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Full Length Research

HOMONORMATIVITY & THE NATIONAL FRAY

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In the early stages of nation building the US identified itself through patriarchal ideologies of masculinist “strength,” racial purity, and a heteronormative gender order solidified through monogamous marriage. It was these core values that not only differentiated the US from other countries, but defined it as superior. Hence, the national security imaginary naturalizes heterosexuality as the only normal mode of sexual identity, sexual practice, and social relation. Therefore, this article suggests that marriage functions as a normalizing mechanism of the nation to police the gendered, racial, and sexual configurations of its citizenry which constructs not only homosexuality, but any non-traditional family or relationship as deviant.

Key Words: security, nation, Gay-Marriage, heteropatriarchy, homonormativity, sex, gender, feminist, queer, IR

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INTRODUCTION

In 2012 there were seven states that had legalized same-sex marriage. By 2014 there were seventeen states in the US, as well as DC, which have legalized same-sex marriage along with tribal nations including the Coquille, and the Suquamish. In addition, there are now over ten countries that have also legalized gay marriage and well over twenty others that have adopted same-sex civil unions and registered partnerships. In December of 2013, New Mexico became the 17th state to allow gay marriage (The New York Times, Dec. 19, 2013). On February 14, 2014 a “Federal Judge Overturns Virginia’s Same-Sex Marriage Ban,” possibly making it the 18th state, or it could be Utah where marriage also became legal December, 2013. However, the US Supreme Court

has put a stay on both pending the state’s appeals. In Kentucky and Oklahoma a federal judge ruled in 2013 that their ban was unconstitutional and that Kentucky must recognize gay marriage legally performed in other states – however, it is still illegal in both states pending appeal (New York Times, 2014; CNN, 2014; ProCon.org, 2014). Even though there are still 33 states that have bans on same-sex marriage, the overall *feeling* or assumption in the national consciousness is that homosexuality is becoming more and more the norm, part of the “national family,” not only in the US but in many countries around the world.

The struggle to push against same-sex marriage in the majority of states and nations has demonstrated the

intensity of the threat it posed to the ideological security of the state. However, now in the current political climate, could the legalizing of gay marriage across the United States and other countries be functioning as a normalizing mechanism of the nation-state to assimilate only *certain* gays into the national fray? Or, will the changes that the married LGBT community bring to society such as in the legal system, health care, and education for example, be powerful enough to outweigh the normalizing function of the state marriage? In addition, is this emerging homonormativity- often normalized through American pop culture (Walters, 2001) and what Jasbir Puar refers to as a "homonationalism" (2007), be further evidence of the ways in which the institution of marriage functions as a normalizing mechanism of the state to police, maintain and reproduce the gendered, sexual, and racial configurations of the citizenry?

Theoretical Framework, Literature and Methodology

The theoretical framework for this project is grounded feminist (political and IR) critical theory, as it challenges the tenets and assumptions of positivist scientific methods and invites observers to reflect upon the social construction and effects of knowledge. The scholarship on the intersecting literatures of international relations and its conceptualization of the security imaginary, feminist and queer political theory on same-sex marriage and citizenship, as well as feminist literature on the institution of marriage homonationalism, and heteropatriarchy, provide the foundation of what I draw upon to frame this research. According to the relevant literature, the nation's demarcation of good citizen bodies (married, heterosexual, reproductive, and white) is drawn in direct opposition to noncitizen bodies (homosexual, non-reproductive, engaging in sex for pleasure, and nonwhite). However, with the growing acceptance of gay marriage and of *certain* gays, there is an emerging homonormativity within the US and Western/European cultures in particular. This project explores if these implied and actual changes to the ideological security of nations could actually transform the heteropatriarchal foundations of society or will the power of marriage as an institution continue to function as normalizing mechanism of the state?

The methodology utilized in this project relies heavily on interpretive/discourse analysis. IR theory/discourse narrates a particular view of the world from the perspective of various IR traditions and an IR myth is what helps make a particular view of the world appear to be true. For example, creation myths of IR, on which realist assumptions about states' behavior are built reveals stories constructed upon representations of how individuals function in society. For example, the parable

of man's amoral, self-interested behavior in the state of nature is also taken by realists to be a universal model for explaining states' behavior in an international anarchical system (Tickner, 2001, p. 51). Assumptions/myths/stories such as these play a central role in creating an IR's "imaginary." The function that these myths perform in constructing the IR imaginary is, "the transformation of what is particular, cultural, and ideological (like a story told by IR tradition) into what *appears* to be universal, natural, and purely empirical" (C. Weber, 2001, p. 6). It naturalizes meanings – making them into common sense and into the products of cultural practices (C. Weber, 2001). Put another way, the myth function in the IR imaginary is making a 'fact' out of an interpretation. This process of making what is cultural and disputed into what is natural and therefore goes without saying (fact), is the work or function IR assumptions perform in IR theory and thus the ways security imagined – both materially and ideologically.

Relevant scholarship suggests that within global definitions of a nation's security imaginary, homosexuality has been interpreted as a "danger" or threat to the ways in which we imagine security. The construction of nation and national identity with its exclusions and inclusions determines the ways in which threats to the nation-state are constructed. Therefore, danger is not an objective condition, it is an effect of interpretation (Campbell, 1998). This understanding of the necessarily interpretive basis of danger has important implications when analyzing the impact of legalizing same-sex marriage on security, ideological notions in particular. According to the relevant literature, nationalism assigns everyone a place, and a whether there is a real or perceived confusion between categories of man and woman, this confusion threatens the order and indicates a loss of control/security. Therefore, the aspiration to rethink security, such as the current discussions of human security, is a desire most often expressed in terms of how to expand the "old register of hazards" to incorporate what are perceived as the *newly emergent dangers* that threaten traditional modes of life (Campbell, 1998, p. IX), suggesting that a discursive analysis is crucial for interpreting newly emergent dangers, such as same-sex marriage, to the nation and its security or legalizing gay marriage as an crucial aspect of a movement toward assimilation and a form of homonationalism.

Will the new data demonstrate that gay marriage continues to threaten the nation or will the research on the impact of legalizing gay marriage suggest that a shift is taking place in our national identity to a less gendered and hence less hierarchized state? And, as national ideologies and practices shift, is legalizing same-sex marriage allowing certain members of the LGBTQ community to be interpreted as less "dangerous" to the security of the nation, while "others" who do not fit in, continue to not be allowed entrance into full citizenship?

With the recent discussions concerning international relations and changes to the international system being compelled through the process of globalization, it is more crucial than ever to examine the ways in which nations and national identity have been constructed, how they have been reproduced, and what naturalized ideologies continue to be perpetuated through the process of globalization.

Overview

To be able to more clearly understand how gender and racial hierarchies are an intrinsic aspect of American society it is crucial to first highlight some of the ways that historically the institution of marriage has functioned to create sexist and racially discriminatory national ideologies and practices. An historical examination provides the evidentiary foundations for the claim that the LGBT community and specifically the legalizing of same-sex marriage, threatens the ideological security imaginary. Second, despite the ideological threats to security, gay marriage and the LGBT community in general are becoming more accepted as time passes. Therefore, exploring the current data from the impact of legalizing gay marriage will be examined. Massachusetts, being the state in the US with the longest history and hence the most data on the impact of legalizing same-sex marriage, is the focus and highlights some of the improvements in the lives of some LGBT individuals and families, while at the same time threatening the security of others. The final portion of the essay is devoted to exploring the question of whether the new data still suggests that same-sex marriage continues to be perceived as a threat or if a homonormativity is being created within the national family and what effects and affects it has on the ways security is imagined and imagined for whom.

US History and the Emerging National Security Imaginary

Securing the homeland means to protect the nation as an “imagined community” from any threats to its identity (Anderson, 1991). Consequently, the national security imaginary suggests that the challenges to heterosexual marriage have been interpreted as dangers which threaten the security of an internal and domestic society (Campbell, 1998). Much of the IR feminist literature on nation and security suggests that the US has been imagined as a white heteronormative nation. Marriage and the ‘legitimate family’s’ central function then, is to reproduce heteronormative patriarchal relations; and is also intended to work as a normalizing mechanism to ‘reflect the identity of the nation’ (Foucault 1978; Mosse,

1980; Pinion, 2010). Therefore, exploring the history of the mutual construction of marriage and the newly developing nation of the US can illuminate many of the ways challenges to the heterosexual imperative of marriage constitute a danger to the national security imaginary.

As part of the shift from kinship systems to the heteronormative nuclear family, all colonies in the early U.S. placed in their statutes laws regulating marriage. This reflected a concern that marriage be celebrated publicly in order to guard against bigamy, polygamy, etc., and to publicly identify legitimate/acceptable forms of marriage and family and one’s that properly reflected the patriarchal structure and ideologies of the emerging nation (Cott, 2000). Just as important as constructing these marriage and family ideals, was the resulting construction of the deviant and unacceptable relationships. For example, from the perspective of the American public, stark contrasts between monogamy and polygamy not only illustrated the superiority of Christian morality over the “heathen” Orient or *Eastern* ways, it reassured Christian monogamists in their minority position (when compared to non-western cultures). In addition, it staked a political and ideological claim for the newly developing nation. In stark contrast to the developing US security imaginary, the harem stood for tyrannical rule, political corruption, coercion, elevation of the passions over reason, selfishness, and hypocrisy – all the evils that the newly emerging nation wanted to avoid and be protected from imaginary – while monogamy, in contrast, stood for a government based on consent, moderation, and political liberty (Cott, 2000, p. 22); practices which connect traditional marriage and the nation to their common origins and purpose.

As a result, the publication of ‘intent to marry’ is one of the earliest passed in the colonies – 1640 in Connecticut (Hartford, 1808, p. 525), and most colonies followed the British practice of treating marriage as a moral obligation for life. Colonial Connecticut was unusual in treating marriage as a civil contract, which might be broken if its terms were not carried out. For example, Connecticut enacted the earliest divorce law in the colonies. It made divorce available after a simple petition to the superior court under certain circumstances (Hartford, 1808).

If any man shall hereafter marry or have carnal copulation with any woman – every such marriage will be null and void; and all children that shall hereafter be born of such incestuous marriage or copulation, shall be forever disabled to inherit by descent. (An Act for Regulating and Orderly Celebrating of Marriages, 1640, Cott, 2000)

Inheritance by descent reflects another important aspect of the emerging security imaginary and the

nation's dependence on paternal hierarchies and patriarchal structure.

It was not until the nineteenth century that new divorce laws reflected the character of marriage as a unique *contract* in which husband and wife consented to terms set by a third party, the state.

The two histories of nationalism and marriage intersect, merge, and become enmeshed through the doctrine of Victorian morality and "respectability." At this time for the developing nation, respectability referred not simple to deportment, but to moral, values, and attitudes toward the body and sexuality. "Nationalism employed marriage as a tool to control new and emerging ideas of modern sexuality, where changing sexual attitudes were absorbed and tamed into respectability" (Mosse, 1985, p. 10). The distinction between normal and abnormal was basic to modern ideas and practices of respectability, and provided the "mechanism" that enforced control and ensured security and was inextricably tied to marriage. If one couldn't control/master their sexual urges they were in conflict with the demands of the nation and society, and the consequence was that the very foundations of the moral and legal order of the nation would cease to exist (Mosse, 1985, p. 11). The triumph of the heteronormative nuclear family went along with nationalism and respectability – superseding older ideas of kinship and defining it as antithetical to the newly developing nation. The family functioned as one of society's policeman of sexuality – geared to teaching virtue and avoidance of vice. This type of character building was considered at the time, more important than school. Any threat to the family endangered the nation's survival as the nation imposes from above that which the family supports from below (Mosse 1985, Foucault 1978).

The nation was not only constructed as manly, virile, violent, dominant, and tough, it was also racially bound. The separate states have the power to regulate marital institutions as part of the authority over the local health, safety, and welfare, and as such, determine who gains admittance and who does not. Consequently, marriage has also been instrumental in articulating and structuring racial hierarchy and discrimination (Olson, 2005). In slaveholding states before the Civil War, slaves had no access to legal marriage, just as they had no other civil rights; this deprivation was one the things that made them "racially" different. Hence, marriage law constructed racial difference and punished (or in some cases simply refused to legitimize) "race mixture" (Cott 2000). Prohibiting divergent marriages has been as important in public policy as sustaining the chosen model. Research strongly suggests that marital regulations have drawn lines among the citizenry and defined what kinds of sexual relations, and which kinds of families, will be legitimate. Excluded or policed groups such as same-sex couples have always understood that historically, as minorities, they have to struggle for equal status when it

comes to the terrain of marital regulation (Pinion, 2010).

One theme that has been pervasive in U.S. history and literature and that has been accompanied by a 300-year-long tradition of legislation, jurisdiction, protest, and defiance is the deep concern about, and the attempt to prohibit, contain, or deny, the presence of black-white interracial sexual relations, interracial marriage and interracial descent, and other family relations across the powerful back-white divide. While many countries have practiced brutal forms of ethnic discrimination, accompanied by hate literature and inhumane laws (including marriage prohibitions), few people around the world have shared the peculiar ways in which *black-white marital* relations were prohibited since the beginning of the seventeenth century in America. Many experts and historians consider the fear of miscegenation the strongest reason for the desire of whites to keep the negro permanently segregated (Sollors, 2000, p. 4). For example, this Maryland statute of 1661 is generally considered the first miscegenation law in America,

And forasmuch as freeborn English women do intermarry with negro slaves by which a great damage doth befall the master of such negroes, the Maryland statute was passed to stop such marriages by making the female 'miscegenator' a slave for the lifetime of her husband and all children of such marriages "slaves as their fathers were." (Zabel, 1965, p. 76)

Children of interracial couples were consequently, also deemed illegitimate. This focus on marriage, children, legitimacy, property, and family created a paradox in the American society, idealizing one concept of family while destroying others. Imagining the nation as white and heterosexual created certain marriages as legitimate and "others" as not. Anti-miscegenation laws came to include, in various states, American Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other groups – but all such laws restricted marriage choices of blacks and whites, making the black-white divide the deepest and historically most pervasive of all American color lines (Sollors, 2000; Olson, 2005).

Although states were more in the position of exerting power over such vast spaces, the federal government could exert an impact on marriage through some policy pronouncements. American Indian policy was one. Groups practicing other marital systems on American soil might threaten the polity's soundness (Cott, 2000, p. 25). However, the Iroquois and other American Indian tribes such as the Hopi, Havasupai, and Dene (Navaho) tribes did not see the nuclear family as fundamental – heterosexual couples were important, but they married within complex kinship systems that accepted Premarital sex, expected wives to be economic actors, often embraced matrilineal residence and matrilineal

descent, and easily allowed both polygamy and divorce with remarriage – and most dramatically, their sexual division of labor greatly differed from what white heteronormative Americans expected and were accustomed to. Consequently, these differences were interpreted as a threat to the security of the developing nation, and indigenous kinship structures, etc., were drawn in direct opposition to the nation – antithetical to the newly emerging empire.

To Christian settlers, missionaries, puritans, and government officials, Indian practices amounted to promiscuity and were in direct conflict with civilized marriage practices. If natives were to be regarded as trustworthy in negotiation over lands and trade, then their behaviors could not be in direct contradiction to American morality. Prohibiting polygamy, valuing premarital chastity, reorienting the sexual division of labor and property-ownership and consequent inheritance patterns – all these behaviors, and their reproduction, depended on the institution of marriage and forced the indigenous peoples to adopt Christian models of gender and monogamy (Cott 2000). The institution of marriage, in its “purity,” would serve as a vehicle of civilization and would function to create the national imaginary as manly, heteronormative and white.

As immigration swelled in the U.S. between 1890 and 1920, it put new pressures on the relation between marriage and the polity and it caused the nation to develop changes in its immigration policy dramatically. The earliest legislation directly linking the citizenship of immigrants to marriage was an act of congress in 1855. Hence, it was immigrants’ achievements in marriage and domesticity that were taken to measure their ability to adapt to Western ideals and practices. However, those who were unfree, or who did not understand the value of the marriage contract, did not fully belong – were not considered full citizens. After all, imperialist glory required warlike, aggressive and violent manliness, and civilized advancement implied the creation of a white heteronormative citizenry. An effeminate race was considered soft, antithetical to nation building and too weak to advance civilization (Bederman, 1995). In general, it was feared that the choice and consent embodied in marital union, as well as its legality and monogamous morality – all of these could be corrupted, which would compromise civic participation and governance. If marriages produce the polity, then it was considered that wrongfully joined marriages could be fatal to the nation.

Conquering of the American West was a crucial component to the early development and construction of the US and the ways it was imagined. According to Theodore Roosevelt, whose actions and the actions of those he influenced, helped produce modern ideologies of powerful American manhood, imperialism, and nation – claimed that the establishment of a new empire was an

extended act of racial conquest (Bederman, 1995, p. 215). According to Roosevelt, this was an act of “manly” conquest which established the American race as apart from the rest of the world because it occurred during the act of winning a new and virgin continent. Consequently, imperialism was construed as a manly duty for both man and race. “In its imperial glory, the virile American race would embody a warlike manliness. If any Americans were scared by this, they would show themselves, as Roosevelt put it, to be weaklings” (Bederman, 1995, p. 188). Racial health and civilized advancement implied both manhood and imperialism. An effeminate race was a decadent race; and a decadent race was too weak to advance civilization. Imperialism was considered a question of both racial and individual manhood through discourses of civilization (Bederman, 1995, p. 214).

Therefore, through an historical examination of the mutual construction of marriage and the nation, it is revealed how both are constructed on notions of “manly” virtues, and that virile masculinity under-girds the very foundations of not only the nation and heteronormative marriage, but also of the ways security is imagined. What is illuminated through an historical feminist analysis is how not only gay marriage, but homosexuality in general – is considered a weakness, and hence as a danger to the security and strength of the nation. This fear is also expressed through the historical discrimination against gays in the military – later known as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” and recently rescinded by President Obama. Consequently, challenges to heteronormativity and traditional marriage, such as same-sex marriage, threaten the nation as it strikes at the very heart of American manliness – and hence the strength of the nation.

In IR, the state is taken as a given rather than understood as a product of historical changes, and its security imaginary represents boundaries and borders designed to keep certain individuals and families in and others out. Consequently, prohibiting divergent marriages has been as important in public policy as sustaining the chosen model. Thus historically, marital regulations have drawn lines among the citizenry and defined what kinds of sexual relations and which kinds of families well be considered deviant or abnormal, and which ones will be accepted into the national fray. Legalizing same-sex marriage greatly contributes to the acceptance of the LGBT community by mainstream society. Therefore, this next section explores some of the central impacts of legal marriage for gays and lesbians.

Impacts of Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage

While most are aware that in general the arguments against same-sex marriage are based on procreation and

the one man and one woman argument; where on the other hand, the argument for gay marriage is grounded in a civil rights argument that marriage is a constitutional right of citizenship. Yet, according to a March 2013 Survey, One-in-Seven have changed their minds in support of gay marriage. Of those in favor 14% of 49% have become supporters and 2% of 44% of those opposed also say their views on same-sex marriage have changed (Pew Research Center March 13-17, 2013. Q62-63). At this point however, in the US it is possible to now to observe the impact of legalizing gay marriage rather than just speculating on people's hopes and fears. The newly emerging data suggests that there are four central areas of analysis that are pertinent for studying the impact of legalizing same-sex marriage: education; religious liberty; health; and economics. It appears that the central concerns that continue to threaten certain people's security are centered around parental rights and education as well as religious liberties. However, the evidence of the impact on married gay couples and their families, economics and health are reported as having a positive impact, increasing their security in certain areas. For example, the subject of how the legalization of same-sex marriage affects public education is a main source of controversy. An argument often used by supporters is that including homosexuals and same-sex marriage/families in the curriculum in public schools will help children to be more open minded by exposing them to different types of families. Yet, there is concern from opponents that it will undermine parental rights over their children's education.

Education

In Massachusetts, opponents of same-sex marriage argue that it's become a hammer to force the acceptance and normalization of homosexuality on everyone (Cemenker, 2008, p. 1). According to MassResistance.org "the homosexual marriage onslaught in public schools across the state started soon after the November 2003 court decision when the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that it was unconstitutional not to allow same-sex "marriage." The data shows that shortly after the decision there were schools that had assemblies to celebrate gay marriage and by September of 2004 literature was being disseminated on same-sex marriage as a normal part of society, first to high schools and then middle school students. By 2005 it was part of the curriculum in elementary schools where "kindergartners were given picture books telling them that same-sex couples are just another kind of family, like their own parents" (Camenker, 2008, p. 1). In 2006 the Parkers and Wirthlins filed a federal Civil Rights lawsuit to force the schools to notify parents and allow them to opt-out their children when

homosexual subjects were taught. However, federal judges dismissed the case and ruled that because same-sex marriage is legal in Massachusetts, the school actually had a duty to normalize homosexual relationships to children, and that schools are under no obligation to notify parents (massresistance.org, 2008; National Organization for Marriage, 2011). For opponents, the acceptance of homosexuality as a matter of good citizenship in Massachusetts is interpreted as a negative consequence, a threat to the ways they have imagined their security. For others, the acceptance of gay marriage in school curriculum is a means of feeling more secure.

