

**T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALI
SİYASET VE SOSYAL BİLİMLER BİLİM DALI**

**CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN
PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF
SOMALILAND**

MASTER'S THESIS

JIBRIL JIRDE ABDI

KOCAELİ 2021

**T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALI
SİYASET VE SOSYAL BİLİMLER BİLİM DALI**

**CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN
PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF
SOMALILAND**

MASTER'S THESIS

JIBRIL JIRDE ABDI

THESIS SUPERVISOR: ASSIST. PROF. DR. MARCO BOSCHEL

KOCAELİ 2021

**T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ ANABİLİM DALI
SİYASET VE SOSYAL BİLİMLER BİLİM DALI**

**CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN
PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF
SOMALILAND**

MASTER'S THESIS


Prepared by: Jibril Jirde Abdi

**Institute of Social Sciences Board of Directors Decision Number and Date:
07/07/2021-16**

KOCAELİ 2021

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my dear Mom **Hubi Ismail Warfa**, whose words of encouragement and prayers allowed to accomplish my goals. My Dad **Jirde Abdi Ali** also has been a great source of inspiration throughout my life. I also dedicate this thesis to my all Sisters and Brothers who have supported me throughout the process and made sure that I give it all it takes to finish that which I have started, without them this thesis would not have materialized. Thank you for all the support you give me. May Almighty Allah abundantly bless all on you.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, **Assist. Prof. Dr. Marco BOSCHELE**, who shared his profound knowledge with me, without whom his valuable guiding contributions, this thesis would never have been completed. His patience, inspiration, and honest collaboration will remain unmatched. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the entire Political and Social Science Department, for their valuable assistance during my course of study.

My grateful thanks are also extended to my family for their support. My learning journey in Turkey would not have been possible and successful without their unwavering support.

My special thanks to the Republic of Turkey, particularly Türkiye Scholarships (Türkiye Bursları) for providing me with the opportunity to pursue a postgraduate degree in Turkey. I also want to express my gratitude to the Turkish people for their hospitality and kindness.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks to all of my friends for their encouragement and support throughout my study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	II
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	II
ABSTRACT.....	V
ÖZET.....	VI
LIST OF TABLES	VII
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE	
1.LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
1.1.INTRODUCTION	11
1.2.KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS	12
1.2.1.The Concept of Politics.....	12
1.2.2.The Concept of Political Participation	14
1.3.LEVELS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION	17
1.4.PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATION	19
1.5.WHO PARTICIPATE?	19
1.6.WHO VOTES?.....	20
1.7.FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	20
1.7.1.Conventional Participation.....	21
1.7.2.Unconventional Participation.....	22
1.8.FACTORS DETERMINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	24
1.8.1.Education.....	24
1.8.2.Income.....	25
1.8.3.Ethnicity.....	26
1.8.4.Religion.....	27
1.8.5.Political Parties	28
1.8.6.Culture.....	29
1.9.POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW	31
1.10.POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN.....	34

1.11.CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS.....	36
---	----

CHAPTER TWO

2. WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND.....	40
2.1.SOMALILAND: BRIEF HISTORY.....	40
2.2.A BRIEF HISTORY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND	42
2.2.1.Prior Independence.....	42
2.2.2.Post-Independence	43
2.2.3.Women during Siad Barre Dictatorship.....	44
2.2.4.Women after the Collapse of Siad Barre Regime	45
2.3.THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACE BUILDING AND STATE-BUILDING IN SOMALILAND	46
2.4.THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN SOMALILAND AND WOMEN	47
2.4.1.Participation of Women in the 2002 Local Council Elections.....	49
2.4.2.The Engagement of Women in the 2003 Presidential Election	50
2.4.3.Somaliland Women's Participation in the 2005 Parliamentary Elections.....	50
2.4.4.Somaliland Women and the 2010 Presidential Election	51
2.4.5.Participation of Women in the 2012 Local Council Elections.....	52
2.4.6.Somaliland Women's Participation in the 2017 Parliamentary Elections.....	53
2.5.SOMALILAND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.....	54
2.6.THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SOMALILAND JUDICIARY	55
2.7.THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOMALILAND POLITICAL PARTIES	56

CHAPTER THREE

3.WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES.....	59
3.1.INTRODUCTION	59
3.2.CHALLENGES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS	59
3.3.OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS	61
3.4.RELIABILITY OF THE INSTRUMENT	62

3.5.DESRIPTIVE ANALYSIS	62
3.5.1.Demographic Information of the Respondents	63
3.5.1.1Gender Distribution	64
3.5.1.2Age Distribution of the Participants	64
3.5.1.3Educational Level.....	65
3.5.1.4Workplace of the Respondents.....	65
3.5.1.5Work Experience of Participants.....	66
3.5.2.Descriptive Statistics for The Challenges Of Women Participation in Politics: A Case Study Of Somaliland	66
3.5.2.1Political Challenge	67
3.5.2.2Religious challenge	69
3.5.2.3Challenges in Socio-Economic Terms	70
3.5.2.4Traditional Challenge	71
3.5.3.Descriptive Statistics for the Opportunities of Women Participation In Politics: A Case Study Of Somaliland.....	73
3.6.MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY	75
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	80
REFERENCES.....	85
APPENDEX.....	97

ABSTRACT

Women are the most imperative in Somaliland democracy. They are the ones who take part in the political campaigns, support the candidates, and cast the most votes on Election Day but all their efforts are in vain. This study basically aims to examine in depth the challenges facing Somaliland's women in political involvement and the opportunities available. The study uses the primary data that has been collected through questionnaires. The study results concluded that the most respondents significantly agreed with the existence of challenges against women Political participation in Somaliland, resulting in a mean index of 3.68. The researcher has explicitly revealed four different challenges and these common challenges of women's political participation are political, cultural, religious and socio-economic challenges. On the other hand, the most respondents significantly agreed that women in Somaliland have a variety of opportunities to engage in politics, resulting in a mean index of 3.71. The study revealed that gender quota, the adoption of gender policies and regulations, and promoting women's socio-economic status, are one of these opportunities for women to engage in politics. In this regards the study recommends that the government and all concerned institutions should move quickly to adopt policies and laws to motivate and empower women's participation in politics.

Keywords: Somaliland, Challenges, Opportunities, Participation, Politics

ÖZET

Somaliland'ın demokrasisinde kadınlar en zorunluluktur. Siyasi kampanyalara katılan, adayları destekleyen ve Seçim gününde en çok oyu kullanan kişilerdir, ancak yeterli ve nitelikli kadın temsilciliği vermede tüm çabaları boşunadır. Bu çalışmanın temelinde Somaliland kadınlarının siyasi katılımı karşılaştığı zorlukları incelemek, ve siyasi sürecin karar almanın bir parçası olmak, onlardan yararlanmak için mevcut fırsatlara odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu Çalışmada anketler aracılığıyla toplanan birincil verileri kullanılmıştır. Çalışma sonuçlarına göre, katılımcıların çoğunun Somaliland'da kadınların Siyasal katılımına karşı zorlukların varlığına önemli ölçüde hemfikir olduğu ve bunun ortalama 3,68'lik bir endeksle sonuçlandığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın analizine göre, araştırmacı açıkça dört farklı sorunu ortaya çıkarmış ve kadınların siyasi katılımının bu ortak zorlukları Siyasi, kültürel, dini ve sosyo-ekonomik gibi zorluklar olduğunu bulunmaktır. Öte yandan, ankete katılanların çoğu Somaliland'daki kadınların siyasete girmek için çeşitli fırsatlara sahip olduğu konusunda önemli ölçüde hemfikirdi ve bu da ortalama 3,71'lik bir endeksle sonuçlanmıştır. Çalışma, cinsiyet kotasının, toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarının ve düzenlemelerinin benimsenmesinin, kadınların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünün teşvik edilmesinin, lobiciliğin ve savunuculuğun kadınların siyasete girmesi için fırsatlar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Yukarıdaki zorlukların üstesinden gelmek ve mevcut fırsatlardan yararlanmak için bu araştırma aşağıdaki önerileri sunulmaktadır: Hükümet ve ilgili tüm kurumlar, kadınların siyasete katılımını motive edecek ve güçlendirecek yasalar ve politikaları için hızlı bir şekilde harekete geçmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Somaliland, Zorluklar, Fırsatlar, Katılım, Politika.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Distribution of Seats by Gender in 2002 and 2005	51
Table 2.2. Local Council Elections in 2012 and Gender Distribution of Candidates by Political Party/Association.	53
Table 2.3. Leadership of Political Parties in Somaliland.	58
Table 3.1. Reliability Statistics	62
Table 3.2. Interpretation of Mean Range	63
Table 3.3. Gender Distribution of the Participants	64
Table 3.4. Age Group.....	64
Table 3.5. Educational Status of the Respondents	65
Table 3.6. The Respondents' Workplace.....	65
Table 3.7. Work Experience.....	66
Table 3.8. Political Challenge	67
Table 3.9. Religious challenge.....	69
Table 3.10. Socio-economic Challenge	70
Table 3.11 Traditional Challenge.....	71
Table 3.12 Opportunities of Women's Participation in Politics.....	73

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation. Source	18
--	----



INTRODUCTION

Background Of The Study

The 1980s and early 1990s the world has swept by a wave of political transition or democratic change. One-party states in Africa, communist regimes in Eastern Europe and military juntas in Latin America vacated the place and replaced by governments chosen in free and fair elections. The world has experienced and eye-witnessed the downfall of the authoritarian regimes. By 1990, Sixty-five countries elected their governments in elections characterized by equitable electoral law and providing same opportunities to all (Fox, 1992:540). Democracy get rid of the act of authoritarianism, dictatorship and arbitrariness and to the contrary provide a chance to engage in decision making in the political process. In generally, democracy enshrines fundamental principles such as autonomy, minority rights, and equal opportunity for all and these concepts assure the opportunity to participate in politics by all the masses. Extensive number of citizens has access to participation in the political process (Oke, 2010). Furthermore, Democracy offers a respectable space and opportunity to strengthen good governance and institutional building via the effective participation of the citizens (Oke, 2010).

Participation encourages collective decision-making by providing extra importance to every citizen as well as extending responsibility to everyone in the society which deeply promotes the competency of the people in the political matters (Nekola, 2006). By definition of participation in politics various explanations and descriptions arise while each and every description based on specific concept. Political participation is lawful acts which are more or less specifically affecting the government which is done by private citizens (Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, Jae-on Kim, 1978:1).

Another broad perspective of political participation which is not only specific to the government organization and activities, but wider than that can be summarized by three points; first, individuals take their role as citizens as political participation means and applies to people. Second, the citizens take their role and fulfil duty intentionally

and must free from any kind of fear, external force or to be ordered by the ruling class, Third, being an active citizen who desires to participate in politics actively instead of watching or just talking about it, which means in political participation action matters most (Deth, 2001).

Democratic system cannot successfully drive unless women are part of it. Women make up half of the population of any country. Needs of that respective group of women cannot be represented by men and it was recognized the significance of women's political participation around the world. in the 1990s, although it was a good time for the democracy of the world only 11.6 percent of the World Legislatures average were women, 37 undemocratic countries women were completely absent from the legislature or nominated by men, also, 49 new democratic countries men controlled 93 percent of the parliament seats. Nevertheless, 27 long standing democratic countries provided women with a significant number of representation and chance to participate even though they occupied only 15 percent of the members of the parliament (Sinha, 2007:9). Anyway, in democracy to fulfil the demands of all the different groups, it must make possible and facilitate the involvement of each and every part of the country's population in the highest institutions of decision-making without segregation. Moreover, gender plays a pivotal role as well as to ensure the presence of each single group (Sinha, 2007: 181).

Fundamentally, the need for women to be involved in politics in many angles is inevitable; the participation of women in politics impacts both the important policy formulation and implementation to thrive and also the proposed solutions to curb problems. Women's participation has resulted in substantial action including basic needs of the citizens and more importantly peace. Women have also been instrumental in promoting women's issues, social activities and family matters, all that exhibited their productiveness (Susan Markham, 2013).

In Africa, Protocol of African Women's rights in article 9 plainly stipulates equal participation women in politics and decision making without discrimination, also to be crucial actors in development of the state policies and their implementation to ensure

that women are successful participant in the field of politics. The protocol positively encourages reaching equal representation of men and women; means 50 percent of each in high offices of decision making and it might bring protection of women's rights and equality of the citizens. As a result of the quota project, there has been an increase in Africa women's involvement in politics between 1995 and 2005 (Ilesanmi, 2018).

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, from 1995 to 2020 African women in parliaments have jumped up a distinguished number starting from 9.8 percent to o 24.4 percent.

