracy and women participation should be broadly studied. The researcher believes that future attempts should be made to explain the relationship in-depth.

The findings also have both theoretical and methodological implications. The theories used to explain both dependent, and independent variables are found to be the very useful. They are used to frame the whole discussions of the result. Most of the findings are also backed with the central arguments of the theories. Especially, recruitment and critical mass theories are found to be the most central in the discussions. Therefore, the finding implied that the theories used in this research accurately explained the phenomenon.

In addition, the qualitative nature of the research also fit into this study and contributed a lot to the depth of the discussions. The choice of methodology is central to any inquiry. It is the basis for meeting the aim of the investigation. As the issue of women`s political participation needs deep analysis of personal accounts and experiences of female politicians, a qualitative method is very instrumental. The qualitative method allows the researcher to incorporate the views of not only women council members but also different stakeholders. Indeed, the incorporation some numerical data from secondary sources has added some dimensions to the study. However, the qualitative nature of the study contributed a lot to the in-depth analysis and discussion of the main research issue.

Bibliography

Alemu, Awotash. (2010). *Women Representation in Parliament: A Comparative Analysis: Special Emphasis Given to South African And Ethiopia.* A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the master of legal studies. Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.

Amhara National Regional State Council. (2003). *The Revised Proclamation for the Establishment, Organization, and Definition of Power and Duties of Urban Centers of the Amhara National Region.* proclamation no.91/2003. Bahir Dar. Ethiopia.

Amhara National Regional State council. (2006). *The Amhara National Regional State Woreda/Council and kebele Council Members Election Period Prolonging.* Proclamation No.128/2006. Bahir Dar.

Amhara National Regional State revised constitution, 2001.

Assefa, Tefera. (2014). *Institutional Capacity of Local Government in Implementing the National Policy on Ethiopian Women (NPEW): The Case of Dilla Town.* A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Master Degree in Public Management and Policy, Specialized in Public Policy Studies, Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies Department of Public Administration and Management.

Ayele, A. Zemelak. (2008). *Local government in Ethiopia: Adequately Empowered?* A research paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the LL.M Degree in the Faculty of Law, University of the Western Cape.

Ayele, A. Zemelak. (2014). *The Politics of Sub-National Constitutions and Local Government in Ethiopia, Perspectives on Federalism.* iss. Vol. 6, issue 2.

Ayenew,Meheret.(2007). A rapid assessment of woreda decentralization in Ethiopia, in Tegegne Gebre-Egziabher and Assefa Taye(ed). Decentralization in Ethiopia, forum for social studies, Addis Ababa.

Bari, Farzana (2005) *Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges,* EGM/WPD-EE/2005/EP.12.

Berinsky, J Adam, and Lenz, S. Gabriel. (2010). *Education and Political Participation: Exploring the Causal Link*. Springer Science and Business Media, LLC.

Black,w.laura et.al.(2013). *Methods for Analyzing and Measuring Group Deliberation in Sourcebook for Political Communication Research*: Methods, Measures, and Analytical Techniques(Ed) L. Holbert and P.Bucy,Routledge, New York.

Bolzendahl, C., & Coffé, H. (2010). *Same Game, Different Rules? Gender Differences in Political Participation*. Sex Roles, *62*(5-6), 318-333. doi:10.1007/s11199-009-9729-y

Brady, E. Henry, Verba, Sidney, and Schlozman. K. Lehman. (1995). *Beyond Ses: A Resource Model of Political Participation*. The American Political Science Review, Vol. 89, No. 2. American Political Science Association.

Childs, Sarah, and Krook, L.Mona. (2008). *Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation*. Political Studies, Vol. 56, 725–736.

Creswell, W. John. (2003). *Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches* (second Ed.). London: Sage publications.

Croke, K., Grossman, G., Larreguy, H. A., & Marshall, J. (2016). *Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes*. American Political Science Review, Volume 110, Issue 3. American Political Science Association.

Dahlerup, Drude. (2005). *Increasing Women's Political Representation: New Trends in Gender Quotas*. in Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds.), Women in

Parliament: Beyond Numbers (pp.141-153). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm.