Religious Liberty

Tied to these arguments concerning the negative impacts of gay marriage in education and parental rights in Massachusetts are issues of religious liberty. For example, the "truth is at stake" argument poses that: the "essential nature and truth of marriage is between male and female, the biological truth of which leads to procreation, and the truth that children require and need both mothers and fathers to grow into responsible adults" (chooselife.org/same-sex marriage/consequences-for-our-future, 2011). In a statement published by *Focus on the Family* in 2011, religious liberties and parental rights are threatened by public schools. Parents heed to be made aware the schools could be the first place you experience some of the effects of the legalization of same-sex marriage, and as such could impact your religious liberties and parental rights. Redefining marriage, it is explained, will interfere with parents' rights to teach their children that women and men are different, and that both are necessary for marriage and for children. Based on recent events, state law and public school education will undermine these ideas and spin them as old-fashioned and narrow-minded. In addition, redefining marriage in law means that religious freedoms are threatened because the state must promote and uphold the new definition of marriage (Focus on the Family Issue Analysts, December 3, 2011). The "Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life" states that 56% of Americans believe that allowing gay and lesbian couples to legally marry would undermine the traditional American family, and 62% say that gay marriage would go against their religious beliefs (<http://pewforum.org/PublicationPage.aspx?id=64735>). However, only a minority classify gay parents as unfit. Although the impact of legal same-sex marriage on families is a concern, overall, an analysis of

the beliefs, perceptions and values that shape support and opposition to gay marriage finds that while religion is very important, other views

about diversity, parenting, and the nature of homosexuality itself have a strong impact on opinions about gay marriage as well. This balance is also reflected in the fact that 45% of those opposed to gay marriage mentioned religious reasons while about the same number gave other justifications. (<http://pewforum.org/PublicationPage.aspx?id=64735>)

Health

In regards to health, findings suggest that marriage equality may produce broad public health benefits by reducing the occurrence of stress-related health condition in gay and bisexual men. According to USA TODAY, evidence on the impact of legalizing gay marriage in Massachusetts shows that during the 12 months after the 2003 legalization of same-sex marriage in Massachusetts, there was a significant decrease in medical care visits, mental health visits and mental health care costs among gay and bisexual men, compared to the 12 months before the law changed. This led to a 13% reduction in health-care visits and a 14% reduction in health-care costs. The health benefits were similar for single gay men and those with partners (USA Today December 7, 2011). To support this data on improvements in gay men's health, a study links gay marriage bans to a rise in the rate of HIV infection. In the first study of the impact of social tolerance levels toward gays in the US on the HIV transmission rate, the researchers estimated that a constitutional ban on gay marriage raises the rate by our cases per 1,000 people (Emory University, www.emory.edu/esciencecommons). In addition, lesbian, gay and bisexual individuals are at an increased risk of psychiatric disorders stemming from discriminatory policies. The study refers to the specifically to the impact of institutional discrimination – characterized by “societal-level conditions that limit the opportunities and access to resources by socially-disadvantaged groups – including the institution of marriage” (Haskin, <http://www.mailman.columbia.edu>). The study highlights the importance of abolishing institutional forms of discrimination, including those leading to disparities in the mental health and well-being of LGB individuals. The study found that psychiatric disorders, defined by the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV, increased significantly among LGB respondents living in states that banned gay marriage for the following outcomes: increased mood disorders, generalized anxiety, alcohol use disorder, and psychiatric comorbidity. In other words, the studies suggest that institutional discrimination contributed to more than a doubling in anxiety disorders among LGB people in states that passed anti-gay marriage laws.

Economics

Economic impacts on Massachusetts since passing gay-marriage laws, in general, have been favorable as was expected. For example, according to the Congressional Budget Office, the potential effects on the federal budget of recognizing same-sex marriages are numerous (<http://www.cbo.gov/doc.cfm?index=5559&type=0>). Marriage can affect a person's eligibility for federal benefits such as Social Security. Married couples may incur higher or lower federal tax liabilities than they would as single individuals. In all, the General Accounting Office has counted 1,138 statutory provisions – ranging from the obvious cases just mentioned to the obscure – in which marital status is a factor in determining or receiving benefits, rights, and privileges. In some cases, recognizing same-sex marriages would increase outlays and revenues; in other cases, it would have the opposite effect. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates that on net, those impacts would improve the budget's bottom line to a small extent: by less than \$1 billion in each of the next 10 years. That result assumes that same-sex marriages are legalized in all 50 states and recognized by the federal government (<http://www.cbo.gov/doc.cfm?index=5559&type=0>).

Nevertheless, when considering taxes, depending on the division of income between spouses, marriage can lead to either higher income tax liability (a marriage penalty) or lower liability (a marriage bonus). The greater the similarity in the two spouses' earning, the more likely the couple is to incur a marriage penalty. Conversely, the greater the disparity in earning, the more likely the couple is to receive a marriage bonus. When one spouse earns all of a couple's income, the couple always gets a bonus. The conclusion by the CBO assumes that same-sex married couples would behave similarly to heterosexual married couples (<http://www.cbo.gov/doc.cfm?index=5559&type=0>).

However, Federal law does not recognize same-sex civil marriage, and same-sex spouses will remain individual filers for federal purposes. “Bowe-Shulman, a staff attorney at the Massachusetts Court of Appeals, said she loses \$7,800 a year to federal taxes on health insurance for her wife of 6 years, money she would rather be putting in a college fund for the couple's two children (huffingtonpost.com Cambridge, Massachusetts 12/11). Massachusetts construes the term civil marriage “to mean the voluntary union of two persons as spouses.” Thus the term “marriage” includes same-sex marriage, and the term “spouse” includes partners in a same-sex marriage. Federal law however, the word marriage mean only a legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife, and the term spouse refers only to a person of the opposite sex (cpa-services.com, Gay marriage in Massachusetts – The Tax Perspective). Of the thousands of legally married gay and lesbian couples

in Massachusetts, none can receive the federal benefits offered to heterosexual married couples because the federal benefits automatically offered to heterosexual married couples. The data suggests that legalizing gay marriage has the potential to benefit some gays and also help fill the coffers of the state.

The evidence presented by Gary Gates and Lee Badgett, from the UCLA School of Law on "The Effect of Marriage Equality and Domestic Partnership on Business and the Economy" states that there are several benefits of equal treatment for same-sex couples such as current employees will be healthier, more satisfied, and less likely to leave their jobs if they get partner benefits. Also, partner or spousal benefits increase the competitiveness of employers in recruiting and retaining talented and committed employees (Badgett, Gates, 2006). But, nothing is boosting the Massachusetts economy like the dollars being spent on weddings of same-sex couples. America's annual \$70 billion wedding industry expects to get a \$16.8 billion boost if gay marriage rights were granted nation-wide. As of 2009, it is estimated that "marriage equality has led to a positive impact to the Massachusetts economy of approximately \$11 million over the last four and a half years" (Goldberg, Steinberger, Badgett, UCLA, 2009, p. 1).

Experience of Same-sex Couples

The last point in this section on the effects of marriage equality in Massachusetts is a survey of the experiences and impact of marriage on actual same-sex couples. The survey done by the Williams Institute of UCLA provides answers to several key questions that arise as other states consider whether to extend marriage to same-sex couples. As to the question, who is getting married?, over 61% are women, most are in their forties, and most are highly educated, and 85% have finished college and have high median incomes of \$110,000 - \$129,000. Why are they getting married? The vast majority, 93% stated that they married for love and commitment, and 85% listed legal recognition as one of their three main motivations for marrying. What is the impact of marriage on their relationships? Over 72% felt more committed to their partners and almost 70% felt more accepted by their communities. Respondents also reported legal and economic benefits. And lastly, what impact has marriage had on the children of same-sex couples? More than one-quarter of couples are raising children, and of those with children, nearly all respondents agreed that their children are happier and better off as a result of their marriage. Many reported that their children felt more secure and protected, gained a sense of stability, and saw their families validated by society as a result of marriage (williamsinstitute@law.ucla.edu, 2009). It has also been reported by US news that divorce rates are lower in

states with same-sex marriage (June 6, 2011).

When looking at the recent data concerning the effects of same-sex marriage on Canadian culture, the Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance feel that granting marriage rights to those same-sex couples who want to marry would strengthen the institution of marriage. They believe marriage in North America has been suffering as increased numbers of couples decide to live together rather than marry, but legalizing gay marriage has made enthusiastic supporters of marriage who may not have been before. The Religious Tolerance organization in Ontario claims that the legalization of same-sex marriage across Canada on July 20, 2005 did not have a significant effect on existing and future marriage of opposite-sex couples. No existing or future couples, whether same-sex or opposite-sex, lost any of their marriage rights. They also cite many case studies which they argue have proved that married spouses are happier, have better mental health, have better physical health, and live longer than singles. They assume that these findings will apply to same-sex married couples as well (www.religoustolerance.org/hom_marb53.htm). The American Anthropological Association concludes that

The results of more than a century of anthropological research on households, kinship relationships, and families across cultures and through time, provide no support whatsoever for the view that either civilization or viable social orders depend upon marriage as an exclusively heterosexual institution. (2005)

Regardless of the many benefits for gay and lesbians and their families, as well as the economy and overall improvement in health in Massachusetts, there is still a large portion of the citizenry that feels that legalizing marriage for homosexuals is not only an intrusion on their rights as citizens but a threat to their way of life, to their security. Although there is evidence of some improvements for gays and lesbians through legal marriage, what about all those who are not married, who are single, transgender, or just choose not to be married? Must one assimilate and agree to the conditions of the state in order to be accepted into the national fray and receive the benefits that should already be available through rights of citizenship?

Homonormativity and the National Fray

The emergence of "gay life" in the public view can aid in the process of liberation because, as Suzanna Danuta Walters argues, "surely liberation cannot be won from the space of the closet. Yet the glare of commercial culture can often produce a new kind of invisibility, itself supported by a relentless march toward assimilation"

(2001, p. 340). Since the debates about assimilation are as old as the movement itself, it leads Walters to question, “in reducing homophobia through assimilation, is there a danger of making homosexuality itself invisible again? – straight with a twist” (Walters, 2006, p. 292). But whether it is marriage or parenting, a noticeable percentage of both well-meaning (liberal) hetero and mainstream gays seem to stress gay sameness to straights. Gay relationships, gay desires, and gay parenting are all presented as replicas of heterosexual patterns. With respect to this question, Butler (2004) raises the post-structuralist concern that the discourse of gay marriage is another way of disciplining the queer community so as to create a new hierarchy – the socially acceptable gay marrieds v. the queer abjected *others*, whose chosen kin and sexual practices continue to be despised. This national recognition and inclusion, according to scholar Jasbir K. Puar, is “contingent upon the segregation and disqualification of racial and sexual others from the national imaginary” (Puar, 2007, p. 2). She argues this practice is a form of sexual exceptionalism, the emergence of national homosexuality, or what Puar terms “homonationalism,” that corresponds with the coming out of the exceptionalism of American empire. This brand of homosexuality operates as a regulatory script not only of normative gayness, queerness, or homosexuality, but also of the racial and national norms that reinforce these sexual subjects (Puar, 2007). This suggests that instead of challenging institutions which support the status quo, participation in marriage contributes to a new form of homophobia – homonationalism, which quiets if not silences the more radical voices that support counter narratives.

On the other hand, there are many gays and lesbians that are in favor of same-sex marriage specifically because it is thought to be very pro-family, pro-stability, pro-monogamy, and pro-responsibility (Sullivan, 2004), thereby reinforcing, according to Walters, the centrality and dominance of marriage as the primary social unit (2006, p. 289). Participation in this institution not only assimilates lesbians and gays into the dominant hetero way of relating but leads to homonormativity, perpetuating along with it hierarchies of race, class, sexuality, and gender – leading to a “homonationalism” where only certain gays are accepted into the national fray, and all the ‘others’ are denied access and rendered second class citizens. The radical argument claims however, that the movement to legalize same-sex marriage is a profoundly conservative one. It is a movement that looks to dated social conventions as a means to acceptance and seeks a static solution to social evolution (Howley, 2003). The liberal/equality argument is persuasive and important – that marriage rights would confer benefits, both social and economic, to many lesbians and gays is undeniable. Given the structure of

our social and legal system (including our tax structure, inheritance laws, health benefits and responsibilities, as well as childcare, custody, and parenting issues – to name just a few), it is certainly understandable that many gay couples would desire access to the same rights and responsibilities, benefits and assumptions that married heterosexuals receive as a matter of course (Walters, 2001, 2006).

Yet, the “gay rights argument for marriage equality ignores and downplays the relationship between the institution of marriage to the institutions of male dominance, patriarchy, and gender hierarchies” (Walters, 2001, p. 291). The evidence suggests that there are important elements to both liberal and radical arguments that challenge the status quo and as such are interpreted as a “danger” to the nation’s security imaginary.

In addition, understanding the history of marriage law and citizenship rights and policies, highlights the fact that marriage has been a primary site for the production and maintenance of a white heteronormative citizenry, and if possible, according to Brandzel, LGBTQ individuals “should refuse citizenship and actively subvert the normalization, legitimization, and regulation that it requires” (2005, p. 20). Citizenship and marriage are deeply tied in U.S. political practice. Unfortunately, the focus on marriage and citizenship, by all parties, has shifted too much attention away from the role of the state in marriage and not to the details of the institution. The feminist critique of marriage suggests that there are reasons to be circumspect. In her essay on citizenship, Judith Shklar argues that the discourse on full citizenship equality focuses on what is denied to certain groups as a means of maintaining their out-group status (Shklar, 1991). Whether one argues for the normalcy of same-sex couples or for the inherently disruptive quality of queer identity, both arguments accept the existing framework for thinking about marriage and kinship. This framework yields a non-egalitarian understanding of citizenship by providing those who are in (supposedly) long-term, committed, and state-sanctioned relationships with greater recognition and status than those who are not (Josephson, 2005, p. 277).

Uma Narayan argues that feminist visions of equal representation and substantive equal citizenship for women and members of other marginalized groups needs to focus not only on “promoting their political participation and representation, but on their access to and voice within a variety of public institutions within which interests are articulated and promoted” (Narayan, 1997, p. 49). However, despite legal and social changes to the institution, marriage is still a central instrument in the denial of women’s status as full citizens. If anti-same-sex marriage is based on the assumption that “man and woman” are discrete, natural and identifiable categories, then the courts desire to declare gender unquestionable clearly demonstrates the courts and society’s

unwillingness or general refusal to acknowledge the social construction of gender hierarchies as well as ideologies and practices of heteropatriarchy. For Narayan, citizenship, in its most general sense, refers to the relationships that those who inhabit a nation have to the state, and to the various aspects of collective national life. Given the gendered and racialized histories of marriage and citizenship, Brandzel suggests that “citizenship itself is necessarily exclusive, privileged, and normative – and that advocacy for same-sex marriage reifies and reproduces these effects” (2005, 2). Again the evidence suggests, as a site of citizenship production, the institution of marriage is critical to the formation of a properly gendered, racialized, and heteronormative America. From a radical gay/feminist standpoint: If gay marriage succeeds in sanctifying the couple as the primary social unit, the one that gets financial and legal benefits, would it not follow that this would set up a hierarchy of intimacy that replicates the heteronormative one rather than challenging or altering it? Is it not also logical then, that marriage will continue to function as a tool of the state as a normalizing mechanism just as the historical evidence has suggested?

In contrast, Andrew Cherlin of Johns Hopkins University argues that marriage has undergone a process of deinstitutionalization – a weakening of the social norms that define partners’ behavior (Cherlin, 2004). He argues that in times of social stability, the taken-for-granted nature of norms allows people to go about their lives without having to question their actions or the actions of others. But when social change produces situations outside the reach of established norms, individuals can no longer rely on shared understandings of how to act (Cherlin, 2004, p. 848). This creates insecurities in the nation. Consequently, in an effort to deal with these “dangers” they must negotiate new ways of acting. Cherlin contemplates that the breakdown of the old rules of a gendered institution such as marriage could lead to the creation of a more egalitarian relationship between spouses. For example, there are three possible future directions for marriage in the West according to Cherlin’s research found in the *Journal of Marriage and Family*. First, is a return to a more dominant, institutionalized form of marriage which would require a “decrease in women’s labor force participation and a return to more gender-typed family roles” (Cherlin, 2004, p. 857), although he sees this as very unlikely. The second alternative is a continuation of the current situation, in which marriage remains deinstitutionalized but is common and distinctive. “It is not just one type of family relationship among many; rather, it is the most prestigious form. It still confers its traditional benefits, such as enforceable trust, but it is increasingly a mark of prestige, a display of distinction, an individualistic achievement” (Cherlin, 2004, p. 858), inextricably tying it to neoliberal practices, the global economy, and the spreading of what Puar calls the

American empire. Marriage in this scenario remains important, but not as dominant, and retains its high symbolic status.

There is an interesting third alternative however, where marriage fades into just one of many kinds of interpersonal romantic relationships. For example, “A non-marital relationship can provide much intimacy and love, can place both partners on an equal footing, and can allow them to develop their independent senses of self” (Cherlin, 2004, p. 858). Cherlin argues that although people may still commit morally to a relationship, they increasingly prefer to commit voluntarily rather than to be obligated to commit by law or social norms. It is possible to see how this model of relationship provides the social space for “queerness” as well as traditional marriage whether gay or straight. Yet it still begs the question if the nation’s notions of security will be affected or destabilized by changes like these to the dominant/subordinate binaries that are anchored in and reproduced by the institution of marriage? Or is the nation’s heteropatriarchal structure flexible in ways which allow for some change while the core foundations remain intact?

CONCLUSION

Since the beginning of the early twentieth century, homosexuals have gone from being considered a national security risk, to the movement for equal rights and opportunities to participate in basic American institutions such as marriage. In *Loving v Virginia* in 1967, the Supreme Court struck down anti-miscegenation laws stating that marriage is fundamental right of citizenship. The prohibition of racial intermarriage was to the cultural construction of racism what the prohibition of same-sex marriage is to sexism and homophobia. “Just as miscegenation was threatening because it called into question the distinctive and superior status of being white, homosexuality is threatening because it calls into question the distinctive and superior status of being male” (Richardson, 1998, pp. 159-60). After Stonewall the gay rights movement and its drive for equality in marriage for same-sex couples presented such a threat to the stability of the national security imaginary that in the 1990s there was a backlash from the conservative right, including DOMA – The Defense of Marriage Act (1994). However by 2004, Massachusetts, and then Connecticut in 2008, have both claimed bans on gay marriage to be unconstitutional. The need to re-stabilize the security imaginary by protecting traditional marriage reflects on the construction of the state and how crucial the perpetuation of patriarchal ideology, structure, and practice is to the security of the nation and why same-sex marriage is interpreted as threat or danger to its stability. The Defense of Marriage Act, the Healthy Marriage

Initiative, the proposed Federal Marriage Amendment, and the Marriage Movement all insist that children's welfare is at the heart of their mission. However, is a married heterosexual mother and father the only way for a child to benefit? Or, could the presence of consistent, loving caregiver(s) be more important to a child's welfare than the numbers, sex, or marital status of the caregiver(s)? As Leslie J. Brett suggests, "We can seek to change and broaden the systems to support more types of families, rather than seeking to change families themselves" (Connecticut's Commission on the Status of Women 2004).

The challenging of long established and institutionalized social norms is at the center of the ways in which the marriage equality of same-sex couples threatens the nation's security imaginary. The new data on the effects of gay marriage in Massachusetts repeatedly refers to normalizing gay life, same-sex marriage – particularly through changes in school curriculum. This suggests that there is a move toward assimilation through gay marriage and that marriage functions as a normalizing mechanism of the nation. Yet, it is not as simple as that, according to Puar "gay marriage is not simply a demand for equality with heterosexual norms, but more importantly a demand for reinstatement of white privileges and rights – rights of property and inheritance in particular" (Puar, 2007, p. 29). Puar argues that there is an "ascendancy of heteronormativity where there are implicit and increasingly explicit interests in the ascendancy to whiteness and attendant citizenship privileges (gay marriage is the most pertinent example of this), a variant of which Heidi Nast terms 'queer white patriarchy'" (2007, p. 30). Nast maintains that "there is substantial room for discussion about white patriarchal privilege outside heterosexual confines" and that the displacement of white heterosexual male beneficiaries of capitalism by white gay males who "hold a competitive edge: With no necessary ideological-material ties to biologically based house-holding and the attendant mobility frictions these entail, they share the potential for considerable, if ironic, patriarchal advantage that is relational and cuts across lines of class" (Puar, 2007, p. 30).

Related to this and the assimilation or normalization of homosexuality is the notion of how white American lesbians with capital are an emerging consumer niche group – and the respectable lesbian couple with money is being positioned as the idealized inhabitants of an increasingly acceptable gay version of the nuclear family (Puar, 2007, p. 31). The ascendancy of whiteness argues Puar, is not strictly bound to heterosexuality, though it is bound to heteronormativity. That is to say, "we can indeed mark a specific historical shift: the project of whiteness is assisted and benefited by homosexual populations that participate in the same identitarian and economic hegemonies as those hetero subjects complicit

with this ascendancy" (Puar, 2007, p. 31). In other words, participating in the institution of marriage by gays and lesbians is participation in the same practices and ideologies that claimed and categorized homosexuals as deviant and abnormal in the first place.

Questions to ways in which challenging traditional marriage can threaten the systemic sexist, racial and classist ideologies are highlighted by the current data on same-sex marriage. The effect of assimilating the "good" gays into the national fray seems to lessen the threat to security and makes homosexuals more acceptable – but which ones, and at what cost? The evidence from Massachusetts suggests that heterosexual couples marry for basically the same reasons as gays. And a main argument for marriage equality is that it tames men (and wild women) into respectability, although enforced monogamy and trust has not been shown to be very effective according to divorce rates. And Cherlin's idea of marriage as prestigious, as an individual accomplishment, appears to lead to a homonormativity that would perpetuate along with it all the hierarchies and systems of oppression, i.e. race, gender, class, and so forth. As many critical scholars argue (including Nast, 2002; 2007; Howley, 2003; Butler, 2004; Walters, 2006; Brandzel, 2005; Pinion, 2010; Puar, 2007; Narayan, 1997), legalizing same-sex marriage contributes to the social construction of homonormativity and acceptance into the national fray. But, also may lead to the perpetuating of systems of oppression just as heteronormativity passes on the status-quo to generation after generation.

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APPENDIX

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Full Length Research

International Conflict Resolution and Preventions: Issues and Opportunity for peace in the 21st Century

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In this paper we analyze sanctioning policies in international law. We develop a model of international military conflict where the conflicting countries can be a target of international sanctions. These sanctions constitute an equilibrium outcome of an international political market for sanctions, where different countries trade political influence. We show that the level of sanctions in equilibrium is strictly positive but limited, in the sense that higher sanctions would exacerbate the military conflict, not reduce it. We then propose an alter-native interpretation to the perceived lack of effectiveness of international sanctions, by showing that the problem might not be one of under sanctioning but of over sanctioning.

Keywords: Conflict Resolution and Preventions, International Law, Arms Embargo, International Conflict, Pressure Groups.

