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Challenges and Opportunities of Women in Political Leadership, the Case of Gondar Town, North Gondar Zone, Amhara National Regional State

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Wisdom at the source of the Blue Nile

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The thesis titled Challenges and Opportunities of Women in Political Leadership in Gondar Town North Gondar Zone, Amhara National Regional State by Tamralech Debalkie is approved for the Degree of Master of Arts in Political Science.

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ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

ANRS…………………Amhara National Regional State

ANDM………………..Amhara National Democratic Movement

BPA…………………...Beijing Platform for Action

EPRDF………………..Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

FDRE………………….Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

FGD……………………Focus Group Discussion

GTP……………………Growth and Transformation Plan

HOF……………………House of Federation

HPR…………………….House of People Representatives

IPU……………………..International Parliament Union

MDGs…………………...Millennium Development Goals

NAP…………………….National Action Plan

NGOs……………………Non Governmental Organizations

UDHR…………………...Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN…………………………United Nations

UNDP……………………United Nations Development Programme

WYCAO…………………Women Youth and Children Affairs Office

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ABSTRACT

Women political participation and leadership is about the insertion and inclusion of women's ideas and decisions on the political endeavors of a state. It has been the center of several research works, researched in different contexts and different frame of references. Although there are some literatures reflecting on the status of women political participation in Ethiopia, this study is different in that it is about the challenges and opportunities of women political leaders in Gondar town, North Gondar zone, Amhara National Regional State. The main objective of this study is to assess the challenges that women political leaders are facing and the best opportunities enabling them to perform their career. To achieve the objective of the study, qualitative method consisting of in depth individual interviews and Focus group discussions have been employed. The researcher used case study design. The data collected from both primary and secondary sources were discussed and analyzed thematically based on the emerged themes from participants' responses. The study found that women political leaders are challenged by several problems. These problems have political, psychological, environmental and socio-cultural faces. These are lack of political aspiration, political parties' marginalization against women, and unclear gender responsive body, lack of self confidence, low emotional support from the family, fear of isolation among colleagues, and improper need of promotion, lack of role model and support, sexual harassment, jealousy, and low respect from male colleagues, patriarchal thinking, early parenthood, complex responsibility of women, and discrimination and negative perceptions of the society. When we came to the opportunities it is found that the availability of forums and trainings, educational access, government's commitment to gender equality and invitations to lead are enabling factors encouraging women to perform their political career. In general, this study has showed us that women political leaders are facing various forms of challenges. Therefore, serious attention should be paid in order to address the problems. The researcher finally recommends that the society should develop positive outlooks for women politicians, women leaders themselves should have inner confidence on their abilities; and the government and other concerned bodies should address the problems immediately after they occurred.

Key Words: Political Leadership, Women Political Leadership, Gender Equality, Challenges, Opportunities

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As this chapter is an introductory part it comprises the background, statement of the problem, research objective, research question, scope of the study, significance and limitations of the study. Under the background section the concept of political leadership, the status of women in political leadership positions, the necessity of women's involvement in political leadership, national and international legislations and conventions regarding women's equal status in political participation and leadership has little been assessed. Statement of the problem identified the rationale to conduct the study, the low level and status of Ethiopian women in political leadership, and the research gap between previous studies and this particular study. In this part some studies as far as the researcher's area of knowledge is concerned have been assessed and clear gaps have been identified. The objective of the study, examining the challenges and opportunities of women in political leadership, with its specific objectives has been put, and the research questions have been drawn in line with the specific objectives. The delimitation (study border) is identified and inclusion and exclusion criteria of informants have done. The significance that the research would have and the problems faced while conducting this study with measurements taken has elaborated in this chapter.

1.1.   Background of the study

Political leadership is a special skill that can be obtained through special training, education and can be developed through personal experience. Effective leadership involves directing, motivating, and mobilizing fellows for the success of certain predetermined goals. From this we can infer political leadership as the act of leading others for social, economic and political transformation. Political leaders should show the way others should follow and influence the behavior of decisions they made, so they can direct the pattern of decisions (Tesfaye, 2013). The same source explained political leadership as an act of bearing biggest responsibility, having powerful role, dealing everything and giving direction. It is guiding and painting vision with

confidence and achieving the aim of an organization or institution. Leaders lead innovation, press for change and find motivation in their employees to complete their tasks.

Effective participation of women in political leadership has become significant issue across the world in both governmental and nongovernmental agencies. Study results conducted in the areas of women and their political participation demonstrate that women play important roles being key actors in the process of building democratic system and in the overall development aspects of countries (Bullough, 2008; Meaza, 2009; Tsegaye, 2014). In the political arena in particular, there is growing movement among governments to increase and ensure women's participation and leadership in governance structures.

The United Nations and its specialized agencies have taken wider responsibilities for issues concerning women. It first recognized gender equality in its charter in 1945. Subsequently, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 and the Beijing Platform for Acton (BPA) in 1995 were most notable conventions made by the organization to enhance the level of women empowerment. The UN Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 best recognized the key condition for women's empowerment. Women's involvement in holding political power and decision-making are required for democratic governance (Miranda, 2005).

In view of this, BPA set two main strategies taking women as indispensable actors to build democratic system. The first one is about taking measures to ensure women's equal access to full participation in power structures and decision- making and the second one is enhancing women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership. Both strategies are proposed to be addressed by governments, national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institutions, sub-regional and regional bodies, and non-governmental and international organizations. Women leadership and participation not only convey key information about women and girls and their ability to make choices about their lives, they also positively correlate with more inclusive governance and better economic outcome (Bullough, 2008).

The argument for women's participation in decision making and leadership is based on the recognition that every human being has the right to participate in decisions that define her or his life. As the right to equality is one of the pillars of democratic governance, participation of

women in decision making and leadership is required to strengthen the roots of democracy (Gojjam and Manjit, 2015). It argues that since women know their situation best, they should participate equally with men and represent others in issues concerning them.

In Ethiopia following the reforms of the country's administrative structure and the endorsement of the constitutions, women are granted constitutional rights of equality to men and affirmative action to promote gender equality and women's empowerment (FDRE Constitution, 1995). The Ethiopian government commenced various national, regional, and international initiatives to reduce gender-based disparity and women's discrimination in various sectors by introducing different policy directions and institutionalizing ministerial offices. The establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs used as an umbrella for other associations, bringing gender equality taken as one important issue in Millennium Development Goals, the Gender Mainstreaming Guidelines, and the various affirmative actions taken in education and employment process are some of the measurements taken by Ethiopian government to eliminate gender based discrimination (Teklu, 2013)..

Women political leadership is not only an important issue for the development of a nation but also it is a prerequisite for the prevalence of good governance as well as keeping basic human and political rights (Endale, 2014). Without the representation of women's voices and interests, Ethiopia couldn't realize democratic governance. Since they account for more than half of the population addressing their question of equal representation best determines the interest of the people in general. Therefore inclusive political tradition is needed to put democracy on a strong basis.

However, regardless of the Ethiopian government's policy of equal opportunity for both men and women to participate in the democratization of the country, women have not been adequately represented at all levels of decision-making positions. For instance, women in House of People Representatives in the third term are about 22.05%, in House of Federation 18.75% and in 9 state councils they accounted about 27.61 %(Adamu and Mekonen, 2009 cited in Ahmed, 2013). Given the nominally equal status of men and women in laws of the country, it could not be implemented properly. It still holds only paper value. It lacks the commitment of the government, the people and other concerned actors. There exist only symbolic gestures to hijack

women's question to party needs. The quest for equal representation in decision making and leadership positions for women has remained unanswered (Birtukan,2012).

1.2.   Statement of the Problem

The participation of women in political decision-making positions was recognized as a political right after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. UDHR Articles 2 and 21 stipulate equal enjoyment of political rights without discrimination on the basis of one's sex or any other ground. In 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) reaffirmed the UDHR principle of the right to participate in public and political life without discrimination.

The diversity of perspectives and experience with regard to gender is highly valued as part of national development and needs their inclusion, advancement and continuance of their participation in democratic decision making. Despite the principles enshrined in the UDHR and ICCPR, discrimination against women regarding voting and holding political office has persisted around the world (Bullough, 2008).

Efforts to enhance women participation in the politics of their countries and international affairs have delayed far behind other development (Ahmed, 2013). Despite the enactment of national and international instruments affirming the legal rights of women, they remain severely deprived of their rights to influence decisions determining the present and future of society (Fetenu, 2000).

Even though women constitute half of the total population and the source of talent and potential for the world, their participation in decision making and other higher government positions is not sufficient (Meaza 2009). The cause for this insufficient degree of involvement is the existence of patriarchal social and political system and negative traditional perception of the society. The other reason for women's low political participation is due to the absence of participatory and all inclusive political system (Birtukan, 2012).Women face a barrier to entry into top-level management and decision making positions emanated from attitudinal and organizational biases simply by being women rather than because they lack the ability to handle jobs at higher level (Bullough 2008).

The FDRE government is now striving to create gender balances in public offices and governmental organizations. Compared to the past decades in women's history it is encouraging that many projects and capacity building programs have fixing. Women are enjoying the fruits of equality in acquiring political positions. There is an access to education to them equally with male counterparts which paves the way to increase the number of women who are competing for leadership positions (Amdebirhan, 2007).This does not mean that the vacuum is totally closed; more and more developments are left. It is not to hide the very big problem of women's under representation.

Even though there are encouraging movements in bringing women to higher political positions, challenges still persist at the second stage while they lead the organization or an office. The positive achievements however should not make us blind to the many remaining challenges that impede women's effective participation in decision making. Women political leaders in Gondar town have constrained by many factors. Among these psychological failure is the first one. This implies they lack self consciousness and commitment to accept the position as eligible for them. Lack of self confidence in actions and decisions of them hinders the quality that they should bring to the office that they lead.

The other one is that the political atmosphere is not as supportive as it should be. Political parties denied the right to have access to information and they are excluding women to be a member and best actorsto them. The failure to have conducive working environment also constrained them to run their activity without any negative pressure. The other barrier comes from the people's attitude that indicates discrimination of women politicians in the eyes of the people.