Dawson, Catherine. (2002). *Practical Research Methods: A user-friendly guide to mastering research techniques and projects*, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Debebe, Mulugeta. (2012). *Decentralization in Ethiopia: Concept and Process the Case of Dendi District, West Shoa Zone of Oromia State*. Dissertation Submitted to the Technische Universität Dortmund, Faculty of Spatial Planning, For the Award of Dr. rer. Pol. Degree.

Dejene, S. (2015). Ethiopia: Discussing Multi-Party Political System in Ethiopia. The EthiopianHerald,Web.16Mar.2017<http://allafrica.com/stories/201510122294.html>.

EGM/EPDM. (2005). *Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision-Making Processes, With Particular Emphasis on Political Participation and Leadership*. United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Report of the Expert Group Meeting Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia.

Ezzy, Douglas.(2002). *Qualitative Analysis: Practice and Innovation*. Allen & Unwin publisher.

Falch, Åshild. (2010). *Women's Political Participation and Influence in Post-Conflict Burundi and Nepal*. Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

Fearon, J.D. (1998). *Deliberation as Discussion.* In J. Elster (Ed.), Deliberative Democracy (pp. 44-68). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. (2003). *Higher Education Proclamation No. 351/2003*, Negarit Gazette, Addis Ababa.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. (2002). *Federal Civil Servants Proclamation No. 262/2002,* Negarit Gazette, Addis Ababa.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ministry of Women's Affairs, (2010). National Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines, Addis Ababa.

Fenta, M. Tilahun. (2014). *Local Government in Ethiopia: Practices and Challenges.* Journal of Management Science and Practice, Vol. 2 Iss. 4, PP. 71-79.

Fogera Woreda Council Guideline, prepared by the woreda, 2013.

Gaventa, John, and Valderrama, Camilo. (1999). *Participation, Citizenship, and Local Governance:* Background note prepared for workshop on strengthening participation in local governance. Institute of Development Studies, June 21-24.

Gebiremichael, M. F. (2010). *Revisiting affirmative action in Ethiopia: Towards gender equality and the anti-discrimination approach: The South African experience* .Master's Thesis, Central European University.

Gebru, S. G. (2014). *Political Parties, Party Programmaticity and Party System in Post 1991 Ethiopia*. European Scientific Journal, *10*(16).

Gudina, Merera. (2011). *Elections and democratization in Ethiopia, 1991–2010*. Journal of Eastern African Studies, 5:4, 664-680.

Heywood, Andrew. (2013). Politics. Fourth ed. Palgrave, Palgrave Foundations Series.

Holli, Anne Maria. (2012. *Does Gender Have an Effect on The Selection of Experts by Parliamentary Standing Committee? A Critical Test Of "Critical" Concepts*. Politics & Gender, 8, Pp.341-366.

Huckfeldt, R. Robert. (1979). *Political Participation and the Neighborhood Social Context*. American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 579-592.

Huntington, Samuel P., and Nelson, M. Joan. (1976). *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries*. Harvard University Center for International Affairs, Harvard University Press.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). (1966). United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 999, p. 171, available at http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3aa0.html [accessed 16 April 2016]

Inter-Parliamentary Union. *"IPU Parline Database: Ethiopia (Yehizb Tewokayoch Mekir Bete), Election Archives."* IPU parline database: Ethiopia (yehizb tewokayoch mekir bete), election archives. Inter-parliamentary Union, N.D. WEB. 01 APR. 2016. <HTTP://WWW.IPU.ORG/PARLINE-E/REPORTS/2107_ARC.HTM>.

Kabeer, N. (1999). *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on The Measurement Of Women's Empowerment*. Development and change, *30*(3), 435-464.

Kabeer, Naila. (2001). *Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment*: in Discussing Women's Empowerment: Theory and Practice(ed) Sisask, Anne, Sida, studies no. 3, Stockholm.

Kassa, Shimelis. (2015). *Challenges and Opportunities of Women Political Participation in Ethiopia*. Journal of Global Economics, Volume 3 • Issue 4

Khan, R. Mostafizur. (2010). *Nature and Extent of Women Participation in Union Perished in Bangladesh: Prospects and Challenges, qualitative study of three Union parishads*. Master thesis for in partial fulfillment of master of philosophy in public administration, University of Bergen.