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INTRODUCTION

In a recent comprehensive review on the scientific study of conflict and war, Bremer (1993) summarizes what is known about these phenomena and, traces the parameters of the 'mental model' of conflict. Bremer's catalogue of research findings, surveying hundreds of studies, is quite impressive. It is also, alas, a reminder of how little we know about conflict termination and Conflict Resolution and Preventions. The causes, characteristics and consequences, as well as the dynamics of conflict, and the various modes of transition from conflict formation to maturation are well represented in a myriad of studies. The final phase of the process that of conflict

termination has been all but neglected. At no time has the study of conflict termination faced such challenges, nor been so relevant to policy-makers, as it has since the end of the Cold War. The growing number of new forms of conflict (eg. ethnic, religious, etc.), the persistence of some armed conflicts (eg. Korea, India-Pakistan, Arab-Israeli), and the growing cooperation between the major powers, have all helped to affirm global interest in dealing with, or responding to, conflict. Responses to conflict are not pre-determined; parties may respond to conflict in a variety of ways ranging from unilateral methods to multilateral measures (Fogg, 1985). Here we wish to

articulate the components of a conceptual framework of multilateral Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and examine the effects of a particular kind of conflict on this strategy. The class of conflicts we wish to examine is that of intractable or enduring conflict, and the specific Conflict Resolution and Preventions strategy is that of mediation. International conflict cannot be viewed as a unitary phenomenon. They have different dimensions and show different degrees of amenability to Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Common strategies or approaches that might be applicable in some conflicts may be quite inapplicable in others. If we are to bridge the gap between the scholarly community and policy-makers, we should, at the very least, suggest prescriptions regarding the efficacy of different methods and strategies of Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and how they may be used to affect the termination of enduring or intractable conflicts. Learning how to deal with the most difficult and persistent conflicts can take us a long way toward understanding the dynamics of Conflict Resolution and Preventions in all other conflicts.

Edward Azar (1986) first drew attention to the special features of what he termed protracted conflicts. One of the defining characteristics of these conflicts was the difficulty of managing them peacefully. Kriesberg (1993) talks about intractable conflicts which often sink into self-perpetuating violent antagonisms, and resist any technique of negotiation or mediation, or indeed other methods of peaceful management. More recently the scholarly literature emphasized the fact that some conflicts are connected over time through high intensity, repeated cycles of violence, and general resistance to Conflict Resolution and Preventions by invoking the concept of enduring conflicts (e.g. Goertz and Diehl, 1993). Some analysts (e.g. Waltz, 1979) conceive of all interstate conflict as being essentially the result of one cause only (i.e. the structure of the system), and as exhibiting similar patterns irrespective of the actors involved or the life cycle of the conflict. We believe that there are fundamental differences between interstate conflicts; differences that may be expressed in terms of causes, issues, participants, and the history, or life-cycle, of a conflict. Each of these differences may have prescriptive consequences for international Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Little work, however, has been done on how these features of a conflict affect its termination. Here we wish to examine Conflict Resolution and Preventions in the context that poses the greatest intellectual and practical obstacle; that of intractable or enduring conflicts.

To talk about enduring or intractable conflict implies a concern with the longitudinal and dynamic aspects of a relationship. At its simplest the concept is no more than a belated recognition by scholars that conflicts do not manifest themselves in a series of single, unrelated episodes. Conflicts have a past (which may cast a

heavy shadow on the parties), a present context, and presumably a future of some sort. States involved in an intractable conflict learn to use coercive means, and are prepared to do so in a future conflict. An intractable or enduring conflict is thus a process of competitive relationships that extend over a period of time, and involves hostile perceptions and occasional military actions. The term itself acts as an integrating concept connoting a competitive social process where states become enmeshed in a web of negative interactions and hostile orientations. This pattern is repeated, indeed worsened, every so often, with the actors involved unable to curb, or manage, the escalation of their relationships.

Gochman and Maoz (1984) first drew attention to the presence of these conflicts. Their work demonstrated empirically how a relatively small number of states have been involved in a disproportionately large number of militarized disputes. Furthermore, they showed that this was a pattern that was likely to repeat itself. Gochman and Maoz define these conflict-prone states as 'enduring rivals', and their conflict as an 'enduring conflict'. These enduring conflicts account for a large percentage of all militarized disputes - about 45% of all militarized disputes between 1816-1986 took place between such rivals (Bremmer, 1992; Goertz & Diehl, 1992). Half the wars since 1816 occurred between enduring rivals. The likelihood of a military dispute escalating to a full scale war is twice that of a non-enduring conflict. Whatever enduring conflicts may be, they appear *prima facie* to be very different from other conflicts, and should be viewed, wherever possible, within a different theoretical context. What we are in effect suggesting is that it makes sense to move from an episodic approach, and study conflicts, and Conflict Resolution and Preventions, from a historical dimension, where prior interactions affect present behavior. Shifting the unit of analysis from a single conflict to a long-term relationship, may have serious implications for the way we approach and manage conflicts. We use the historical relationship of a conflict as one of our independent, contextual variables that may explain their course and outcome.

There has been a long debate in the political and economic literature on the merits of imposing economic or military sanctions on countries violating certain rules governing international behavior. "Conflict is a crisis that forces us to recognize explicitly that we live with multiple realities and must negotiate a common reality ; That we bring to each situation differing –frequently contrasting – stories and must create together a single shared story with a role for each and for both." (Augsburger, 1992:11) .Conflict has become inseparable part and parcel of our lives, we experience conflict as we experience joy or sorrow in our day to day life. It has become a natural phenomenon of our personal and professional existence. It is an unavoidable component of human activity (Brahnam et al., 2005, 204) that may be viewed as a

situation in which the concerns of two or more individuals appear to be incompatible (Darling & Fogliasso, 1999, 394), and which tends to occur when individuals or groups perceive that others are preventing them from attaining their goals (Antonioni, 1998, 336). Channelling conflict in a positive or negative way may affect the nature of the conflict whether beneficial or destructive (Cetin & Hacifazlioglu, 2004, 325). If not managed properly, conflicts can result in bad feelings, high turnover and costly litigation (Hirschman, 2001, 59), and are said to be one of the most difficult challenges organizational members face (Phillips & Cheston, 1979) and one of the most frustrating and uncomfortable experiences for managers (Earnest & McCaslin, 1994). At the most serious levels conflicts can bring teams, departments and sometimes whole organizations to a virtual standstill (Fritchie & Leary, 1998). However, looking at the brighter side if properly managed, conflict can "increase individuals', innovativeness and productivity" (Uline, Tschannenmoran, & Perez, 2003), offer "interpersonal relationship satisfaction, creative problem solving, the growth of the global workforce, and domestic workplace diversity" (TingToomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 3) and leads to "improved efficiency, creativity, and profitability" (Axelrod & Johnson, 2005, p. 42). The goal of these sanctions is to produce in the target country a desired political change. However, some scholars have put forth the view that sanctions can be ineffective or even counterproductive - see e.g. Pape (1997). Their arguments have included the perverse political responses in the target country to the perceived 'un-warranted' third party interference represented by international sanctions, such as exacerbated nationalism or xenophobic behavior - a 'rally round the flag' type of behavior - or the likely punishment of innocent individuals in the target country who are not responsible for their government's policy - see White (1994) for a survey of these arguments.

In the context of a military conflict between two countries subject to sanctions imposed by third parties, our paper explores the effectiveness of sanctioning within a game theoretic model where sanctions are not taken exogenously but generated endogenously. We show that the level of sanctions in equilibrium is strictly positive but limited, in the sense that higher sanctions would exacerbate the military conflict, not reduce it. This result comes from the interaction between all players in the international political market, and constitutes an alternative explanation to the two types of arguments discussed above. Our starting point is the observation that individuals in local jurisdictions, with the possible exception of legislators and judges, perceive their ability to actually influence the law under which their acts will be judged to be very small. Suppose an individual subject to a particular judicial system considers whether or not to commit an act which the law defines as criminal (plausibly, because it produces a negative externality). By

committing this act the individual becomes a criminal and, as such, faces some expected punishment. How high such expected punishment is depends on the judicial system the individual is subject to, e.g., whether it is a common law system or a civil code system. Of course an individual may not be detected, he may not get convicted, and he may even bribe his way out. However, under a minimally functioning judicial system, in terms of lost utility, his expected punishment will be strictly positive, and the punishment imposed is independent of the individual in question: the law is by definition general.

In contrast, when considering the international public law governing inter-national relations, countries perceive that they have some ability to actually influence both its design as well as its enforcement. For example, a country committing an act of war might violate international law and will face a given expected punishment. However, depending on the extent to which its allies and enemies can exert power in the international arena, and depending on the economic, military and political interests affected by both the act of war and its punishment, it may well be the case that an international agency such as the UN is unable to enforce the rules governing international relations in this specific case. One can even regard the expected punishment as dependent on the country in question, and as being insignificant in many instances. Finally, we should note that the situation analyzed in our paper, where two conflicting parties invest resources in weaponry so as to defend their own endowment of productive capacity and possibly appropriate the other's, being then be subject to sanctions imposed by third parties, is somewhat different from a situation of 'anarchy' in international relations as defined and analyzed by Hirschleifer (1995a, 1995b).

Even though we recognize the role that a 'rally around the flag' effect can have in reducing the effectiveness of sanctions, we propose in our paper an alternative explanation for such reduced effectiveness. Our explanation has to do with a 'buy allies' effect in the international political market, according to which a target country tries to buy opposition to the imposition of sanctions by making use of its role as an importer of weapons from at least some of the very same third countries that would carry out the imposition of sanctions. The paper goes as follows: the basic model is introduced in section 2, and the political market for sanctions is discussed in section 3. Section 4 concludes the paper with some final remarks.

DEFINITION OF CONFLICT

Conflict is understood differently by different people and so there exist a big list of definitions of conflict. Oxford Online Dictionary defines the term as "a situation in which people, groups or countries are involved in a serious

disagreement or argument", many scholars have viewed conflict from different perspective such as a process, situation or an interaction. Some of the authors who have defined conflict as a process are includes, Thomas who believes it to be "the process which begins when one party perceives that the other has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of his". Wall and Callister see conflict as "a process in which one party perceives that its interests are being opposed or negatively affected by another party". For Vecchio, it is, "the process that results when one person (or a group of people) perceives that another person or group is frustrating, or about to frustrate, an important concern. Conflict involves incompatible differences between parties that result in interference or opposition".

Rahim looks it as, "an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities (i.e., individual, group, organization, etc.)" and at last Poole and Putnam (1997) define conflict as the process of interaction by interdependent individuals who perceive incompatible goals. There are other for whom conflict is just a situation and nothing beyond it, as for Donohue and Kolt, it is "a situation in which interdependent people express (manifest or latent) differences in satisfying their individual needs and interests and they experience interference from each other in accomplishing these goals". Giving one more angle to conflict as "interactive", L.L. Putnam and M.S. Poole, 1987, expresses it to be an "interaction of interdependent people who perceive opposition of goals, aims and values and who see the other party as potentially interfering with the realization of these goals". Conflict is not only defined differently by different authors, but it's definition is different in different cultures as well, for instance, in France, conflict is associated with "a war – an encounter between contrary elements that oppose each other and 'to oppose' is a strong term, conveying powerful antagonism" (Fearon, 1995, pp. 4142).

In China, conflict is seen as any unpleasant dispute, serious fighting and "contradictory struggle." In other words, any types of unharmonious situations in Chinese culture will initiate a conflict (TingToomey & Oetzel, 2001). As far as Anglo Saxons are concerned, conflict is defined diversely as any disagreement and undesired conditions preventing an individual from reaching one's goals (Folger, Poole, & Stutman, 2000; Lulofs & Cahn, 2000). If we just give a thought, we can always arrive at the logical conclusion that if conflict's definition is so varied in different context and for different people, then the modes to resolve this very conflict can take how many varied forms. So, what are the factors that can impact our response to conflict gender, self concept, expectations, situations, position, power, practice, communication skills, life experiences, values or the culture in which we have born and brought up. We cannot

pick up any one and leave the rest, since our conflict resolution strategy is effected by all of these combined together. But it has been believed that Conflict Resolution and Preventions strategies are not only influenced by personal characteristics, but also defined by socio cultural norms (Haar & Krahé, 1999). What might be an appropriate way of managing disputes in one society may not be acceptable in the other due to different assumptions regarding behavioral natures, expectations, and values. Furthermore, there has been a blossoming interest regarding the study of cross cultural communication and Conflict Resolution and Preventions over the past two decades (Cai & Fink, 2002). For example, intercultural researchers have examined cross cultural Conflict Resolution and Preventions between Americans and Arabs (Elsayed Elkhoully and Buda, 1996), Americans and Mexicans (Gabrielidis, Stephan, Ybarra, Pearson, & Villareal 1997), Americans and Japanese (Ohbuchi & Takahashi, 1994), and Jordanians and Turkish (Kozan, 1990).

OPERATIONALIZING INTRACTABLE/ENDURING CONFLICTS

The concept of enduring conflict has been given considerable attention in recent studies (Diehl, 1985; Goertz and Diehl, 1992; Wayman, 1982; Geller, 1993). The concept denotes a competitive relationship between two states over one or more issues, where the relationship is occasionally punctuated by the actual use or threat of force. The temporal dimension is quite significant here, for enduring conflicts convey the notion of a long term phenomenon (usually a minimum of 15 years) during which hostile interactions are interwoven with peaceful periods and Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts. Military confrontations and efforts to establish peaceful relations occur as concrete events punctuating the life cycle of the conflict.

An operational definition of an enduring conflict must, if it is to allow us to develop a universe of cases for empirical research, specify the number of actors, minimum duration, and level of hostility. Although some discrepancy may be discerned amongst the operational definitions now extant in the literature, they all stipulate temporal boundaries, continuity, dispute activity and a dyadic participation. Some like Wayman (1982) confine an enduring conflict to a ten year period and two or more militarized disputes; others like Diehl (1985) place the temporal parameters at fifteen years and three militarized disputes; and yet others like Huth and Russett 1993, suggest twenty years and at least five militarized disputes as the benchmark for an enduring rivalry. In line with these, we define an enduring rivalry as a conflictual relationship that lasts at least twenty years and manifests five or more militarized disputes, from the beginning to

the end of a rivalry (Goertz & Diehl, 1993). Using this definition we identify 14 enduring conflicts in our data set of 268 international conflicts in the 1945-1990 periods. The conflicts, and the overall number of Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts in each are identified below in Table 1.

Our concern with these conflicts has significant implications for the question of how to terminate or manage them. States in an enduring conflict find themselves in a sustained, competitive and often hostile interaction in which the likelihood of escalation is fairly high. Such interaction patterns produce a negative interdependence of perceptions and behavior whereby more issues are staked together on the agenda, concrete issues become infused with intangible significance, the parameters of conflict expanded, perceptions become stereotypical, and rational cost-benefit calculations are replaced by a uniform desire to hurt the opponent and avoid any position or reputational losses (Levy, 1992). In such an atmosphere the resort to violence can often be seen as the only way of dealing with the conflict. Enduring of intractable conflicts are clearly different from other conflicts. They are not unlike malignant social processes which enmesh states in a web of threats and escalating maneuvers that cannot be easily brought to an end. Enduring conflicts parallel many of the characteristics of a zero-sum game. They may be likened to a prolonged process of entrapment. Whichever way we look at them, they clearly pose the greatest danger to the international system. Protracted or enduring conflicts also provide numerous opportunities for Conflict Resolution and Preventions. A proliferation of actors, ranging from private individuals to numerous international organizations has an interest in settling or helping to de-escalate intractable conflicts.

FACTORS AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PREVENTIONS

The implications of an enduring rivalry for the study of Conflict Resolution and Preventions are potentially numerous, though we have little systematic evidence that identifies trends or the effectiveness of different Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts. Conflict Resolution and Preventions is widely understood to be an attempt by actors involved in conflict to reduce the level of hostility and generate some order in their relations. Successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions may lead to (a) a complete resolution of the issues in conflict (a change in behavior and attitudes), or as is more common in international relations, to (b) an acceptable settlement, ceasefire or partial agreement. Either way, Conflict Resolution and Preventions connotes a mechanism that is concerned with defining (a) a conflict as ended (at least temporarily), and (b) deciding on the distribution of values

and resources. To that extent Conflict Resolution and Preventions is a rational and conscious decisional process whereby parties to a conflict, with or without the aid of outsiders, take steps to transform, deescalate or terminate a conflict in a mutually acceptable way. This is the case with intractable or other conflicts. The full range of methods and instruments that constitute Conflict Resolution and Preventions is quite wide (see Fogg, 1985). It varies from coercive measures, through legal processes to third party intervention and multilateral conferences. For analytical purposes it is useful to divide all these methods to (a) unilateral methods (e.g. one-party threats), (b) bilateral methods (e.g. bargaining and negotiation, deterrence), and (c) multilateral methods (e.g. third party intervention). Of particular interest would be the role of factors that affect the choice of a response, or an approach, to conflict, and how in particular certain conditions, such as being in an enduring conflict, and all that it implies, impact on the choice of Conflict Resolution and Preventions method or its outcome.

Factors affecting the course of a conflict or the manner of its management are numerous. They involve the manner of interdependence, type of actors, and kinds of issues. For our purposes these factors are best conceptualized as (a) contextual factors, and (b) behavioral factors. Let us examine each set in brief. Contextual factors that affect international Conflict Resolution and Preventions include i) the character of the international system, ii) the nature of a conflict, and iii) the internal characteristics of the states involved. The character of the international system affects the expectations of states, and the strategies they may use to break out of a conflict (Miller, 1995). Features such as polarity of the international system, patterns of alignments, and distribution of power capabilities are all associated with different approaches to conflict (see Gochman, 1993). A bipolar international environment, for instance, is likely to be more stable than a multi polar system (Waltz, 1979) in encouraging a balance between caution and resolve in responding to conflicts. The termination of intractable conflicts can be explicitly linked to the nature of the international environment in which they occur (e.g. Goertz and Diehl, 1995).

The nature of a conflict or the characteristics of the issues that are its focus, are clearly crucial in determining how it is managed (Diehl, 1992). Certain issues such as beliefs, core values and territorial integrity have a high saliency, and are apt to encourage decision makers to accept higher levels of costs. This makes it much more difficult to manage such conflicts through traditional diplomatic methods (Snyder and Diesing, 1977). Conflicts over salient issues are likely to be long-lasting and to entail the use of coercive methods as a way of reaching an outcome. Other aspects such as the number of issues in conflict, the rigidity with which they are perceived, whether they relate to tangible interests (e.g.

Table 1

Enduring Conflicts and Number of Conflict Resolution and Preventions Efforts			
	<u>Rivalry</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Conflict Resolution and Preventions Efforts (N)</u>
1.	China-USA	1949-1969	20
2.	Greece-Turkey	1955-1988	91
3.	Iraq-Iran	1953-1992	41
4.	China-India	1950-1992	41
5.	Afghanistan-Pakistan	1949-1992	18
6.	Egypt-Israel	1948-1979	75
7.	Argentina-Chile	1952-1984	22
8.	Peru-Ecuador	1951-1986	10
9.	Jordan-Israel	1948-1986	24
10.	Syria-Israel	1948-1992	38
11.	India-Pakistan	1947-1992	98
12.	USSR-USA	1945-1986	18
13.	China-USSR	1963-1988	60
14.	Somalia-Ethiopia	1960-1988	19
Total number of Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts			575

List of enduring conflicts adapted from Geller (1993) and Huth and Russett (1993)

resource conflict) or intangible ones (e.g. conflict over values) may also affect both the duration as well as method of termination (Deutsch, 1994). The third contextual dimension that affects Conflict Resolution and Preventions is that of the internal characteristics of the actors involved. This refers to how certain structural properties of states affect their predisposition to engage in coercive or other forms of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. The nature of the polity has attracted the most attention recently (Maoz and Russett, 1992; Ember, Ember and Russett, 1992; Dixon, 1993). Here the argument is that democratic states are more inclined to use peaceful methods of Conflict Resolution and Preventions (because of internal norms, liberal experience or electoral constraints), whereas non-democratic states are more likely to utilize coercive methods of management.

Another factor here relates to the power capabilities of states. Although there is not much empirical evidence to suggest a strong relationship, power capabilities can be linked to different Conflict Resolution and Preventions behavior (e.g. a conflict between two equally strong countries may be prolonged because both have the material and human resources to carry on, and the willingness to tolerate high costs). All these contextual factors affect directly the disposition to engage in different forms of Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and how a conflict will terminate. The effects of some contextual factors on the origin, character and evolution of a conflict has been documented quite extensively (see Stoll, 1993 for a review). Some studies have examined more specifically their effect on Conflict Resolution and Preventions. A number of propositions linking for instance the duration, intensity, fatalities and issue prominence to effective mediations (Bercovitch, 1989;

Bercovitch & Langley, 1993) received considerable theoretical and empirical support. Other studies linked the parties' internal characteristics (Gregory, 1994) or power capabilities between them (Bercovitch, 1985) to different forms of Conflict Resolution and Preventions by third parties.

But what of the effect on Conflict Resolution and Preventions of the second dimension, that comprising behavioral elements? What is the relevance of past interactions and how does previous behavior affect current Conflict Resolution and Preventions? It is equally plausible to argue that experience conflict experience may dampen, or heighten, parties' disposition to rely on a particular method of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. When heavy losses had been experienced during previous conflict behavior, lessons may be drawn by each state regarding the efficacy of coercion as a way of dealing with conflict. If, however, coercive methods were successful in achieving basic objectives in the past, there is good reason to believe that decision makers may find it an attractive option in their present conflict. States in an enduring conflict are forced to consider whether to escalate a conflict or not, which Conflict Resolution and Preventions method to use, and whether or not to reciprocate in kind? What are the consequences for Conflict Resolution and Preventions of being in a "serial confrontation"? (Thompson, 1995). Does prolonged experience of conflict elicit a preference for a particular method of Conflict Resolution and Preventions, or does this experience produce so much 'distortion', stress and cognitive rigidity, that the states involved learn little from their past experience, and use the same old methods, repeated over time, unproductively? This is the pattern of relationship that we wish to examine.

The literature on the termination or management of

enduring conflict is largely notable for its brevity and indirectness. Deutsch (1993; 1994) claims that states involved in a negative interdependence, as states in an enduring conflict undoubtedly are, tend to use coercion to manage their conflicts. Leng (1983) demonstrated empirically that states in repeated conflicts develop a power orientation and use increasingly more coercive methods of dealing with their conflict with each successive flare up. Neither the attitudes, nor the Conflict Resolution and Preventions behavior of enduring states are presumed to change much. Enduring conflicts appear to take a life of their own. Another body of literature, however, suggests that not only do states learn, but under certain conditions they can forget their earlier hostile interactions and embrace a cooperative orientation (Mor & Maoz, 1996).