Studies examined the low involvement of women in top decision making positions in Ethiopia. These studies elaborated the challenges and practices that hinder women to hold higher positions. For instance, Meaza Ashenafi (2009) studied the factors affecting women participation in politics and decision making. She tried to pick the potential problems hindering Ethiopian women to participate in political decision making. On the same basis Endale Alemu (2012) has conducted a study on the factors challenging women to politically engage themselves with special reference to Bedele town. Both of them found that there are economic, environmental and socio-cultural barriers hindering women to participate in politics.

Another study was conducted by Tigist Zeleke (2005) on the challenges and prospects of women political participation in Ethiopia. She found that women nowadays are motivating to involve themselves in the political realm of the country. Tesfaye Tsegaye (2012) also has studied on the need to advance women in leadership. In his findings he put policy directions to enhance women's involvement in political leadership positions, such as the need to have all inclusive political culture, the need to give extra attention to women politicians and the development of affirmative measures to ensure gender equality.

The above mentioned and other studies have failed to deal the issue of women political leaders after they came into the stage of leadership positions. They all assessed the political, economic, and socio-cultural drawbacks that hinder women to participate in politics and decision making. In line with this gap, the researcher intends to assess the challenges of women political leaders while they lead the office that they represent and finding out the opportunities that they have.

The current situation of women political leadership in Gondar town and the fact that there is no known research that has been conducted on challenges and opportunities of women in political leadership in the town aroused the researcher's interest to investigate this study.

1.3. Research objectives

1.3.1. General objective
The general objective of this study is to examine the challenges and opportunities of women in political leadership in Gondar town administration, North Gondar zone, Amhara National regional state.

1.3.2. Specific objectives
➢ To identify challenges of women in political leadership in Gondar town administration
➢ To identify opportunities promoting women in political leadership in the study area
➢ To suggest possible strategies to enhance women's equal access and full participation in political power

1.4. Research Questions
❖ What are the challenges hindering women to exercise their political leadership roles?

❖ What are the facts on the ground in Gondar town encouraging women to perform well their leadership roles?

❖ What possible mechanisms can be used to increase women's involvement in leadership?

1.5. Scope of the study

This study specifically explores the state of women in political leadership at Gondar town administration. Specifically the researcher systematically focused on selected public offices of Gondar town administration only. This is because the selected public offices in the town administration are lead by women. It excludes women at NGOs, and business sectors, only focused on those women who are leaders of governmental offices of the town. The study is delimited to Gondar town administration. The rationale to select Gondar is that there is relative improvement in accessing more women in leadership positions and it is found vital to deal their issues and the personal experience of the researcher.

1.6. Significance of the study

A proper understanding about women's level of political leadership is the main possible mechanism to bring them more involved in the wider political arena of the country. Viewed from such angle the researcher believes that the study has the following contributions: Firstly it may helps to create a deep understanding about the challenges of women in political involvement in order to come up with possible mechanisms to solve the existing problems. Second, it may also contribute to better understanding of the opportunities gained to address the interests of women. Third, it may be an input or an entry point for other researchers to further investigate their study using this particular case study.

1.7. Limitations of the study

The researcher faced constraints while conducting the study. These constraints include inability of respondents to give more time for discussing with the researcher due to their double burdens. To find accurate and enough data the researcher used their leisure time; interviews were made during the weekends and tea breaks. The researcher patiently and repeatedly made efforts to make them available. The other obstacle was absence of conducive environment to hold focus group discussions. Therefore, the researcher obliged to hold it in a certain office interrupted by many patrons. The other limitation was the absence of well documented reports.

1.8. Organization of the study

This study focused on the challenges and opportunities of women's political leadership in Gondar town, Amhara National Regional State. This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter one deals with the introductory part comprising background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, and limitation of the study. The second chapter emphasized on review of literatures related to women and political leadership that have been done previously by other researchers. Chapter three describes the research methodology which incorporates description of the study area, research method, research design, sampling techniques, sources of data and data collection instruments, data analysis technique and ethical issues. Chapter four presents results and discussion and finally chapter five deals with conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter previous literatures related with women and political leadership have been assessed. Various studies have been conducted on the areas of women and their political participation. Among these the researcher tried to collect some literatures that have direct or indirect correlation with the issue under investigation. The findings of previous scholars and researchers in relation with political leadership and women have reviewed. Specifically, the theoretical concept of leadership, findings regarding women and their political participation, the status of women's involvement in political leadership from the world experience, national and international legal frameworks regarding women's equal access to political participation and leadership and level of women's political participation in Ethiopian case are the areas to be reviewed. As the best knowledge of the researcher is concerned, there is no known research conducted on the challenges and opportunities of women political leaders in Ethiopia. Therefore, the researcher tried to review from the experiences of other countries.

2.1. The Concept of Political leadership

Leadership can be defined as the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the success and efficiency of the organizations of which they are members. Leadership implies bearing biggest responsibility, having powerful role, dealing everything and giving directions for followers (Khabele and Victor, 2008) cited in (Endale, 2014).

It is guiding and painting vision with confidence and achieving the aim of an organization or institution, creating vision and forming relationship. Leaders lead innovation, press for change and create motivation in their employees to complete their tasks (Tsegaye, 2012).

The effectiveness of costs, revenue generation, service, satisfaction, earnings, social capital, motivation, engagement and sustainability are directly or indirectly determined by the quality of leadership. Leadership is even used as a means to solve the existed social problem. Leadership exists only in relationships and perception of employees involved (Yukl, 1994). Leadership is a

process of creating influence on another in order to achieve defined aims of an organization or a group (Byers, 1997). Leadership should not be mixed up with status. Having higher status does not imply being successful in leading an organization or institution (Gardner 1990). For example, if a person with high rank assumed to govern the State, yet his/her high position does not imply that his/her leadership is going to be successful. Status is a value, importance or a prestige attached to a position or a role in an organization. Leader is not the same as a manager, although these two notions get confused. Different role of a manager and a leader may be explained with an example of authority (Weber, 1947) links authority with legitimacy.

Legitimacy should come first in order to persuade People to accept leadership responsibilities voluntarily; if leadership loses its legitimacy, the ability to manage is lost as well. Obedience to leadership is more optional than forced. Kotter defines governance as planning, organizing and controlling, while leadership includes creation of a vision and formation of relationships (Kotter, 1988). Managers promote stability while leaders head for innovation, press for change and find motivation in their employees to complete their tasks.

In addition to leadership qualities, appropriate use of power and performance, leaders are also encouraged to know themselves thoroughly if they want to become the leaders they aspire to become. Regarding leadership competencies in any type of organization, there are a few areas that have been proven time and again as mandatory for effective leadership. These include the competency clusters of vision and goal-setting, interpersonal skills, self-knowledge, and technical competence regarding the specifics of the business in which the leader works (Bennis, 1987).

Effectiveness of leadership can be measured through the abilities to motivate people, build relationships and influence outcomes. The behavior that is modeled by the leader and the top management profoundly shape and thereby determine competency level of their juniors (Bolman and Terrence, 1997). A transformational leader as compared to transactional leader has a major impact on the quality and efficiency level of subordinates. Transformational leadership is characterized as inspirational leadership. What distinguishes these transformational leaders from transactional leaders is their relatively greater passionate commitment to a new vision for the organizations' future and their ability to share that vision (Tsegaye, 2012: 76).

Political participation is described as one of the basic conditions for better functioning democracy and democratic system (Dahl 1998, Verba et al, 1995: 2), and the quality of democracy depends on its ability to connect citizens with political leaders. This may exist through government efforts to bring citizens into political leadership positions as well as the commitment of individual citizens to deeply engage in the political arena, let alone factors that determine citizen's political leadership.

As research findings show women adopt democratic and participative leadership styles. Transformational leadership is the one which is preferred by women. The characteristics of transformational leadership relate to female values developed through socialization processes that include building relationships, communication, consensus building, power as influence, and working together for a common purpose (Trinidad & Normore, 2005).

2.2. National and International Legislations to Ensure Gender Equality

The FDRE constitution and other national policies are parts and parcel of international agreements and international law, so that they should be complementary with international legal instruments. For instance Ethiopia has signed conventions like the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); which came into force in 1981. This agreement emphasized on ensuring the equality between men and women in all political, civil, economic, socio-cultural rights. States that are parties to the convention are obligated to ensure women equal opportunities in the right to vote and be eligible for election (Shimelis, 2015). The other international agreement which focused on full recognition of women's rights and fundamental freedoms is The Beijing Plat form of Action (BPA, 1995). It stands for progress towards gender equality in education and health care, in work and the family, and in the public sphere.

Conventions both at national and international level, Ethiopian constitution, The African Charter on Human and People Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child strive for the rights of women in different spheres encompassing the equal employment opportunity, the right to administer and transfer property, the right to own land, equal access to education and equality of rights within marriage (FDRE constitution, 1995). Ethiopia is therefore making several efforts to strengthen national structures for achieving gender parity.

The former South African president Nelson Mandela argued that:

> Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us take this on board that the objective of reconstruction and development program will not have been realized unless we see in visible practical terms that the condition of women in our country has radically changed for better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life equal with any other member of the society *(*Bisrat, 2005).

The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), the five year national development plan for Ethiopia and the Development Plan for Women and Children (2011-2028) pays attention for equal treatment of women and girls in the developmental spectrum of the country have including for improving women's participation in political life and decision making, promoting women's economic empowerment and reducing violence against women (Daniel, 2015).Moreover, due to the historical legacy of women's oppression and their disadvantaged position and as a commitment to gender equality, the FDRE adopted the national Ethiopian Policy on women in 1993 (Tiruwork & Hanna, 2007).