Rwanda has been leading women's parliamentary seats in the world. Women being sat more than 60 percent of the parliamentarians, as well Djibouti has made high development in the last 25 years. Women in the parliament belong to more than 40 percent of the seats: South Africa (46.4 per cent), Senegal (43.0 per cent), Namibia (42.7 per cent) and Mozambique (41.2 per cent). Nevertheless, the overall increase of the region in women's involvement in politics diminished over the last 5 years (Druciarek, 2020).

In Somalia, the military regime who ruled the country for a long time, provided women with many opportunities, most important in education and economics, even the controversial 1975 family law was enacted, which interfered with inheritance and other family issues. All these efforts have not sustained long, as militarization of the state boosted. However, during that era women were not active in the decision-making process or the political forum. (Mohamed, 2015)

During the civil war, women were forgotten and suffered greatly; fortunately they have contributed to the peace of the country to stop fighting and became the breadwinners of the families to contribute to the economy of the community.

At the Arta Conference, in 2000 women took part in proposing that women be recognized as the sixth clan, although this was not materialized, 25 seats were assigned to the women out of the 275 parliamentary seats. Parliaments of 2004 and 2008 which contained 275 and 550 respectively, a quota of 12 % were allocated for women,

unfortunately only half of them were filled by women (Mohamed H. Ingiriis & Markus V. Hoehne, 2013).

The 2012 election clan elders were given huge power to select and elect members of the parliament and the power turned to challenge against the women because many elders denied appointing women and lastly they acquired 14% of the parliament seats. In the 2016 elections the share of the women increased to 24% seats and success behind the increase were the pressure groups of the international community and women activists. A positive step has been taken, although the 30% view of the pressure groups has failed. In the 2020 elections women in general are aiming for development in the representation, they are fighting hard to get at least 30 % of the members and the quota project is on the table (Affi, 2020).

On the other hand, Somaliland is a self-proclaimed Republic. Somaliland's restoration of independence was declared on 18th May 1991 with the support of the people and was clearly defined that it is not secession but a restoration of autonomy (Eubank, 2010).

Somaliland has a bicameral parliament of 164 members and each council consists of 82 members. All of the members are men except a woman, Baar Saed from Sanaag region who endured men's domination in the parliamentary house and other sectors. Baar Saed is a member of the lower house, while there is no single woman in the 82 members of the upper house or the house of elders (Gaheir & Jama, 2018). In Somaliland, unless the quota project is ratified, women's political participation campaign will not succeed. House of elders is a completely male dominated house, where women are not part of it, has refused to vote for the gender quota. The gender quota had passed the cabinet (Affi, 2020).

The campaign for women's participation in politics has been going on for a long time, and the rejection of the House of Elders would be disappointing and that effort would be in vain. It is a huge setback for the women and other stakeholders who have been involved in the campaign. Somaliland women have the right and need to have more

representation than they have today. The upcoming elections of local councils and parliament are ones to watch closely. The role that women will play is highly anticipated and relevant, also greater representation of women is indispensable. This study examines Challenges and Opportunities of women in politics by focusing the case of Somaliland.

Problem Statement

Somaliland people and the international community are deeply concerned about the critical issue of women's participation in Somaliland politics. They were dissatisfied with the small number of women represented in politics. Women were the ones who took the country out of the difficult days, laid the foundation for peace, the backbone of the country's economy and also contributed to the different aspects of development. Women are the most imperative one of Somaliland's democracy and unforgettable because without them nothing is possible. They are the ones who take part in the political campaigns, support the candidates financially, and cast the most votes on Election Day but all their efforts are useless nor grant enough and qualified female representation.

Somaliland's two houses of parliament, lower house and upper house contain only one woman, and the other 163 members are men. Other government institutions like civil servants, women are small numbers which cannot be told, the country's 32 district mayors are all men and in the political parties women are not visible since they do not hold official or high rank offices. There have been significant campaigns backed by women's rights activists and international community to pass the gender quota in order to promote women, unluckily the upper house of elders blocked the hope, another new setback is facing the women.

This research seeks to identify barriers that prevent women from involving in politics that made them not to fully participate politics in Somaliland and the opportunities they have which is another important part that we will look at.

Research Objectives

This study basically aims to examine in depth the barriers facing to Somaliland's women in political involvement or political representation, also to focus on the opportunities available to take advantage of them in order to be part of the political process and decision-making. The study firstly describes the concept of political participation to comprehend the true meaning of women's political participation on which the research is based. It also provides an overview of women's political participation in Somaliland on the different institutions like legislative and executive bodies. It then focuses on the most the essence of the research, the specific challenges that Somaliland women face when engaging in politics and the opportunities that lie ahead. Finally, findings of the study will come, as well the possible recommendations.

This study specifically tries to focus the following points:

- I. To thoroughly explore women political participation in Somaliland
- II. To investigate the major challenges against women Political participation in Somaliland
- III. To identify the opportunities for Somaliland women to participate in politics
- IV. To offer possible solutions and recommendations of women political participation in Somaliland

Research Questions

The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the challenges encountered by women political participation in Somaliland?
2. What are the opportunities and prospects in regards to women political participation in Somaliland?
3. What are the possible solutions for women's political participation in Somaliland?

Research Methodology

This study utilizes Descriptive research design as it is the most appropriate method in the context of this research. As (Ruane, 2005) emphasizes that Descriptive research provides a clear view and detailed information looking in different directions related to the questions and issues to be researched “Descriptive research offers a detailed picture or account of some social phenomenon, setting, experience, group ”. Also it is a way of securing information about an existing phenomenon or the selected number of respondents (C.R.Kothari, 2004:37).

The target population of the study focuses on politicians, government officials, civil society organizations, women's organizations and academicians. There is no actual list about the number of people targeted so the researcher used literature as a reference in order to obtain the sample size. The sample size of this study was adopted from (Ahmed, 2013), the researcher examined women’s political participation and decision making in Hargeisa Somaliland.

This study purposively selected a sample of 160 participants by using purposive sampling. This method allows the researcher to select purposely the elements of the sample or the typical sample from the target population and his choice is of paramount importance. In other words, the researcher has the choice to select a sample that reflects or represents the whole mass (C.R.Kothari, 2004:59).The researcher preferred this method as the target population was indefinite. The thesis utilizes both primary and secondary data. Questionnaire is the primary data collection used by the researcher through a self-managed online survey. The researcher has chosen this method because questionnaire is an effective way of collecting data and also, helps to inquire and ask more questions to the respondent. The questionnaire conducted by the researcher is reliable since a very similar one was used before. Secondary data was used such as books, articles, journals, reports, policy and strategy papers, news sources and other documents.

Research Design Of The Study

Many designs are used in the research to perform a reliable and productive study. Depending on the study's goals, these designs can differ. Therefore, this study used a descriptive design to address questions relevant to this thesis. This study is designed to collect the data from a variety of sources, including government officials, civil society employees, academicians, students, and others. This selection was made in order to obtain a wide range of data that will make it easy to deeply examine and study "the challenges and opportunities of women participation in politics, the case study of Somaliland".

Significance Of The Study

This study will better explain and understand women's issues by contributing more knowledge to the existing literature on the subject in the Somali context. Many people including scholars and students would appreciate it as a source of reference. It will be of great benefit to women, those involving politics at the current and those are going to join and this study will help them to identify challenges they face and the opportunities available to them, so those who will be running in the next elections will get the greatest opportunity. This study will also play an important role and contribution in the opportunities and challenges of the women's political participation in district, regional and national level. This research will be beneficial to NGOs, researchers, academicians, students, government as well as all the institutions on gender related issues such as women organizations. In addition, the findings and recommendations that will be presented in this study will help to promote the level of political participation of women in Somaliland.

Limitations Of The Study

There are many limitations facing the research. The researcher is not in Somaliland, and it brings extra limitations. Firstly, lack of options for research that would provide valuable information and resources, such as interviews with politicians, academics, women politicians and women's rights activists. So the researcher will

implement a questionnaire and this limits additional contextual issues that may arise from the interviews. Other constraints played a role including financial, time and the pandemic disease which limits more such as openness of libraries. Specifically, the researcher uses the judgmental sampling method, which may result in favour of some participants and influence the results of the study in general.

Ethical Considerations

Basically to ensure confidentiality of the information and to maintain the general ethics, the research will follow the common rules of research ethics. The researcher is going to conduct a questionnaire. During that time the permission of the respondent is inevitable and the researcher will consider the consent of the respondents before asking any information. Ethically, it is forbidden to force a person in any way. The content of this data will be for academic purposes only. The privacy of the respondents will be greatly respected, so participants will be kept anonymous.

This study would ensure the dignity and the safety of the respondents as well as the quality and integrity of the research. The researcher will avoid all risks, and try to minimize any kind of trouble or risk that may damage for everyone involved in the research. This research completely conforms to intellectual property rights. All sources of information such as academic publications, news outlets, books, journal articles and others will be specified or cited accordingly. Finally, this research is impartial and independent and avoids any kind of biasness or partisan bias.

Organization Of The Study

This thesis will be structured and organized in five chapters. First, chapter one which is an introduction to the study and covers the background of the study, problem statement, research methodology, research questions, research objectives, limitation of study, organization of the study, ethical consideration as well as other subheadings. Chapter two focuses conceptualizing women and political participation to deeply explain the literature review of the subject. Chapter three will scrutinize the general overview of women political participation in Somaliland, to know exactly the real situation of

women in politics looking on different facets. Chapter four provides the essence of the thesis by critically analysing the challenges and opportunities of women in politics by specifying the case of Somaliland. Chapter five will be the end of the research and conclude and recommend on the key findings to the entire study.



CHAPTER ONE

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Democracy is trivial unless the voices of women are strengthened in the political institution, also democracy without the participation of women in politics is worthless or it is like a non-existent thing (Mervis, 2013). Consequently, increasing women's participation in politics and being an integral part of the decision-making process is crucial to the survival, sustainability and development of democracy.

The 1990s Waves of change have begun in the world with the collapse of communist states and other authoritarian regimes most have been replaced by democratic governments. The newly founded democratic governments have brought good governance and institutional building which has encouraged the participation of politics in women because democracy cannot succeed unless women are a big part of it. Therefore, it is imperative that women be given a role in key decision making and political institutions.

In Africa, there are protocols, rules and resolutions to support women, which clearly state that quota, should be set to encourage women's participation and that gender equality should be ensured in politics. In recent times there has been a noticeable increase.

Meanwhile, in Somalia, although the military government supported women in education and economics and even enacted controversial legislation, women's participation in politics was not tangible. The collapse of the government and the civil war exacerbated the situation. Women suffered a lot during that time, but they showed courage and became a source of income for families, taking an active part in peace and other state-building conferences. Fortunately, in recent years, their political participation is improving with the support of the international community.

On the other hand, in Somaliland, women long struggled to achieve equal participation of men and women in politics. Efforts to place quotas for women have not been successful yet and the upcoming elections will decide the future of women's political participation in Somaliland. This section of the study deals with the literature on concepts and theoretical context of political participation and related variables. It will also enable readers to view the research from different perspectives to give them a wide understanding of women's participation in politics as well as challenges and opportunities.

1.2. KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

1.2.1. The Concept of Politics

The term politics is a broad term which has a wide range of definitions and meanings that is given by academic institutions, academicians and other respected organizations, but there is no clear definition that is generally agreed upon. According to (Andrew, 2002:4), defines politics as changing, maintaining, making and keeping the general rules under which the people live and also mentions that politics depends on two opposing factors; cooperation and conflict. On the other hand, Heywood's definition of politics can be described in different ways such as decision-making process, allocation of resources, use of power and etc. Furthermore, in a well-known description or definition of the term politics when respecting it as an art of government; the word politics derived from *Polis* which means city-states. The word polis which originally a Greek word describes the city-states of the ancient Greek which each and every city has to its own specific government, also city-states were independent from one another. Athens was the largest and was a symbol of democracy (Heywood, 2002:5).

There are many definitions about of the term politics, because this term is used in a variety of ways and this makes it widespread, but there are three clear definitions of politics; firstly, it is an activity happens among the people and affects; secondly, it is a collective decision that affects the people that resolves conflict or takes action and finally, the decisions made are binding and it should be carried out (Hague, Harrop,

&McCormick, 2016:6). Let us look at it from another angle not far away; people are part and parcel of a society. Being part of society results in two things, obligations and rights. The survival of the people depends on co-operation, so the people should work together. When the people work together, problems and mistakes are inevitable, but decisions must be made. It is also important how rights are protected and how the available resources are shared out. Politics is the study of how such decisions are made(Modebadze, 2010).