What is the impact of continued interaction as opponents on Conflict Resolution and Preventions? Does intractability cause states to rely mostly on coercive strategies that reinforce existing interactions and beliefs, or is there some kind of learning that encourages even the most violent prone nations to use a variety of instruments to settle their conflicts? It is certainly worth exploring how the experience of being in an intractable conflict affects peace-making efforts at the global level. To investigate this question we present a framework (see Figure 1 below) that incorporates the contextual and behavioral factors discussed above. These factors affect the nature of Conflict Resolution and Preventions - interpersonally or internationally. We divide Conflict Resolution and Preventions activities into two broad categories; violent (i.e. force, coercion) and non-violent (e.g. negotiation, mediation). Initially we treat Conflict Resolution and Preventions as the dependent variable to examine how often states in intractable and non-intractable conflicts use management strategies. Then, we measure the short-term consequences of Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and here our dependent variable is Conflict Resolution and Preventions outcomes, and our concern is with determining whether or not there is a relationship between kinds of conflicts and outcomes. These can be of two kinds; success or failure. Success is conceptualized as Conflict Resolution and Preventions that reduces the level of violence and hostility (at least in the short term), and failure is defined as Conflict Resolution and Preventions activity that has had no effect on the basic level of conflict. Figure 1

For purposes of conceptual clarity we wish to specify three hypotheses that stipulate plausible relationships between the intractability of a conflict and the outcome of Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts;

H(1) *Conflict Resolution and Preventions will be less successful the more intractable the conflict. Intractable conflicts produce over-reliance on negative acts; these in turn increase hostility and*

reduce the chances of a successful outcome.

H(2) *When controlling for the intractability of conflict, the most effective strategy by a third party or mediator is a directive strategy. A strong, active mediation strategy can have more of an impact on the rivals involved than less directive strategies.*

H(3) *Once a successful outcome has been achieved in an intractable conflict, there is a higher likelihood that the parties involved will adhere to its provisions for a long period. The difficulties of achieving such outcomes are such that once achieved, the parties may experience war-weariness and be too well aware of the costs of their conflict, to renege on their agreement.*

RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to test the hypotheses outlined above we use original data on Conflict Resolution and Preventions activities in the post World War II period. These data consists of nearly 1900 cases of distinct Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts in international disputes since 1945 (Bercovitch & Langley, 1993). The emphasis of the data is on attributes of Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and as such they detail, amongst others, the method and strategy undertaken to resolve disputes, the type of outcome reached, if any, and the durability of successful outcomes. For analytical purposes we created a subcategory within this data set that identifies those disputants which are part of an enduring or intractable conflict (Goertz and Diehl, 1993; Huth and Russett, 1993; Geller, 1993).

Our testing procedures involved a two-pronged approach. First we use two separate logit models to test for the effect of characteristics of a conflict and the parties on the successful management of the conflict. Of central concern here is the effect of the historical dimension on the probability of successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions. The first model examines the effects of contextual and behavioral variables on the settlement of disputes under different strategies of Conflict Resolution and Preventions; the second narrows the focus somewhat and looks at the effects of these attributes on outcomes when mediation is the chosen form of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Based on our theoretical argument we posit that the historical context is a significant factor affecting the success of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Parties in enduring conflicts are less likely to settle their disputes successfully than parties involved in a conflict without such a violent history. As a second step we isolated those instances of successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions and tested the null hypothesis; -- that the

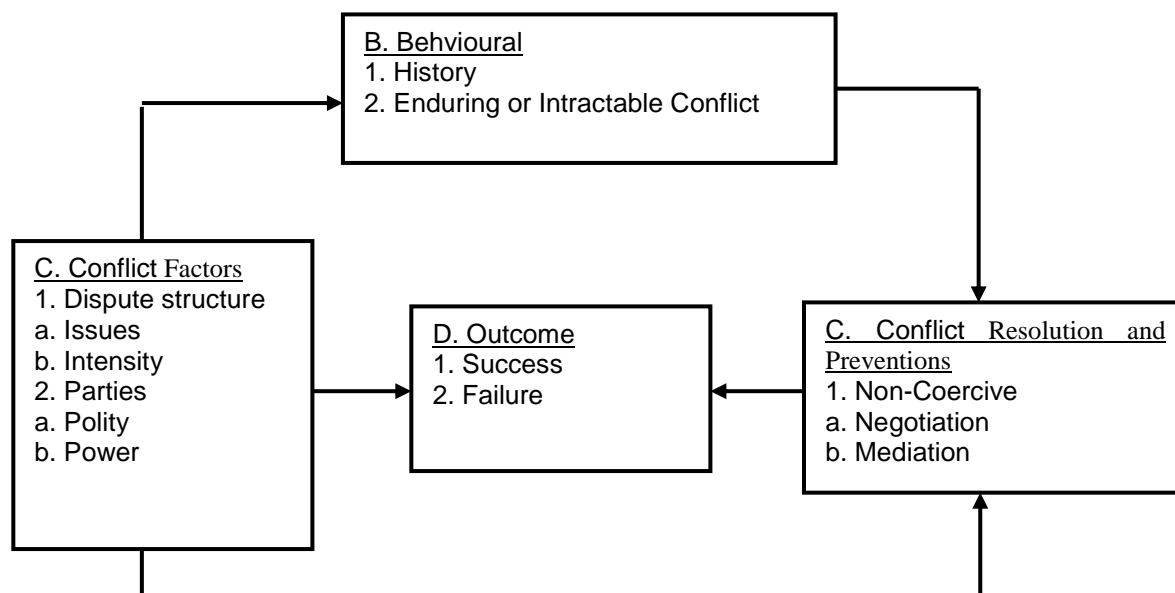


Figure 1: A Framework for Analyzing International Conflict Resolution and Preventions

existence of a rivalry has no impact on the durability of the outcome. Almost by definition it seems that parties to enduring conflicts are unable to achieve and implement long term negotiated settlements. However, should they reach such a settlement; there is good reason to believe it will last for quite a while.

A critical issue, at this juncture, is just what we mean by "successful outcomes", "settlements", and the "resolution of conflicts". Operationally we define a successful outcome as one in which the observed behavior following a Conflict Resolution and Preventions effort resulted in a ceasefire, a partial, or a full settlement of the dispute. Conflict resolution implies that the underlying issues, attitudes and perceptions have been addressed so that the parties are no longer in a conflictual relationship. Our data cannot measure perceptual changes, nor do we believe that individual Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts are likely to resolve intractable conflicts. Settlement, on the other hand, pertains to the successful management of hostilities in a specific dispute (Burton, 1990). Conceived of in this manner it is neither 'a given' nor tautological to argue that enduring rivals will be less successful at utilizing single Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts to settle disputes than non-rivals. In fact, because of the interactive nature of the relationship between rivals, some might suggest that under certain conditions short term settlements could be more common among participants in intractable conflicts (Axelrod, 1984). As outlined in our theoretical discussion we frame the Conflict Resolution and Preventions process in terms of contextual and behavioral factors; in

this empirical component we control for these various factors as follows: a) behavioral variables include the existence of a rivalry, the strategy of intervention, and the intensity of the conflict; and b) contextual variables incorporate the power relationship between actors, and the tangibility of the issues involved. Operational criteria can be found in Bercovitch and Langley (1993), but briefly:

1. An enduring rivalry is coded dichotomously and operationalized in terms of the criteria outlined by Goertz and Diehl (1993) and developed under the auspices of the Correlates of War Project. An enduring rivalry involves two states that have had at least 5 militarized disputes over a 20 year period without more than a 10 year gap between any two disputes. The cases that meet these criteria are consistent with those identified by Geller (1993) when constrained by our limit of a 1945 start date.
2. Power relationship is operationalized in terms of the disparity in power between actors A and B. An indicator of power is constructed using the Cox-Jacobsen scaling procedure (1973). Five indicators of state "power" -- GNP, military spending, per capita GNP, territorial size, and population -- were computed to form a power index of each state. The disparity in power between actors is the absolute value of the difference between their national scores on the power index.

3. Tangibility of issues at stake is coded dichotomously and derived from the six scale nominal indicator developed by Bercovitch. Of the six types of issues in conflict -- territory, ideology, security, independence, resources, and "others" -- territory, security and resources were coded as tangible, the other issues as intangible.
4. Intensity of the conflict is operationalized here as a continuous variable that measures the number of fatalities per month.
5. The conflict management method reflects the form adopted by the disputants in their efforts to settle the dispute. Two methods were identified and systematically coded by us; mediation and negotiation. A dummy variable was created for the existence of either method.
6. When mediation was adopted as the method for managing the conflict, three different strategies were identified and coded: communicative/facilitation, procedural, and directive. Conceptually a directive strategy is the most intrusive approach by the mediator; communicative the least. A dummy variable was created for the existence of each specific mediation strategy.

The results of our analysis point to a number of interesting patterns evident in the management of enduring and non-enduring conflicts. Two of these results allow us to draw descriptive inferences from the data; others have greater implications for understanding causal processes. In general what we find quite conclusively is that states involved in a protracted conflict do manage their disputes differently than other conflictual dyads. The success of any Conflict Resolution and Preventions efforts appears to be substantially influenced by the historical patterns of persistent conflictual interactions. This lends considerable support to the notion that enduring rivals constitute a distinct category of actors in our understanding of international conflict and Conflict Resolution and Preventions. We break down the discussion of our analysis into two distinct components.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

In the descriptive realm we find first that the maximum number of individual Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts within enduring conflicts is 98; the minimum is seven. The distribution of these data is such that the mean number of Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts is 52 with a standard deviation of 28. Among non-enduring dyads there is a maximum of 108 cases and a minimum of one; the mean however is just over 27 cases, with a standard deviation of 28. In the former category there are 575 cases; in the latter 1314. From

these data we can see that on average enduring rivals use nearly twice as many Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts -- as we hypothesized. We can also see that dyads that are not engaged in an enduring conflict also seem to require numerous attempts to manage their own conflicts. Table 2

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS

To test for the effect of the history of the conflict within a broader context that can control for factors that have been linked to the outcome of mediation, we have specified two multivariate logit models of the conditions contributing to mediation successes. Success for these purposes was operationalized in terms of the outcome of mediation efforts in which at minimum a ceasefire was secured, or at the other end of the scale, a full or partial settlement of the dispute was achieved. We specify two models from which these tests are performed. The first accounts for the conditions associated with successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts; the second disaggregates a specific type of Conflict Resolution and Preventions -- mediation -- into the different approaches adopted by mediators. The functional forms of the models are as follows:

$$Y1 = a + X1 + X2 + X3 + X4 + X5 + e$$

and

$$Y1 = a + X1 + X2 + X3 + X4 + X6 + X7 + e$$

where

Y1 = Success of Management (0,1)

X1 = Enduring Rivalry (1 if part of enduring dyad; zero otherwise)

X2 = Power Disparity (absolute value of disparity between power of

actor A minus power of actor B; range 0-34)

X3 = Tangibility of Issue (1 if tangible; zero otherwise)

X4 = Intensity of Conflict (fatalities/month)

X5 = Management Type (1=mediation; zero=negotiation)

X6 = Directive Strategy (dummy, 1 if directive; zero otherwise)

X7 = Procedural Strategy (dummy, 1 if procedural; zero otherwise)

These two models reflect concerns over the conditions most conducive to successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions, with Model 1 emphasizing, inter alia, the effect of different approaches to Conflict Resolution and Preventions and Model 2 the different strategies that are adopted by mediators.

FINDINGS

Tables 3, 4 and 5 present the results of our logit analyses and the transformation of these parameter estimates into

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics on Conflict Resolution and Preventions Attempts

Category	No	Minimum	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Enduring Rival	575	7	98	52	28
Non-Rivals	1314	1	108	27	28
Total no. of Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts	1889				

Table 3

Results for Logit Regression on the Success or Failure of Management Attempt

Variable	Model 1	Model 2
Enduring	-.47*	-.68*
	(.13)	(.17)
Power Disparity	-.05*	-.05*
	(.009)	(.012)
Issue Tangibility	.03	.018
	(.11)	(.14)
Dispute Intensity	-.00003*	-.00008*
	(.00001)	(.00002)
Negotiation	.32*	
	(.11)	
Directive Strategy		.49*
		(.14)
Procedural Strategy		.74*
		(.19)
Constant	.05	-.13
	(.10)	(.14)
Model 1:	Model 2:	
Log-Likelihood Function = -1033.9	Log-Likelihood Function = -663.0	
Log-Likelihood (0) = -1058.1	Log-Likelihood (0) = -699.4	
Likelihood Ratio Test = 48.4; 5 d.f.	Likelihood Ratio Test = 72.8; 6 d.f.	

*p < .05; numbers in () are standard errors

estimates of the probability of a successful outcome, holding all other contributing factors constant. Because of the dichotomous nature of the outcome variable, the interpretation of the parameters associated with the logit, however, is not quite straightforward. The parameter estimates are transformed into estimates of probability that a given Conflict Resolution and Preventions effort will be successful. A hypothetical "base conflict" is usual as a benchmark from which the independent effects of the explanatory variables can be assessed. In each instance the components of our theoretical argument are generally supported by the data, an exception being the role played by issue tangibility. All are statistically robust and substantively meaningful, again with the exception of issue tangibility. The contextual variables of the power disparity between combatants and the protracted nature

of the conflict are associated with a decreasing probability of a successful outcome in Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Behavioral variables, likewise, also bear a strong relationship to the outcome of management efforts. The more intense the conflict, for example, the less likely it is that any specific Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempt will succeed.

The particular approach to Conflict Resolution and Preventions appears to influence the likely outcome of the management effort. When controlling for other factors, direct negotiation will increase the probability of a successful settlement over mediation efforts. Moreover, when a mediation strategy is adopted, the particular mediation strategy affects the likely outcome, with a procedural strategy having the greatest probability of success, followed by a directive and then a

Table 4		
Individual Effects of Changing Conditions for Conflict Resolution and Preventions On the Probability of Success		
Model 1		
Base	Prob. of Success	Change of Prob. Success
Non-Enduring		
Mediation		
Low intensity		
No power disparity	50%	
From: Base		
To: Enduring Conflict*	38%	-12%
From: Base		
To: Negotiation*	58%	8%
From: Base		
To: High intensity	.08	-42%
From: Base		
To: Tangible	.50	0%
From: Base		
To: High Disparity*	.16	-34%

*p<.05

Table 5		
Individual Effects of Changing Conditions for Conflict Resolution and Preventions On the Probability of Success		
Model 2		
Base	Prob. of Success	Change of Prob. Success
Non-Enduring		
Low intensity		
Intangible Issues		
No power disparity		
Communication	50%	
From: Base		
To: Enduring Conflict*	33%	-17%
From: Base		
To: High intensity	0%	-50%
From: Base		
To: Tangible Issues	49	-1%
From: Base		
To: High Power Disparity	16	-34%
From: Base		
To: Directive Strategy	62%	12%
From: Base		
To: Procedural Strategy	69%	19%

* p < .05

communicative strategy. As mentioned earlier, however, a direct interpretation of these coefficients is difficult without transforming them into an expression of the change in the probability of moving to a successful settlement given a change in the independent variables. Table 4 presents these transformations, using as the baseline a conflict: a) not associated with an enduring rival, b) one waged over intangible issues (such as ideology), c) between relatively equally capable actors, and d) involved in a low intensity conflict. The type of

management strategy for the base in Model 1 is mediation, while in Model 2 the base for the mediation strategy is communication-facilitation.

Here we see, for example, the probability of a successful settlement under the base conditions in Model 1 is 50%, but the existence of an enduring rivalry, holding all else constant at the base conditions, reduces the probability of success of the mediation attempt by 12% (Table 4). In Model 2, where we control for the specific approach to mediation, the existence of an enduring

conflict decreases the probability of a successful settlement by 17% to 33% (Table 5). Both of these results are consistent with our argument regarding the negative effect of intractability on Conflict Resolution and Preventions. Interestingly, and counter to our intuitive thoughts, negotiation has a significantly higher probability of success than mediation within enduring rivalries. Very intense conflicts and those with a large disparity in capabilities between actors have quite low prospects for the successful settlement of disputes (Model 1: 8% and 16%, respectively; and in Model 2: nil and 16%).

When looking at those cases in which mediation only was employed, the particular strategy has a strong impact on the likely success of this form of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. At the base conditions, where a communicative strategy is used, there is again a 50% likelihood of a successful settlement. A directive strategy increases the odds of a successful outcome by 12% to 62%, while a procedural approach has a 69% chance of success. But even that strategy has only a 51% chance of success when a conflict is intractable between enduring rivals.

Since one of our central concerns here is the effects of enduring conflicts on Conflict Resolution and Preventions outcomes, we push the analysis one step further. Table 6 presents the results of a bivariate exploration of the durability of a settlement under conditions associated with rivalries and non-rivalries. The intuitive perception would be that rivalries are rivalries because the antagonists can neither settle disputes nor abide by the terms of settlements if and when these are achieved. However, once a successful outcome has been achieved, the likelihood of that settlement holding for an extended period of time increases when the parties are part of an enduring conflict. Table 6 breaks down the durability of all successful management efforts into periods of less than one month, up to one month but less than two months, and two months or longer. The distributions of these data are such that it becomes clear that enduring rivals are considerably more likely to abide by the terms of any agreements than are non-rivals. For example, non-rivals are about equally likely to have an outcome last for less than a month as they are to have one last at least two months (40% vs. 46%), while enduring rivals are four times more likely to have a successful outcome hold for at least two months as they are to have one hold for a very short duration (17% vs. 70%). This is an unexpected result and largely inconsistent with the argument that enduring conflicts generally operate as feedback mechanisms, with negative interactions feeding future hostilities.

At first blush it might seem that a two month settlement is hardly a durable outcome, and that particularly with enduring rivals this should be no surprise. However two points should be raised to address this issue: a) the coding of the data did not permit an open-ended duration

for the outcome of mediation efforts, presumably leaving many of the agreements in the "two months or longer" category remaining in force for considerably longer periods of time, and b) the durability we examine refers to the settlement of a specific dispute and set of issues, not the resolution of the conflict itself. A negotiated ceasefire that lasts for two months or more may be quite an achievement for some disputants (e.g. Bosnia comes to mind here). The obvious expectation is that if it can hold for two months then there is a real possibility that it will hold for longer and other issues can then be addressed.

The problem of censored data reflected in the open-ended coding procedure has a corollary in the literature on international conflict. There is some evidence that the longer a conflict has persisted, the longer it can be expected to last (Vuchinich and Teachman, 1993). And although the idea of duration dependence is not without counter-evidence or its critics (Bennett and Stam, 1996), the notion that a settlement which lasts for two months has a reasonable chance of persisting even longer, would seem to be reasonably well grounded. Utility theory, for example, might suggest that until the costs of the status quo or benefits from moving off of this equilibrium are sufficiently large, then the status quo should hold.

Overall what emerges from the analysis is a sense that the management of enduring conflicts is made difficult largely because of the frequency and duration of hostile interactions between the parties. In short, those involved in intractable conflicts not only appear to have a difficult time resolving the underlying issues that fuel their antagonisms, but they also have a more difficult time successfully settling their disputes. This suggests, *inter alia*, that the negative interactions resulting from the conflict do indeed operate as some sort of a feedback mechanism, which in turn suggests that the disputants are more likely to rely on coercive means to resolve underlying issues. This finding seems consistent with those of Goertz and Diehl (1992; 1993; see also Gochman and Maoz, 1984) who demonstrate that enduring rivals account for a considerable amount of the violence within the international system. Given the extent of this international violence, one might counsel policymakers to focus on the strategy with which they try to settle disputes in these long-running conflicts.

These results, however, are richer than the simple inference that under some contextual conditions certain conflicts remain protracted because the parties cannot manage their disputes successfully. Those Conflict Resolution and Preventions attempts that do result in a settlement are considerably more likely to have the agreements upheld when the antagonists have a long history of conflict. This might suggest that the effect of prior hostile relationships is not so straightforward, and in fact, the successful management of a conflict and the likelihood of those management efforts to endure appear to operate by entirely different dynamics. This differing

Table 6				
Outcome Durability in Enduring and Non-Enduring Conflicts				
	0-3 weeks	4-7 weeks	8+ weeks	Row total
Non-enduring	181	59	204	444
	40%	13%	46%	72.5%
	86%	74%	63%	
Enduring	29	21	118	168
	17%	12%	70%	27.5%
	14%	26%	37%	
Column Total	210	80	322	612
	34.3%	13.1%	52.6%	100%
		Chi Sq	d.f.	P
Pearson		33.3	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio		35.4	2	.000

impact of enduring conflict on the ability to successfully settle a dispute, and ultimately have that outcome hold, may be tied to the learning that must take place through repeated interactions with the same party (Mor & Maoz, 1996; Leng, 1983). The negative effects of previous hostilities make further coercion the dominant strategy for managing the conflict. But coercion is costly and successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions -- as difficult as that may be -- makes evident the virtues of cooperative strategies for Conflict Resolution and Preventions, and hence successful outcomes tend to be more lasting.

CONCLUSION

Much of the literature on international Conflict Resolution and Preventions has been hampered by the search for generic principles, and the assumption that the crises and disputes which characterize a conflict relationship are independent of one another. Here we have sought to work within an approach that distinguishes between conflicts on the basis of their intractability and disputatiousness and identifies a category of conflicts--enduring or intractable conflicts--as very different from other conflicts. We push the analysis further by asking whether differences in the historical experience of states will also be expressed in the way such states approach and manage their conflicts. The search for effective Conflict Resolution and Preventions principles should be predicated upon such an examination. Are rivalry characteristics, so crucial in the onset and evolution of conflicts, important in the practice of Conflict Resolution and Preventions? Do enduring conflicts really deserve separate treatment? Do they manage their hostilities differently? This paper represents the first attempt to explore the theoretical and empirical implications of those questions. Having identified the characteristics and

consequences of enduring rivalries, the paper treats Conflict Resolution and Preventions as the dependent variable to answer this question. The behavioral attributes of enduring rivals clearly make a change to the practice of Conflict Resolution and Preventions. The data analysis suggests that the existence of intractability decreases the probability of successful Conflict Resolution and Preventions. A conflict punctuated by instances of militarized hostility and cooperation attracts a more varied range of Conflict Resolution and Preventions strategies than other conflicts. Interestingly, enduring rivals do not attract or welcome the diplomatic efforts of outsiders who may wish to mediate. Instead, they prefer to manage their relationship through negotiation. Remarkably, though, we find that when a Conflict Resolution and Preventions method (or strategy) has been successful, the outcome lasts far longer than similar outcomes in other conflicts.