The policy have the objectives of creating conducive atmosphere for the enhancement of equality between men and women so that women can participate in political, social and economic life of their country on equal terms with men and ensuring that their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from the enjoyment of their fruits of their labor or from performing public functions and being decision makers. The other objective is speed up the necessary conditions whereby rural women can have access to basic social services and to ways and means of lightening their work load. The third objective of the plan is to gradually eliminating prejudices as well as customary and other practices that gives permission for the domination of male over female on the issue of holding public office and engaging in the decision making process at all levels (Ogato, 2013).

A new Federal Family Code, based on the principle of gender equality is also come into effect in July 2000 (proc.213/2000). It rose the minimum age of marriage from 15 to 18 years and established the rights of women to share any assets the household had accumulated if a couple has been living together for at least three years in an irregular union. The Ethiopian labor and

employment laws (proc.377/2003 Art. 87) articulates that women would not be discriminated regarding employment and payment on the grounds of sex and it explained that special protection should be accorded to pregnant women. The federal rural land administration proclamation No.89/97 has provisions for gender sensitive regarding women's equal access to land (Ethiopia: Country Gender Profile, 2006).

Gender equality has increasingly become an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all national development programmes. Ethiopia is also one of the countries that embraced the principles of the MDGs at the millennium declaration where by 147 heads of State and Government and 191 nations became signatories for their adoption and implementation. A task has also been set up to realize MDGs in Ethiopia. A National Action Plan (NAP) for gender equality is also underway to make the gender specific goals of the MDGs a reality in Ethiopia (Ethiopia's MDGs report, 2012).

2.3. Women and Political Leadership in Ethiopia

The term woman is used to indicate biological sex distinctions, cultural gender role distinctions, or both. In the realm of politics, women's political participation refers to the insertion and integration of women both in terms of number and ideas into the process of politics (Lovenduski, cited in Meseret, 2010). In support of this, women's political participation and representation refers to women's participation in formal political offices and political institutions; Parliament and Political Party which paves the way for women's collective mobilization (Shireen 2006). Women's rights to participate in public life on an equal basis with men is inscribed in numerous Human right documents, including Article 25 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, and Article 7 of the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Squires, 2007).

In Ethiopia, mostly there is a patriarchal society which maintains the superior position of men and the subordinate status of women (Haregewoin and Emebet, 2003). There is a belief that women are passive, submissive, patient, and tolerant of tedious work and violence, for which culture is used as a justification (Hirut, 2004). The majority of Ethiopian women just like other African countries hold low status in the society. Different studies showed the low status of women in developing countries in general and in Ethiopia in particular (Almaz, 1991; Hirut, 2004; Mukuria et al., 2005).They have been denied equal access to education, training, and

gainful employment opportunities, and their involvement in policy formulation and decision making processes has been minimal. With no doubt, women play a lion share role in the community by taking care of all societal activities. Yet they do not enjoy the fruits of their labor and suffer from marginalization in the political, economical, societal, and cultural aspects.

Historically in Ethiopia there are many women who have played important political and leadership roles in the history of Ethiopia, only few are visible in the existent literatures. Women have played important political roles mostly by wielding proxy power through birth or marriage (Meaza, 2009). In Ethiopian history, women did great contributions in both out and in door activities especially in battles and other activities. They have been actively participating in rural area in agriculture, commercial, undertaking reproduction and social responsibilities (Teshome, 1979). However, their misfortunes of living in the shadow of men have hidden from view such highly notable performances. They have been forced to lose confidence in themselves and so have been unable to act on their own action directly concerning themselves.

Literatures describe that even if women's formal participation in the highest leadership position was formally closed, it is documented that throughout the world, women had played critical roles in times of wars and peace as community organizers and activists. For instance, Empress Taitu was acted as the chief advisor of Emperor Menilik with particular influence in the area of foreign relations. She holds high profile in the history for patriotism and uncompromisingly pursuing Ethiopia's independence (Meaza, 2007). These historical facts make it clear that despite their strengths, contributions and demonstrated leadership abilities, it has never been easy for Ethiopian women to ascend to formal political power (ibid.). Now a day the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) government has adopted various enhancing instruments to promote equal participation of women in every subject of the nation's decision making positions among which the FDRE constitution is the most promising and binding one which had ever been existed in the history of the country (Tiruwork &Hanna, 2007).

Although some efforts have been made still the participation of women in leadership and decision making position is minimal as per to their counterparts. This can be evidenced with many aspects however, looking at proportion of women in the parliament which is entitled to be the highest policy making body of the nation, though it may seem increasing from time to time, it is still minimal, according to the information gained from international Parliament Union

(IPU), in 2005 National election women accounts 21.3%, where as in 2010 national election, their number has increased to 152(27.8%) out of the total 547 seats of HPR members, with compared to Rwanda (56.3%), and South Africa of which they accounts for 44.5% and others (Ahmed, 2013).

The possibility for all citizens to participate in the management of public affairs is at the very heart of democracy. At the same time full and equal participation of both women and men in political decision making provides a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society, and may as such enhance the legitimacy of political processes by making them more democratic and responsive to the concerns and perspectives of all segments of society. Despite these facts in the majority of countries of the world, the political arena remains largely dominated by men, and is even an exclusively male bastion in some countries. As we know in democracy the voice of all should be heard equally. But, throughout history, women which constitute fifty percent of global populations are underrepresented in decision-making processes at all governance levels around the world and even they are dominated and marginalized politically, socially, economically, physically and psychologically by their counter parts (Shimelis, 2015).

Therefore, the participation of women in the political discourse is a recent phenomenon. The participation of women in political decision- making positions was recognized as a political right after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of (UDHR) in 1948. UDHR Articles 2 and 21 stipulate equal enjoyment of political rights without discrimination on the basis of one's sex or any other ground. Even in most of western states women franchise right is not recognized in the first wave of democratization except in USA, Britain and some European countries. Like many world countries, the majorities of women in Ethiopia have also been deprived of social, economic and political rights and hold low status in the society for much history of the country. They have been denied equal access to education, training and gainful employment opportunities and their involvement in policy formulation and decision making processes have been minimal (Gojjam & Manjit, 2015).

The present government has given priority to the speeding up of equality between men and women. Practically for example the government formulated national policy on women in 1993 with the objective of speeding up of equality between men and women, so that women can

participate in the political, social, and economic life of their country on equal terms with men, ensuring that their right to own property as well as their other human rights are respected and that they are not excluded from the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor or from performing public functions and being decision makers(Endale,2014).

2.4. Factors that Hinder Women's Political Participation in Ethiopia

The exclusion of women in political participation and decision making processes was one inherited by human history. Even when democracy had birth in ancient Athens in 5[th]century BC, the exclusion of women from political participation and decision making was made. The Athenians women had no a right to vote or to participate in the democratic process and even they were not considered as a citizens. Even in European countries women had neither a right to political participation nor involve in the decision making and public affairs up until the beginning of 20th century. Therefore, women franchise right is not recognized in the first wave of democratization (1828–1926) in many of European countries (Miranda, 2005).

As to the case of Ethiopia, women's status in the political and public sector is very recent phenomena and still their participation is very low. They are still largely underrepresented in decision-making positions at all levels. They have also not made major progress in attaining political power in legislative bodies (Tigist, 2005). The number of elected women representatives is still low; more and more women are engaged in formal employment, but are underrepresented in middle and higher management positions; the number of women leaders and decision makers at the various level of the decentralized government structure is still very low (Tesfaye, 2012). Therefore for a variety of reasons women tend to be reluctant to become political candidates whom we discussed in detail as follows.

2.4.1. Socio-Cultural Factors

In many countries, traditions continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and to restrict them to those roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system favors sexually segregated roles, and 'traditional cultural values' militate against the advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. Societies all over the world are dominated by an ideology of 'a woman's place'. According to this ideology, women should only play the role of working mother, which is generally low-paid and apolitical (Tesfaye, 2012). In addition, in some countries, men even tell women how to vote. This is the

environment, in which a certain collective image of women in traditional, apolitical roles continues to dominate, which many women face.

So that today, cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on Election Day. Hence, women face prejudice as leaders because people tend to assume that leadership is a masculine trait and when women do lead, they face a problem (Bullough, 2008). People evaluate autocratic behavior by women more negatively than the same behavior by men. Thus, even in countries where women have made gains in employment or education, they face cultural barriers to participate in politics (Hirut, 2004).

In the context of Ethiopia, there is a traditional belief that, women are made to take care of children and do kitchen works than participating outside home activity. Hence, there is division of works between men and women, which means home activities are belongs to women and outside home activities are belongs to men (Meaza, 2008). Women are overburdened with different household activities like cooking, take caring kids, washing and so on. These all activities make women busy in the household and impede their involvement in the politics of the country. In line with this a study conducted by Gidudu et al, cited in (Shimelis, 2015) revealed that women has to do house duties, gardening, and washing up while men go out for duty and also go for further studies outside the family as women stay back to take charge of the family.

Culturally, there is a belief that women are supposed to be led but not to lead. In fact stereotyped notions about women constitute major barriers; societal perception about leadership ability of women, women's lack of assertiveness is some barriers that hinder the participation of women (Endale, 2012). In this regard traditional attitudes towards gender equality influence women's advancement in political participation. Theories of socialization have long emphasized the enduring division of sex roles within a society especially the existence of egalitarian or traditional attitudes towards women in the private and public spheres. Socialization theories emphasize that these attitudes are acquired early in life through formative agencies, including the existence of traditional sex role learnt in the home and family, local community, and in schools and the workplace (Squires, 2007). In cultures with traditional values concerning the role of women in the home and family, many women may be reluctant to run and, if they seek the

office, they may fail to attract sufficient party and electoral support to win (Meron, 2005). Most importantly in the country Women are considered subordinate to men and second class members/ citizens both in the family and in the society especially in most parts of rural areas (Yasin, 2013:103).