Generally, four answers are given to the question, what is the politics? Firstly, there are ones who do not dare the answer but stay away from it. They are even reluctant to say the word politics. Secondly, there are others who try to face it directly, but these also say that politics cannot be said to have a permanent or actual meaning, because contesting groups compete to fix. Thirdly, these are generally opposite sides. For example if one says politics is this, the other says it is not. They are two ends at a distance and ready to repudiate each other. Fourthly, they strive to come up with an accurate and straightforward perspective (Alexandar, 2014).

Finally, if we look at the realistic definition that can be tasted in everyday life, it is the one that defines the meaning of politics as compromise. This description states that politics is against to resolve any dispute or problem by force. It prefers the solution to dialogue and compromise. Also it sees politics as a way to solve the problems, conflicts and wars. Moreover, it believes that a military solution has never brought the desired solution and makes it clear that politics is the way to make the right decisions that lead to the required solutions (Heywood, Politics, 2002:11).

All of the above definitions portray that politics is the source of life and without it, life is impossible. Politics shapes the way of living of human beings, as it shapes the general rules under which the people live as well as their transformation, sustainability and protection. It is multifaceted, sometimes it is the way decisions are made, sometimes how resources are shared out, another time how the government's responsibilities are fulfilled, and also it is the power used to maintain order and governance. It is based on two opposing sides, conflict and cooperation. It always encourages avoiding war,

conflict as well as other violence. It strongly supports dialogue, negotiation, conciliation and any way to bring peace and stability to the world. As seen in the above, politics is the process by which decisions are made collectively, leading to a perception of the inclusive governmental system.

1.2.2. The Concept of Political Participation

Political participation is one of the most important topics in recent times to understand the democratic system of representation. In recent times there is an increased interest in this issue with various parties focusing on it.

The ordinary person or citizen is an integral figure of the participation in politics and must take an active role. The ordinary man should be aware of how decisions are made since the decisions will affect him or her and society as a whole. In addition, democracy is known to be a system in which power is dispersed or widespread among the society. Ancient times up to now the role of citizens in political participation is essential because many things depend on it (Almond & Verba, 1989:117,118).

Democracy cannot exist unless the citizen participates, therefore without participation of the citizen, it becomes non-existent or meaningless. Participation of the citizen has many good things to consider like, the voices of the citizens are heard, their needs and other entitlements are heard as well as considered and the government is held accountable. The government is monitored how it fulfils for the duties, practices and activities (Deth, Montero, & Andres, 2007:334). Simply, democracy is linked to public participation, and democracy loses its legitimacy whenever the public participation does not exist (Dalton, 2008).

Political participation and the acquisition of citizens involved in politics are greatly remembered in 1989, when major political changes took place in the world that enabled the people living under the collapsed communist states to have access to new opportunities to engage and involve public affairs and other political institutions. Furthermore, to expose their hidden talents and untapped knowledge they participated in the public administration (Nekola, 2006). The people formed civil society organizations,

political parties and research centers to be part of the political solution. Political parties play a key role in promoting democracy. They represent people by reflecting on their needs and passing them on to relevant agencies. They provide an opportunity, the candidates that are eligible to be elected, and serve as a motivational and social mobilization tool. Although the parties help politicians win and hold high offices, there are internal disputes within the party over who will lead the party and who will represent them, and it shows the way in which the parties channel and encourage political participation (Scarrow, Webb, & Poguntke, 2017:1).

According to (Deth, 1997:1), Political participation can be defined as organization or mobilization, because political activities such as joining a political party, public rally and other social movements are all social events.

Participation means to put the power in the hand of every citizen in order to create a new system of governance in which citizens have a word or role in the major decisions made by the governing bodies. Participation eliminates inequalities in many sectors of government such as education or health. Also, participation is a cure for many of the conflicts and problems that have arisen in recent times in society. Participation of *democracy* or politics is enhanced by conducive media environment and cooperation (Lee, McQuarrie, & Edward, 2015:7). Political participation is considered as a key to achieve key positions, develop political skills and the ability to influence inclusive governance (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013).

Political participation is defined as a movement or actions in which citizens want to directly or indirectly impact different parts of the political system, and it is also described as a way in which certain citizens seek to support the government or display their significant influence on politics. Political participation is viewed and described as an act intended to influence political results such as the outcome of political competitions, whether local or national level.(Ekman & AMNÅ, 2012).

On the other hand, Political participation makes it possible for a citizen to obtain information about their interests, favorites and other essential needs. They can also put

pressure on the government to get the pivotal answers they are looking for, because political participation means being involved in the decision-making process (Bourne, Davis, & Francis, 2017). In order to have this political involvement, certain crucial things must be found, when there is a vote or election large numbers of voter turnout must be available as well as participating in rallies is another paramount role or engaging political activities at all levels (Leighley, 1995). Therefore all these activities have a significant impact on the desired political involvement.

Other notable definitions, participation in politics can be said as the ability of a citizen to influence public affairs or seek to influence them, also to participate in public demonstrations and to be part of a non-governmental organization such as right activists groups. It is also necessary for a citizen to join a political party, to vote or to be voted for (Ihemeje, 2016). Moreover, another meaningful definition says, political participation is a measure of citizen activism, and is how individuals participate in the management of political affairs in society (Bauböck, 2006:84).

Participation in politics is also said to be a collective action or a mobilization. Anyway, participation is a matter of personal will, but it requires cooperation (Freedman, 2000:7). Evidence of this is that politics requires special interest, because people interested in politics spend time and money to monitor the world political events, so they seek for information by reading the newspaper or watching televisions (Wolfsfeld, Yarchi, & Samuel-Azran, 2016). In addition, people who have a lot of information, have a knowledge of politics and want to spend effort and time, as well as ready to take part in politics actively, these kinds of people show the highest level of political participation (Wolfsfeld, Yarchi, & Samuel-Azran, 2016).

Political participation can be summarized three important elements, firstly, visible actions in which people participate without being coerced. Secondly, the participants are not politicians or other government employees, but must be ordinary people. Thirdly, the goal should be to influence the system or the people in power (Ekman & AMNÅ, 2012).

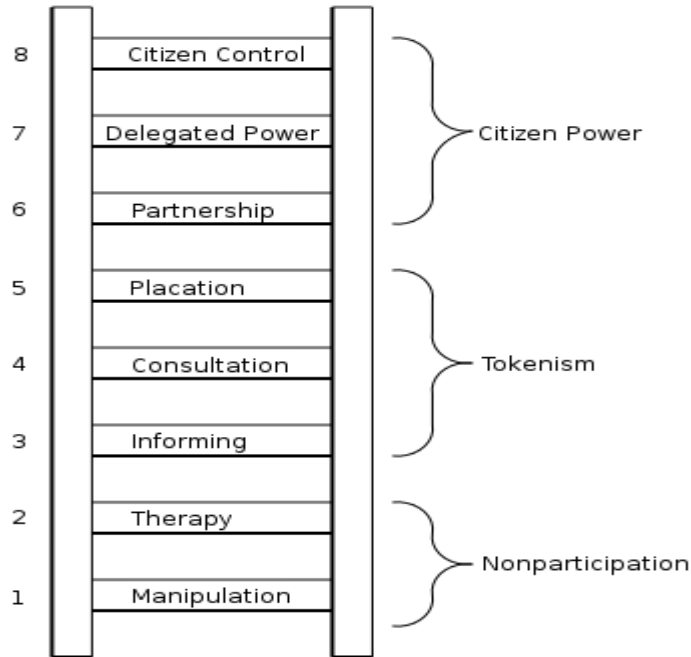
All in all, as mentioned in the above, political participation is one of the most important topics at the moment, particularly to understand democracy. Democracy does not exist and loses its legitimacy, without political participation. Ordinary people are central to political participation, because political participation means that citizens are involved in politics. There are many definitions about that concept so far, but one of the most important is that political participation is for citizens to participate in politics in an organized and free manner, with the aim of influencing those in power or be part of the decision-making process. Apart from that, there are characteristics, forms, types and other factors that are important for understanding political participation. All that different topics are presented in the following sections.

1.3. LEVELS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

According to (Arnstein, 1969) citizens have a power which is their engagement with politics. Thus, public can participate in politics, also at a variety of levels; the public may be involved in public policy making. At the lowest level, there is only contact between specialists or regulators and the public, although some degree of public feedback is requested at higher levels such as the call for public opinion. The lowest level of participation entails top-down contact and a one-way flow of information, while dialogue and two-way exchange of information define the highest level (Rowe & Frewer, 2000).

When it comes to the classification and description of the level of participation, the one done by Arnstein, is the most mentioned and well-known. In the below is the ladder of Arnstein which explains the eight rungs of the citizens participation.

Figure 1.1. Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation. Source: (Arnstein, 1969).



In the above table of Citizen Participation, the lowest rungs of the ladder are Manipulation and Therapy. These two rungs define "non-participation" levels that have been created by some to replace genuine participation and their main aim is not to encourage individuals to engage in the planning or administering of programs, but to allow participants to be "educated" or "cured" by power-holders. Three and four are the "tokenism" levels and they are Informing and Consultation. People will indeed hear and be heard when they are proposed by power holders as the complete scope of participation. But in these circumstances, they lack the authority to guarantee that the powerful would heed their opinions. Placation is the fifth level of the ladder and a higher "tokenism" level. The ground rules encourage people to advice, but maintain for the power holders the continued right to decide. The seventh and eighth steps of the ladder are delegated power and citizen control, respectively and describe that the most decision-making seats or full managerial authority are gained by citizens (Arnstein, 1969).

1.4. PURPOSE OF PARTICIPATION

Many objectives can be defined in order to explain the participation. According to (Innes & Booher, 2004), participation has five purposes; the first one can be called to "The Recognition of Public Preferences" which means policy makers to find out what the desires of the public are so that they can play a role in their choices. Second, it is "Citizen Knowledge Acquisition" that indicates to leverage local knowledge of citizens to enhance decision making. As the government becomes larger and more remote from its constituencies, both goals are significantly relevant. Third, "Advancing Equity and Justice", that point out to understand the needs and preferences of the least-advantaged communities that are not identified by usual sources of information and procedures. Fourth, "Legitimize Democratic Decisions", which stands to get or gain legitimacy for public decisions through public participation. Fifth one, "Requirement of Law" which signifies that Participation is something government officials and planners do because it is mandated by statute. Finally, these five purposes underpin and obviously signify the reason of public participation in politics.

1.5. WHO PARTICIPATE?

When it comes to the topic of who participate? Most importantly citizens come to mind, particularly low-income and low-educated people, because they have the right to participate and are often overlooked or excluded from participation. In general, participation refers to the involvement of residents or laymen who are typically the weak. Yet they are not the sole focus community for participation. There is also more actors and stakeholders in the decision-making process. Therefore, we can see that various types of participants can be involved in the engagement of politics.

The efficient procedure for the participatory approach defines the consistency of the participants. One of the essential dimensions along which processes of participation differ is the interest of participants. Some procedures are open to those who want to participate; other systems include only elite members, such as representatives of interest

groups, although there are some other approaches limited to qualified experts (Fung, 2006).

1.6. WHO VOTES?

Not everybody can vote when it comes to elections, there are certain people that circumstances allow them to vote, so who votes depends on to find some of the following characteristics:

1. Physical characteristics: voting involves a trip to a polling station and a long line to wait, so that a person is safe and mobile enough to make this trip, that he/she has enough visual and motor skills to read the ballot and hold a pencil or voting machine.
2. Economic and social resources: Voting is hard work, it takes money and time. To be able to vote, people need to have adequate resources and the right time. Economic difficulties and lack of time may prevent individuals from voting. Individuals with more spare time or a more flexible schedule will benefit from this.
3. Social connectivity: Elections are a joint endeavour, outcomes that are important to the whole of a culture or political community. It is therefore an essential factor that promotes turnout to belong to that group or society, while being alienated from it may hinder electoral participation.
4. Related cognitive and knowledge-handling skills: Voters and candidates often do not know each other well, so the voter chooses according to the information he or she receives. Therefore it is possible for the voter to vote whether he or she knows or is familiar with the messages being received and the importance of voting. It is fair to believe that a lack of understanding would hold people away from voting (Eijk, 1999).

1.7. FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Academics, journalists and politicians in most world democracies have drawn a great deal of attention in recent years to the topic of political participation. Political

participation involves harmonizing politics and the power of government institutions with the general public. Democratic governments have political participation that allows everyone to influence politics or make difference, to the extent that they can amend the country's constitution and other important issues (Li & Marsh, 2008). Hence, political participation as mentioned is related to different places, play many roles that some people do not know, and it also has different forms or types.