The exploratory analysis undertaken in this paper suggests that a rivalry relationship offers a useful perspective for looking at international conflicts and interpreting some aspects of their management. That relationship, appropriately conceptualized and operationalized, may yet prove an invaluable focus for analyzing the dynamic processes that are embedded in a continuous and conflictual interaction. Reliable rivalry and Conflict Resolution and Preventions data sets have now been constructed. It is surely time their complex interdependence was more fully explored. This study explores a new angle and is among the first to examine intercultural conflict resolution among America, Asia (China, India, Korea, Japan and Malaysia) and Australia. This is the first study which has brought three continents one platform and compared their differing conflict resolution styles in the light of their cultural values. A lot many studies have been done to compare "East West" differences, by comparing U.S. to different Asian countries individually but for the first time U.S. has been

compared to not only Asia but to Australia as well. As such, common limitations are to be noted of limited number of studies in Australian and Indian context. Much studies have not been done of Australian conflict resolution styles since it has always been equated to America and it has been believed that American conflict resolution style is replicated in Australia as well, but that does not stand hundred percent true since few differences lie in culture and values held by Australians.

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Full Length Research

The Role of ICT for Good Governance and Agricultural Development in Ethiopia: Local Evidence from Southern Ethiopia

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An attempt is made to identify the critical role of Information and Communications Technology (ICT) for promoting Good Governance and Agricultural Development in the context of southern Ethiopia. Active citizen participation, the provision of high-quality service delivery, influence on government decision-making and execution, the improvement of government-citizen relationship, and the creation of transparency, are among the indispensable roles that ICT can play. The overall implication is the prevalence of rule of law, the ultimate characteristic of good governance in a country. Such governance transformations significantly contribute to the promotion of agricultural development and the consequent long-term transformation of the economy. ICT can play a crucial role in benefiting resource-strapped farmers with up-to-date knowledge and information on agricultural technologies, best practices, markets, price trends, and weather conditions. The experiences of most countries indicate that rapid development of ICT, which facilitates the flow of data and information, has tremendously enhanced knowledge management practice in agriculture. However, the use of ICT for the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge and information is still low in Ethiopia, despite progress made over recent decades. Currently, among various ICT-related initiatives, radio is widely used to inform users on agricultural topics, including new and upgraded farming techniques, production management, and market information. Due to its strategic importance in reaching the majority of smallholders, attempts are being made to strengthen the delivery of knowledge and information through radio programs. Unlike previous trends in using traditional ICT tools (i.e., radio and TV), the use of modern ICT (computers, internet, mobile telephony, etc.) is achieving popular adoption in the small towns of the country. It is found that low infrastructural development is the main challenge for ICT in the rural areas of southern Ethiopia.

Key Words: ICT, Governance, Agricultural Development, Ethiopia

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INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

Good governance and public sector management are central to socio-economic development, and constitute the primary means of social transformation. Both combined are the cornerstones of successful economies. The implication is that the realization of good governance is a foundation stone for development. Ethiopia needs to improve its record of environmental degradation and low agricultural productivity. At the same time, it must continue to enlarge the democratic space, encourage openness and foster the rule of law, in order to prepare the ground for sustainable development and poverty reduction. Therefore, good governance is the precondition for development. Easterly (2006) states that badly governed countries are poor countries, and that good governance tend to come together in packages.

Good governance must include effective citizen participation in public decision-making and management, accountability, legitimacy, transparency, the rule of law, and an open and enabling environment for addressing socioeconomic problems. This requires participatory democracy, and governmental capacity to respond to the increasing demands of development. It has been shown/argued that access to information and communication (ICT) in its own right plays an important role in promoting good governance (Coffey Int. Development, 2007). The ultimate manifestation of transparency is that kind of political environment in which there exists a climate of trust between the government and the governed. This time, for every aspect of development, each citizen tends to take responsibility and develops a sense of ownership to the development process within the country.

In a more relative speaking, The current government of Ethiopia is able to satisfy the most basic needs of the people, but the questions of accountability and transparency are still a subject of debate among scholars. As a result, many confirm that the long-term sustainability of the current effort at instituting participatory democracy characterized by free, fair and periodic elections as well as peaceful power transition will be less likely to bear fruit. In the 21st century, an important input for good governance that should not pass unnoticed is the role of ICT. For preparing the ground for good governance, in effective, responsible and accountable service delivery, the role of ICT is highly instrumental. And the best way for citizens to effectively participate in governance is through ICT tools such as the internet, mobile phones and news media (Hellstrom, 2009).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To identify the obstacles that will affect the

adoption of information and communication technologies (ICT for improved governance in southern Ethiopia.

2. To explore the role that ICT can play in improving governance in the study area.

3. To assess the impact of ICT on Agricultural Development within the Ethiopian context

METHODOLOGY

The study was based on both primary and secondary data. Initially semi-structured questionnaire was prepared and distributed to people of rural residence in southern Ethiopia. The sample population was selected randomly by appearing in the Regional Immigration office, located in Hawassa. At that office, there is a chance of meeting with different individuals from agrarian background. Using that chance, from the total 122 people appeared in one day in the office for the purpose of getting a national passport, 35 respondents were randomly selected using age, sex, and place they come. The questions concerned their perceptions with regard to the role of ICT for the promotion of good governance and agricultural development, opportunities as well as challenges encountered the adoption and proper functioning of ICT in Ethiopia. The responses were interpreted and analyzed using descriptive statistics. In addition to this, published and unpublished literatures were used to supplement the primary data.

LITERATURE REVIEW

ICT for Good Governance in Ethiopia

In a heterogenic state such as Ethiopia, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is a potential tool for communicating and interacting with the citizens of the country. ICT enables Government-to-Citizen Information flow via the internet and vice versa. ICT facilitates Citizen-to-Citizen interaction by creating a virtual community that exchanges words, ideas and thoughts through the mediation of e -bulletin boards, e-mail networks, e-chatting, Skype and recently social networks. In this vein, ICT can also facilitate Citizen-to-Member of Parliament communication.

Agere (2000) as cited by Bemile, R. and Boateng, R. (2011), argues that, in the era of globalization, good governance (GG) appears simultaneously with concepts such as democracy, civil society, popular participation, human rights, and social and sustainable development. GG can be seen as the prerequisite of a development process within a given nation. There is a general consensus among practitioners that GG should, among other things, be participatory, transparent, responsive, led

by rule of law, effective, efficient, and accountable and have strategic vision in characteristic (UNDP, 1994). It ensures that the voices of the poorest and most vulnerable are heard in decision-making processes regarding the allocation of scarce resources.

The Figure 1 implies that, if a nation is in need of attaining sustainable economic and social development, everybody is required to contribute once own due. Without citizenry participation, no any attempt can bear a fruit.

The 20th and 21st centuries have witnessed major paradigm shifts in the conceptualization of development and governance. These phenomena are aided and propelled by a new “network intelligence” consummated in the introduction of information and communication technology (ICT). The world has also witnessed a reinvention of the whole process of governance that has impacted society in various ways. Through the internet and digital connectivity, today’s world has come to be closer than ever before. Efficiency and processes of governance have been improved through faster information flow in the governance chain. Bottlenecks and cost of labor have been reduced across the world. Furthermore, ICT has opened new possibilities, and improved transparency and access to information as well as partnership and collaboration, leading to improved relationships between the citizen and state.

On the other hand, the paradigm shift from E-governance to M-governance can leverage the convergence of mobile and communication technologies to usher in a multi-modal approach to delivery of government services. Such service delivery can bypass the need for traditional networks of physical interaction and communication. Bypassing physical interaction has many effects, one of which is limiting the amount of corruption that can take place.

The successful implementation of sustainable hybrid governance requires supportive ICT infrastructure, government commitment, and active citizenry as shown in the diagram. This can be greatly achieved with the principles of subsidiarity—where matters should be handled by the smallest, lowest or least centralized competent authority—, and solidarity—unity that is based on common interests. If the Government can demonstrate these principles to its citizens by sharing authority with local administrators in different counties, the citizens must also respond with full participation and strong advocacy for important community issues.

ICT FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Changes in the pattern of agricultural production in many developing countries (brought by globalization and

structural adjustment programs), whilst benefiting larger commercial farmers, have accelerated insecurity for many small-scale farmers. Farmers require access to agricultural information but they also need information on finance and credit. Small-scale and subsistence farmers have the least access to information and resources for improving productivity. Agricultural extension systems in most developing countries are underfunded and have had mixed effects. Much extension information has been found to be out of date, irrelevant and not applicable to farmers’ needs (Garforth & Mulhall 1999, Norrish & Lawrence 1999).

It is obvious that, while production and productivity targets are generally achievable, the country needs to adopt more cost-effective, innovative and modern approaches to agricultural knowledge management, and to reform and modernize its agricultural extension system (UNDP 2012). For this purpose??, the Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research (EIAR) and regional agricultural research centers have created systems delivering the results of agricultural research activities to farmers mostly through SMS, development agents and FTCs. EIAR oversees the work of federal research centers, and coordinates all agricultural research activities in the country. Regional Agricultural Research Centers (RARCs) are run by the respective regional governments within their regional bureaus of agriculture. Both EIAR and the RARCs have research-extension coordination departments, which are in charge of linking research activities to agricultural extension. These linkages are currently weak and need to be improved in order to use them as a vehicle for generating, transmitting and updating agricultural knowledge and practices of smallholder farmers (Davis 2010).

Making relevant knowledge accessible to the farming community helps to improve production and productivity, and brings higher returns. If the agricultural practices of smallholders are not backed up by modern agricultural knowledge and information, agricultural households are likely to remain trapped in low productivity, food insecurity and poverty. In the context of Ethiopia, knowledge management¹ in the sense of generating new agricultural knowledge and information and making it available for use by smallholder farmers is important in promoting sustainable livelihoods and reducing rural poverty. Figure 2

As shown in the diagram above, while knowledge management (the process of capturing, sharing and

¹ In its broader sense, knowledge management encompasses processes and practices concerned with the creation, acquisition, sharing and use of knowledge, skills and expertise and follow a circular flow and a nonstop process that continuously updates itself (see Figure 2 above)

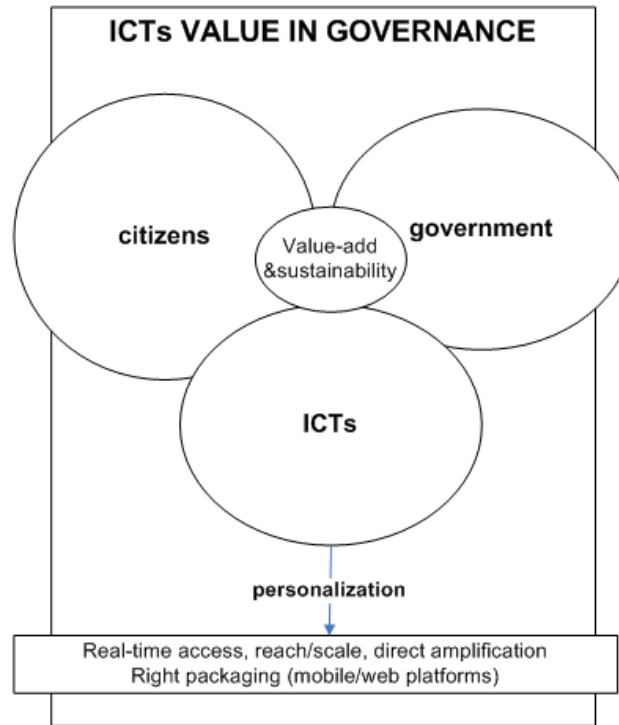


Figure 1. Source: Hilda Moraa 2011

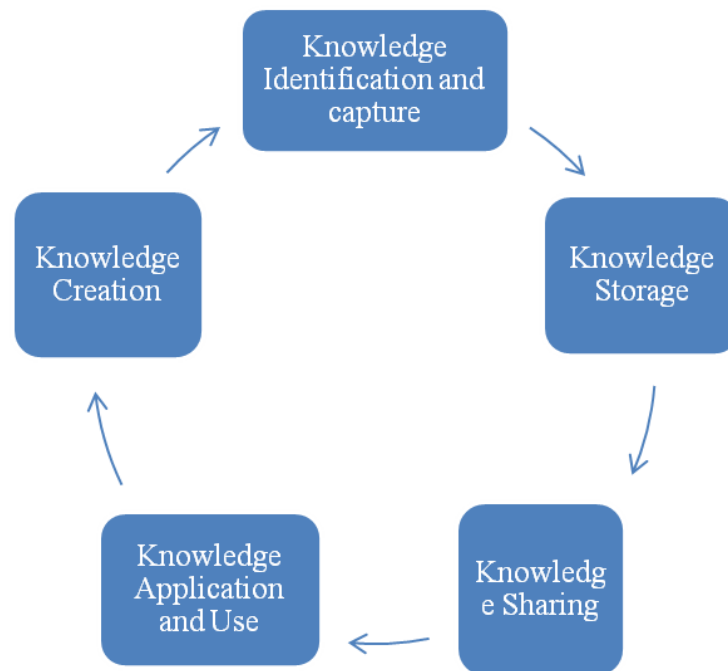


Figure 2. Source: Adopted from Cong et al. (2007)

using knowledge and techniques) is one possible model for assisting agricultural development being taking place in Ethiopia (if and only if, appropriate linkages

between academic and research institutions and the agriculture sector. For the circular flow of knowledge management to take place, both knowledge, that is

sufficiently better than the existing knowledge, and the means for transmitting it, must both be available. In addition, the consumers of knowledge must be willing and able to use the better knowledge that is made available. The role of ICT is indispensable to deliver and disseminate such information.

More than ever before, access for information is widely observed using mobile technology with the increasingly developed social networks such as face books, which are adopted by rural farmers in Ethiopia.

Various entities are engaged in the creation and development of information and knowledge. Likewise, several repositories and intermediaries play their role to bring information and knowledge to ultimate users. Agricultural knowledge is created from modern and indigenous sources. The modern knowledge is created through scientific research (and is therefore explicit knowledge) conducted by universities and research institutes. Indigenous or tacit knowledge refers to traditional knowledge, innovations and practices of local communities, and is developed outside the formal education system.

Agricultural information and knowledge created from these sources is stored in various forms before it is disseminated for use. The main repositories include publications, audio-visuals, and websites. The stored knowledge and information is then disseminated to users, such as rural farmers, through intermediaries, notably during training courses, field visits, exhibitions, publications, and using traditional forms of ICT (TV and radio), modern forms of ICT (internet, mobile phone, etc), and others. Figure 3 shows the flow of agricultural knowledge and information from creation to end-use.

As (Islam 2010) cited by (UDP 2012) has argued, effective knowledge management is achieved when the right knowledge and information is delivered to the right person at the right time in a user-friendly and accessible manner that helps the recipients to perform their jobs efficiently. The outcome of effective knowledge management includes improved productivity and performance of the agricultural sector.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

About 67% of the 122b respondents claimed that radio is the only, most effective and exploited information communication technology addressing up-to-date information for farmers in most of the rural areas of Ethiopia. Minorities of 10% and 23% argued that mobile SMS and mobile Facebook, respectively, are recently contributing a lot for delivering important information for the farmers widely. This implies that, despite the outdated

and ancient forms of ICT, like radio, in rural areas, modern forms of ICT like computers, TV, and other newly introduced technologies are still not widely adopted.

Also studies, without including the recent developments in ICT adoption and usage, in its prior publications, WB, and according to the data obtained from the country diagnostic report of the World Bank issued in March 2010, the coverage of ICT in Ethiopia is one of the lowest in Africa. At the time of WB assessment, the internet bandwidth benchmark for low income countries was about 20 times higher than that of Ethiopia (UNDP 2012). Studies conducted by Adam, 2010 and others have argued that the monopolistic market structure that exists in Ethiopia's fixed internet and mobile markets is one of the major factors behind the slow development of its ICT sector.

Thus, despite the fact that ICT has immense potential in disseminating agricultural knowledge and information, the low level of ICT infrastructure in Ethiopia is believed to have hindered the sector from realizing its potential. This has inhibited the effectiveness of FTCs in creating and delivering agricultural knowledge for use by rural farmers to increase productivity and production and to enhance efficiency. In most places, FTCs are not connected to modern ICT infrastructure and services. As a result, research-extension-farmer linkages are weak and costly, as such linkages have to be fostered through physical contact such as training, field demonstrations, field day programs and advisor.

With regard to the role of ICT for good governance, almost all (98%) respondents stated that they are able to attend the alternatives argued by each political party and are able to decide their position as to whose policy option is sound for administering the country in the future. A recent study conducted by Guchteneire and Mlikota, 2007, state that in many developing countries of Latin America, citizens can absorb any kind of political awareness through electronics media, till one can argue that professionalism has nothing to do in the today's information chain.

The same proportion of respondents indicated that they could take lessons regarding the consequence of corruption causing a serious criminal offense while case reviewed in every day TV program. Individuals who are found guilty of corruption are seen when sentenced to several years' stay in jail. This condition has created a negative attitude towards corruption.

About 45% of the respondents indicated that with the full introduction of mobile technology since 2001, the business transaction has enhanced four times since the introduction of mobile technology. The rest 21% and 46% stated that mobile technology has improved their life and the lives of their family members by providing information such as sophisticated health institutions and vacant positions for job seekers in other places respectively.

The low level of access to ICT infrastructure is also

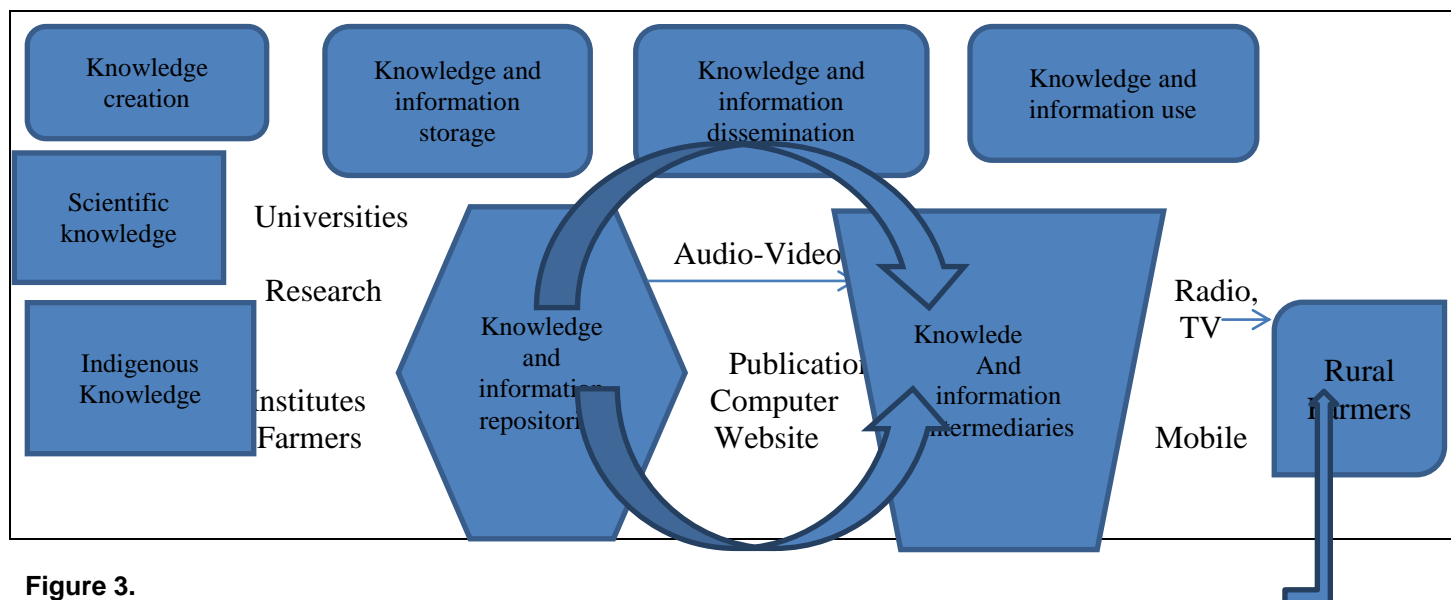


Figure 3.

believed to have slowed the sharing and exchange of knowledge and information generated at research centers at national and regional levels. Relatedly, electricity infrastructure coverage in the rural parts of the country remains low despite recent efforts to extend the electricity grid to rural areas through the rural electrification program. The low level of electricity coverage has in turn inhibited the expansion of ICT services to rural areas.

Although necessary, access to ICT infrastructure by itself is not sufficient for the dissemination of knowledge and information to occur through it. Access to ICT infrastructure must be accompanied by access to ICT services. In this respect, the other challenge is how to make ICT services both affordable and available in venues or modes that are convenient to smallholder farmers (UNDP 2012). Availability of venues refers to the presence of various access points, particularly information kiosks, tele-centers, call-centers, and so on, in a manner that is accessible to the majority of the farmers. These services are not adequately available and accessible to farmers in Ethiopia. A recent study conducted by (Chekol, 2009) as cited in UNDP 2012, pointed out that there are only three public tele-centers per 10 thousand people and even existing service centers are unlikely to be sustainable, and extension to rural areas is a challenge due to lack of funds. Therefore, the other critical factor hindering the widest possible exploitation of the ICT services is the low level infrastructural development in the rural areas.

The issue of affordability poses also another challenge to accessibility of ICT service, especially

among subsistence farmers. Moreover, although the tariff for modern ICT services such as mobile phone, internet, and fixed lines in Ethiopia is one of the lowest in Africa, prices are not that low in purchasing power terms when one takes into account the low levels of household per-capita income (Adam, 2010).

Regarding the usage of ICT, 98% of the total sample respondents responded that they are using ICT, in one way or another. And among these respondents, 77% are argued that they use only mobile services and the rest 21% claimed to use both radio and Mobile.

The UNDP 2012 study confirmed that radio transmission covers over 80 per cent of the country and that about half of the Ethiopian households own a radio. This makes radio programs one of the most cost-effective channels for conveying agricultural knowledge and information to the rural community. There is potential to strengthen the use of radio to enhance research-extension-farmer linkages in Ethiopia. This is one of the opportunities for the development of ICT in Ethiopia.