2.4.2. Religious factors

Religion is another important source of cultural beliefs in most countries. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world. But the major religions of the world are differentially conservative or patriarchal in their views about the place of women, both in the church hierarchy and in society. For example, Protestantism promotes nonhierarchical religious practices and more readily accepts women as religious leaders compared with Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. Islamic law is typically interpreted in a manner that constrains the activities of women. Hence, exclusion of women from religious institutions and religious leadership may have a negative impact on women's status in society and limit their opportunities in politics and public life (Trinidad &Normore, 2005). Hence, religion is one of the anachronistic cultural beliefs in many communities in the country that excludes women from the mainstream of leadership. In most religions, power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women. Thus women are encouraged to play subsidiary roles since their place is in the kitchen and men are the decision makers.

Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and traditionally religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world (Yasin, 2013). Women are also seem to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perceptions that politics is a dirty game thus a preserve game of men (Shimelis, 2015).

2.4.3. Economic factors

Women's historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantage position economically. Socio-economic status of women to a greater extent plays a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision making bodies. In this regard social and economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their

participation in political institutions and elected bodies (Shvedova, 2002).In other words Lack of economic resources is one of the biggest obstacles that prevent women from participating in politics in greater numbers. Making it easier for women to access economic resources, therefore, is a key in expanding women's presence in the political realm. Studies also revealed that most of women are financially dependent on their husbands or relatives (Meron, 2005, Hirut, 2004, Ahmad, 2013). So it may not be possible to them to enter in political campaign. Women move from their father's home to their husband's home like refugees. They have no base from which to develop contacts with the people or to build knowledge and experience about the issues. Furthermore, they have no money of their own; the money belongs to their fathers, their husbands or their in-laws.

Given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this poses another serious hurdle for women in the developing world. In fact women's participation in political life depends largely on their access to employment which gives them not only material independence, but also certain professional skills and grater self- confidence (Hirut, 2004). So that access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship and influence on the participation of women in political institutions.

Having been aware about the impacts of economy on women the Ethiopia government formulated Economic Reform policy in 1992 with the aims to promote economic development and improve the living standard of the most vulnerable sections of the society, particularly women, but still in most Ethiopian society women have no right to decide on one's own property in the house hold because the household head is always the father which can control every asset and property of the family (Tigist, 2005). Due to this fact women always need to get permission of the father to buy some consumption materials and other resources of the household. Even if women are salaried, most of the time their income is controlled by men. So women are always dependent on men economically which is the main cause for their low participation to politics of the country (Hirut, 2004).

2.4.4. Patriarchal Attitude

The family is the main institution of patriarchy, which is an important concept in explaining gender inequality. Literarily, it means "the rule of the father"; more broadly, it refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men

a higher social status over females has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. The socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life has created a social mechanism for the development of values that engender the several forms of discrimination against the female sex (Ahmed, 2013).

The greatest psychological weapon available to man is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted especially in the area of politics that often continue to stereotype women and justify their subordination. In many societies women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making smart decisions. They have been depicted across generations to be only capable of trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent (Meaza, 2007).

This was projected and reinforced through the years through male-dominated institutions and patriarchal societies which internalized the idea that the woman was inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every aspect, it became hard for women to pursue their political rights as an active participant. For a woman to enter politics, such patriarchal attitudes make it even harder. The truth is that such attitudes are not a thing of the past. Such attitudes towards women still exist in societies all over the world today in both developed and developing countries (Meseret, 2010).

 In Ethiopian societies, men and women have clearly defined roles that are dictated by the dominant ideology which is patriarchy. Most of the time men are taken as breadwinners; head of the household who has the authority to represent the family outside of the home. Since house work is solely the responsibility of women, a man never cooks even if he has no choice but cook to satisfy his hunger pang. It is a shame for a man to step into a kitchen let alone cook (Haregewoin &Emebet, 2003).

2.4.5. Family work and time constraints
Continuing uneven distribution of family care responsibilities means that women spend far more time than men in home- and child-care. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that women pay a "motherhood penalty," across fields relating not just to the time, effort, and medical care of pregnancy and child birth, but to the far greater maternal involvement necessary for

breastfeeding, and to the persistent tendency of women to do a larger share of childcare as the child grows. Anyone deeply involved in childcare, whether male or female, would face tough time constraints navigating between family responsibilities and a political position; because the work is rarely equally shared, women are more disadvantaged (Goetz and Shireen, 2003). Like many other women, in Ethiopia women are traditionally in charge of domestic chores, while men are responsible for activities outside the home and men often spend their free time socializing outside the home, while women take care of the household which makes them difficult to engage in politics.

The position and empowerment of women and girls in society are hindered by negative attitudes perpetuating inequality affecting all aspects of their lives. Although women's political representation has improved over the years, negative social perceptions about the leadership ability of women, their low socio-economic status, low educational and skills levels and lack of strong role models all contribute to women low participation in decision-making positions. The burden of household chores and inequitable access to higher education also limit women's ability to enjoy the opportunities and benefits of citizenship as men on an equal footing in the political sphere (Tesfaye, 2012).

In addition to the above mentioned factors, when many women especially in developing countries were asked if they would consider entering politics, their answer is negative. Foremost their reasons is that politics is reputed to be dirty, where methods employed include the illegal and the unethical to win in elections and assume power, and where the corruption of public service for personal and narrow group interests has been the accepted norm (Miranda 2005). Another scholar Shvedova mentioned political obstacle that hinders women involvement in politics. To this end he argued that men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation. The existence of this male dominated model results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics (Shvedova ,2002).

Generally many women in Ethiopia have little independence on decision making on most individuals and family issues. Women are also discriminated on the ground of being women and as such low status is characterized virtually every aspects of girls and women's lives (Endale, 2012).

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

This chapter typically covers the description of the study area, research approach, research design, sampling techniques, and data sources, procedures of data collection, method of data analysis and ethical issues employed by the researcher in order to accomplish the study. Gondar town as a research site has introduced a little bit to the readers. Regarding the approach (research method) the researcher prefers to use qualitative method to attain the perspectives, experiences and feelings of research participants. Case study design is used as a form of research design to explore the event and process deeply. The sampling technique that this study has used is purposive to acquire tangible data from those respondents who are more close to the issue under investigation. Here, the researcher had the inclusion and exclusion criteria to select respondents. Primary and secondary data sources have been used to triangulate the data obtained. The data used in this research has been collected through in depth interviews and focus group discussions. Finally, the data collected from these sources has been analyzed and presented thematically in line with the objectives of the research. Ethical issues have been considered to make the study legal.

3.1. The study Area

Gondar is the capital of North Gondar administrative zone. It is known for its cultural heritages and tourist attractiveness. Gondar was founded by Emperor Fasiledes around the year 1636, and grew as an agricultural and market town. It is a city and a separate woreda in Ethiopia, which was once the old imperial capital and the capital of the historic Begemider Province from 1632-1868. Located in the Semien Gondar Zone in the Amhara Region, Gondar is north of Tana Lake on the Lesser Angereb River and southwest of the Simien Mountains. The city has a latitude and longitude of 12°36′N and 37°28′E with an elevation of 2200 meters above sea level. The city is nicknamed "The Camelot of Africa" due to the presence of a group of royal castles (Report of Gondar town Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2008 E.C.).

3.2. Research Method

The study employs qualitative research method, because it helps to go deep into a definable setting in which phenomena can be placed meaningfully within specific environment. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

In support of this Flick (2002) stressed the importance of qualitative approach as it defines the study of social relation and helps to easily attaining the perspectives of the participants and their diversity. Qualitative research is used to explore and understand a diversity of social and public policy issues (Bryman and Burgess, 1994).

Qualitative research is most appropriate for studying a wide range of social dimensions while maintaining contextual focus (Mason, 2002 cited in Carcary, 2009). Qualitative approach deals with the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviors of human element (Kothari, 2004).

This study has the aim of understanding participant's experiences and feelings on the issue. It also explores and verifies the opportunities and challenges of women political leaders in Gondar town. Therefore, qualitative approach is best to dig out the personnel's experience since they are parts of the case.

3.3. Research Design

It is a conceptual structure and blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. Good design is flexible, appropriate, efficient and economical (Kothari, 2004). Depending up on the above concerns, the researcher adopts case study design.

Case study enables the researcher to explore in depth a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals (Stake, 1995). The cases are bounded in time and activity (Creswell, 2003). It also could involve studying a single person or institution, and enables the analysis to reflect changes and adjustments (Hancock et al., 2009).

In this study, women's political leadership is considered as a single case. By taking this as a case, the researcher assesses the knowhow, experience and practical intact of the respondents. And

finally, come up with identifying the opportunities it provides and challenges it imposed on women political leaders in the town administration.

3.4. Sample and Sampling Technique

The sampling technique that the researcher used to select research participants is non-probability sampling. To this, Ritchie and Lewis (2003) said that qualitative research uses non-probability samples for selecting population for study. The rationale behind this, they assert is that the research process is one of discovery rather than the testing of hypothesis and this also resounds the purpose of this study. Purposive sampling will be employed, because it helps to gain data from those who are more familiar or close to the issue under investigation.

Sample size in qualitative research should not be too large that is difficult to extract thick and rich data. It should also not be too small that is difficult to achieve data saturation. Therefore, the sample size of this study is delimited to 13participants. From these numbers 10 of them are taken for interview, 3 of the others for FGD and 2 of these are used for both interview and FGD. This number was determined by data saturation after an in-depth interview made in the study area. Due to the existed limitation in finding more number of women, it was mandatory to held FGD in small number of participants and also the researcher obliged to discuss with 2 women twice because they are more experienced and had enough information regarding the issue of discussion. The inclusion criteria to select samples are based on their experience, and family status. Therefore, women who are less experienced (<1 year) are excluded from interview and who have no family (single) are excluded from FGD. Those who are experienced and have family are used for both interview and FGD.