In the past, voting was the only thing that came to people's mind or was known as political participation, but the votes is only part of the process of political influence or participate in politics. The two main forms of political participation are conventional and non-conventional. It is also known Institutional and non-institutional methods or legal and illegal (Arce & Sabucedo, 1991).

1.7.1. Conventional Participation

Conventional participation is a political practice or political process used to gain maximum power or influence political outcomes, through institutional channels such as voting and being a member of a political party (Pirk & Nugin, 2016). So, joining political parties, campaigning, voting, contributing, communicating with politicians and government officials are all part of the conventional political participation. Conventional political participation is intended for activities that are legally the basis of the influence of public officials and politicians (Linssen, Schmeets, Scheepers, & Grotenhuis, 2011).

Conventional political Participation can be said as engaging in various activities related to politics such as having direct contact with the politicians and other officials; analyzing and discussing about politics; working, engaging and financially contributing to political parties, participating in political campaigns and finally voting(Newton & Giebler, 2008). In addition, conventional political participation is the performance of citizens' activities that directly or indirectly affect the selection or the election of government officials, i.e. politicians and the decisions they make that affect the people and the country(Memoli, 2016).

Conventional political participation takes place within institutions and institutions are structured to accept or promote individual participation. This facilitates personal participation. For instance, voting is an individual activity or personal contribution for political involvement and individual casts his vote through the institutions that are supposed to conduct the election and allow individual participation (Martiniello, 2005).

Another simple description which exposes the role and the function of the conventional participation in the society mentions clearly that Conventional participation addresses practices that are rooted in the values and customs of the community (Bourne, 2010).

Normally, everything has things or factors that affect so there are factors that affect conventional political participation in the first place including; a strong political interest, affiliation to a party, and progressive ideology (Mannarini, Legittimo, & Talò, 2005).

As a final point, conventional political participation involves many things that are important to politics and its participation such as political analysis, financial contribution of the political parties or organizations, campaigning and voting. It is a system which tries to influence political outcomes through society by voting and it also affects politicians and other government officials. Conventional political participation depends on the movement and performance of society which directly or indirectly affects politicians or decision makers. Conventional political participation occurs within the institutions that are structurally prepared, and encourages individual political participation.

1.7.2. Unconventional Participation

Unconventional participation dates back to the time of slavery and that has helped to establish and form many governments (Bourne A. P., 2010). In modern times, unconventional political participation is an important part or at the heart of the democratic process. It is not a replace or a substitute for conventional political participation, but they are complementary to each other (Memoli, 2016).

Unconventional political participation refers to all actions, behaviors and practices outside of conventional political participation such as illegal political demonstrations, boycotts, signing petitions, political unrest, security threats, roadblocks, entering buildings, destruction of government and public vehicles and much more (Pirk & Nugin, 2016). All these operations are not based on a political system and most of them are against law and order (Linssen, Schmeets, Scheepers, & Grotenhuis, 2011). Therefore, it came out that unconventional participation became a form of operation used by the loser voters who are radicals (Memoli, 2016).

Unconventional participation can mean collective action, because there is always a need for a team to perform the required activities of this participation. Also, it is a direct form of political participation, since these entire joint activities take place without a mediation of a third party (Quaranta, 2012).

Unconventional participation is a collective action by people to articulate their unwillingness, and they are satisfied that it is the only way they can send a message to the government and other stakeholders. Also, the only way that will be heard by the government. This collective participation of the people demonstrates that people have power and voice, inducing the government to respond to the reality which is the needs and aspirations of the people (Bourne P. A., 2010). Furthermore, when their expectations are not met, people use this direct method to seek an audience with their representatives or organizations that they feel have failed the obligations. This unconventional participation shows that there is a lack of trust and confidence between the parties (Bourne, 2010).

Apart from everything, unconventional participation lacks or has no clear objectives, but it is a progressive method of assisting young people or it can be said vulnerable people those want to participate in politics, as well as helping them to achieve their political aspirations, as it is a simple and helping method (Pitti, 2018:105).

Lastly, there is a difference between the two forms of political participation. The most common difference between the conventional and unconventional participation is

that conventional participation is limited to the institutions and occurs within the existing political institutions, but unconventional participation takes place outside the institutions and it is a direct action which the two sides of people and politicians face each other directly (Forbrig, 2005:20). Furthermore, the main characteristic of conventional political participation is voting and joining political parties, while unconventional political participation is characterized by protests, boycotts, signing petitions, political unrest, security threats, roadblocks, entering buildings, destruction of government and public vehicles.

1.8. FACTORS DETERMINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Basically, as any other social activity, political engagement is determined by some factors that affect the level and desire of participation and that factors may incline one group to participate in political activities rather than others. These factors have similarities and differences, but generally have a major effect that always changes the balance. Here, I will discuss the most important ones.

1.8.1. Education

Formal education or attainment of education is considered to be one of the main characteristics behind citizenship and it is widely accepted and undisputed. At the same time, there is no doubt that education increases political participation, voting, political knowledge and awareness, and also has an undeniable and visible impact (Hillygus, 2005). Education's impact on political participation is considered to have a great significance and education is perceived to be an individual resource and its effects on participation can be evaluated predominantly by individual studies (Aars & Christensen, 2018).

Basically education is usually mandatory in order to provide the dynamism and ability to participate in politics for all young citizens, and is an important element of the democratic process. Because democracy requires an active citizen and schools teach participation in democracy effectively (Hedtke & Zimenkova, 2013:1). In general, there are educational projects that encourage teachers so that young people become more

active and involved in social and political issues. It is a culture of decentralization and accountability, so that citizens can question the existing institutions and promote democracy (Hedtke & Zimenkova, 2013:13).

Now, when it comes to the relationship between education and political participation, the main thing that comes up is civic education. This education is designed to provide citizens with basic skills such as patriotism, political understanding, the importance of political participation and a better understanding of the general principles of democracy. This, in turn, results a democratic citizens with civic education to understand the political system and choose who to represent them efficiently, while the ignorant do not have that opportunity or at least can vote without any knowledge of who to vote for or even the political system (Hillygus, 2005).

On the other hand, when it comes to the impact of education on political participation or the general understanding of the political system, it is clear because education enhances the skills of public speaking, writing, reading and overcoming difficult situations, and creates an active citizen who is involved in various aspects of politics such as participating in political events, political campaigns, political analyzes as well as a citizen who focus more on political issues (Persson, 2015). Therefore, knowledge affects the cognitive and civic capacity of the human being which in turn has a direct impact on the increase in political participation (Persson, 2012).

As the last paragraphs mention, education has a profound and lasting impact on political participation, why? An educated citizen is involved in politics and related matters, and is a citizen who knows his duties and knows who to vote for. It is the same with an educated society that fulfils its responsibilities and holds accountable the government agencies that serve for it. Finally, when civic education rises, it directly affects political participation which substantially increases.

1.8.2. Income

Income and political participation are closely linked. Income or wealth plays a big part in peoples' involvement in politics. Wealthy people are more likely than poor people

to participate in politics and government, as wealthy ones receive incentive which is the wealth or the income, while the poor people cannot afford (Alelaimat, 2019).

According to (Ojeda, 2018), Income is one of the main recognized-upon ways in which government benefits are distributed. This statement indicates that low income people are always behind others as well as their resident area because as Bernie Sanders said "Poor people don't vote. I mean, that's just a fact," (Bernie Sanders, 2016). And as long as the poor people don't vote or not able to vote, the government policies may not give interest for that people not represent the interest of that poor people (Ojeda, 2018).

Rich people consider themselves honorable and are separate from others; also they influence the people in power as well as try to affect the political outcome (Cicatiello, Ercolano, & Lucio Gaeta, 2015). In addition, Income and political participation are closely linked, whenever the income increases, the more the political participation (Leeson, 2008).

Income has a significant effect on political participation, and among these factors, the poor often do not have sufficient knowledge and skills which are essential to political participation, Furthermore, national political agendas do not give the poor people the necessary priority, for instance, political campaigners do not pay much attention to them as well as their resident areas and voting institutions do not treat them equally and give them their due (Ojeda, 2018).

All of these factors indicate a strong impact between income and political participation. It is automatically obvious that poor people's political participation is low relative to their wealthy counterparts. The wealthy have incentives from their income and the government, while the poor face many challenges, such as challenges from their own government.

1.8.3. Ethnicity

Ethnicity can be defined with a common ancestry or background, as well as shared a common heritage, culture or history, and it is a form of identity (Noyoo, 2000).

Ethnicity influences politics, particularly participation in politics as it plays an important role in election (Barreto, 2010: 38). For instance, in Africa, there is an ethnic rivalry that has been since colonial times, which sometimes turned into hostility and hatred(Noyoo, 2000). Surely, it is obvious that hostility created by the ethnic rivalry affects all areas of life, where politics is paramount.

The impact of ethnicity on political participation varies between democratic countries and authoritarian regimes. When it comes to the authoritarian countries, power, politics and governance are protected from certain ethnic groups, while in democracies the matter is completely different and it is possible for all ethnic groups to participate in politics (Birbir, 2007:4).

It is obvious that ethnicity has a profound impact in Africa. In Africa, people whose ethnic group is governed by government are more likely to engage in politics than those of a less numerically ethnicity. Also, most of the economic resources are diverted to the ruling ethnic group, and it is difficult to support other ethnic groups(Ajide, Alimi, & Asongu, 2019). Finally, it can be said that many parts of African politics are shaped by ethnicity, as it affects political participation, elections, voting, economic resources and decision-making processes.

1.8.4. Religion

Religion is a belief; it is the expression of values, beliefs and ethics that society believes in. It is a unified system that unites the community on the basis of spirituality. It solves spiritual problems and provides equality of life for the whole universe and the people (Aghazadeh & Mahmoudoghli, 2017).

All elements of life are influenced by religion (Aghazadeh & Mahmoudoghli, 2017). Participation in politics is a part of life which has a profound significance to society and human life. Therefore, there are various ways in which religion can influence participation in politics. Religion can influence political involvement and bring encouragement to engage in politics when it comes to religious tensions or religious issues that have a direct effect on the lives of citizens and become part of the agenda of

national or government political councils. (Omeliicheva & Ahmed, 2018). It also allows believers to recognize and take political action when it comes to religious needs or demands. Worship places may also be places where society can be organized and mobilized. Religious scholars may also, through preaching, affect society (Omeliicheva & Ahmed, 2018).

It is definitely obvious that religion is capable of affecting political participation, but what basic elements of religion play the greatest role in political engagement remains uncertain, whether it is the involvement of the worship places, religious rituals, or other aspects of religious behavior (Drisk, Embry, & Lyon, 2008).

It is possible that religions have different influences when it comes to participating in politics. In the case of Islam, according to (Jamal, 2005), mosques have an important role to play in Islam, such as social mobilization, inspiration, social and political activity. In each and every Muslim community mosque affect their political and social life differently. It acts as a meeting place in some cultures, as a place for information in other societies, and as a place for political action in others.

Despite all this, it is an undeniable fact that religion, whether positive or negative, has an effect on political engagement as it affects all facets of life.

1.8.5. Political Parties

Traditionally, political parties play an important role in democracy. They express and reflect the interest of the people and help to turn common demands into legislative initiatives (Scarrow, Webb, & Poguntke, 2017:1). Political parties determine which candidate to be elected and they stand to facilitate for the candidates or politicians obtain and keep for electoral offices. Political parties are a place of competition with distinct groups competing to choose leaders, manage party policy or to bring their close members on party boards particularly the executive, because political parties are an important place to represent ideas and interests (Scarrow, Webb, & Poguntke, 2017:1).

Certainly, the candidate selection process for political parties determines who will appear and who will not appear on the ballot (Kernell, 2015). However, when it comes to the political parties an extensive discrimination against women exists. Women are profoundly influenced and discriminated against by the laws and rules of political parties regarding the election of candidates. Party processes can impose obstacles to women, such as higher education requirements, experience and high fees for candidate registration, which make it difficult for many women to run for office and have an effect on their political participation (Peña-López, 2014:16). But, there is another impactful fact which says that gatekeepers are more likely to strengthen the individuals who share them with the same sex. This proves that when women lead the party or have a significant role in it, they prefer to choose a female candidate or vice versa (Cheng & Tavits, 2011). Unfortunately, it is a well-known fact that decision-makers and political party leaders are male, and even in some areas, they reach more than 97 percent (Niven, 1998).

To make the matter worse, according to (Fox & Lawless, 2004), women who have the same experience, skill and expertise as men but do not have strong political aspirations to run senior positions or fill senior elective office because of two reasons; women are not encouraged to hold office or do not obtain the same support as men, and secondly, they often do not consider themselves deserving of office.