Many of the respondents recommended that it would be good, if the proper function of telecommunication in delivering appropriate network systems, as they are consuming their balance while the required communication between the two parties remain unfinished business. An emerging body of research shows that the reduction in communication costs associated with mobile phones has tangible economic benefits, improving agricultural and labor mobile phones has tangible economic benefits, improving agricultural and labor market efficiency and producer and consumer

welfare in specific circumstances market efficiency and producer and consumer welfare in specific circumstances and countries (Jensen, 2007; Aker, 2008; Aker, 2010; Klonner and Nolen, 2008). What worsens the problem along with this hand is the low and evolutionary expansion of mobile phone coverage in Ethiopia, due to the fact that Ethiopia, Somalia and other West African states are land-locked countries.

At present, almost all woredas have infrastructure that enable them to be connected to the network and have access to internet, telecommunication, video conferencing and databases at national level. In addition, more than half of the kebeles in the country were linked to the network by the time of the assessment by Adam (2010). Thus, the presence of such modern ICT initiatives can be considered to be a good opportunity to enhance the flow of agricultural knowledge and information in the region in particular and in the country in general.

CONCLUSIONS

ICT represents the introduction of a new form of political relationship in which individuals in society, their representatives, social groups, social and political organizations, and pressure groups, among others, can act directly over governments. ICT introduction to improve local governance represents a decisive step in the democratization of public information and in citizen-government-citizen or citizen-citizen-government interactions. The citizen-government relationship recognizes and warrants that government authorities will fulfil public demands and priorities.

The use and the potential for expanding ICT depend essentially on a physical base. Magnifying this base will guarantee the necessary infrastructure for the implementation of information technologies, as the case of the internet demonstrates. An adequate physical base is fundamental, that is, to expanding the telecommunication system, extending telephone lines, lowering the costs of system access and utilization time, reducing equipment costs, lowering provider services costs, and, most of all, establishing entry points that facilitate public access, following the example of Internet Cabins (tele centers) in Peru. Having done that, the next step is to prepare an "educational base" that is, preparing youth and adults to use information technologies.

The major challenges inhibiting the use of ICT in disseminating agricultural knowledge and information include the low level of access to ICT infrastructure and services, and need to be addressed. The existing potential for extending the current ICT infrastructure to reach rural farmers, coupled by the presence of wide area radio service coverage across the country, should be exploited to implement ICT-based knowledge and

information dissemination in the short term. Policy and investment priorities that government and its partners should consider in order to promote cost-effective knowledge management in agriculture have been highlighted. Priorities include extending the existing ICT infrastructure to reach FTCs and woreda agricultural offices, establishing rural ICT kiosks, establishing and strengthening community radios, integrating ICT at all levels of education, and making ICT hardware affordable to users. Mobile phone platforms offer good opportunities for reaching farmers and knowledge intermediaries, and their use for disseminating knowledge and information should be explored and enhanced, and the design of interventions should benefit from existing lessons and experiences of many countries in Africa and Asia. These initiatives, we believe, will assist the government to rationalize its expenditures in the sector, streamline the agricultural extension system, speed up agricultural transformation and attain the objective of doubling agricultural production and productivity in the effort towards the eradication of poverty in the country.

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Appendix

Semi-Structured Questionnaire

I. Background Information

Name: _____

Age: _____

Place of birth: _____

Job: _____

Educational Status: _____

Marital Status: _____

II. ICT related Information

1. Do you use any kind of information communication technology?

- 1) Yes 2) No

2. If your answer to the above question is yes, what are these?

1. Mobile 2. Radio 3. Mobile and Radio 4. Television 5. All of these technologies

3. Do you use any social network for getting information regarding the one that support your farming practices?

1. Yes 2.No

4. If your answer to q3 above is yes, what is that?

1. Facebook 2. Radio News 3. Skype 4. None of them

5. If your answer to the same q, is no, what is the reason behind?

1. Financial constraint to buy the technology
2. Lack of awareness about the importance of ICT
3. Dis regard to ICT
4. Lack of know how to operate the instruments

6. If you have the trend to get information using any kind of ICT, did you benefited from such information?

1. Yes 2.No

7. If your response is yes, what was this information about?

1. Harvesting of the crops
2. Sowing seeds on time
3. To detect the prediction of rain availability
- 4 To commercial purposes, getting market information
5. for all of the above

8. From which of the ICT instrument do you get the latest information?

1. Mobile SMS 2. Radio 3. TV 4.All

9. What are the opportunities that enable you to use ICT in your locality?

1. The benefit that you get from the media
2. The cost of the instruments
3. The desire to use ICT
4. None

5.Specify any_____

10. What are the factors that affect you from using ICT?

Specify_____

Full Length Research

Assessment of Rural Women's Participation in Agricultural Production: the Case of Awaro Kora Peasant Associations, Ambo District West Shewa Zone, Oromia Region

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This study is mainly focused on the assessment of the involvement of women in the agricultural production of Awaro Kora Peasant Associations, west shewa zone of Ambo district, Ethiopia.

Key words: women. Agricultural production, participation

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INTRODUCTION

The status of women in the world wide

A detailed over view of the status of the worlds women, issued by the united nations in 2000, noted that women and men live in different worlds; worlds that differ in terms of access to educations and work opportunities, as well as in health, personal security and human rights (UN:2002)

It estimated that women grow half of the world: food, but they rarely own land. They constitute one- third of the worlds paid labor force but are generally found in the

lowest, paying job. Single parent household, headed by women, which appear to be other increase in many nations, are major typically found in the poorest section of the populations. The Feminization of poverty has become a global phenomenon. Despite social norms regarding the support and protections, many widows around the world receive little concrete support from extended family net -works (UN, 2002)

Women participation in the labor force and entering the job markets find their options restricted in important ways. Particularly damaging is occupational segregations or

confinement to sex- typed “women’s jobs” (UN, 2002).

Global over view of women equality, empowerment and sustainable development.

As confirmed by women’s environment and development organizations (WEDO; 2001) women equality is not only a goal in its own right, but an essential ingredient for achieving all the MDG’s, be it poverty eradication protecting the environment or access health care.

The convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) established in 1979 market on important steps towards explicit prohibition of against women (Baden and Reeves, 2000:37, as cited in Gemechu, 2008)

Moreover, the 1993 Vienna conference on human right was water shed as it markets the first international recognition of violence against women as human rights violations.

Many women’s have special skills in for instances marketing and trading, while others have special knowledge and capabilities, which have been at all unknowledged.

The active involvement of women (the invisible work force) will make economically and politically strong (Birhanu, 2006:15).

Women’s and sustainable development in Ethiopia

The establishment of the women’s affairs office and insurance of national policy on Ethiopian women which entitles and ensures on women’s right to property, employment and pension could be mentioned as important miles stones for the current regimes towards the realization of gender issues and mitigation measures in Ethiopia (UN 2002:28).

Victimization of Ethiopian women by gender- based oppression and exploitation in all spheres of life, lack of adequate recognition and economic valuation of their contribution, denial of their right to have access to and control over means over means of production and their major shares of category of the poorest of the poor were reported as the basic reasons why the government of Ethiopia has given due to the consideration to the multi-faceted problems of Ethiopian women (Gemechu, 2008:21)

The level of concisousness in a society of the role played by women in the development of the country. The deep- rooted cultural benefits and traditional practices of a society that prevent women playing their full role in the development process; lack of appropriate technology to reduce the work load of women at household level; shortage of property qualified women development agents to understand and help motivated and empower

rural women were reported as some of the major constraints hindering the progress of women in sustainable development in Ethiopia (UN, 2002:28). But these days, sustainable development has a buzz word. According to the world commission on environment and development (WCED, 1987), “Sustainable development- is a development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs”.

Constasy of natural resources and environment is necessary conditions for sustainable development. The set of sufficient conditions includes on appropriate institutional framework and governance system for implementations of sustainable development policy (Gemechu, 2008).

Relationship between agricultural production, natural resources management and women’s role

Understanding the relationship amongst crop production, animal rearing, natural as resource management women’s role is very important in sustainable development agricultural and rural development efforts.

(Upadhyay, 2005:230) confirms that throughout the developing world, females are significantly involved in the use and management of natural resources. In other word females clearly out do males in terms of involvement. Yet women’s are always underrepresented in natural resources decision- making establishment of local and community organization and reducing the work burden of women in key tasks and improving their decisions making ability in natural resource management.

Access to and control over resources Benefits among rural women’s

Rural women and men have different levels access to control over natural or community, human and financial resources as well as to public services and facilities. In patriarchal system of society women by large are deprived of direct ownership of resources such as land most in Ethiopia, especially most rural women and men of low class have little control over different resources in agricultural production of the country.

Almost all resources are controlled of their husbands, fathers brothers, in low etc. female headed households are even worse of because of some structural problem to gender (Birhanu, 2006:34)

Women’s advancement, empowerment in decision making including women’s participation in national and international economic system management and control of environmental degradations is a key are for sustainable development. (Baden and Oxoal, 1997:37)

As stated in recent report on millennium development

goals (MDGs), wage differentials, occupational segregations higher unemployment rates and their disproportionate representation in the formal and subsistence sectors are the major limiting factors for females economic advancement (UNICEF, 2006:8)

The 1974 Ethiopian land form was not gender biased except if the use of language taking the consideration article 4 of the proclamation, this reads without differentiation of the sex, any person who is willing to personally cultivate land shall be allotted rural land sufficient for his maintenance and that of his family. It sounds that land given to household thee by both wife and husband seems to b on the same footing with men (Birhanu, 2007)

Constraints of Agricultural production in Ethiopia

The agricultural sector is the main factor that dominates the economy of Ethiopia though depends mostly on the subsistence, small scale farming system and remains a vulnerable sector (Deresa and Kelemawork, 2005:23). It is the main source of livelihood and revenue for the country. Adverse environmental conditions, slow growth of the agriculture sector and rapid population growth are the main factors holding back the development of Ethiopian culture. Small scale farmers who are dependent on low input and low output rain fed mixed farming with traditional technologies dominate the agriculture sector.

Other causes are tenure insecurity; weak agricultural research and extension services: lack of agricultural marketing; an inadequate transport network; low use of fertilizers improved seeds and pesticides and the use of traditional farm implements. However, the major causes of under production are drought, which often causes famine since early 1970's and floods. This climate related disasters make the nation dependent on food aid. (Deresa, 2007:5)

Socio-cultural factors that affect women's in agriculture

Many socio- cultural factors, such as societal institution, popular culture, foster male, female distinction in many ways. Gone are the days when the media almost exclusively portrayed women in stereotypical, powerless roles, still research indicated that some gender stereotyping persists for example in TV commercials and programs in countries around the world (Furnhama and Skae, 1997: Lovedal, 1989: Mulang, 1996)

The socio- cultural based gender division of labor which burdens females in the help of different stakeholders. The role of the religious institutions and rural organizations influencing the behavior of males in the satieties is

immense. On top of that gender sensitization programs are needed to encourage males and females to hare in domestic tasks. This could take place through non – formal education activities such as extension meetings, and main streaming gender issues in school curriculum of all levels. Moreover non- formal education activities organized for rural farmers should take not of the heavily domestic work load of females so that such activities are schedules at appropriate time to enable females to attend (Gemechu, 2008:109).

Although the laws until the 1974 revolution did not clearly deny women's ownership, the fact is that women were not permitted to own land from the cultural aspect during the era of feudalism (JICA, 1997:17)

A gender division of labor in rural Ethiopia varies by farming system, across cultural settings and location, based on different wealth categories (Abera et al, 2006:18). In most rural parts of Ethiopia gender roles do vary according to ethnicity, income, status, location and other factors.

Major crops grown and animal raising in study kebele

Table 1 summarizes priority crops and animal raising in the study community. Women's participation and their role in agricultural production were undertake during major farming activities and seasonal calendars of the years.

The types of crop that were grown in Awaro peasant associations were teff, wheat, and horse bean were ranked respectively.

This priority of crops given because of their market and food values. Besides during focus group discussion (FGD) and key informant interviews farmers were confirmed that teff is endemic crop to Ethiopia and cultivated as human food to make local bread which is called 'budena or "enjera". Moreover teff straw has high value for feeding of livestock and for construction of houses.

Teff production in Ethiopia has the following major advantages for small scale farmers (Ketema, 1987, as cited in Gemechu, 2008):-

- It can be grown under moisture- stresses areas;
- It can be grown under water lagged conditions;
- It is suitable and is used for double and relay cropping.
- Its straw is a valuable animal feed during the dry season when there is acute shortage feed.
- It has acceptance in the national diet and enables farmers to earn more because of its high price.
- It is reliable and low- risk crop.
- It is useful as rescue or catch crop moisture stress areas.
- It can be stored easily under local storage

Table 1. Major crops grown and cropping seasonal calendars in a year of Awaro peasant Associations

Types of crops	Key farming activities	Months											
		A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J
Teff	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Land preparation												
Wheat	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Land preparation												
Horse bean	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												

Source: Awaro peasant Association, 2010

Table 2. Knowledge of women's in crop production and animal rearing

Agricultural production	To what extent day all know?							
	Very high		High		Low		No knowledge	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Land preparation	6	17	9	26	15	43	5	14
Planting	4	11.3	18	51.4	13	38	-	-
Technological application	3	9	10	28.5	14	40	8	22.5
Weed control	9	26	11	31.4	11	31.4	4	11.2
Harvesting	6	17	15	43.2	10	28.5	4	11.2
Animal raising	4	11.3	18	51.4	13	38	-	-

Source- own field data, 2012

conditions since it's not attacked by the weevil and other storage aspects.

- It has less diseases and pest problems that any other crops.

Another very important cereal crops grown in community was wheat. It is also a very important cereal crops in Ethiopia. Wheat straw is used for animal feed and as root cover in rural areas of Ethiopia. As confirmed by farmers contacted during key informant interviews and FGD in the study.

Another priority crop in the study community was horse bean. The indigenous horse bean variety grown in the study community is locally called "Gayyoo"

In addition there were many major animals that raised in the study community. Such animals as calf, sheep, donkey, horse, mules, goats, are to be mentioned. The respondents were reported that those animals were feed grass during summer, autumn and spring season and they feed crops and straws of crops like maize, teff, wheat during the winter with river water. This was also

confirmed by FGD group participants of the respondents.

Women based knowledge in agricultural production

From Table 2. the women and men respondents gave their knowledge of each major crop production and animals raising practices. Women knowledge was indicate that there were significant increase women for all major crop production and animal raising practices.

As indicated earlier a total of 35 respondents were covered in this study and all of these respondents were gave responses on their knowledge relation with women in crop production and animal raising practices. In the crop production for land preparation knowledge of women was (43%) of low, (26%) were high, (17%) were very high and (14%) were no knowledge about land preparation. Concerning knowledge of the respondents about planting (51%) them had high knowledge followed by (38.9) was low and (11%) of the respondents were very high in

Table 3. Factors influence women knowledge of land preparation

Headship		Socio-economic		Socio-cultural		Training	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
6	17	5	14	16	46	8	23

Source- own field data, 2012

Table 4. Factors influencing women's knowledge of planting

Headship		Socio- economic		Socio- cultural		Training	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
6	17	6	17	15	43	8	23

Source- own field data, 2012

Table 5. Factors influence knowledge of technological applications

Access of information		Family headship		Socio-economic		Access to extension		Level of education		Socio-cultural		Headship & socio-cultural	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
6	17	3	9	9	26	2	6	4	11	1	14	6	17

Source- own field data, 2012

engaged knowledge of planting in their family and the same is true for animal raising activities. In addition to these from the Table 1 depicted above one could observe that the majority of respondents (40%) was low, (28.5%) of respondents were high, (22.5%) the respondents were no knowledge and (9%) the respondents were very high of knowledge in technological application on agricultural production.

Moreover the majority (31.4%) high and low with the same proportion, (26%) was very high and (11.2%) of the respondents were responses no knowledge of weed control in agricultural production. As it was summarized in above Table 1 the majorities of the respondents had high knowledge in the agricultural production in both crop and animal raising. While the least numbers had no knowledge of both crop production and animal raising practices in their family and kebele. But even if they had high knowledge they were not able to participated as they had knowledge due to a low status in a society and their contribution were not recognized in the family, community and society at large. This study result was in line with or conformation with "women's role in the economy has often been under estimated, and their work in agriculture has long been invisible" (Gemetchu, 2008:9)

Factors influencing women's participation in agricultural production

The respondents were asked what factors influence the

women's knowledge and participation in agricultural production. A greater proportion of respondents which account (46%) reported that socio -cultural factor as a major influencing ones, for knowledge on land preparation, followed by (23%) were lack of training on land preparation, Headship account (17%) of respondents and (14%) were reported socio- economic a factor for influencing women knowledge on land preparation.

As it was indicated in the below Table 3, A greater proportion of the respondents (43%) reported socio-cultural followed by (23%) training, (17%) of the respondents for the same proportion of both socio-economic and head ship respectively as a major factor for influencing women knowledge in planting.

As shown on the above Table 5 the greater proportion of respondents (26%) reported socio-economic as followed by (17%) of the respondents family headship and socio- cultural with same proportion with accessing information, (14%) socio- cultural (11%) were level of education, (9%) were family headship and (6%) of the respondents were put as the major factors for influencing the knowledge of women on technological application and their participation in agricultural production. As it was indicated in the Table 4 socio- economic factor had great proportion influence knowledge of women in technological application.

As indicated on the above Table 6 a greater proportion (34%) respondent, were reported level of education as major factors influencing knowledge of women in food

Table 6. Factors influencing women's knowledge of food processing

Training		Family headship		Socio-economic		Access to extension		Level of education	
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
10	29	3	9	5	14	5	14	12	34

Source- own field data, 2012

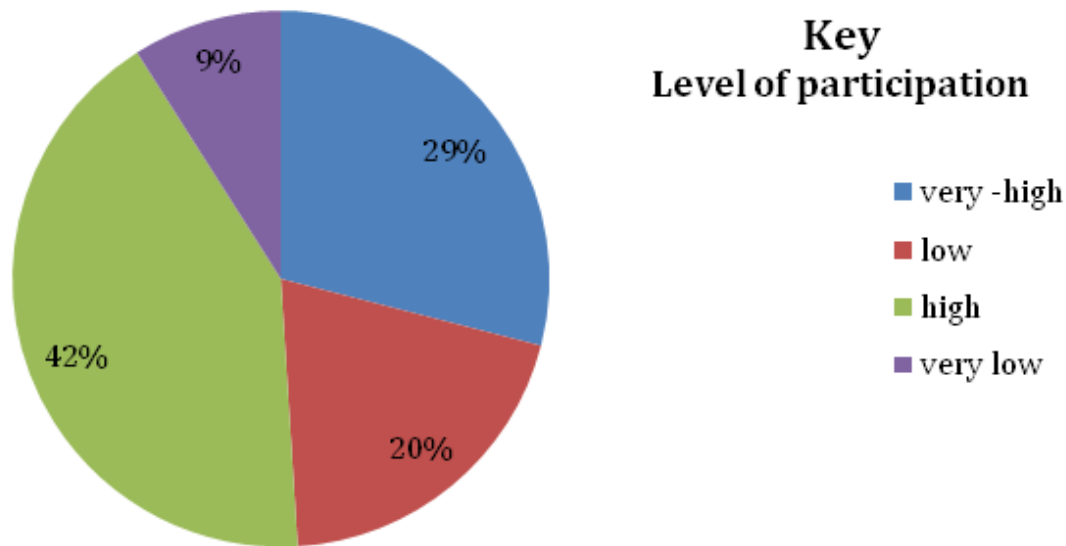


Figure 1. level of education women participation in productive activities.
Sour: own field data, 2012

processing followed by (29%) lack of training, (14%) were socio- economic access to extension, (9%) were put family headship as major factor that influence women knowledge in food processing.

Responses on the level of women participation in productive activities

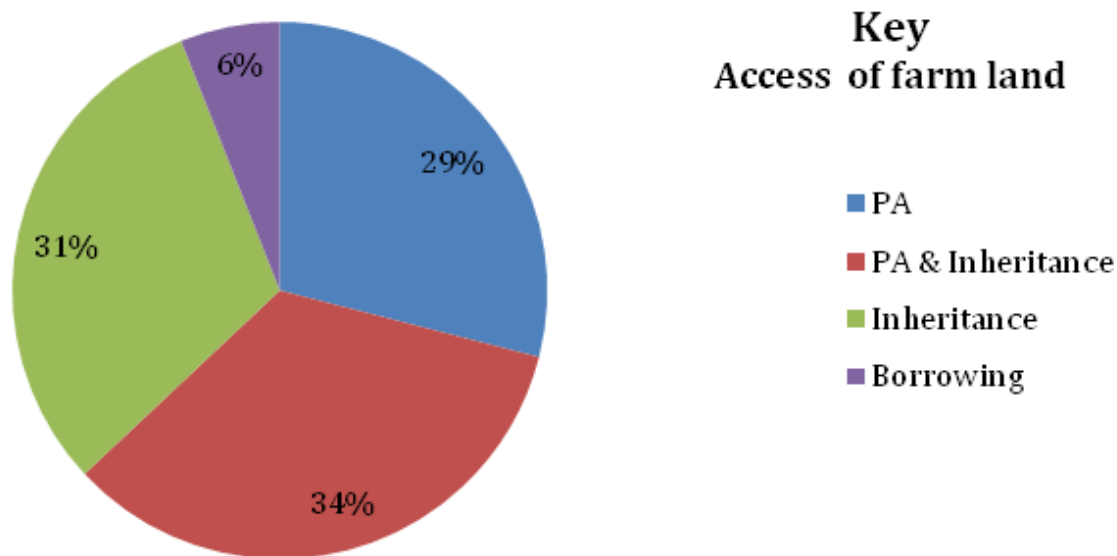
As shown on the above pie chart (Figure 1) majorities of (42%) of the respondent were high in their level of participation in agricultural production followed by (29%) of respondents reported very high, (20%) of the respondents low and (9%) of were reported as very low to participate on the productive activity in agricultural production.

It could be seen from the pie-chart the high percentage of respondents engaged or more participated in agricultural production was due to most proportion of the respondents as stated earlier on the Table 4 where their source of income was farming. Hence this shows their

participation was more on agricultural activity to increase their annual incomes. Clearly stated that focus group discussion (FGD) and by key informant interviews, even if women's participation is high in production activity they have low status and their works were not recognized. This study results was conformation with women in Ethiopia, like their fellow sisters in other developing countries women have been victims of gender based oppression and exploitation in all aspects of life. Moreover, their contribution has never been adequately recognized nor given economic value (UN, 2002:28)

Respondents access to farming land

A greater proportion of respondents (34%) acquiring farming and through peasant associations and inheritance followed by (31%) were got through inheritance, (29%) of the respondents acquired their land distribution of peasant associations and (6%) of the respondents were acquired by borrowing from relatives.