3.5. Data Sources

To conduct this study both primary and secondary sources of data has employed. Primary data has been collected personally by the researcher from sample respondents through in-depth interview and focus group discussion. The main sources used for secondary data are unpublished documents from town administration office, Annual women affair office report, different books in the area of political science, gender studies, management and leadership, public administration etc, internet (mostly those reliable sites of IPU, UNDP, WB, UN etc web sites) and other documented sources from Town administration office.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments and procedures

a. Interview

Interview is helpful to get information about the social world by providing a means for exploring research subjects' points of view (Shulamit, 1992). In this study in-depth interview was employed as a major data collection technique. The rationale behind using this technique was that an in-depth interview enables to generate more information and exhaustive data than other techniques as it is possible to probe during the interview. In the interview process, all interviewees were asked about their personal biography (age, marital status, number of children and etc). In order that the interviewees speak openly and truthfully, the interviewer attempts to position herself as a friend.

The interview for each participant, on average, took one hour. It was mostly a one phased interview. The researcher has personally undertaken all the interviews. During the interview sessions, more time and emphasis was given to targeted individual participants (women in leadership positions) because no one has more knowledge than the person herself.

b. Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion (FGD) was the other data collection technique used in this research. This technique was used because it has been found important to get additional information and only one FGD consisted of 5 members were held.

During the FGD, the researcher was the moderator who led the discussion based on the guiding questions. The researcher introduced the research and explains the main objectives carefully to create an open atmosphere and encourage participation. She then explains how long the session is expected to last and that participants can ask for clarification at anytime. The researcher warms up discussants for 10 minutes by introducing rules of the focus group such as no rights and wrong answers, that one person talks at a time and that honest responses are highly appreciated. In this research an attempt was made to give equal chance to all participants so that one person may not dominate the discussion. The time that the FGD took was 1:30 hours.

3.7. Data Analysis Technique

Data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research. Data analysis is an ongoing process taking place throughout the data collection process (Creswell, 2003). Data analysis enables the researcher to reduce data in to story and its interpretation. In this study, the researcher has employed thematic analysis. The already collected data from the primary and secondary sources were organized based on the emerging themes from the data collected by semi-structured interview with the aim of achieving the objective of the study, and presented and analyzed using specific themes because data analysis and interpretation are required to bring order and understanding.

In other words, Qualitative data analysis primarily entails classifying things, persons and events and the properties which characterize them. It also involves continual reflection about the data. Under this study, the researcher identifies broad themes with emerging them. Here, the researcher aims to delineate subgroups within a general category.

3.8.   Ethical Considerations

First of all collaborative letter is presented in order to make the communication legal. When selection is conducted, research participants asked their agreement to take part in the research. In this study, the participants' informed consent has been obtained before the beginning of the study. The purpose of the study has been properly explained and then the procedure of the study is elaborated. Moreover, the researcher told them that they have a right to withdraw or dropout after the interview or FGD has begun.

Confidentiality is also another ethical consideration employed in this research. To this effect, participants understand that the information they provide would be used for research purpose only. To respect the privacy of participants discussion issues had never go beyond the purpose of the research. Internal validity has been ensured in order to check whether the methodology matches with the conclusion or not. The researcher also ensured the validity of data by triangulating it within the responses of participants. The assumption and or personal insight of the researcher had not affected the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

Introduction

This part presents the finding of the study. As it is clearly stated in the introduction part (chapter one), the main objective of this study is examining the challenges and opportunities of women in political leadership in Gondar town, ANRS. The findings are presented and discussed in line with the research objectives. In the process of data presentation, the name of participants is coded (as interviewee 1, 2, 3, …) for the sake of their security and safety. Based on the results from the interview and FGD questions, the findings are summarized and discussed in to two sections. These are challenges and opportunities of women in political leadership. The emerged themes under the challenges include lack of political aspiration of women, deliberate exclusion by political parties, unclear gender responsive body, lack of self confidence, low emotional support from the family, fear of isolation among colleagues, improper need of promotion, lack of role model and peer support, sexual harassment, jealousy and low respect by male colleagues, patriarchal attitude, early parenthood, complex responsibility, and negative perception of the society. On the other hand, the availability of trainings, educational access, government's commitment to gender equality, and invitations to lead are found as the opportunities encouraging women political leaders in the town.

4.1. Challenges of women political leaders

As the report of IPU assured women everywhere are breaking the glass ceiling in politics but their voices are still go unheard and their contributions are too often sidelined (IPU Report, 2013). Women politicians are facing many barriers emanating from women themselves, their colleagues, from the political environment and from the society. These challenges can be political, economic, psychological, and socio-cultural obstacles that hinder women political leaders to run their duty well like their male counterparts. Let us go through it intensely.

4.1.1. Political Barriers

4.1.1.1. Lack of Political Aspiration

Women lack aspirations to be involved deeply in politics. Respondents explained that Lack of desire in politics and political related movements lead them to hate their career in which they are responsible for. Since their office is politically organized they feel that it is not an office balancing their demand. To strengthen this argument, let us add the argument of interviewee 9:

> There is nothing I hate more than politics. Since my childhood I never be in conferences and meetings even. I don't feel good when I join conferences still today, but now I am a director of an office responsible for inspiring women to be members and actors in the political wing of Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM) in this town. Sometimes, I feel that I am doing what God creates for others, because the only thing that I am interested is all about my salary. I don't know when this feeling ended up and could become full hearted politician.

Women avoid seeking leadership positions through the electoral process because politics is regarded as a "dirty game" that they want to be too refined and principled to play. They have no ambition in inserting themselves to political activities. Some leaders explicitly said that the position that they hold is simply a means of gaining salary increment. From this we can understand that they are in political leadership positions not because they want to play the game of politics but as a means of personal and economic well-being.

4.1.1.2. Political Parties Marginalization against Women

This study also found that political parties were reluctant to put women candidates forward due to claims of incompetency made by male peers. As a result, women are continually forced to justify their inclusion in politics. This divides their focus and distracts them away from participating fully in national issues. Unfortunately, political parties do not work to build female candidates capacity through mentoring tools that could address these criticisms of incompetency. According to the data gained from respondents they have limited connection with opposition political parties. There is no freedom to be involved in their political endeavor. Interviewee 6 revealed that:

Women in leadership positions need further participation in all inclusive political parties. We have not an option to quit our political connection that we had with the ruling party, because we denied right to involve in all parties that we like most. We are not invited to know their political direction so as to be member of them. It resulted in being sticky with the ruling party only.

Political parties are male friendly either because of existing cronyism and patronage networks, or because their leaders believe men are more likely to capture the seat. From the above argument we can deduce that even though women need to participate in party politics, they are not invited by those parties.

4.1.1.3. Unclear Gender Responsive Body

Most of the powerful civil society organizations are male lead and gender insensitive. As a result, they do not show solidarity or give substantive support to women's issues. Instead they pay "lip service" to gain funding and other opportunities but are not actually in partnership with women's organizations or women's issues.

Sometimes we have no an idea on who is responsible to gender responsive issues. Somebody came and state that it is the one who has responsibility to do so, in other days others say that no one is mandated other than them responsible for gender related cases. So, who is mandated for this? We are confused to whom we should tell about the problems we are facing. We need clear and particular responsible body articulating our interests.

The above argument is quoted from interviewee 7.The ministries dealing with gender and women's issues have not developed a clear mandate and as a result politicians and civil society organizations end up competing for the same resources. This competition creates divisions and fragmentation in the overall movement towards gender equality. A clear plan needs to be drawn up indicating who will do what.

Interviewee 4 also adds the following:

> There is an office mandated for addressing the issues of women; that is women's affairs office. But it is regarded as the lazy dog that shouts after the hyena goes. It always came to us after things had happen, whether it is sexual harassment or any other problem. I have never seen the best action done by this office beyond its name.

Generally, the study found that women leaders have problem of clearly knowing the responsible body mandated to address women's needs and answering their questions. Everybody seems their partner, but it gives deaf ear when problems persist. They want to know who is on their side.

4.1.2. Psychological Barriers

4.1.2.1. Lack of Self Confidence

Many women don't have the self-confidence or ambition to pursue leadership positions. As one interviewee stated, there needs to be a willingness within one's self to be someone. A strong sense of self is required for success in all leadership positions, especially in the field of politics. Interviewee 2 illustrates the following:

> I feel I am weak in performance and this in turn leads me to lose my inner happiness. Whenever I feel I am under performance things become difficult to achieve. Success is the result of being confident and striving to achieve what you planned before. Whenever you under estimate your ability others would diminish your achievement, too. This eventually will leads to weak performance of the office that you lead.

Women lack greater recognition of their merit or significance. They noted that official appointments caught them by "surprise" because they were not expecting the promotions. This highlights the women's lack of leadership ambition and their attitude regarding their performance. In addition to these Interviewee 6 adds the following:

> I have never failed in my exams or the small tasks as I was growing up. So I said to myself, I will do anything to make sure I don't fail at this big job, although I don't know how to do it! I think I became too harsh with my staff

and they ended up really hating me. Now that I am retired, I feel like I failed although many people tell me I was the most effective.

Generally women believe they do not have the qualities or experience required for politics. Due to their low self confidence, they lack certainty on their performance as well as the decision that they made. They give higher value for their male counterparts by arguing that men know how to play politics better than women.

4.1.2.2. Lack of Emotional Support from the Family

Some women also lack emotional support from their family, especially their spouses who may not agree with their ambitions. Respondents said that they were abandoned by their husbands. They reported that they experienced domestic violence at the height of their careers. leadership is seen as a man's role and viewed as inconsistent with the values of a good woman. Spouses are generally unsupportive and may even impair their wife's leadership pursuits. There is an argument expressed by interviewee 8:

> Families especially peers want their time passed with their wives. So they don't want their wives to be politically active. It is difficult to find a husband who volunteers to make his wife a politician. So, a woman who is always nagging with her husband because of it will not be happy with her career. Finally, to save her family from isolation she will decide to exit from the political game.

Another informant interviewee 5 adds the following by supporting the argument of interviewee 8.

> My family always told me that my responsibility is nonsense. They cautioned me that one day I will be in a jail or somebody may kill me due to my career. They couldn't be satisfied once in my achievement at work; they always want me to drop and try to find another job. The influence and bad pressure of my family hinder me to go forward with my successes.