All of this simply testifies to the fact that political parties have a significant influence on political participation, most importantly, women's participation in politics. Political parties pick people who run in elections and therefore decide who occupies political office. Political parties are then crucial to the access of women to political office. All in all, Political parties are important for participation in politics as the most political parties manage their members to win and fill an office.

1.8.6. Culture

Culture is a framework or system that exists within a human community of shared information, values, procedures, objects and attitudes (Gill, 2013). Politics is a social

occurrence rooted in the security of relations between culture, friendship and other factors. Participation in politics is also a social event which happens within established personal and social relationships (Hardy-Fanta, 1993:126). Thus, politics, political participation and cultural are complex and intertwined that cannot be easily separated, and their relation is definitely further deep than normal imagination (Zhong, 2018:3).

Culture is very important for political participation in general. For instance, the following scenarios portray the impact of different cultural systems on political achievements of women which directly represent political participation. The relative intensity and significance of kinship in political culture is one characteristic to which needs closely to focus on, because there is a time to come to power or win a political seat where gender is not important, but family or kin is more important. (Goetz, 2003). There is also a time when women in positions of authority have a positive influence on societal change that many women seek to reach the same positions without regard to cultural constraints and barriers (Goetz, 2003).

On the other hand, when it comes to political culture, there are three main types of political culture: Parochial Political Culture, Subject Political Culture and Participant Political Culture. Firstly, Parochial Political Culture shows that people have little knowledge of the political system and no interest in engaging in the political processes. Secondly, Subject political Culture stipulates that people have an understanding of the democratic system and have little interest in participating or may not be permitted to engage in the political processes. And lastly, Participant Political Culture, people know the political system cleverly and are interested in political processes and decision-making actively (Almond & Verba, 1989:17,18).

It can undoubtedly be easily argued that culture, both positively and negatively, affects political engagement. It is possible that a particular society's culture has a structure of political consciousness and decision-making, whereas it is possible that another society's culture is an inactive society that does not pay attention to political participation, democratic process and decision making.

1.9. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

A superior status in legislation has been granted to men for much of human history. Women fought for legal, civil and political rights. Women have struggled and faced challenges to get equal rights with men. However, in the twentieth century the political and legal atmosphere changed with the drafting of international and regional human rights conventions and with the emerging women's movement, and discrimination based on sex and gender became a concern for human rights (Hellum & Aasen, 2013:1).

International law strongly encourages human rights; also equality between men and women has been among the most basic guarantees of human rights since the founding of the United Nations. As Article 1(3) of the Charter states that the fostering of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the aims of the United Nations “promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion”. This expresses the firm stand of the Charter for the protection of human rights in general, and for the promotion of equality, which are all the basis of politics, the democratic process and participation in politics.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights illustrated basic human rights and gave the right to political participation and the essence of the democratic principle a major priority (Rafols, 2018). It has been stated in Article 21 of the UDHR that:

1. “Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures”.

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which is a legal binding document, encouraged participation in politics equally and Article 25 of that covenant provides for the right of every person to have the ability, without distinction, to engage in his government's public affairs by means of directly or by elected representatives, the right to vote and to be elected, and equal access to public services (Rafols, 2018).

On the other hand, the women's rights treaty, the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), was adopted in 1979 (Edwards, 2011:8). The CEDAW preamble expresses concern about the continuation of Women's oppression. The Preamble expresses concern that in situations of poverty, women do not have access to the basic needs of food, health, education and other needs that situation could damage their community status and create discrimination. In order to improve the situation of women, the preamble stresses the importance of a holistic approach which involves civil, political, social and economic rights (Hellum & Aasen, 2013:2).

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), agrees that violence against women is related to and an inherent lack of gender equality. In addition to situating it within the international (universal) regime of human rights, it defines gender equality in a comprehensive way, applicable to both the public and the domestic spheres (Elliott, 2014). Fortunately, convention has usually had an immense effect on the world system and the nations that have ratified it. Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), can be attributed to gains in women's jobs, wage increases, access to colleges, scholarships, and even 'special initiatives' and quotas, which stipulate the number of women who must be placed on party lists (Edwards, 2011:8). Accordingly, CEDAW sets an international framework for gender equality and as such, forms the basis for many other international legal principles and efforts to reduce poverty, such as the Beijing Platform for Action (Elliott, 2014).

In 1995, at the Fourth World Conference on Women, which sought to encourage gender equality and the empowerment of women was held in Beijing. It was attended by

women's rights activists from around the world and governments officials. Members of 189 governments accepted the agreements of the Beijing Platform in Action that were historic. The Beijing Conference marked a turning point, in the advancement of gender equality policies and the world's most important structure for policies and practices on international gender equality (Debusscher, 2015).

Participation of women in the leadership and decision-making is not merely matter of fairness, but democracy is a condition for taking women's interests into account. The Beijing Platform for Action called on governments to take steps to ensure fair access and full involvement of women in power systems and decision-making, and to strengthen the capacity of women to engage in politics (Debusscher, 2015).

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was adopted on June 1981. It came into force on 21 October 1981, three months after its adoption by an overwhelming majority of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity (Evans & Murray, 2008:8). The Charter is reasonable, rational and reflects the interests of the Africans, since it covers a wide variety of rights; not only civil and political rights, but also economic, social and cultural rights, including the rights and obligations of citizens (Evans & Murray, 2008:25).

Furthermore, other regional and international legal instruments focusing on women's rights have been codified, such as the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (African Women's Rights Protocol) of 2003. Consequently, the continent is very rich in codified legal regulations concerning women's rights that have improved the protection, interest and commitment of African women's rights (Owiso & Sefah, 2017).

Article 9 of the African Women's Rights Protocol obliges African States to take concrete positive steps In order to ensure women's inclusion in government and political life. Also deeply encourages that Women are fairly distributed at all levels with men at all electoral levels, as well as demonstrates that at all stages of development and implementation of state policies and development programs, women are equal partners

with men. Finally it ensures women's presence at all decision-making stages (Owiso & Sefah, 2017).

Both the International and Regional Instruments placed a great deal of emphasis on human rights, gender equality, women's rights, and their main focus is women's participation in politics, leadership and decision-making. As a result, significant changes have taken place, fostering the inclusion of more women in decision-making that balanced the influence.

1.10. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR WOMEN

Democracy is the voice of all individuals or democracy means that all voices are heard (Delys, 2014:5). In all corners of the globe, the value of women's political participation for a sustainable democratic politics is gradually being realized (Sinha, 2007:7). But; women's involvement in politics is poor relative to men (Delys, 2014:5). Women make up almost 50 percent of the total population of any country, and if a democratic structure is implemented, in the absence of half of the society, that system of democracy cannot succeed. That's going to be a crippled or meaningless democracy which does not represent the development of freedom, equality, a better life and fair political competition (Sinha, 2007:7). Also, the absence of women leads to a legitimacy crisis in the decision-making process (Panday, 2013:1).

On the other hand, the interests and needs of women differ from those of men, so it is crucial that women's representation is equal to that of men, in order to ensure that good governance and the rule of law are maintained in any country. Furthermore, in many fields of governance and leadership, such as local governance, health management and most social services, women are more familiar and stronger than men. It is well known and evident that, by playing active roles in daily life, community organizations, towns, and cities, women have always been an important part of their communities and development (Panday, 2013:1).

In terms of parliamentary representation, women can be counted on to carry women's problems to the political agenda, and it is important to have complete

representation of women in parliament to ensure that women's views are as widely expressed as men's. This makes it easier to bear in mind the disparities between men and women and to ensure that the rights of women are upheld and their needs are met (Joni, 1997). According to (Caul, 1999), women's parliamentary representation, even in established democratic countries is still poor. Therefore, in the national decision-making process, women participate little and this under-representation exists at all levels of government.

In Africa, donors, development NGOs, empowerment programs and foreign donors have all recently concentrated and focused on the topic of women's involvement in politics. Many African countries have made substantial progress in the inclusion and integration of more women in the sectors of government and development (Bawa & Sanyare, 2013).

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, number of African women in parliaments jumped tremendously from 1995 to 2020. Rwanda has become the global pioneer in women's parliamentary seats. Women constitute more than half of the members of parliament, and Djibouti has achieved fast growth in the last 25 years. More than 40 percent of the seats of the parliament in the countries of South Africa, Senegal, Namibia and Mozambique are occupied by women. However, the region's overall growth in women's participation in politics has declined over the last 5 years (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2020).

The participation of women in the executive branch in Africa has grown in some countries, a lot of women have joined the system, and women even reached the level of president or country leader. Interestingly, when women are the country's president or leader, they make drastic changes that have a huge effect on women's political positions, such as in Liberia and Mozambique (Waring, 2010).

In addition, legal encouragement and empowerment for women in Africa, Article 9 of African Women's rights protocol specifically stipulates fair involvement of women in politics and decision-making without discrimination, as well as being key players in

the development and implementation of state policies to ensure that women are active participants in the field of politics. The protocol favorably promotes fair representation of men and women; suggests 50 percent of each in high decision-making offices and may secure the rights of women and the equality of people(Ilesanmi, 2018).

All in all, it should be stressed that women's political participation in Africa differs greatly between countries with really substantial gains and successes in some and incredibly poor results in many others. Some progress has been made, with some African countries ranked among the best global performers in the field of women's political participation (Uzodike & Onapajo, 2013). Despite these successes, there are concerns about the participation of women in politics in Africa. The condition of women's participation in politics is very disappointing in many other regions of Africa. The common complaint of many women is that they were still discouraged from taking active roles in politics by socio-cultural values, economic dependence and financial difficulties (Uzodike & Onapajo, 2013).

1.11. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Women face some major obstacles that hinder their ability to actively engage in politics. Also women have opportunities which allow and facilitate participation in politics. When it comes to the challenges women face, some challenges are common to all women in the world, while other obstacles are unique to a specified country, region or area. The same is true in terms of opportunities for women to engage in politics. Moreover, it is clear that women are the majority of the voters and are the ones who are most affected by the governmental decisions reached by the politicians; unfortunately women are not actively involved in government politics and leadership or have no equal representation compared to men. All these matters are the challenges which need to tackle and address by using the available ability and opportunities of women.

According to(Edition, A. R, 2005), three fields are grouped into the common challenges women face: political, socio-economic and ideological or psychological.

Political challenges include: Political parties that have not fully embraced women, particularly on the financial and network side, lack of contact and collaboration between civil society organizations and women in politics, as well as the electoral system which does not favor female candidates. Housework which is headed by women and illiteracy are the socio-economic barriers. Whereas, The ideological and psychological barriers are the fear of women to stand and contest for elections, the impression of women that politics is poor and filthy, and the misrepresentation of the media against women.

Kumar (2017) argues also that there are many barriers to women's involvement in politics, women are not valued, and the media scrutiny hurts women's reputation as the media improperly scrutinizes the private lives of women politicians. In addition, women don't get the fundamental institutional support of the police and judiciary which is unwilling to support women, as well as the existing legislations that usually impede the political ambition of women. A further big obstacle is family and political parties. Political parties are male dominated institutions and do not give women priority and support. Families often prefer women to remain at home, rather than involving politics, which is another setback to the involvement of women in politics.

As (Danfulani, 2016) emphasized, in Africa, the traditional values divided the roles of men and women and assigned women to household duties. Women who dare or insist to engage in politics are publicly referred to as whores. Economics is also a major factor, since women have a poor economic base. Religion plays a part, particularly Islam do not allow women to engage in politics, and women do not receive the requisite support from Muslim populated constituencies. Illiteracy affects as well, though illiteracy is high in Africa generally, women are the most affected and less educated compared to men.

The challenges facing the participation of Somali women in politics are legal ones, Socio-Economic and cultural factors, and Discrimination against Women. In Somalia, laws affect more and prevent women from taking political roles. Apart from that, socio-economic and cultural factors are another main challenge which faces Somali women that hinder their aspirations to engage in politics. Culture encourages women to stay at home and take care of children; also Somali women are not economically self-

sufficient. Lastly, Discrimination plays a significant role and prevents women to participate in politics and government offices (Sheikh Ali & Mohamud, 2015).

On the other hand, women's opportunities of participation in politics are available and exist. Evidence from around the world indicates that quotas have had an immediate and direct impact on women's participation; particularly quotas with Closed-List Proportional systems are more productive and offer women the opportunity to participate and expose their ability (Rai, 2005). There are other opportunities to increase the involvement of women in politics, the key one is that women undergo training and the acquisition of development skills so that women have the political skills and experience to be in charge of public office. It is also necessary to promote women's level of awareness. In addition, transparency and accountability for democratic institutions strengthen the opportunity and capacity of women to participate in politics (Rai, 2005).