Figures 2. Methods of acquiring farming land in percentage
Source: own field data, 2012

As indicated in the above pie-chart the majority (34%) of the respondents was acquired their lands from both peasant associations and inheritance from their family and less number of respondents acquired by borrowing from the relatives. Thus, one could recognize from the above Figure 2 during focus group discussions (FGD) as well as interviews of key informants.

The respondents reported acquiring the farm lands from peasant associations and inheritance had high contribution in the participation of women in agricultural production. Acquiring from inheritance had great importance for their participation equal proportion with men in production. Therefore, acquiring land from both peasant association and inheritance contribute to women participate in agricultural production and maximize their productivity.

In depicted on the Figure 3 below on bar graph percentage distribution of respondents by size of farming lands (29%) of the respondents reported a farming land size 3.1-5 hectares followed by (26%) of respondents 0.5 hectares, (22%) of the respondents 2.1-3 hectares, (14%) the respondents had 0.6-1.5 hectares and (9%) of the respondents reported 1.6-2 hectares respectively.

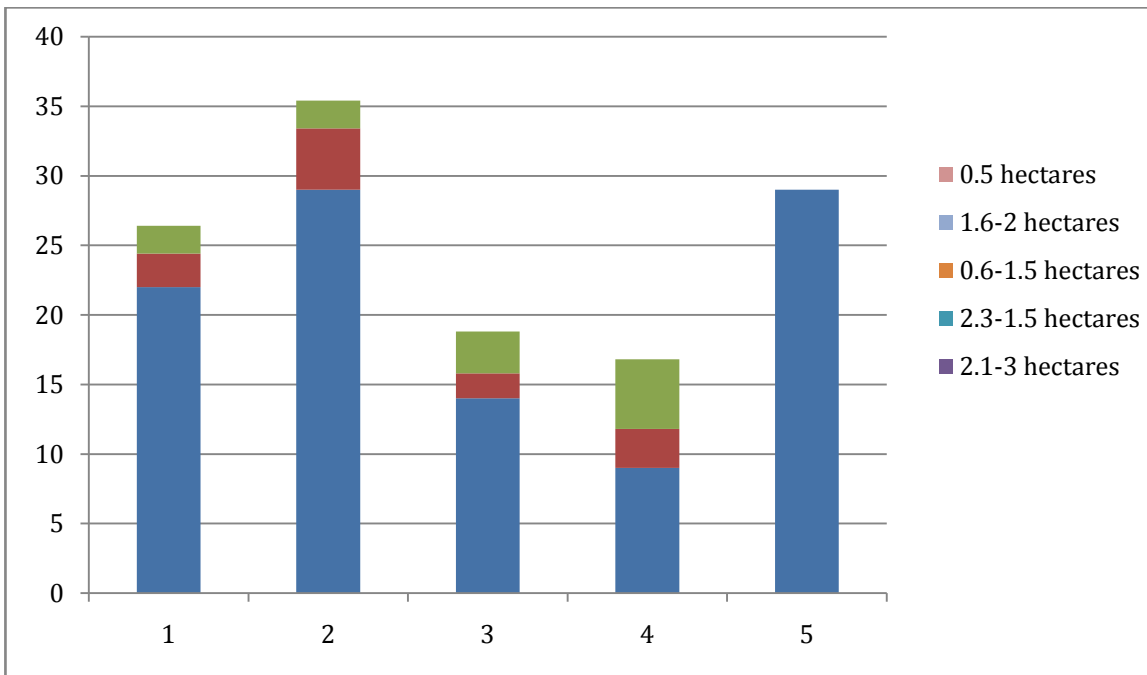
From the above bar graph one could observe that great portion (29%) of respondents had 3.1-5 hectares followed by (26%) of the respondents owned 0.5 hectares, the rest

(22%) of the respondents owned 2.1-3, (14%) reported as 0.6-1.5 hectares and 9% of the respondents owned 1.6-2 hectares. So as it was indicated on the above bar graph the majority of respondents owned enough farm land. So the finding of the study depicts a higher participation of women in agricultural production, this was also increased because as it indicated on earlier pie-chart 4.2 as women acquired more land by inheritance and distribution of peasant association their participation were higher than that of acquired by borrowing from relatives.

In general, it is possible to say that size of farm land could play great role for women participation. This we also confirmed from interviews conducted and questionnaires that reported by respondents of the resident's kebele, the respondents reported in key informants Interview that as the size of farm land increase their dependence on agricultural production increase. While, as the size of farm land decrease their dependence (participation) on agricultural production decrease because they participated on other works.

Respondents primary use of their land

According to the Table 7 the majority (63%) of the respondents were used their land by cultivation followed



Size of farm land

Figure 3. Bar graph percentage distributions of respondents by size of farming land in hectares.

Table 7. The percentage distribution of respondents by primary use of farm land

Primary use of land					
Cultivation		Grazing		Cultivation and grazing	
Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
22	63	3	8	10	29

Source- own field data, 2012

by (29%) of the respondents reported both cultivation and grazing in the same time and the rest (8%) were used their land, for grazing.

As indicated on the above Table 7 the great portion land were used for cultivation and grazing. Therefore, one could be observe that a major number of respondents were depends on both crop production and animal raising at the same time and their dependency on agricultural production was high. So primary use of their lands and women participation in agriculture go hand in hand. They reported on key informants interview that as they use land for both cultivation and grazing their interest to participated was high due to their productivity becomes high.

Respondents access to rural institution

Regard to access to rural institutions (43%) of the farmers reported they are members of peasant associations (PAs) while (26%) were members of both

peasant associations and religious institutions, (17%) of the respondents are members of religious institutions and (14%) of the respondents are members of both micro finance and credits saving respectively.

The role of rural institutions in helping rural farmers in the study community to help them alleviate their socio-economic and environmental challenges is a reality. For example Idir associations were reported to help rural farmers to deal with gave prices and agricultural products for members of associations when the houses of the individuals were damaged or burnt they help each other. So this a good example of the role of rural institutions in helping rural farmers especially for female headed household. Therefore, rural women's are more participated in rural institution in order to save from the problem and increase their productivity.

As it can be observed from the Table 8 & 9 the greater portion (83%) of the respondents are satisfied by being a member of rural institutions and only (17%) of the respondents were not satisfied by their being member of

Table 8. Percentage distribution of respondents' access rural institution

Rural institutions							
Peasant association		PAs & religious institutions		MFI's & credit & save religious			
Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
25	43	9	26	6	17	5	14

Source- own field data, 2012

Table 9. the current satisfaction status of respondents about their rural institutions

Satisfaction status	No of respondents	Percentage (%)
Yes	29	83
No	6	17

Source- own field data, 2012

their rural institution.

Accordingly, as respondents reported that they get many facilities from their rural institutions such as credit, selling agricultural production, improved seeds and fertilization. Example they get credit from saving and credit institutions, and also they are many factors that influence many of them to satisfied with rural institution as reported such as frequent participation in religious ceremony, poor in supply of agricultural inputs (seeds, fertilizers, chemicals) poor in credit supply and the economy they have are limited.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Summary conclusions

The result of the study was based on primary and secondary data from different sources. The general objective of the study was to assess rural women's participation in agricultural production in case of Awaro kora peasant association, Ambo district, Ethiopia and the investigation were based on their role and knowledge they have in agricultural production.

The results of the study describe the significant knowledge of women's in agricultural production; significantly high contributions of women's in agricultural and different impact on women's farmers.

Like in all other places in Africa and in our county Ethiopia rural women's in Awaro kora peasant association are more depend on small- scale agriculture and farm labor. Many study shows that they efforts to reduce rural poverty and increase adequate food sufficiency will not be successful, unless issues relating to women involvement in agriculture are taken in into consideration. These issues the contribution of women to household food supply and income, access land resources and the impact of policy reforms on the economic, cultural and social role of women and household food security.

Women's in most rural communities are heavily affected to their many roles, especially the task in the house were done solely by them. For example the tasks of carrying baby, collecting fuel wood, fetching water, cooking which take long hours else are considered solely as the task of women. Women farmers have different technological needs for increase their productivity, but thus technology transfer programs will not be effective due to:

The findings of the study confirm that women interest of participation are high and low status of the society and have lower incomes. The problems faced by such women's vary according to their degree of access to productive resources including land, credit, technology. Moreover, although women farmers play predominant role in food production, land preparation, planting, weed control and harvesting due to they often lack of access to agricultural services, such as, training and extension.

The results of the study reveal that different factors influence them not participated in agricultural production. Those are socio-cultural factors, access of educations, training socio- economic, headship and extension services are play pivotal role in influencing women's knowledge in agricultural production. In addition to these, the institutional factors like religious institutions and marriage hold back the women's farmers participated in agricultural production as they need were also mentioned.

RECOMMENDATION

From the finding of the study and conclusion the authors recommended the following forward.

- Rewarding model female farmer and good practices of that female farmer to initiate others.
- It is better to provide training for women

culturally acceptable and appropriate.

- Increase women's access to education and promote family planning and projects.
- Raise awareness in a community about the knowledge of women's in growth of productivity.
- Increase the linkage and interaction of women's affairs office all religious institutions
- Giving awareness for the society about merits and demerits of traditional activities.
- Create linkage, and introduction among women's affairs office and NGO's
- Teaching women's about their rights and responsibilities in a family, community and society at large being with concerned bodies.
- Design and implement on agricultural services for females.
- Increase women's, training on application of technology they use in agriculture

Finally increase rural women's participation agricultural production the governments, NGOs and the Awaro Kora peasant administration will be put in the consideration based on the above recommendation to solve women's participation in agricultural production.

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
MDG:	Millennium Development Goals
UN:	United Nation
WCED:	World Commission on Environment and Development
WEDO:	Women's Environment and Development Organizations

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Full Length Research

Assessment of the roles and constraints of women in the economic development of Ethiopia; the case of Ambo Town since 1991

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This paper highlights the roles of women in the economic development of Ethiopia and their constraints. Women, as half of the populations play a major role in the economic development of Ethiopia but they face a number of constraints even their role in the economy and in the different sectors has often been under estimated. Moreover, women in Ethiopia or anywhere else in developing countries occupy the low states in the society and their contributions have never been adequately recognized. The study was conducted in Ambo town, west shewa zone of Oromia Regional State, Ethiopia. The findings of this study are based on primary and secondary data collected from different sources. The result of the study implies the significance of the role of women in economic development and the factors that make their economic roles unrecognized. Finally, the researcher recommended that serious attention should be paid to their constraints, because women are the pillars of economic development in Ethiopia in general and Ambo in particular.

Keywords: women, roles and constraints, economic development

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INTRODUCTION

Women are more than half of the world population. They are the mothers of the other half. As mothers and careers, as producers and farmers, the work of women supports their families and communities². Yet, throughout

the world, the poorest people are predominantly women and their dependent children. Women face an increasing level of violence because of their gender and half a million die each year as a direct or indirect result of pregnancy (Thomas, 2004).

Historically, women in both eastern and western societies were viewed as the weaker sex and this view

² <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS>

placed women in the category of a lesser being. Even today women in most of the world are less well nourished than men, less healthy, more vulnerable to physical violence and sexual abuse and less paid. They are much less likely than men to be literate, and still less likely to have professional and technical education. In many nations, women are not fully equals under the law, often burdened with full responsibility for house work and child care, they lack opportunities for entertainment and imagination. In all these ways, unequal social and political circumstances give women unequal human capabilities (ibid).

For most of the last 50 years, development theory and practice was focused on economic development. Moreover, the development of infrastructure such as road, electrification, irrigation, schools and hospitals was seen as the basis for economic growth and development. During the 1960's education and health care become the two important elements of development programs because well trained and health workers were seen as crucial for productivity. Although the various programs were introduced in this period, they ignored women as economic actors (Ayenew, 2008:103, Ambo University unpublished material).

By the late 1960s, the social and political upheal in the developed countries open the way to the emergency of women's movement. In these movements, women started questioning their roles in the society and the discrimination they face in labor markets, political and economical area (ibid). According to the Easter Boserup's study on the role of women in economic development in 1970 women's agricultural production was critical in sustaining social and national economy. The study also brining onto the international agenda the issue of women and their marginalization in the 1970's in particular and she also highlighted the impact of technological innovation on women, the displacement of women from their productive labor (as cited in Birhanu, 2006:86).

Today, we have high percentage of women, female industrialists, ministers, judges and others. We also have an increasing rate of female university graduates in the world. The integration of women in to our labor force has meant less dependent on men, because that these women can take over jobs, there is less dependence. The integration of women has also widened the intellectual pool in social, economic and political debate (Thomas, 2004).

In most low income developing countries, women have a triple role. Women's role includes reproductive work that is required to guarantee the maintenance and production of the labor force, productive role and community managing work. In rural areas, their productive role usually takes informal sector and small enterprises located either in the home or neighborhoods. Women's community managing work involves the provision of items for collective consumption undertaken

in the local community in both urban and rural contexts (Birhanu, 2006; Ayenew, 2008:102, Ambo University unpublished material).

As it is the case in other countries, Ethiopian women are the half portion of the society and they face economic, social, and political problems. They have been neglected from taking power in their own country regardless of their own knowledge and experience of protecting the other half of the population. Women themselves have a problem of feeling inferiority. Inferiority assumption of women is not only the main factor which declines their participation in the life of their family, but also hinders their role in economic development. The discriminatory political, economic and social rules and regulations prevailing in Ethiopia have barred women from enjoying the profits of their labor and economic development (Birhanu, 2006, Ambo University unpublished material).

Moreover, the socio-cultural situations of the country that are also associated with gender division of labor and the patriarchy are the source for the disadvantaged position of women which is characterized by pervasive sexual violence, harmful traditional practice, unemployment, lack of formal education and training (ibid, 2006:116). Despite the discriminatory practices and rules, women have played their role in the development endeavors of the country.

Before the 1974 revolution, women's organized activities were run by non governmental bodies such as Ethiopia women's welfare association, the Ethiopian Female Students Association etc. These associations were, however, limited in scope and only existed in the cities³. They had little impact on government policies, laws and development programs that encourage the role of women in over all development policy and strategies (Birhanu, Ambo University unpublished material). After 1974, the Revolutionary Women's Association (REWA) was established by proclamation. In fact, the establishment of the association was for the consolidation of Derge's power rather than promoting the interest of women's. As a result there was little improvement in the lives of Ethiopian women (ibid: 113).

A part from this, the current government, FDRE, as a principle has stated that "the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination suffered by women in Ethiopia take in to account, women, in order to remedy this legacy are entitled to affirmative measures. The purpose of such measures shall be to provide special attention to women so as to enable them compete and participate on the basis of equality with men in political, social and economic life as well as in public and private

3

http://www.ethioembassy.org.uk/about_us/women/women_in_ethiopia.htm

institutions⁴.

In Ambo town, women are also involved in all aspects of their society's life. Women are producer and procreator as well as participant in the social, political and cultural activities of their communities. They play an overall role in small scale business, crafts, associations that are economic and even in agriculture⁵.

As it is a case at a national level, the role of women in economic development has also a paramount role for the people in Ambo town. Economic development is unthinkable without the active participation of women. Economic role of women is the main thing in which everybody should give much emphasis. Therefore, this paper assesses the role of women in economic development of Ambo town.

The role of women in the economic development of Ethiopia

Ethiopian women are actively involved in all aspects of their society's life. Women are both producers and procreators and they are also active participants in the social, political, economic and cultural activities of their communities⁶. However, the varied and important roles they play have not always been recognized. The discriminatory political, economic and social rules and regulations prevail in Ethiopia have barred women from enjoying the fruits of their labor. Without equal opportunities they have lagged behind men in all fields of self advancement (Birhanu, 2006; Gemechu, 2008).

Before the 1974 revolution, women's organized activities were run mainly by nongovernmental bodies such as the Ethiopian Officer's Wives Association, the Ethiopian Female's Students Association; however, these associations were limited in scope and only existed in cities. They had little or no impact on government policies, laws, regulations, and development programs (Birhanu, 2006). After 1974, the revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association was established by proclamation but this organization served as a means of consolidating the power of the Derg.

Until recently, government in Ethiopia have not had any policy on women's affairs, hence they have not been seen as important potential beneficiaries of government development programs. Gender issues do not only concern women; women's problems can't be solved by

women alone, but it requires the coordinated efforts of the society as a whole, including the government. Care full planning in full consultation with women and political commitment is essential for the integration of women in overall economic development of the country (ibid). Women demand to participate actively in national development and to exercise their right to enjoy its fruits is now receiving support in government and local communities.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) has formulated several policies to incorporate and encourage women's participation in modern economic activities⁷. This includes the national policy of Ethiopian women (NPEW), the national population policy, the education and training policy and others⁸. The NPEW is designed on the assumption that government has the obligation to give women the unreserved support to make them active participant in the national development effort on equal terms with men and go on to experience the benefits of their participation (Birhanu, 2006; Medhanit and Sofanit, 2009:16-17).

The main objective of the NPEW include, creating and facilitating conditions for equality between men and women, creating conditions to make rural women beneficiaries of social services like education and health, and eliminating discriminatory perception and practice that constrain the equality of women (Medhanit and Sofanit, 2009). Moreover a number of strategies have also been designed to achieve the above objectives.

For the achievement of the above listed objectives, the government established women's affairs office with full responsibilities and accountabilities. The structure were clearly put delineating the responsibilities of the Women's Affairs Office (WAO) under the prime minister office and the regional and zonal women's affairs sectors, and the Women's Affairs Department (WAD) in the various ministries.

However, assessments done over the year show that both the WAO and WAD in the sectoral ministries lack capacity; they have problems with resources and qualified personnel. Therefore, these problems hinder the effective implementation of the policy (Medhanit and Sofanit, 2009; 17-18).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY, MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study was conducted in Ambo district, west shewa

⁴ The 1995 FDRE constitution of Ethiopia

⁵ Interview with Bizunesh Hailu, head office of Ambo district women's and child affairs office.).

⁶ <http://www.ethpress.gov.et/herald/index.php/herald/development/5204-tapping-into-the-potential-of-women-entrepreneurship-in-ethiopia>

⁷

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/confer/beijing/national/ethiopia.htm>

⁸ Ibid

zone of Oromiya regional state, Ethiopia which is located 125km away from the capital of the country (Addis Ababa). The study was conducted through both qualitative and quantitative research techniques and questionnaire and interview were used as a source of data collection. In this study, the researcher used purposive (non probability) sampling method to select the representative groups of the entire population and to collect data from the respondents. According to 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the residents of Ambo town are 48,171 and of which 23,537 are female while the rest 24,634 are males. Accordingly, among the total population 45 respondents whose age is 18 and above were selected purposively. From this, 15 respondents were male and the rest 25 were female and the researcher used questionnaire for 45 respondents with 15 male and 25 women. For the accomplishment of the study, the data that the researcher collected through the above method were presented and analyzed based on descriptive method.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This part deals with the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. The data is collected from respondents through questionnaire and interview with key informants. The data shows the significant role of women in the economic development of Ambo town. They contribute for the economic development of the town through their participations in income generation activities and also play a significant role in saving and efficient utilization of resource. In contrast, different problems hinder the effective roles of women and often make their roles invisible. As clearly indicated in this chapter, even though various difficulties affect women, they continue to play a significant role in economic development.

Demographic characteristics of the respondents

From the Table 1, it is clearly indicated that from the total number of the respondents 66.7% are females and the remaining 33.3% are males. This indicates that the majority of the respondents are females because the main target (the target group) of the study is concerned on women's role.

With regarding to the age group of the respondents, 66.7% are found in the age between 18-30 years. The remains 22.2% and 11.1% are found between 31-50 and above 51 respectively. This implies that the majority of the respondents are the most beneficiary age group in the economic development of one's country. Therefore the data (the information) is obtained from the economically active productive age group.

As indicated in the Table 1, the level of education of the respondents is 53.3%, 35.6% and 15.5% for degree and above, diploma and 1-12 respectively. From this, we can conclude that the majority of the respondents are found in the high level of educational status. It is well recognized and established fact that education is an indicator of economic development and also has a fundamental role for the developments of one's country. So, any policy that improves the educational status is expected to bring long run sustainable development.

As the Table 1 shows that, 31.1% and 42.2% of the respondent's monthly income are less than 1000 birr and between 1001-200 birr respectively, where as 20% and 6.7 of the respondents monthly income is between 2001-5000 and greater than 5000. This indicated that the majority of the respondents are found in medium income generating activities. Finally, 57.8% of the respondents are male headed household while 42.2% are female headed house hold. From this, we can conclude that the study involves both female and male household family.

Women's role and contribution in economic development.

As shown in the Table 2, among the total population of the respondents 51.1% of them respond that the contribution or role of women in the economic development of the town is medium. While the remaining 28.9% and 20% of the respondents answer that their role are high and low respectively. With regard to respondents that say the contribution of women in economic development is high and medium, they forward that women contribute to poverty reduction by doing additional working activity; trading and also they promote food security and increase the quality of life. The contributions of women in the economic development of the town are more related with proper utilization of the available resource including money without extravagancy. The contribution of women also involves assisting and helping those children and old persons who have no family. The respondents also forward different measurement for the contribution of women, for instance, their trading activities, their contributions of GDP for the town and their tangible activities are some of the indicators.

One the other hand, among the total number of the respondents 48.9 % of them says that the participation (involvement) of women in the economic activity of the town is medium. While the rest 33.3% and 17. 8% of the respondents say high and low respectively. The respondents say that women are participating in trading and other income generation activities.