This highlights those women; especially those who are married and who have families are constrained by permanent pressure from the family. This in turn creates lack of interest and appetite to achieve the vision of the office they represent.

4.1.2.3. Improper Need of Promotion

Some women think they will get promoted just because they are women, not because they are competent or skilled. Interviewee 3 said this:

> They come to the office and big meetings in mini-skirts and bright lipstick and pop gum. They don't open their mouths except to smile suggestively. It annoys me. Women should be skilled first before they ask for affirmative action and such things which do not recognize merit. How can you expect to be respected if you don't respect yourself?

Additionally there is something expressed by interviewee 4 about the improper request for better chance and promotion of women. She said:

> Affirmative action made women so selfish. They started to think that everything best should poses to them because of their feminine nature. Every time they work they need promotion. It made them to do their obligation in search of recognition. They leave things when they missed it.

It is possible to conclude in this regard that women leaders want to obtain best things simply because they are women without special effort they made for the development and efficiency of their institution. So, it is clear that there are women who only care about their personal promotion. In this case there is a possibility to commit something against the principles of an office for the sake of recognition and promotion which hampers the normal functions of the office.

4.1.2.4. Fear of Isolation among Colleagues

The need to be liked and popular with junior staff rather than isolated as the "bitch boss" can hinder effectiveness: Interviewee 8 revealed the following;

> Sometimes I see my staff doing wrong things and I know I should put an immediate end to it, and firmly, but they will hate me and not talk to me. So I let it pass. Then I go to my office and feel like an idiot. I want to pass harsh punishments to those who commit mistakes, but I care not to be isolated.

Many women leaders feel as though they must choose between being liked and being effective. Some women cried openly saying that their staff hated them. The requirements of their job as well as their commitment to their own personal values demand that certain standards to be enforced. The upholding of these standards, however, often contradicts staff expectations of leniency and leeway. Loneliness, they said, can easily compromise a leader who does not want to be seen to be unnecessarily tough. At the same time, the leaders recognized that excusing mistakes makes weak and corrupt leader, and the staff realize you can be swayed. Next time when the leader refuses to excuse a mistake, colleagues may say that she favored a particular staff. This is an argument from interviewee 7:

> It is very hard to do what you know you should do, yet avoid the consequences of whatever action you take. Sometimes I make a decision then I come here to my office and cry. I don't know what to do, I wish somebody could advise me. My boss just says these things come with the job, but sometimes I want to be more understanding and kind.

The above arguments gave us a way to conclude that in fear of isolation and not to be hated, women political leaders would leave things carelessly. According to the experiences of respondents, they got into dilemmas every time to choose respecting the standards of the institution or pleasing their colleagues.

4.1.3. Challenges from the Working Environment

4.1.3.1. Lack of Role model and Peer Support

Limited genuine support from peers, members, or followers (lots of talk but little action) characterizes women's political involvement. Some women are pioneers in leadership in certain domains and therefore lack role models. They get along by trial and error.

According to the data gained from FGD participant 3,lack of support networks and mentorship, and the laxity of powerful women towards helping other women impede women from realizing their goals. She said:

> Women mentors feel such a high level of performance pressure that they tend to overwork themselves, take no time out for personal leisure, and in the long term become stressed and unhealthy. They exist but women do not

know how to access them. The perceived lack of support from fellow women discouraged more inexperienced women from seeking help due to the popular belief that women do not support one another in their professional endeavors.

The group also noted that leaders are not only those individuals currently in positions of power. In addition, participant 1 complained that women do not invest in themselves and instead often engage in energy-sapping complaining. The constant reminder that one is a woman is not productive and often hinders effectiveness in one's position. FGD participant 5 further argued that:

> Fellow women staffs, especially those at senior level, are not always as supportive as we would like them to be. They view each other as competitors and when one gets a more senior job, some become uncooperative, jealous and spread malicious rumors that can create stress in the workplace. Stress and lack of staff cooperation can hinder a leader's effectiveness.

In general, it is observed that there exist low networks among themselves to cooperate on issues which require their mutual support. If so, they do not exchange basic information and they would not share experiences. They would be unable to have best pictures and role models around them which had an impact on the future directions and political journeys.

4.1.3.2. Sexual Harassment and Abuse

Sexual harassment, exploitation and abuse are other challenges facing women leaders in the study area. Women are pressured to exchange sexual favors for nomination, promotion, renewal of contracts, etc. Interviewee 3 revealed the following:

> We are challenged by male colleagues especially men bosses rushed into fulfilling his sexual desire by intimidating women. Whenever they want to have sexual relationship with a woman they will change their behavior. A woman who refuses her boss's quest for sexual relationship will be punished at the smallest amount of mistake she may make. If the cases becomes

serious the punishment could resulted in loss of her job. Therefore, to await

herself in her career she will enter into unwanted sexual relationship.

In this regard women who dare step out of the traditional roles of mother and wife to be businesswomen, politicians, or to challenge the perceived authority reported experiencing violence on a daily basis. This violence is a major inhibitor to women who have ambitions to progress out of their current positions in the communities (Ogato 2013).

4.1.3.3. Unhealthy Competition and Jealousy

There exists challenge of women's organizations and government programs working in isolation from or in competition with each other. Energy is being lost as people working in similar areas compete for funding, recognition and power instead of pooling together their strengths to cooperatively create shared visions.

It is found that jealousy towards powerful women is widespread, as is manipulation by junior staff or male counterparts. Violence, competitive politics, sexual harassment and exploitation at work are also rampant. Some women in government see the women in civil society as competitors (for power, resources and recognition) and do not want to recognize their work and include them in programs that empower women. Interviewee 2confirmed the following:

> I think we (women) are jealous each other naturally. When a woman become at top of the best in achievement and have recognized, her close friend even become an enemy. This is bad habit that every woman should avoid. Women are hating each other in each aspect of contact that they have with colleagues. Amazingly, when one dressed well and being stylish others will neutralize her and will try to annoy her by starting to give wrong names.

We can understand from the above argument that the competition for funds and/or recognition inside these reduces the level of cooperation among important actors. Many tend to withhold information and exclude others from forums where important decisions are made. Lack of information reduces the chances of inclusion and limits the efficiency of an organization or office.

4.1.3.4. Low Respect from Male Colleagues

Male colleagues do not respect women leaders; they joke and refuse to take the order of their women bosses seriously. Some comment on a woman's sexiness and can support or sabotage her work purely based on her looks and their perceptions of her availability.

Women face great resistance and stigma from male colleagues who derail their bills or judge them too harshly. Oftentimes women are compelled to focus on securing their positions rather than focusing on issues. Interviewee 4 illustrates the following:

> Male peers try to challenge the woman leader as a means of proving her incompetence (they think that they are the only ones good enough for the job); Even if they knew that women have capacity to effectively lead the institution, they deliberately hide the fact. Men colleagues are not eager to recognize best merits of women, trying to make mad and feel as they are unable to do.

From this argument we can understand that male colleagues are not ready to be led by women. They are unwilling to accept orders from their woman boss, this in turn leads to abuse of responsibility that have a negative impact on the efficiency of the office they are working for.

4.1.4. Socio-Cultural Challenges

4.1.4.1. Patriarchal Thinking

Patriarchy in the workplace manifests itself through manipulation, exercise of power, undermining of power, double standards, sexual harassment and stereotyping. The FGD participant4also emphasized issues of accountability and abuse of trust. They accused their male colleagues of manipulating situations in order to make gains for themselves. Women leaders also noted they have to work extra hard to gain recognition and respect. They are often suspected to be acting on behalf of a man or with the backing of one.

Women become masculinized and acquiesce to the male style of politicking and leadership. They fail to take up their role as women leaders and succumb to pressure to give up feminine traits such as sensitivity which bring a human face to leadership. Interviewee 1 illustrates the following:

Our society is patriarchal putting men in front of all activities. Men are priests; men are heads of houses, members of committees in the work place and in the village, leaders of society, in general chairman of all things. Women are considered as simply an instrument created to make men's lives easy.

Women are regarded as the inferior of the species. Because of this women are denied access to both honored and utilitarian role open only to males. Male centered system has put male in effective and efficient management roles. Societies argue that women would not be successful in leadership because the position needs high energetic and high influencing power and women couldn't fit it. Interviewee 10 adds something to this by saying:

Even though there is a progress in peoples' attitude towards women, there are still some people who could not change their attitude still now. They think that women can't become in positions of leadership. It should be only for men; women are created for household activities. These hinder women to full heartedly exercise their responsibility.

Women political leaders are always in the negative spotlight of the male- dominated media. For example, if a man makes a mistake the media will not make much noise but if it is a woman the media will bring that woman to public ridicule. There is also a distinctly masculine model of leadership in which women have to work extra hard to gain respect or recognition given that feminine traits are associated with weakness.

4.1.4.2. Early Parenthood

Women often do not complete higher levels of education because they have children at a young age and need to earn an income to support their child (ren). Picking up studies at a later time is challenging as evening childcare options either do not exist or are prohibitively expensive. With child security being precarious in many neighborhoods, mothers require committed and trustworthy family members to provide childcare. Interviewee 9 described this:

Mostly in our locality girls are married early in their ages. This resulted in having child earlier. At that time it gets difficult to run responsibility at office because they would be busy in growing their children; have no

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enough time to compete for political mobility and better promotion. Eventually they will leave their career aside to give enough time for her family.

In addition to this interviewee 5 adds the following:

> I have four children. Two of them are enrolled in primary schools; the youngest one is one year old. My husband is not with us, he is a contractor so that he spent all time moving one to another. When i come to my office I started feeling stressed that my children are not okay. I couldn't even stay until lunch time. So I want to go home and visit them. It is so harsh which affects the performance of the office.