The political changes and reforms of the last decades have provided an impetus for women's political involvement and leadership throughout Africa, in all branches of government such as legislative, executive and judiciary. International and regional organizations have campaigned to foster democracy and increase women's participation in the decision-making process (Enaifoghe, 2019).

Danfulani (2016) argued that it became an incentive for women and increased women's participation in politics when the monarchy, military regimes and the one-party system were abolished. More women have entered and engaged in politics through the multi-party system and political parties introduced policies that promoted participation and inclusion of women in politics, such as having female wings. Also, the multi-party structure has encouraged and promoted women to open their own political parties independently.

The military regime in Somalia, which dominated the country for a long time, offered many opportunities for women, most important in education and economics. However, women were not participating in the decision-making process during that period (Mohamed, 2015). Women were forgotten during the civil war and suffered

greatly. However, in the 2004 and 2008 parliaments, which comprised 275 and 550, respectively, a quota of 12% was allocated to women (Ingiriis & Hoehne, 2013). The proportion of women increased to 24 percent seats in the 2016 elections and the advocacy groups of the international community and women activists were behind the success of the rise. Women are battling hard in the 2020 elections to get at least 30 percent and the quota project is on the table (Affi, 2020).

Somaliland is a self-proclaimed Republic, and its independence was declared with the help of the people on 18th May 1991 (Eubank, 2010). Women's representation in Somaliland is very weak and the movement for women's political participation will not succeed until the quota project is ratified. The House of Elders is a completely male-dominated house that has declined to vote for the gender quota (Affi, 2020).

Finally, this chapter discusses Political Participation, their origins, modes, motivating factors, as well as the regional and international laws in place, and different approaches. This chapter discusses the diverse perspectives on political participation and the challenges and opportunities of women's participation in politics in general and Somali women's participation in particular. Also, in terms of differences in the theories and concepts of scholars who were wrote about political participation.

CHAPTER TWO

2. WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND

This chapter will focus on the participation of Women in Somaliland politics. In this section, the researcher examines the main literature available in the topic. First of all, the researcher will provide a general overview of Somaliland women's political history, before independence and after independence, during the military regime, following the collapse, and the last thirty years after Somaliland regained its independence. This chapter will give us a real image of the role and involvement of Somali women in politics, particularly Somaliland women, as well as the positive role that they play in other areas of social life. Furthermore, the chapter explains how women are an important organ at all times and begins from the age of liberation to the present time in all circumstances.

2.1. SOMALILAND: BRIEF HISTORY

Somaliland existed as an independent state for a couple of days only in 1960(Ali, 2013). Shortly after the celebration, Somaliland merged with the Italian Somalia to form the first government of the new Somali Republic (Samatar & Samatar, 2008). 1960-1969 Somali people enjoyed nine years of democracy, transfer of power and civilian government where the Somali government became a member of the world nations (Bradbury, 2008:22). At first, things seemed to be heading in the right direction as there was equality and justice and political power-sharing were shared equally as the president was granted for southerners and prime minister for the northerners. Nevertheless, it proved to be totally different. The system was soon overwhelmed by corruption, tribalism and marginalization (Bereketeab, 2012). On 15 October 1969, President of the Somali republic was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. The civilian government of Somalia was overthrown from power in a military coup d'état, spearheaded by Mohamed Siad Barre in 21 October 1969(Kaariye, 2017). Said Barre's seizure of power followed the suspension of the constitution and other legislation (Ahmed & Green, 1999). Moreover, Siad Barre's rule was the beginning of dictatorial and authoritarian rule which

led to the fall of the Somali state and pulled Somalia into the road of bloody clan war or the civil war (Ingiriis, 2016:2).

The Somali government officially collapsed in 1991 and marked the beginning of a civil war in which each wants to take power by force (Powell, Ford, & Nowrasteh, 2008). After the fall of the military regime, Somaliland declared independence on 18 May 1991 (Renders & Terlinden, 2010). Since then, Somaliland enjoyed peace, stability and democracy, resolving disputes through dialogue and holding transparent elections to rotate leaders peacefully (Adam, 1994).

In 1993 Mohamed Ibrahim Egal was elected President of the Republic of Somaliland at a conference held in Borama. In 1997, another conference in Hargeisa, again Egal was re-elected by the elders. It was the start of Somaliland's democratization and stability (Hansen & Bradbury, 2007). After that, the democratization process went on, and Somaliland had six elections so far, three of which were presidential elections, two local council elections and one parliamentary election. Elections were monitored by international election monitors and commonly witnessed they were carried out efficiently (Pegg & Walls, 2018).

In 2002 the first local council elections took place in Somaliland and over 450,000 voters cast their ballots. Less than a year again the people cast their votes and elected the president of the republic (Bradbury, Abokor, & Yusuf, 2003). In 2005, the parliamentary elections happened in Somaliland in which most of the seats won by the opposition. In 2010, after a number of delays, presidential elections were held and the tenure of former President Rayale came to an end and vacated the seat peacefully, after he lost the election. In 2012 local council elections were held again (Hoehne, 2013). Finally, the last elections happened in 2017 and the incumbent president of Somaliland was elected (Pegg & Walls, 2018).

All in all, following the collapse of the Military regime of Siad Barre and the return of Somaliland independence, there has been a movement for democracy in which the people are at the forefront. First and foremost, the elders and other sections of the

society ensured peace, stability and order. They resolved their differences and conflicts through dialogue. They held meetings to elect a leadership that ultimately led them to the genuine democratic process. As noted above, there have been six elections in Somaliland so far, from local government to presidential level, with international observers testified that the elections were free and fair and that the transfer of power was peaceful.

2.2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND

Somaliland went through various stages, at a time it was a British protectorate, independence era, 30 years of union with Italian Somaliland and another 30 years as a self-proclaimed state but without the international recognition. In these different stages of Somaliland's history, women have played their role. If it is a war and revolution against colonialism in which they played an important role and fought against the colonialists until independence, during the union period they played a major role in nation building and development, after the collapse of the state they took great role in ending the conflict, peacemaking and peace building and finally when Somaliland regained its independence women took an unimaginable role by sponsoring most of the family bills and livelihoods as well as contributing to state-building and democratization. In this section we will look at the brief history of women's political participation in Somaliland

2.2.1. Prior Independence

The women who lived under the British protectorate joined the liberation movement freely, enduring all kinds of hardships. In the 1940s, women were generally involved in Struggles of independences and liberation movements. Women were active members of SYL as they joined voluntarily, they were raising funds, recruiting new members, participating in rallies, organizing the people, and hiding freedom fighters. The women went through all sorts of trauma and torture. These women in the war of

independence and efforts were mostly young female and women who had been divorced, yet they did not get bored or discouraged from their role (Aidid, 2011).

Women also played an important role in building the morale and motivation of the people by composing poems and literature to express emotions, to mobilize people, to raise awareness of the dangers of colonialism, to make people understand the sweetness and goodness of freedom, and to discourage the colonists. Thus women took an active role in gaining independence and fighting for it, also they controlled and managed the families and household chores that were the backbone of life (Aidid, 2011).

In 1959 the first organization for women, the Somali Women's Association (SWA), was established. The organization worked on most of the social welfare issues where women were most vulnerable. Another movement called the Somali Women's Movement (SWM) was founded shortly after in 1960. It was a progressive women's rights movement with the goal of fighting for women's rights to overcome all the obstacles against women in political, economic, social and cultural terms. The movement was founded by women of the middle class who were committed to defending women's rights. The campaign, sadly, did not last long it was disbanded when military regime took power in 1969 (Gardner & El Bushra, 2004).

At a time when it was difficult for a Somali women to appear in public, many women broke that obstacle and played a valuable role in supporting their communities, fighting for independence, and resisting colonialism. The women came out to take their role at the right time and it reflects the commitment of Somaliland women's participation in public affairs and politics.

2.2.2. Post-Independence

Somaliland gained its independence in 1960 (Ali, 2013). And Somaliland merged with Italian Somaliland shortly after the celebration and established the first government of the new Somali Republic (Samatar & Samatar, 2008).

After the independence, the multi-party democratic system was introduced to Somali society. A democratic system which was based on clan, as Somalis are so organized, that it has affected the foundation of the democratic institutions and democratic process. Religiously and culturally, although Somalis are the same, they have not succeeded in establishing a progressive and inclusive political system (Abukar, 2015).

In Somalia's civilian government (1960 -1969), women were not given much importance and priority. Although the constitution stated and guaranteed that women can vote and be elected, it was just a written statement, as women did not run for office practically but only they voted for male candidates(Sh. Ali, 2012).

2.2.3. Women during Siad Barre Dictatorship

Siad Barre took over the country in a military coup in 1969, and immediately suspended the constitution and parliament work. He also abolished the judiciary, and formed judges who support his rule and work under his supervision. He changed the laws and enacted new laws that suited his rule which gave the president more power and irrational superiority (Massoud, 2020).

Besides, under the Siad Barre regime, women were encouraged, provided substantial support to women and liberated from conventional barriers, and mobilized in various ways for women, such as functional women organizations, which operated throughout the country by focusing on women's development (Mohamed, 2015).

In January 1975 Siad Barre's regime passed a controversial family law. The law promoted women's rights and equated rights of men and women to inheritance and compensation, restricted men from polygamy, and empowered women in matters of marriage and divorce. The law was rejected by religious, who argued that the law was against Somali culture and contrary to Islam, and it originated from socialism (Massoud, 2020). In the same year, the government imprisoned the religious leaders who opposed the family law and accused them of resisting the Siad Barre regime, and ultimately the religious leaders were executed by the regime (Guudle & Ozev, 2019).

In 1977 the Ethio-Somali war broke out, when Somalia invaded Ethiopia to capture the Somali region of Ethiopia which is a region inhabited by Somalis. Somali women have played a significant and unforgettable role, Somali women have been the backbone of the war and Women have held various roles and activities during the war beginning with the verbal fighting to the physical warfare (Hauwermeiren, 2012).

The women under Said Barre's regime have benefited from many things, and women accessed educational opportunities such as free compulsory basic education that facilitated women's education as well as economic opportunities, being equal to men and overcoming many obstacles, but the power of women has not changed much in terms of politics. The problem was that the military regime was not loyal to women's issues, and its measures to advance women's affairs were politically driven to eliminate its internal enemies and rivals (Mohamed, 2015).

2.2.4. Women after the Collapse of Siad Barre Regime

In 1991 the military dictatorship of Siad Barre was collapsed. When the government collapsed, law and order fell apart, and everything turned upside down. Following thousands of Somali people died from famine and violence, while millions more were displaced, also hundreds of women were raped (Abdi, 2007).

When the government collapsed and civil war erupted, Somali women's identity and public representation changed dramatically (Abdi, 2007). Civil war is predominantly a result of intra-clan warfare; many women have found this to be a difficult role to be in. Women felt like they stood between battling brothers and husbands in the "center of suffering." This dual identity of the clan is a great challenge to the women and suggests that women have experienced the civil war differently from their male counterparts (Gardner & Warsame, 2004:153).

Somali women experienced many hardships during the civil war, including rape and sexual abuse. It did cause them both mental and physical harm. The same problem has led to the break-up of many families, as many women have been unable to return to their families due to fears of rape. In addition, Somali women refugees became victims

of rape and sexual abuse in refugee camps and the boundaries they crossed while fleeing from the civil war (Ingiriis & Hoehne, 2013).

Ingiriis & Hoehne, (2013) argue that women always played their part, and that the collapse of the state and the civil war has not only affected them, but also changed their role. After they had witnessed the destruction of the war in their homes, women turned to the rebuilding of the country and launched peace efforts to bring the nation back on track. Moreover, women dared to meet various needs, families became financially dependent on women, took on different jobs, gained more confidence to join politics and challenge men counterparts. All in all, the Somali women during the civil war came up with types of business innovations and started to take the responsibility of their kids and the whole family (ALI & ALI, 2013).

2.3. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACE BUILDING AND STATE-BUILDING IN SOMALILAND

Discrimination against women in peace-building processes is not only an African issue, but a global challenge. Evidence shows that international peace mechanisms sometimes overlook and often hinder women's contributions and expressions at the international level (STONE & MINDZIE, 2006). Eventually, women's role in peace-building and human security has been recognized internationally by the UN Security Council resolution (1325) which adopted in 2010(Rayale, 2011)

In the past, the direct participation of women in all aspects of dispute resolution and peace building processes was limited. During the internal conflicts within Somaliland that emerged after the end of the civil war, women's role in dispute resolution and peace building came to the fore, women's new role are believed to have resulted from the hardships of war and refugee camps they had experienced before(Warsame, 2002:44).