In regard to the role of women in economic development, among the total respondent, 91.1% of them say that women have tangible role in economic

Table1. Background information of the respondents

Number	Item /characteristics		Number of respondents	Percent %
1	Sex	A. Male	15	33.3%
		B. Female	30	66.7%
		Total	45	100%
2.	Age	A. 18-30	30	66.7%
		B. 31-50	10	22.2%
		C. 51and above	5	11.1%
		Total	45	100%
3	Education level	A. 1-12	7	15.5%
		B. Diploma	16	35.6%
		C. Degree and above	24	53.3%
		Total	45	100%
4.	House hold title	A. Male headed house hold	26	57.8%
		B. Female headed house hold	19	42.2%
		Total	45	100%
5	Monthly income	A. Less than 1000 birr	14	31.1%
		B. 1001-2000 birr		
		C. 2001-5000	19	42.2%
		D. Greater than 5000	9	20%
			3	6.7%
	Total	45	100%	

(Source: computed from primary source, 2005)

Table 2. The role and contribution of women in the economic development of Ambo town

Number	Item/character		Number of Respondents	Percent %
1	What seems the contribution of women in the economic development of the town in terms their economic activity?	A. High	13	28.9%
		B. Medium	23	51.1%
		C. Low	9	20%
		Total	45	100%
2	To what extent women participate in the economic development of the town?	A. High	15	33.3%
		B. Medium	22	48.9%
		C. Low	8	17.6%
		Total	45	100%
3	Is there any tangible role of women in economic development?	A. yes	41	91.1%
		B. No	4	8.8%
		Total	45	100%

(Source: computed from primary source, 2005)

development of the town while the rest 8.8% replay that women have no role at all. The respondents that say women have role further argue that women play

community managing and coordinating role at the house hold level. Women's community managing role includes supply of food and provision of water. Therefore, we can

Table 3. Constraints that limit the effective contributions of women in their economic activity and methods of solving economic problem.

Number	Item/ character		Number of respondents	Percent %
1	Do you think the grass root backward traditions of the society such as the male dominance and internalization of that dominance and cultural influences affect women economic activity?	A. Yes	36	80%
		B. No	9	20%
		Total	45	100%
2	How do you solve economic problem you face and others are facing?	A. By saving before or deposit of money	13	28.9%
		B. By leading based on plan	14	31.1%
		C. By working during leisure time	7	15.6%
		D. By discussing with others	11	24.4%
		Total	45	100%

(Source: computed from primary source, 2005).

conclude that the role of women is significant for country's economic development in general and Ambo town in particular.

indicated in the Table 3, the respondents say that we solve economic problem by saving or deposit of money, by leading their life based on plan and others.

Constraints that limit the effective contribution of women in economic activity

As indicated in the Table 3, the majority of the respondents agree about the affection of traditional backward beliefs and attitudes on women economic activity. They say that cultural norms, men dominance, early marriage and inferiority assumption of women in the society are the major factors which affect women's economic participation in the life of their family and in the society at large. Besides this, the respondents forward other view on the low contribution of women in the economic development in relation to their weakness. These are; lack of initiative or having a sense of we are low (low self- esteem), did not have acceptance if I perform this, lack of self confidence, this cannot be worked by me and workload in the house and others.

On the other hand, few respondents, 9% of them, agree that backward traditions that is rooted in society does not affect women 'economic participation. As clearly

The role of government in encouraging women's participation in economic activity

As indicated in the Table 4, among the total population of the respondents, 60% of them say that the assistance of government to encourage women's role in the achievement of economic development is high. There are some reasons that they forward for its assistance. Some of the assistance are by forming cooperation, by giving training that helps to them enter in any job they want, by a ascertaining that helps them to protect themselves from un useful traditional actions and sexual attack, by encouraging their participation in productive works, by assisting economic aid, by giving priority or due attention in education, due attention in completion for job and other assistances.

On the other hand, a few respondents say that the assistance of the government in encouraging women's economic role in economic development is low. The reason that they mention is that the government adopts

Table 4. The role of government in encouraging women's economic participations

Number		Item/ character	Number of respondent s	percent
1	What is the role of government in encouraging women's economic participation?	A. High	27	60%
		B. Medium	15	33.3%
		C. Low	3	6.7%
		Total	45	100%
2	Do you believe that the government gives adequate right and legal entitlement that strength women's participation in economic activity?	A. Yes	40	88.9%
		B. No	5	11.1%
		Total	45	100%

(Source: computed from primary source, 2005)

and drafts policies to encourage the role of women but the implementation has paper value.

As shown in Table 4, 88.9% of the respondent asserted that the government provides adequate right to women to encourage their economic participation. For this matter, they picked up Article 35 of the FDRE constitution that give guarantee for women's right. According to this article, women shall have equal right with men in the enjoyment of rights and protections. So, in order to combat the historical legacy of inequality and discrimination, government gave special attention to women to compete and participate with men (FDRE constitution, 1995).

The role of women in economic development of the Town

According to Teshome Wondimu, women in Ambo town play a vital role in economic development of their town from the three points of view. These are saving role, efficient utilization or usage of resource, and family planning role. Women play a great role in saving what they earn both in kind and in cash. They are active participants in traditional saving institution such as *Equib*, *Edir* and so on. In this case, women are not only the active participants in these traditional saving institutions, but also play a crucial role in leading, coordinating ,

managing and organizing these traditional saving institutions.

Women are less likely to engage or involve in extravagant and wasteful practice than men. Extravagant and wasteful practices at all levels can affect the national economy of a given society. If a person is wasteful and extravagant, it many affect the life of his family and ultimately that of the society at large. If these practice are dominant, it many seriously affect the development of the national as well as the local economy. This is because extravagant and wasteful practices are antithesis of saving and have a potential impact on economic development. Therefore, we can conclude that women play a vital role in economic development through saving and in turn by reducing extravagant and wasteful practice both at house hold and local levels⁹.

Regarding the saving role that women play, women's and child affair's office is responsible for organizing women in group and providing of funds , credit and loans for themselves. The office also has the task of creating awareness about the importance of saving. As indicated As indicated in Table 5, women play a saving role and in turn they maintain and achieve food security at house

⁹ Interview with Teshome Wondimu, head of finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration.

Table 5. The saving role of women in Ambo Town since 2002

Year	Number of total Group	Number of women	Amount of money deposit (saving)
From 2002 up to 2004	53	573	142,445 birr
2005	30	515	90,715 birr
Total	83	1088	194,215 birr

Source: an interview conducted with women's and child's affairs office, April 2013.

hold and community level¹⁰.

The Table 5 clearly shows that from the year 2002 up to 2004 there are 53 groups and the number of women is 573 and the saving amount in cash is 142,445 birr. In 2005 the number of women and the amount (deposit) of money is increase¹¹. From this we can conclude that the saving role of women is increased from time to time due to the effort made by the government by providing loan and credit.

Next to the saving role of women, they are more effective in better and efficient utilization or usage of resource. Women play a great role in effective and efficient use of available resource particularly at house hold level. Moreover, women play a significant role in family planning. Since population growth is seen as a threat of economic development, economic empowerment of women is essential way of controlling population growth¹². Women are playing family planning role and intur promote the process of economic development and achieve food security(Ibid).

Moreover, women also play productive, reproductive and community managing role. The reproductive role of women is associated with biological and social reproduction tasks and also known as domestic roles. The reproductive role of women includes preparing food, cleaning, washing, cooking and the task of bearing and nurturing children. In this regard, reproductive role is considered as the responsibility of women than men. The fact that women take care of such activities or roles creates the necessary condition for men to involve themselves in activities that are self enhancing, better relaxing and materially rewarding.

With regard to productive roles, the role of women's

includes the activities in the area of agriculture, small scale business enterprise, marketing, and formal and informal economic activities, that are related to the production of goods and services with a market value. In productive role, women are not fully involved in formal economic activity rather they are involved in informal economic activates and this informal economic activities are less valued and less waged in the society. Women in Ambo town are participating particularly in informal sector and doing activities such as trading, making and sealing *Enjera*, *Bread*, *Areke*, *Tella*, and the like. However, culturally, women involvement and contribution in productive sphere is not given due recognition and considered as invisible labor force. But, this attitude has just started to change at least among the educated due to the effort made by both the government and other national and international NGOs to increase the status of women.

Finally, women also play community roles. These activities are related with the social and cultural events of the community. Community roles are assumed to be the extension of women's reproductive work. As everybody knows that the participation of women is vital in local community institution such as in *Idir*, *Ikub*, wedding and other social and cultural events and ceremonies. In this case, women are participating in preparing food because these activities require food usually in large amount.

In summary, if women are assigned to work on all the reproductive, reproductive, and community task and reproductive task take up time and energy without providing any income and recognized value. In this case, what the implication is that if reproductive tasks which take much of time is not valued, it lead to denial of opportunities to engage in productive role or economic activities which inturn lead women to invisible contribution and lack of qualification in the national economy in general.

Additionally, according to the interview that was conducted or made with official of women's and child's affairs office, and finance and economic development

¹⁰ Interview with Belaynesh Kumsa, head of Ambo district women and child affairs office.

¹¹ Interview with Belaynesh Kumsa, head of Ambo district women and child affairs office

¹² Interview with Teshome Wondimu, head of finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration

office of Ambo town Administration, the following are the major contribution's and indicator's of the role of women's in economic development both at household and community levels.

A. Improved their per capital income.

Women participation in the economic activities can improve the long term economic and social living conditions of its household. Women significantly increase their PCI through participating in income generation activities (IGA) and small scale business and also through wealth creation, asset building and others. In this case, increase PCI of women means that family consumption is increase and in turn better quality of life and longer life expectancy will be achieved. Moreover, the PCI of women are increased than before by participating in trading activities, by producing and processing of local or domestic alcohols such as *tella*¹³, *Arake*¹⁴ and so on and by selling what they produced¹⁵.

B. Accumulation of Asset.

Ownership of durable house hold assets was regarded as one of the most important indicators of improvement in the house hold welfare. In addition to the positive impact of income over the house hold, women participation in the economic activity is also improving the ownership of key house hold assets.¹⁶

C. Housing improvement

It is a well established fact that housing and its related investments is the key indicator of country's economic development. In this case women's play a vital role in improving and maintaining quality of house. Housing improvements can be regarded as an integral part of economic strategies.¹⁷

D. Participation in IGA

Women's are highly participating in income generating activities particularly in Micro and small scale business

and they increase their PCI¹⁸.

In summary, according to the respondents, some of the contributions of women in the economic development of Ambo town are promoting economic growth, achieving food security, promoting efficiency and reducing poverty, and helping future generation by promoting sustainable development. Moreover, women play a great role and actively involved in IGA such as small and medium business which are common in the town.

Constraints to effective women's economic role

As in most parts of the world, Ethiopian women's access to economic opportunities is limited. With minimal access to formal employment, they are highly concentrated in small scale, self-initiated and administered businesses, commonly referred to as 'the informal sector'¹⁹.

According to Belaynesh Kumsa, there are many constraints that hinder the effective role of women in economic development. Among these obstacles the most and often still unsolved problem is the traditional backward attitudes, beliefs and customs of the society towards women which are continued as a historical legacy across the country. This traditional backward attitudes towards women (assuming women as a weaker sex, second citizens, dependent, passive, and ignorant) are not only hinder and make the effective role of women invisible and unrecognized, but also it make and force women's to internalize and accept their weakness and for long period even still remain unconfident. Even though, the government tries to change the attitudes of the society through different mechanisms it is not eradicated and remain difficult. In general, the following are considered as common barriers and often make the role of women unrecognized and insignificant.

A. Low level educational background

According to women's and child's affairs office, the majority of Ambo town women's are not educated. From this, we can conclude that women's non-educational status hinder their expected role.

B. Lack of initial capital to start their own business.

Despite, the high interest and motivation of women to

¹³ *Tella* is an Ethiopian home-brewed beer which differs from the others.

¹⁴ *Arake* is a distilled beverage

¹⁵ Interview with Teshome Wondimu, head of finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration head of Ambo district economic development office

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ ibid

¹⁸ Interview with Belaynesh Kumsa, head of Ambo district women and child affairs office

¹⁹ <http://www.actionaid.org/ethiopia/what-we-do/womens-development>

work, lack of initial capital to start up and to run the business hinder their economic activity.

C. Lack of business know-how

Women involve in various economic activities especially in marketing process and trading activities, but they lack business know-how i.e. how to run business and cost-benefit analysis.

D. Lack of monitoring women's cooperation activities

The government is trying to coordinate women in group to work in cooperation and solve their economic problem. However, there is no supervision and follow up about the day to day activities of these women's cooperation work. According to the respondents, women's organized activities are run in the town even without a better problem identification, problem solving and technical support rather various local government bodies and NGOS continue to assist women's only financially.²⁰

E. Dependency of family on women's

Culturally, in some family, some members are dependent on the earning of women. In some case husband remains dependant on their wife income. Such dependency of family members on women's makes their role invisible and unrecognized. However, women's are continued to play their role in various economic activities.

F. Lack of interest to work in group (cooperation)

Women's are fearful of cooperation and they are not well aware of the benefits of working together. Working in cooperation especially for women can make their role visible and it also increase their confidence.

G. Women's dependency on men's income.

Despite the existence of family dependency on women's, in some case there is also women's dependency on men's income. This is due to the influence exerted by their husband. If this is developed, they did not give decision by their own in their overall life. In this case, dependency of women's can bring lack of decision making power and this make the role of women unrecognized.

²⁰ Interview with Teshome Wondimu, head of finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration

H. Lack of confidence and inferiority

In this case, the most and often difficult problem for the integrations of women in to the economic development and in other various political offices is lack of confidence. Women lack of confidence is mainly due to the culture of the society and their inferiority assumption. In addition, women's are not highly committed and they lack interest to take full responsibilities and accountabilities and they are fear of challenges especially in office positions.

Despite, the existence of the above mentioned barriers for women's effective role in economic development, they are continued to play their role in economic development. Even though, different problems hinder the participation of women's, their roles in various economic activities are very significant.

The role of government in encouraging women's economic role

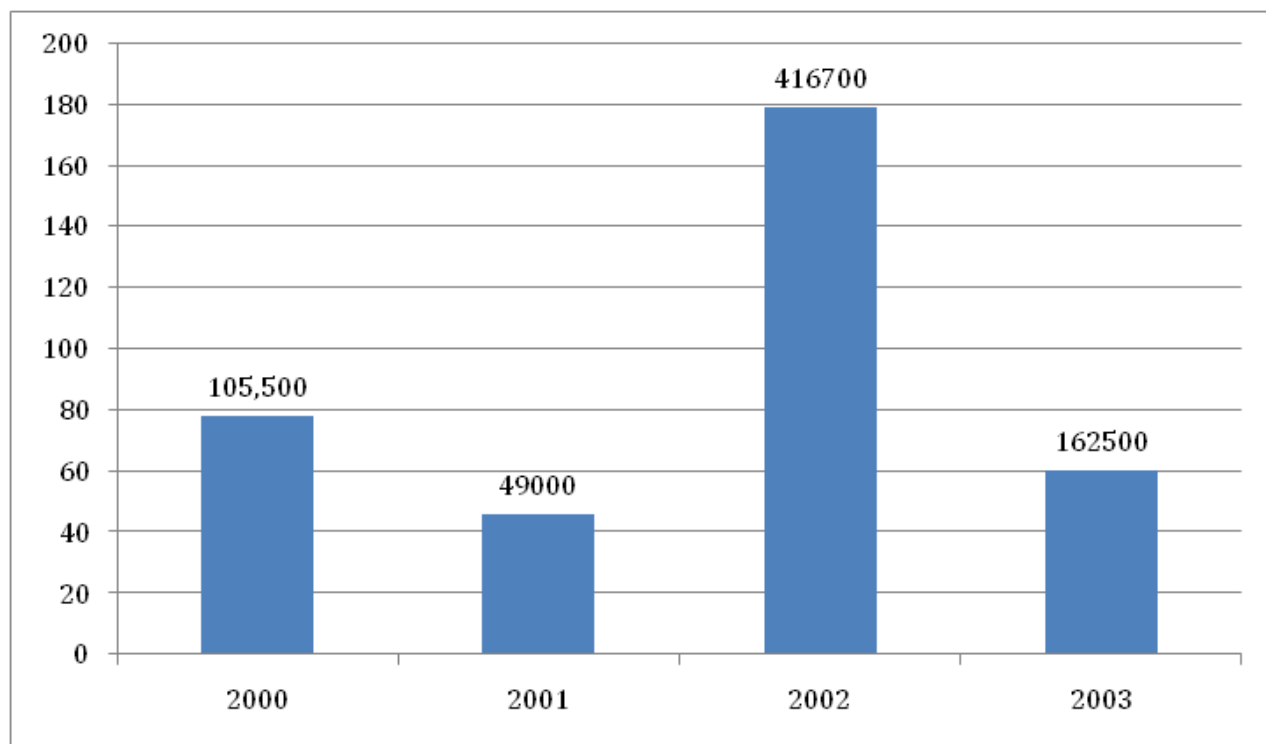
The Small and Micro Enterprise (SME) sector has the potential to provide a livelihood for a large number of populous in developing countries²¹. In this regard, the government through its various bodies and in cooperation with NGO has been encouraging women's economic role by the provision of revolving funds, by organizing Micro and small scale enterprise (MSSE) there by transferring idle government equity (assets) in the accounts to micro financial institutions (MFI) such as Oromia credit and saving share company (OCSSCO). Additionally, Ambo town administration particularly women's and child's affairs office, and finance and economic development office encourages women's organized activities by signing collateral agreements with the credit institutions under the umbrella of Micro and small enterprises. Moreover, the government also gives assistance in cooperation with NGOs to those women living with HIV /AIDS. This was currently facilitated by finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration.²²

According to Bizunesh Hailu, in previous government it is dead time for women. Women are highly marginalized and they lack even the right to have their own property. Before 1991, women are not considered as equal important and significant actors in economic development

²¹

<http://www.ethpress.gov.et/herald/index.php/herald/development/5204-tapping-into-the-potential-of-women-entrepreneurship-in-ethiopia>

²² Interview with Teshome Wondimu, head of finance and Economic development office of Ambo town Administration.



Graph 1: The number of women who have access to credit and loan from UNCEF project from 2000-2003.

of a given society. Moreover, women are highly demoralized by the society and even the people accept for century as a norm and culture and become inherited. In contrast to this, the current government is highly committed to recognize women as an important actor in the development process of the country. The government gives adequate right and legal entitlement including the right to ownership, equal employment opportunity and so on. Since 1991, especially after 1997, there is a tremendous change regarding the status of women's. Their participation and involvement are increase in various socio- economic activities. The government gives high attention and priority for women and youth because it is believed that economic development cannot occur without the active involvement of women and youth²³.

In this regard, women's and child affairs office in cooperation with UNICEF promotes the economic role of women's through the provisions of credit and loan.

As indicated in the Graph 1, the number on the left side of the graph shows the numbers of women who have access to credit and loan while the numbers on the top of each indicates the amount of money they gained. Finally, the numbers that found below the graph shows the year from 2000 up to 2003 (source: data taken from interview with Belayneshe Kumsa). From this we can conclude that

the government through women's and child's affairs office and in cooperation with various local and international organization are encouraging women's role.

In general, the government has provided some programs and facilities to enhance women participation in the development of the economy. Some of these are:-

- A. Facilitating credit and loan
- B. Education mothers
- C. Promote forum association
- D. Promote IGA
- F. Formulating effective policy for women's

Possible Solution to Improve Women's Role in Economic Development of the Town

There are many potential and actual solutions that might be used in the future and at present time to facilitate women's role in economic development. These are giving training, ensuring their equal status, facilitating to have their own income establishing cooperatives, providing psychological make up to develop self confidence, giving special reward, promoting and developing peer education to reduce their inferiority feeling, and so on(interview with Marta and Bizunesh,2013). Moreover, the prospected

²³ Interview with Belayneshe Kumsa, head of Ambo district women and child affairs office

solutions to increase women's role in economic development in the town may be participating them in IGA both individually and cooperatively (in group) by providing the necessary basic business skill (technical or business know how), providing initial capitals and working place or marketing place with the continuous monitoring and technical supports.²⁴

CONCLUSION

Like any other less developed countries, in Ethiopia, the half portion of the society, women, suffer from economic, political, social, and cultural aspects in the past especially before 1991. From the economic aspect, women are excluded from participating in high income economic (generating) activities; often women lack the right to have their own property and equality of employment opportunity. Cultural norms like men dominance and traditional belief system are the major constraints that face women and also affect their role in economic development and other sectors. It is clearly indicated in the study that the society assigned lower status to women, lower valuation to their work and denied recognition to their contribution.

An improvement in understanding the need of participation of women in various activities has been a better way during recent period especially during this regime. Women's role and their involvement in economic activities can benefit the whole society and also enable to conduct a strong war or to fight against poverty. It also speeds up economic growth, food security, promotes efficiency, helping future generation and promotes sustainable development. As indicated in the study, women improvement in economic activities is also expected to improve personal well being, investments (house hold) and enable households to feed themselves and their family members.

Moreover, the role of women in the economic development of Ambo town is considered as having greatest value in building up local production and in promoting economic growth. Without question, women who apply their knowledge to produce valuable goods and services and to solve problems of the society often are regarded as important ingredients of economic development. The study shows that the economic role of women's in the town is important not only to reduce poverty but also to increase family consumption. Therefore, for economic development to occur, women's role is significant.

Based on the investigation on the role of women in economic development, we can conclude that women's role and involvement in the economic development of the

country as well as the town is very significant even if there are some constraints. As the role of women rises, economic development will increase and poverty decrease. Moreover, women's economic role is not only the most effective way of reducing poverty but also it is the main instrument of achievement food security. So, economic development is unthinkable without the active involvement and contributions of women.

RECOMMENDATION

- ❖ The significant contribution of women in saving, family planning, reproductive, and productive works entails clear message for development policy makers. Therefore, they should recognize that the integration of women's role and needs in the development paradigms is a prerequisite for successful development planning and implementation.
- ❖ Particular attention must be given to gender empowerment in economic sector.
- ❖ It is essential to improve the level of income of women and facilitate their labor in appropriate place.
- ❖ It is advisable to incorporate women in overall aspect of socio-economic policy measures both by the government and non-governmental organization (NGOs).
- ❖ The government through its various bodies should create feasible program which can enhance the economic role of women.
- ❖ The government through women's and child's affairs office should launch training skills and gender based education with the aim of enhancing women's self confidence.
- ❖ The government in cooperation with NGOs should provide credit and loan for women.
- ❖ The existing women's group in the town should be organized and strengthened to increase women's access to extension activities.
- ❖ The society should minimize the belief of inferiority assumption, cultural norm, male dominance and restriction of women from education and training centers.
- ❖ Planning out what must be done drawing lessons from the past experiences and believe that women's concerns are the issue of the society as a whole.
- ❖ Government should help women to get recognition as they are productive enough and have the capacity to participate in the economic activity in both house hold and nation at large.

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INTERVIEW

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