4.1.4.3. Complex Responsibilities

There are triple roles of women; productive, reproductive, and community roles. Women are "mothers of all" encircled by complex burdens; they have duties at home like bearing children, are actors of social networks, leaders of home; they would become tightened in these diverse obligations (Shimelis, 2015). So, due to work load institutional performance and personal growth would diminish through time. Women are expected, first and foremost, to be responsible for the family and managing the home. Similarly with the finding of Shimelis, women in the study area are challenged by the need to balance triple roles: home, community and work. Women are considered to be the "mother of all". This translates into being responsible not only for themselves, their family, and their extended family, but often also for neighbors and community members. Obligations to children and family roles hold sway thereby limiting opportunities for women. Interviewee 1 argued the following:

> We have diverse forms of burdens. Since we are members of the community we are living in, issues and problems of the community are on our shoulders. For example, I have to manage the family; caring children, preparing food, taking children to school in morning and collect them in afternoon, and so forth. After I have finished the home responsibilities, I will have another burden in social relations; meetings, being members of iddir, visiting one who is sick, going to the market to buy important raw

materials for the family and others. But when you see men they are free from these burdens. They only think about their duty at office.

Women are given too much responsibility which prevents them from honing their skills in a particular field. They are also then perceived to have failed if they do not fulfill all their roles. For example, instead of society dealing holistically with the problem of robbery accompanied by rape, it is perceived to be only a woman's problem. Many women respondents assured that they are constrained by family responsibilities and lack the time to indulge in politics. Women are family-focused and sometimes turn down jobs that will separate them from their families.

4.1.4.4. Discrimination and Negative Perceptions of the Society towards Women
The negative perception that society has regarding women politicians is another challenge facing women to deeply engage in politics. It is assumed that these women engaged in immoral behavior in order to achieve their successes. Conversely, young men entrepreneurs are admired and no one questions their achievements.

Women's leadership dreams have been interpreted as ambitious and ambition for a woman is perceived as wrong. It connotes a" non-feminine" trait and society disapproves of it. Discrimination through perceptions of incompetence hinders women to perform their duty full heartedly because it diminishes their self esteem. The challenge is to convince the people that one can be capable without necessarily having significant support. However, this is easy to say than to do that a lack of support hurts the delivery of this message and makes it a much harder sell.

A negative attitude towards women may come from both men and women. This has been illustrated by the trivialization of women's ideas, efforts, capabilities and activities in their communities. Interviewee 5 adds the following:

> Cultural and traditional stereotypes characterize women as child bearers and caregivers who are not supposed to hold decision-making positions in society. Women who step out of the traditional roles assigned to them are regarded as "unwomanly", wearing the shoes of men and not eligible for marriage.

Respondents pointed out that the majority of the women who are in key positions are either single or divorced. This pressure to fulfill cultural expectations was said to influence many women to turn down jobs that would separate them from their families.

4.2. Opportunities of Women in Political Leadership

The number of women in leadership positions has been on the rise. More and more women are better educated and qualify for senior positions that were previously dominated by men. In addition, many women who are seeking leadership positions earn their own money and possess property which has further reduced their dependence on men.

Progress has been made in the inclusion, advancement and continuation of women's participation in decision-making across all sectors. However, some analysts feel that women deserve more as they constitute more than half of Ethiopia's population and play important yet unrecognized roles in the private domain (Tesfaye, 2012).

Challenges present learning opportunities that strengthen women as professionals and enable them to evaluate their personal motives. These lessons have also taught women to seek spiritual anchoring that provides them with the resilience they need to persevere. The findings regarding best opportunities of women in political leadership in Gondar town have presented as follows:

4.2.1. Forums and Trainings

Women need to learn specific, high level skills such as organizational management, leadership fundamentals, skill transfer, and accountability. Leadership coaching on how to be an effective leader and how to market oneself for promotion is needed. Greater emphasis on self-improvement through access to educational opportunities such as e-learning and evening/weekend classes would encourage continued skills acquisition.

Training in lobbying and negotiation skills would empower women with the skills needed to rally support around an issue or manage conflicts. Lastly, educating women in time management, behavior, and presentation skills (i.e. how to dress, how to choose a language of communication) would also be a great asset to future women leaders. Regular facilitated gatherings offer opportunities for women to exchange experience and wisdom with other women in equivalent positions. Interviewee 11 illustrates the following:

Programs have been set up to enhance women's capacity through training. Women are not the only beneficiaries; it also helps others to get awareness about the need to aspire women political leaders for the overall development of the society. Trainings pave the way for access to information about leadership strategies, making contacts and how and where to get support.

In the study area forums have been held at different times for women in leadership positions prepared by both governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Among these there was training held on the agendas of equal rights of women in decision making facilitated by Gondar town women and children affairs office for those women civil servants in all sectors. The other one was workshop conducted by University of Gondar School of law entitled "Enhancing capacities of women to better representation". The workshop created an open discussion between invited women lecturers from the university and women in bureaucratic offices to exchange their life experience with each other.

Respondents also notify the preparation of a training entitled "Girls for Girls" aiming at initiating women to be mentors and role models for fellow girls in the town.

These all and other unmentioned trainings and forums focused their agenda on aspiring women's potential in developing their self-esteem, holding mentorship and to make them self confident in decision making.

4.2.2. Educational Access

Currently, the FDRE government strives to address education to all who are in an age of enrollment. So, women are beneficiaries from this policy; girls are enrolled in schools to attend their education. The government's policy towards education brings women to more competition with men so that they can get an understanding about their rights and duties (Gojjam &Manjit, 2015).

There is a strong desire to expand literacy programs into rural areas so that women can learn to write their names, speak for themselves, and gain confidence. Increased literacy levels and better access to well-paid jobs would also result in greater control of personal financial and material resources. Programs are in place to help illiterate women get their papers in order and

to teach them how to prepare to vote in elections. The policy of equal opportunity to education not only targeted on girls and women who are not in a career, but also increases the capacities of women in leadership positions.

In addition to this interviewee 7 says something:

> We are invited to attend further education through distance learning and extension programs in higher academic institutions by government sponsorship. This in turn helps us to develop our knowledge in diverse areas of leadership qualities, management skills, and on how to settle disputes in the working environment. An educated leader is a machine for the office in particular and for the country in general.

The above description told us that the project designed to enhance women's capacity including the access for education are helpful to their empowerment and increase their skill of leadership. Through education they can acquire the best qualities expected from a good leader.

4.2.3. Government's Commitment to Gender Equality

Ensuring gender equality is one of the government's millennium development goals. Although there is still gender partiality in some cases people are aware of gender equality and the rights of women. Government institutions as well as non- governmental organizations are committed to achieve the goal of bringing women in a world of equality.

Affirmative action as a policy directive has been legislated to bring more women in competition with men. To this end the FDRE government implemented a policy to increase number of women in political parties and government jobs. The current proposal recommends a 30% quota for women and there has been increased awareness of this provision (Meseret, 2010). To this end, FGD participant 1confirmed as:

> Regarding the best opportunities, I think the government holds the lion share. All best things in promoting women to hold political leadership positions are the long time effort of the government. It is always supportive, addressing the interests of those who need education, special measurement,

and other things. The government is the owner of all best happenings in women lives.

The data gained from respondents showed us that government's action and measurement to ensure women's equal participation with men helps them to use their maximum potential in competing with men in all aspects of their lives.

4.2.4. Invitation to Lead

The government has created the space for more women to move into leadership positions by advertising jobs that specifically encourage women to apply. This situation is creating a demand for more qualified women workers that in turn encourages women to continue their studies. political will has led to new laws being ratified to promote women's rights, promote equality and create equal opportunities, women-friendly quota systems and policies such as affirmative action and girl-child education would be beneficial to the country and demonstrate an increase in political will. Women need to be asked into leadership and generally won't step forward until invited. Fortunately, within the current political culture in Ethiopia, more women are being invited to lead, training programs for aspiring leaders are needed especially those targeting women and youth.

The case in Gondar town regarding the efforts to bring more women into leadership positions is also encouraging. According to the data gained from the annual report of WCAO of the town the number of women who join into political offices is increasing time to time and this shows the improvement of government efforts to invite women equally with men counterparts (report, 2008, WCAO, Gondar).

4.3. Chapter Summary

All in all, this chapter focused of discussion of results from the participants' response and the findings are summarized in to two broad themes, namely, challenges and opportunities, below in the figure.