After Somaliland seceded from Somalia in 1991, women played a key role in building peace, nationhood and democracy in Somaliland. For instance, during the warfare in 1992, women have had an important role, they became ambassadors between

the warring clans, they did demonstrations against the war and they made possible to hold the peace conferences to encourage reconciliation. Unfortunately, the women were not given any definite role in the conferences and they were not allowed to have a significant influence for the decisions. Mostly, women were permitted to attend the conference as observers (Ridout, 2012).

In addition, Women to support their peace campaign, they composed peace poems and songs which promoting peace and coexistence. They used the poems to describe the society and how it was affected by the war. They mentioned the death of male family members, and the collapse of infrastructures and social cohesion, also portrayed their vulnerable socio-economic status to remove the conflict(Rayale, 2011).

Somali women have always been committed to promoting and building peace. One of the most the remarkable thing is that when a rift arose between the president Mohamed H. Ibrahim Egal and some valuable traditional leaders in 2001, a group of women called 'Hargeisa Women Community' reacted by issuing a letter calling on the parties to keep the peace and not lead the country into chaos (Ingiriis & Hoehne, 2013)

In conclusion, Somaliland women have changed their role in the society and become a major player in the public interest. They have made much effort to save the country. Somaliland women worked individually and collectively to stop the conflict and war between the Somaliland clans in order to escape problems, displacement, refugees and death, instead encouraged the search of peace, security, harmony and coexistence to make life better and progressive.

2.4. THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN SOMALILAND AND WOMEN

Democracy is a way or system through which it is possible to express legitimate goals for a better future (Diamond, 2010:5). Democracy is not a democracy or it does not exist until women's voices are heard in the legal and political spheres, so in order to achieve democracy which women are a part, most countries have ratified treaties to increase women's participation in politics, but men are still dominant in politics (Mervis, Eve, Florence, & Caroline, 2013).

In Somaliland, the people of Somaliland approved the country's constitution by majority vote in May 2001 (Hansen & Bradbury, 2007). The constitution sets out many things, first and foremost the political system, equality of the citizens, women's rights and the empowerment of women in terms of participation in politics, education and the economy.

Somaliland Constitution under article 9 affirms the political system of the country “political system of the country shall be based on democracy and plurality of political parties”. While Article 8 of the Constitution provides the citizens equality before the law and forbids discrimination on the basis of sex, color, clan, language, economic status and opinion. At the same time, Article 22 of the Constitution clearly stipulates that every citizen has the right to participate in politics, economics and social affairs, and to be elected and to vote.

Furthermore, Article 23 of the Constitution implies that women have the same right to political participation as men do, to form new political parties and to be selected to run for any political office as follows: “All citizens shall have the right to form, in accordance with the law, political, educational, cultural, social, and occupational or employees’ associations” (Tungaraza, 2010).

The most curious thing is that an article on women's rights was laid down in the Constitution, Article 36 that specifically protects the rights of women “The rights, freedoms and duties laid down in the Constitution are to be enjoyed equally by men and women save for matters which are specifically ordained in Islamic Sharia”. Also, sub four of this article encourages the promotion of women's knowledge, skills and income “In order to raise the level of education and income of women, and also the welfare of the family, women shall have the right to have extended to them education in home economics and to have opened for them vocational, special skills and adult education schools”.

2.4.1. Participation of Women in the 2002 Local Council Elections

In 2002, the first multi-party system election in Somaliland was held, it was a local council election, and 23 mayors for the districts were elected. The main purpose of this election was that the registered political organization to switch to political parties. The first three organizations with the highest percentages of votes were entitled to move as official political parties and were also eligible for presidential election contests (Simkin & Paul, 2002).

It was the first elections where women had an equal right to stand for nomination and vote. Women's participation was remarkable (Kibble, 2001). There were large numbers of women at each polling station, while about 20 percent of the election staff was women. The number of female voters was steadily increasing time after time. In the afternoon, the number of female voters became much higher as the family work is very load (Simkin & Paul, 2002).

Apart from how big the women went to the polls and how they worked in the election and polling stations; they were too small in the running for the office. For instance, six political organizations met the criteria in the election, with a total of 2,760 candidates running for 332 seats in 23 local councils. The most surprising was that of the 2, 760 candidates, only six candidates were women. Eventually, when the election took place just two women were elected (Gardner & Bushra, 2004:208). Moreover, according to (Gardner & El Bushra, 2004), the first democratic election in Somaliland demonstrated that women's ignorance remains a major challenge in raising women's political participation and improving women's interest in the politics.

In summary, the first election elevated Somaliland to a new level and brought major changes to the country, including the election of local councils that citizens can hold accountable, the election established Somaliland as a politically defined country, and most importantly, the election resulted in the formation of three political parties, as stipulated in the constitution (Hansen & Bradbury, 2007). It was an election that resulted in a major progress in Somaliland and it has taught the path to a multi-party

system, hold elections and practice democracy. Furthermore, the people of Somaliland have realized that they can hold elections transparent and peaceful manner and that they can run a multi-party system successfully. In Somaliland, it was an election that paved the way for democracy and opened a new anticipation.

2.4.2. The Engagement of Women in the 2003 Presidential Election

Somaliland's President Egal died 3 May 2002 in South Africa, and Vice President Rayale was sworn in as his replacement for the interim period. On 14 April 2003, almost half a million Somaliland people voted in a presidential election and elected a new president. The election took place in a nonviolent, fair and transparent manner(ICG, 2003).

It was the first presidential election in Somaliland to be held under a multi-party system. A woman candidate stood as an independent candidate in this election, but was denied due to the constitution which allowed no more than three parties or independent candidates (Dualeh, 2014). Specifically, article 9 of Somaliland Constitution specifies that the number of Somaliland political parties will be limited to three and will not exceed that number and it was the actual barrier that prevented the independent candidate from running in the election.

2.4.3. Somaliland Women's Participation in the 2005 Parliamentary Elections

Somaliland parliamentary election (The House of Representatives) was held on 29 September 2005 and accomplished the aspirations of the country and it pushed Somaliland towards democracy (Abokor, Kibble, Bradbury, Yusuf, & Barrett, 2006:7). It was the first direct parliamentary election and the elected parliamentarians took the seats from the clan-selected representatives, and it marked the end of the clan selection process and the first cycle of elections in Somaliland included the local, presidential, and parliamentary elections, all of which were held in harmony and peacefully (Hersi, 2015).

In early 2005 consultants proposed a quota for women to promote participation and representation of women in politics. The legislative committee in charge of election

planning refused to even consider the proposal (Abokor, Kibble, Bradbury, Yusuf, & Barrett, 2006:16). Anyway, women and young people turned out in big numbers to cast the ballots. The election law mandated that each political party take the necessary steps to ensure that women candidates are included in their respective candidate lists for each region. However, on the final list of the candidates, only 7 of 246 candidates were female and finally two of them were elected as member of parliaments (Hollekim, Hansen, & Sørensen, 2006).

Bradbury (2008), argues that women candidates faced many obstacles during the 2005 parliamentary election; male-dominated selection processes were used to identify the candidates, and the conventional clan system limited women candidates; only seven women candidates were approved, accounting for less than 3% of the total candidates. The traditional clan system, which is a male-dominated structure that gives men the most influence, favoured male candidates during the election campaign, while female candidates faced financial difficulty and lacked the requisite moral support.

Table 2.1. Distribution of Seats by Gender in 2002 and 2005

Elections	Number of men	Number of women	Percentage of men	Percentage of women
Local Council 2002	330	2	99.40 %	0.60%
Parliamentary 2005	80	2	97.5%	2.5%

Source: Computed by Author

2.4.4. Somaliland Women and the 2010 Presidential Election

The people of Somaliland elected a new president on June 26 2010. The election was deemed free and fair by both domestic and foreign observers. Following the election, there was a peaceful transition of power (Hersi, 2015).

During the 2010 election campaign women activists stepped up their efforts to advocate for women's political rights by calling for the promotion the number of women in the decision making positions. Moreover, Women's support helped the Kulmiye Party

win the election, which promised a 25% quota for women in all legislative branches of the government in its political manifesto (Ahmed, 2012).

After its election in 2010, Somaliland government led by the Kulmiye party initiated three programs aimed at increasing the involvement of women, youth, and marginalized groups in politics or decision-making, these policies were the National Youth Policy (NYP), National Gender Policy (NGP), and Affirmative Action (Quota Scheme or Policy) for Women and Marginalized Groups (Dualeh, 2014).

2.4.5. Participation of Women in the 2012 Local Council Elections

On 28 November 2012 was a significant move forward in Somaliland's democratic journey, when nearly one million of Somaliland citizens went to poll and elected new local councils (375 Councilors in 19 districts). The election was monitored by domestic observers (Makokha & Ali, 2013). Generally, 2260 candidates were formally registered to run 2012 local municipal elections and they were vying for 335 seats throughout the country. Women candidates made up just 172 which were 7.6% of the total candidates, while men candidates made up the remained 92.4 %. Unfortunately, in the end women obtained ten seats (Dualeh, 2014). However, from two female councilors elected in 2002 out of 379 available seats to ten woman councilors in 2012, there has been a 400 percent rise in elected female councilors (Makokha & Ali, 2013).

Before the election, the House of Representatives was presented with a draft law on women's quota, but the motion was rejected by the majority of the members (Elder, 2013). It marked the beginning of the challenges against women in 2012 local municipal elections.

The election generally faced a variety of obstacles, the most important of which were the fact that seven political parties were competing in the election and a lack of voter registration (Hersi, 2015). Apart from that, women faced some of the previous obstacles, such as clan elders who did not want women to represent them and pledged their allegiance to men, and women who lacked the requisite knowledge and awareness to participate in the election. Nevertheless, compared to the 2002 election, women made

a huge development. Women totally dominated election administration as domestic observers estimated that women presided over 51% of polling stations (Makokha & Ali, 2013).

Table 2.2. Local Council Elections in 2012 and Gender Distribution of Candidates by Political Party/Association.

Part/Association	Male#	Percentage %	Female	Percentage %	Total #
Umadda	305	91.0%	30	9.0%	335
Ucid	307	91.6%	28	8.4%	335
Kumiye	317	94.6%	18	5.4%	335
Dalsan	304	92.7%	24	7.3%	328
Rays	240	93.4%	17	6.6%	257
Waddani	313	93.4%	22	6.6%	335
Xaqsoor	302	90.1%	33	9.9%	335
Total	2088	92.4%	172	7.6%	2260

Source: (Dualeh, 2014)

2.4.6. Somaliland Women's Participation in the 2017 Parliamentary Elections

In November 2017, Somaliland held its third direct presidential election, in which people voted to elect the president. International observers found it trustworthy and credible (Pegg & Walls, 2018). Women were influential during the campaign and they took their role in the polling stations and election administration. However, in Somaliland, women are generally excluded from political and elective roles. The political ambitions of women are hampered by structural obstacles and cultural constraints (Walls, Heine, Klingel, Goggin, Farag, & Mwape, 2017).

Prior to the 2017 elections, women experienced very hard situations or dilemmas. During the 2016 registration period, some women were very disappointed and expressed

dissatisfaction with previous elections, believing that many women didn't receive what they deserved as the successful politician men failed to remember the women who campaigned and voted for. Nevertheless, some others were highly informed and ready to register, also mobilized other women to register in order to elect the upcoming leader (Schueller & Walls, 2017).

All in all, in Somaliland's democracy, women have progressed through various stages since Somaliland regained independence in 1991. Women played a key role in the pacification of the country, the disarmament, and reconciliation, the income of families and upbringing of children. Women in Somaliland also have played a critical role in democratizing the nation and reforming its political system; without them, Somaliland would not have had democracy. Women, on the other hand, attempted to join or engage in the politics and decision-making platforms despite various barriers. For instance, in the 2002 local council elections there were 2,760 candidates running, but only six were women, and there was no rise in post-parliamentary elections or the 2012 election, but there is a sense of awareness, passion and need. Many attempts have been made, but none have been successful even the last women quota. Fortunately, there are ongoing efforts by women that will succeed.

2.5. SOMALILAND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The executive branch is one of the three branches that make up the government. The executive is responsible for implementing and enforcing the laws (Böckenförde, 2011:1). The executive is a great division and contains government officials such as presidents and prime ministers, as well as a number of other influential figures such as ministers and heads of administrative agencies.(Duignan & DeCarlo, 2019:9).