Labani, Sepideh; Zabaleta, K. Carla; De Dios, R. Paula. (2009). *Gender analysis of women's political participation in 7 South-East Asian countries: Bangladesh, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, East Timor and Vietnam 2008-2009*. Regional gender program in South-East Asia - Stage II, Association for women's rights in development (AWID), Toronto.

Lamprianou, Iasonas. (2013). *Contemporary Political Participation Research: A Critical Assessment, Democracy in Transition*, K.N. Demetriou (ed.), Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg

Layder, D. (1998). *Sociological Practice, Linking Theory, and Social Research*. Sage Publications, London.

Lovenduski, Joni, and Norris, Pippa. (2003). *Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence*. Political Studies: 2003 VOL 51, 84–102, Blackwell Publishing

Magaloni, B., & Kricheli, R. (2010). *Political Order and One-Party Rul*e. Annual Review of Political Science,13(1),123-143. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.031908.220529.

Mahamadu, Abdul-Razak. (2010). *The Challenges of Women Participation in Local Governance: The Case of Accra and Tamale Metropolitan Assemblies*. Master's thesis In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for MPhil in Public Administration Degree, University of Bergen.

Mammo, Tirfe. (1999). *The Paradox of Africa's Poverty: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge, Traditional Practices, and Local Institutions--The Case of Ethiopia*. Asmara, Eritrea: Red Sea Press.

Matland E. Richard. (2005). *Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems*. In Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds.), Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (pp.93-110). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of Ethiopia (MoFED). (2010). Ethiopia: 2010 MDGs Report-Trends and Prospects for Meeting MDGs by 2015.

Moshago, Melkamu, Worku Negash, Melesse Asfaw(2015) *A Critical Assessment of Decentralized Public Governance Features and Challenges in Ethiopia: Insights*

from Self-Governance in Guraghe Zone Districts. Public Policy and Administration Research Vol.5, No.1,

Mulusew, A. Yohannes. (2014). *The Challenges of Multiparty Democracy in Ethiopia: With Particular Emphasis on Electoral Administration.* Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies College of Law and Governance Center for Federal Studies, Addis Ababa.

National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE). (2010). *Ethiopia's Electoral System.* Web. 16 Dec. 2016. <http://www.electionethiopia.org/en/ethiopian-election/election-system.html>.

National Legislative Bodies / National Authorities, *Ethiopia. (2008): Proclamation No. 573/2008 of 2008, The Revised Political Parties Registration Proclamation*, available at http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ba7a24c2.html [accessed 30 March 2017]

Nergiz, D. Deniz. (2014). *I Long for Normality: A Study of German Parliamentarians with Migration Backgrounds.* Springer Fachmedien Wiesbade, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Norris, Pippa, and Lovenduski, Joni. (1995). *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament.* Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa. (1997). *Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems, For Contrasting Political Institutions.* special issue of the International Political Science Review, edited by Jean Laponce and Bernard Saint-Jacques, Vol 18(3): 297-312.

Okock, Ojulu, and Asfaw, Melesse. (2014). *Assessment of Gender Equality in Ethiopia: The Position of Ethiopian Women's Political Representation from the World, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Eastern Africa.* Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization, Vol.28. Online: www.iiste.org

Oliver, Pamela, Gerald Marwell, Ruy Teixeira. (1985). *A Theory of the Critical Mass. Interdependence, Group Heterogeneity, and the Production of Collective Action.* A J S Volume 91 Number 3 (November 1985): *522-56.* The University of Chicago.

Owens, J. Travis. (2008). *Beleaguered Muslim fortresses and Ethiopian imperial expansion from the 13th to the 16th century.* Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Security Studies (Middle East, South Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa) from the Naval Postgraduate School, Calhoun: The NPS Institutional Archive.

Panday, K. Pranab. (2008). *Representation without Participation: Quotas for Women in Bangladesh.* International Political Science Review, 29; 489.

Pausewang, Siegfried. (2009). *Political Conflicts in Ethiopia In View of the Two-Faced Amhara Identity, Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian* Studies(ed)Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim.

Population Reference Bureau. (2015). *Urban and Rural Disparities Remain Despite Progress in Closing Health and Development Gaps.* Population Reference Bureau. Web. 26 May 2016. <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Datasheets/2015/urban-rural-datasheet.aspx>.