Marginalization by Political Parties

Lack of Political Aspiration

Forums and Trainings

Unclear Gender Responsive Body

Access to Education

Lack of Self Confidence

Challenges

Women in Political Leadership

Opportunities

National Commitment to Gender Equality

Low Emotional Support

Invitations to Lead

Fear of Isolation by Colleagues

Sexual Harassment

Improper Need of Promotion

Lack of Role model and Support

Unhealthy Competition & Jealousy

Patriarchal Thinking, Young Parenthood, Complex burden, Societal Discrimination
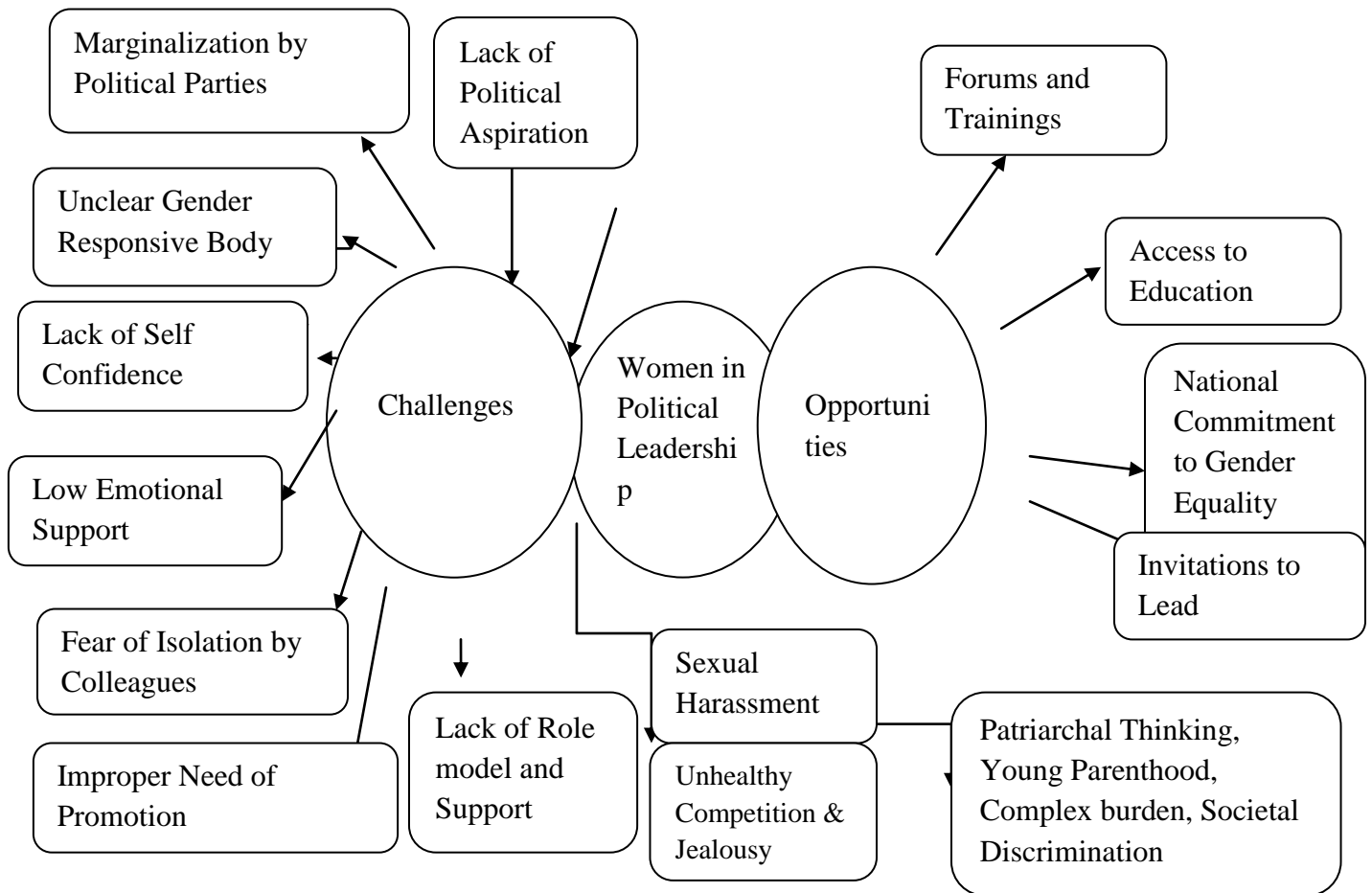
Figure1: The thematic map of findings of the study (both challenges and opportunities)

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusions

This study based on interviews and focus group discussions has found that women are in a progress to come into political leadership positions. In contrast to the past decades women are competing to hold positions of power today, but problems are there still after they came into these political positions.

Regarding the challenges it has been found that diverse problems can take as factors hindering women to fully exercise their leadership roles. These challenges are grouped as political, psychological, barriers from the working environment, and socio-cultural barriers.

Political barriers are those via women's lack of motive and aspiration towards politics and political related activities. According to the response of interviewees it has been observed that women are in a political position for the sake of salary and personal growth by being a leader, leaving the interest they have for the political arena. This resulted in inefficiency to bring institutional success.

They are also challenged by deliberate avoidance of political parties to invite women to their political agenda. Political parties lack commitment to give attention needed for women. So, they are far behind new developments around party politics. Another challenge according to the data is that there is no particular body responsible to address women's interest; they are confused on who is mandated for gender related issues and answering women's question.

Women lack self confidence in their abilities. They hesitate to be sure about their capacity to lead. They considered themselves as unable to be best that matches the position. They are also challenged by absence of emotional support from their family, especially their spouses. Absence of willing husband to permit his wife to engage in political leadership roles hinders them to run their activity confidently. Women leaders also fear unpopularity among their colleagues. To remain popular sometimes they would act to please their staff.For instance, they would ignore mistakes aside done by their colleagues so not to be hated. Another one is women has a problem

of improper need to promote themselves. Because of it they want their duty to become their means of personal growth simply by being a woman.

The study also found that there are challenges from within the working environment. Among them the first one is absence of role model and support. Women lack strong networks that link one another. They are not connected with each other that is why they couldn't share feeling, experience and are not eager to support each other. Sexual harassment is another problem from the working environment. Women political leaders are suffering a lot from sexual exploitation by their colleagues. There exists institutional abuse for sexual favor; women are entered into unwanted sexual relationships with bosses and colleagues for surviving themselves in the institution. The third is that fellow women colleagues have been jealousy towards women in leadership positions. They don't want to cooperate for their common problem; they feel as they are enemies to one another. The feeling of jealousy hampers for their performance at work. Other challenges are from those male colleagues because they mistreat women as they are nothing; they are not willing to accept women as their boss or normal colleague. The negative attitude and ill treatment of male colleagues hinder women to be satisfied in their career.

The fourth category regarding the challenges is socio-cultural barrier. Under this category it is found that the patriarchal thinking of the society still prevails. There is misconception between being a woman and be a strong one. Society couldn't accept women as one who can do independently whatever men do. So, they persuade themselves as leadership and political mobilization as men's role. Young parenthood also hinders women to fully engage in political leadership activities. When they give birth early their attention would be diverted to their child (ren). Since there is patriarchal thinking in the minds of the society, discrimination and negative outlook towards women is prevalent. Complex responsibility that women had is also a barrier for advancement of women politicians. Women are tightened in several burdens out of their regular job. They have big responsibility at home; they are social actors; and also they are responsible or the wellbeing of the country in general. These all make them very tightened in every time they had.

Regarding the opportunities that women political leaders have, the study found that even though problems persist there are many positive best things encouraging women to do well in their political career.

The prevalence of consistent and adorable trainings and forums enable them to get awareness on the multi-faceted areas of concern. These trainings handled by different actors at different times help them to develop their capacity and skill. The other is the growing movement towards education bring women to expand their area of knowledge through distance learning by being sponsor for women at a career. The third one is government's eagerness to bring women intop leadership positions through the policy of affirmative measurement; and the commitment that government has to address gender equality so that they are invited to lead.

5.2. Recommendations

In line with the findings of this study the researcher recommends the following.

- ✓ The government should apply gender responsive proclamations into practice beyond their paper value. Because first and foremost it needs women active involvement for the betterment of the political system.
- ✓ It is important for women to support each other, especially considering the similar challenges they face as mothers, wives, caregivers, and community members. In coming together, women leaders should endeavor to promote policies and international norms within their organizations that do not discriminate against women and children.
- ✓ Conducive working environment is also needed for better encouraging women political leaders in their future endeavors as well as for the effectiveness and efficiency of the office that they lead.
- ✓ Creating an understanding about equality and women's significance for the political development is also mandatory. This will bring attitudinal change for the society regarding women.
- ✓ Women political leaders should have inner confidence in their career leaving other barriers limiting them from what they want to achieve. Nothing and no one should bring impact on their political journeys.
- ✓ Political parties need to be supportive and they should inculcate women in their policy directions.

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APPENDICES

BAHIR DAR UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL SCIENCE FACULTY

Program: MA in Political Science

By: Tamralech Debalkie

Research Topic: Challenges and Opportunities of Women in Political Leadership in Gondar town, ANRS.

Research Objective: Assessing the challenges and opportunities of women political leaders in Gondar town administration and suggesting possible mechanisms to ensure the consistency of the existed opportunities.

Appendix 1A: Interview Questions

1. How can you express your attitude towards political leadership?
2. What do you think the best qualities of a good leader?
3. How effective is the office you lead?
4. How could you explain the effectiveness of your leadership compared to the men?
5. Do you think that you are successful in your political leadership role?
6. If not, what factors can be responsible for your inability to achieve your success in political leadership role?
7. What negative influence that those challenges can create in your organization's effectiveness?
8. What are enabling conditions that help you to do the best you can be?
9. What things have taken by the government to reduce the challenges and foster your involvement in the political realm?
10. What efforts have been made by the town administration to solve local problems?
11. What do you think about the next steps that should follow concerning women and their political leadership desires?

Appendix 1B: Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussion

Date of the FGD---13/03/2009

Place of the FGD---Town Women affairs Office

Time of the FGD---6:30-8:00

1. Could you share me a little bit of your experience about political leadership? What makes a good political leader?
2. Do you think that political leadership has its own qualities? If so, what are these qualities expected from a political leader?
3. Do you think that your leadership position is negatively affected? If yes, what are these factors affecting your effectiveness at work? Let us discuss on them.
4. How these challenges had influence on the success of yourself as a leader and the efficiency of your office?
5. What are best things encouraging you in your career? How they encourage you?

APPENDICE 2

Profile of the Interviewees

Interviewee 1……………..North Gondar Zone Administration Office Director

Interviewee 2 ……………Gondar Town Implementation Follow Up and

                Supervision Main   Office Economic Affairs Officer

Interviewee 3 ……………Town Women and Youth Affairs Office Director

Interviewee 4 ……………..Zone Youth and Sport Office Director

Interviewee 5 ………….. Town Security Affairs Officer

Interviewee 6 ………….. Zone Justice Bureau Director

Interviewee 7 ………………Town Plan Follow Up and Supervision Case Worker

Interviewee 8 ……………… Town Mayor Office Administration Officer

Interviewee 9 ……………..ANDM Bureau Women's Wing Coordinator

Interviewee 10 ………………Town ANDM Office Management and

                Administration Officer

Declaration

The undersigned Tamralech Debalkie, hereby confirm that this study in the title **Challenges and Opportunities of Women in Political Leadership in Gondar town, Amhara National Regional State** is carried out by me, and any material used in this study is properly acknowledged.

Name: Tamralech Debalkie

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Bahir Dar University

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as an advisor for the candidate.

Name: Dr. Mosaib Ahmad

Signature: _____

Date:_____