Power, J. Timothy. (1987). *The Masses and the Critical Mass: A Strategic Choice Model of the Transition to Democracy in Brazil.* A paper prepared for the panel on "Demands for Change and Government Response in Brazil," VII Student Conference on Latin America, Institute for Latin American Studies, the University of Texas at Austin.

Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Quintelier, Ellen. (2007). *Differences in Political Participation between Young and Old People*. Contemporary Politics, volume 13, number 2, Routledge, Taylor and Francis group.

Rooke, P.J. (1972). *Women's Rights*: *The way land documental history service*. Lynne Rienne Publishers. Boulder London.

Sabbagh, Amal. (2005). *The Arab States: Enhancing Women's Political Participation*. In Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds.), Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (pp.52-71). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm.

Sardar, Yilmaz, and Varsha, Venugopal. (2008). *Local Government Discretion and Accountability in Ethiopia*. international study program, Andrew Young school of policy studies, Atlanta Georgia.

Schartz, C. Divid. (1969). *Towards A Theory of Political Recruitment*. Western Political Quarterly pp.552-571.

Shaffo, A. Cherer. (2010). *Gender and Ethiopian Politics: The Case of Birtukan Midekesa*. A master's thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of master in gender studies at Central European University, Budapest.

Shvedova, Nadezhda. (2005). *Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament*. In Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds.), Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (pp.33-50). International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm.

Skocpol, T., & Fiorina, M. P. (1999). *Civic engagement in American democracy*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

Squires, Judith.(1999). *Gender in Political in Political Theory*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Steiner, H. J. (1988). *Political participation as a human right*. *Harv. Hum. Rts. YB*, *1*, 77.

Sundström, Aksel, and Stockemer, Daniel. (2015). *What Determines Women's Political Representation at The Local Level? A Fine-Grained Analysis of The European Regions*. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 56(3-4) 254–274.

The Electoral Commission. (2004). *Gender and Political Participation*. Research Report, Trevelyan House Great Peter Street, UK.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution (FDRE constriction). 1995

The Revised Family Code Proclamation No. 213/2000, Federal Negarit Gazetta Extra Ordinary Issue No. 1/2000, Addis Ababa Ethiopia.

Thinly, D., Aasen, B., Skalnes, S., Dorji, C., Lhamo, D., Lhan, N.,…Dhendup, S. (2014). *Improving Women's Participation in Local Governance: An Explorative Study of Women's Leadership Journeys in Eight Districts Of Bhutan*. Institute for GNH Studies, Royal University of Bhutan.

Transparency International. (2000). Gender and Corruption: Are Women Less Corrupt? Transparency International Secretariat. Web. 28 Mar. 2017. <http://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/gender_and_corruption_are_women_less_corrupt>.

Tronvoll, K. (2010). *The Ethiopian 2010 Federal and Regional Elections: Re-Establishing the One-party State*. African Affairs 438 12136.

Uhlaner, C. J. (2015). *Political participation, International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Volume 18, Elsevier Ltd.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). (1948). 217 A (III), available at http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712c.html [accessed 16 April 2016].

Verba, Sidney, Kay.Lschlozman and Brady, E.Henry. (1999). *Civic Participation and the Equality Problem*. In: Skocpol T, Fiorina M Civic Engagement in American Democracy. Washington DC: Brookings; 1999. pp. 427-460.

Yacob, Betre. (2013). Non-competitive Election Held in Ethiopia. Ethiopia News and Politics. Ecadforum. Web. 28 Jan. 2017. <http://ecadforum.com/News/non-competitive-election-held-in-ethiopia/>.

Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Designs and Methods* (third edition). Sage Publications, USA.

Yin, R.K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Designs and Methods* (fourth edition). Sage Publications, London.

Appendix.1: Interview Guide

A: For Female Council Members

Basic Profile

1. What is age, marital status, the level of education, occupation, and level of income?
2. If you are married, what is the level of education, the source of income of your husband?
3. Do you have children, what is their age and level of education?
4. Can you tell me about your family background, i.e., level of education and source of incomes and their political participation?
5. Do you think you have freedom to decide fundamental decisions in your life, i.e. on the type of job you want to have, a place to live, the number of children and friends you want to have?
6. Have you ever faced any pressure from your families or relatives while deciding on the above issues?
7. Do you have the capacity and the resource to further develop yourself?
8. What do you think constraints for your personal development? If there are any?

About Political Party Membership and Local Elections

1. Which political party do you belong to? And what is your contribution to the party?
2. Does your membership to the political party help for your political engagement?
3. How do you get the chance of being recruited as a candidate for election?
4. What are the things that helped you to be recruited?
5. How many times did you participate the local elections? How many times did you win?
6. Have you made election campaigns? If 'yes,' what were your election campaigns mechanisms?

7. Have you spent money on the campaigns? If 'yes,' how much you spend for the campaign?

8. Where did you get support for your campaign? (From families, relatives, neighbors, friends, and the political party?

9. Can you tell me about the competitions, and how many competitors you had in each election?

10. Have you satisfied on the result of the election so far?

11. What were, do you think, your strengths and qualities made voters vote for you?

12. How do you develop those strengths and qualities? Did you get any training?

13. Are affirmative actions and quota systems available for women?

14. How do you think quota system and affirmative action contribute to women`s political participation? How?

About Being a Member of Local Councils

1. How do you come to be a council member? Who inspired to participate in the council?

2. What is your motivation to participate in the local council?

3. How do you get to know the activities of the administrative council? Have you briefed about the function of the council and your responsibility?

4. How you got any training on the council`s activity? Does it help you?

5. Do you know how to develop and a prove plans and projects? Have you ever prepared any project? If yes, tell us about that

6. How do you see your relationship with other members of the council especially with male council members?

7. What do you say about your freedom to freely support or oppose a decision in a council? How do you see your involvement in the council? Do you think your presence is making a difference?

8. What do think about the condition of women in your area? What about their political involvement?

9. What is your contribution to the development of women in your area?

10. Are you a member of any social organizations? Does your involvement in the social organizations have a contribution to your political career?

11. How do you manage both the council responsibilities and home activities? Do you get support from family members or have house maids?

12. Can you tell me the contribution of your husband?

13. How do you get notified about the council meeting? (verbal, written letter, message)

14. How many meeting take place in the council per month? How many of them do you attain?

15. Do you have any complaint about the length and the conveyance of the meeting place?

16. Have you faced any problems as a council member? If yes, tell me the obstacles you faced.

B: For the Head Administrators and Women's Affairs Offices

1. what do you say about the general condition of women in the local administration?

2. What do you say about the participation of women in the social life of the society in general and politics in particular?

3. How is the participation of women in local elections?

4. How do you see the involvement of women in local council?

5. How do you see their participation as elected members of the council?

6. How is working with elected women council members?

7. Can you tell us about the contribution of elected women in for women in your administration?

8. What is the contribution of your office to enhance the participation of women in local politics?

9. What do you feel about the empowerment of women in your area?

10. What is your office`s contribution to strengthening women empowerment in the area?

11. What are problems facing women in your administration and what is your contribution to solve them?

C: For Male Council Members

1. How do you see the participation of women in the local government in your area?
2. Do you think women`s participation in local politics can make a difference?
3. What do you say about their participation in the council meetings and activates?
4. Can you tell me about your relationship with female members of the council?
5. What do you say about working with female council members? Do you support them?
6. What do you think women council members have problems? What are these problems?
7. What do you say about women in your area in general?

D: For Spouse of Female Council Members

1. Can you tell me your name, education status, and occupation?
2. How long have you been married to your wife?
3. What do you feel about your wife being a member of the woreda/city council?
4. Do you think the political participation of your wife affects your family? How?
5. Do you support your wife`s involvement in politics if yes, how did you help her so far?
6. What do you say about your wife before and after she is elected?
7. What do you feel about having a wife who is a member of the council?

Appendix.2: Letter of Recommendation

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
Department of Administration and Organization Theory

LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

To Whom It May Concern

This is to introduce Muhammed Hamid Muhammed who is a student of mine.
He is pursuing an MPhil degree in Public Administration at the Department of Administration and Organisation Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.

He is conducting the research on the following topic: "Women's participation in local government in Ethiopia».

As an important part of this exercise he has to interview various persons and collect relevant documents.
I hope you may assist him in the research.
The information provided to him is for academic purposes only.
Any assistance given to him is highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Associated Professor Ishtiaq Jamil
Supervisor   19.04.16