Women make up the majority of the population in the countries or at least half the population the most countries are female and yet the executive branch of the government has traditionally been dominated by men(K & Davidson-Schmich, 2011).In Somaliland, since 1991 when the country reclaimed its sovereignty, women were involved in

peacekeeping, socio economic building and development programs, but they were marginalized by negative traditions and practices that viewed national development as a male field only(Tungaraza, 2007).

The incumbent president of Somaliland pledged to give 30% to women during the presidential election campaign, this promise was not kept. Apart from that, Somaliland's new president appointed cabinet ministers following his inauguration. Two ministerial positions and one deputy ministerial position were allocated to women. Just one woman was named to the role of director general. All government administrative agencies were also led by men (Gaheir & Jama, 2018).

Women's involvement in government and politics is poor in all fields, including the executive branch, which is one of the most critical. Women's absence may have significant consequences on all aspects of society, statehood and development.

Tungaraza (2007) argue that, inequalities between men and women will prevent a society from reaching its full potential in all areas of growth, including economic, social, and political development. So, it is very important to ensure that women's rights are incorporated into the country's planning and budgeting, as well as mainstreamed in all areas of development, in order to hasten the pace of development in Somaliland.

2.6. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SOMALILAND JUDICIARY

Women are gaining more and more prominence as leaders of the different sectors of life as modern society gradually realizes their significant presence outside of the home (Chhabra, 2015). The point is that women in key positions of formal political power, whether judicial, legislative, or executive are improving women's equitable access to rights, services, and actual representation (Pailey, 2019).

In terms of the judiciary, justice and legal system, gender equality must be recognized and addressed in the legal system, because women turn to the courts for justice and defense in all cases, particularly for harassment or discrimination (Chhabra, 2015). Thus, when we focus on the African continent,(Pailey, 2019) argued that African

courts have very limited ability to enforce gender equality regulations because patriarchal values are upheld and sustained. Also, in Africa, women's judicial leadership is actually weak or much lower than the necessary standard.

In Somaliland, women's human and civil rights continue to be harmed by customary laws. This is due to the patriarchal nature of Somaliland's traditional lineage, which claims male dominance. In fact, Somaliland women continue to be treated as inferior ones and face discrimination from all sides (Tungaraza, 2007).

In the case of the Somaliland judiciary, despite the fact that women serve as judges in many Muslim countries, Somaliland has chosen not to do so, and there is not a single female judge in the Somaliland judicial system. Skilled women are often assigned to other positions such as court clerks or attorneys. But not assigned as judges due to the general belief that women are unfit to serve as judges (Institute, 2016). However, there are many barriers against women in Somaliland being appointed as judges: Firstly, patriarchal culture, which is male dominated culture, restricts women's participation in public life. Secondly, religious leaders' strong opposition to women judges and the Shafii school of thought which states that women are not allowed to be judges (Institute, 2016).

2.7. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOMALILAND POLITICAL PARTIES

A party is a group of people who have banded together to further the national interest by collective efforts based on a common philosophy (Maor, 2005:3). Another definition describes that political parties make it easier for citizens to rule themselves and for people to govern themselves. Parties allow democratic political institutions to reproduce and perpetuate themselves in this way (Shefter, 1993:231).

In general, Political parties are male dominated ones or patriarchal in system and engage in shady conduct. As a result, political parties are reluctant to make reforms for fear of losing political support and, as a result, political influence. So, that means women have no tangible influence inside the political parties (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019). Commonly, in political parties, men hold key roles. Women are not given access to

sensitive information by party leaders. They do not meet with them or follow their advice. Despite the fact that there are powerful women in the party, they can only be consulted on a few topics.

On the other hand, Political parties are those in which women have little power or influence, but Political parties are significant entities with bearing on real life or the future. (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2013), argue that the 'true gatekeepers' of positions of authority and decision-making are political parties. This indicates that gender equity and women's political empowerment policies must be implemented inside political parties in order to create an inclusive atmosphere for women's substantive and influential involvement.

When it comes to African political parties, they are something else. Apart from everything else, Political parties are often viewed as a weak link in the chain of factors that contribute to the formation of a democratic state, or even as having contributed to the erosion of democracy by their leaders' reckless and self-interested behavior (Randall & Svasand, 2010). In other words, Political parties in Africa have experienced significant setbacks as a result of weak and bad links to the societies they are meant to represent and serve, whether male or female, as well as poor organizations of the parties and low levels of institutionalization (Randall & Svasand, 2010).

In Somaliland there are only three political parties since the constitution restricts the total number of political parties to three in order to prevent party division and small, clan-based parties from being an issue (Hollekim, Hansen, & Sørensen, 2006). When it comes to the three parties and women, there are things to mention. One of the steps taken by the Somaliland political parties were that the Code of Conduct signed upon by the political parties in 2005 which encouraged the addition of a significant number of female to the list of the candidates, unfortunately, it was not materialized (Dualeh, 2014). In addition, all the three parties have a women's wing in their systems. Women's wing in each political party is often led by a female member which is a tactic used by political parties to attract female politicians and voters (Dualeh, 2014).

In terms of leadership in Somaliland's political parties, it is a men show, because the three political parties in Somaliland are all led by men. For instance, the party chairman, vice chairman, secretary, and central committee chairman are all men (Gaheir & Jama, 2018).

Table 2.3. Leadership of Political Parties in Somaliland.

Party	Position	Occupant
Kulmiye	Chair person	Man
Kulmiye	1 st Deputy chair person	Man
Kulmiye	Secretary General	Man
Kulmiye	Central Committee chair person	Man

Waddani	Chair person	Man
Waddani	1 st Deputy chair person	Man
Waddani	Party leader	Man
Waddani	Secretary general	Man
Waddani	Central committee person	Man

UCID	Chair person	Man
UCID	1 st Deputy chair person	Man
UCID	Secretary general	Man
UCID	Central committee chair person	Man

Source of the Table: (Gaheir & Jama, 2018), Center for Policy Analysis, 2018

CHAPTER THREE

3. WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOMALILAND: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will assess the challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Somaliland. In the first section the researcher tries to give an overview of the obstacles and prospects of women political participation. Secondly, the researcher examines the reliability of the research and demographic information of the respondents. The third sections deals with the descriptive analysis of the challenges of women political participation in Somaliland by mentioning the biggest challenges such as the political challenge, religious barrier, challenge in socio-economic terms and traditional ones. The fourth part also deals with the descriptive analysis of the opportunities of women political participation in Somaliland. The final part of this chapter is the major findings of the study and the conclusion of the chapter.

3.2. CHALLENGES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

At the global level, low female involvement in politics has been a major source of concern. Women face a number of obstacles when it comes to participating in politics, including but not limited to the following:

In many countries, tradition limits or restricts women's political participation by assigning them primary or minor positions as housewives, child care providers, and family workers. Normally, Traditional patriarchal ideals favour gender segregated roles, and 'traditional cultural values' work against women's empowerment, development, and participation in politics (Kassa, 2015). The traditional roles and labor divisions are distinctly gendered. This indicates that social norms prevents or make it difficult for women to leave their typically domestic roles in favor of the public roles which are outside their well-known minor traditional roles (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019).

Consequently, Cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of political participation from the least role to the highest role as active politician. The misconception that originated in culture, women face discrimination because public tend to think that leadership is a masculine characteristic, so when women take the reins, they face a problem. In another sense, the public has a negative perception of women as leaders (Kunovich, Paxton, & Hughes, 2007). Hence, women face cultural obstacles to political involvement even in countries where they have made strides in jobs or education. (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019), argue that Women's gender identity is mostly seen as domestic in nature, which tends to be an obstacle to their participation in formal politics. Women face a number of constraints, especially in terms of culture. The worst case scenario is that at times women appear to be their own worst enemies in terms of political progress, when they believe in outdated false perceptions including that politics being a dirty game that should be left to men (Kivoi, 2014).

Basically, religion is a source of guidance for the people to live in the universe. It creates the social structure, institutions and the social norms. It eventually has an effect on worldviews (Meyer, Rizzo, & Ali, 1998). Thus, religion has been used to keep women out of facets of social and political life all over the world. Arguments of women's inferiority to men can be found in many of the world's major religions (Kivoi, 2014). However, the world's main religions vary in their attitudes toward women, which are either conservative or patriarchal. When it comes to Islam, it is common for Islamic law to be interpreted in a way that restricts women's activities (Kunovich, Paxton, & Hughes, 2007). Women's social status and involvement in politics and public life can suffer as a result of wrong interpretation of the religion.

Women's socioeconomic status has a greater impact on and promotes their involvement and inclusion in politics and decision-making (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019). Lack of economic stability and poverty deter women from participating in politics, and it is one of the most significant obstacles to women's political participation (Lakes, 2012; Ullah, 2020). For instance, political campaigns are costly and need substantial financial backing to be successful (Agbalajobi, 2010). And according to

various literatures, women do not have enough finance or the requisite financial backing to campaign or participate in other important aspects of the electoral process and political participation.

Women are economically dependent on men, and financial difficulties limit their political activities, so they do not independently engage in politics (Ullah, 2018). Hence, women's low socioeconomic status puts them in tough situations, and it can also lead to them being unable to exercise their political opinions and openly choose who they vote for (Begum, 2015). As a result, the men in the family tell them who to vote for and which party to vote for. (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019), argue that government funding to female politicians will help them to overcome obstacles to political participation.

Another barrier to women's political participation is the political challenge. (Kivoi, 2014), emphasizes that politics has been turned into a special instrument or game for men, and that men now dominate most of political parties and public bodies, also it is difficult for women to form political mobilization networks. Most of political parties promotes patriarchal ideology and are reluctant to enact changes for fear of losing political support (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019). (Shvedova, 2005), argues that a lack of coordination and collaboration between female politicians and women's organizations, as well as the structure of the electoral system, which is typically hostile to women candidates, are political obstacles that prevent women from participating in politics. On the other hand, Political challenges include so-called institutional constraints which mean political structures that run on rigid schedules and ignore women's issues or anything that is in the interest of women (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019).

3.3. OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Women's involvement in politics is essential for securing women's rightful position in society, allowing them to determine their own fate, and for the growth of true and sustainable democracy (Begum, 2015). Thus, in order women to engage in politics and play their noble role in balancing and complementing the political system, opportunities must be available to them.

Education is the path to access other opportunities that are essential for the participation in politics or in other words, it is the key that opens many important doors. For instance, women are relied on education to get high jobs that provide them with the skills and connections they need to participate in politics (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013). Women empowerment programs are another source of encouragement for women, as they work to dismantle cultural, conventional, and social norms that marginalize women in general (Agbalajobi, 2010).

Ndlovu & Mutale (2013) stress that quotas have proven to be the most powerful short-term strategy for getting women to positions of authority and removing patriarchal frameworks that restrict women's political space and power. Moreover, economy plays an indispensable role as well. Women's political participation rises as their economy grow, so they should be given a source of income or be financially supported to increase their productivity, as well as their decision-making involvement (Nwabunkeonye, 2014)

3.4. RELIABILITY OF THE INSTRUMENT

Table 3.1 presents the reliability of the instrument. Cronbach Alpha is used to determine the data's overall reliability. More than 50% indicates that data is reliable and satisfactory. The reliability statistics using (SPSS) were performed with Cronbach'Alpha, and it was discovered that 30 items of the questionnaire had a reliability of 78 %, which assures that the result is consistent.

Table 3.1. Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.782	30

Source: Survey data

3.5. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the data was made with the help of the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS Version 20). This software was selected because it is used for the majority of studies of social science and has a variety of investigative packages.

Descriptive statistics were used in this analysis as they reliably classify the variables under observation within a given sample and explain the data obtained in research studies (Marczyk, DeMatteo, & Festinger, 2005:209). In this study, mean, standard deviation, and rank was used. The mean range of this study will be explained further down.

Table 3.2. Interpretation of Mean Range

Mean Range	Interpretation
1.00 up to 1.80	Strongly Disagree
1.81 up to 2.60	Disagree
2.61 up to 3.40	Neutral
3.41 up to 4.20	Agree
4.21 up to 5.00	Strongly Agree

Source: Survey Data

3.5.1. Demographic Information of the Respondents

This part shows the demographic information of the participants. The aim of this information was to learn about the demographic characteristics of the respondents and to display the actual distribution of the respondents in the study. The data was collected through a self-administered online survey. The participants were promised that all data they provide for this study will be used only for academic research purposes and that their identities will be kept secret. A total of 169 questionnaires were distributed to the participants. After the data was collected the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS Version 20) was used to analyse and evaluate the data. The demographic information of participants was examined by looking at their gender, age group, level of education, workplace, and work experience.

3.5.1.1 Gender Distribution

Table 3.3. Gender Distribution of the Participants

Status	Gender	Frequency	Percentage %
Male	70	70	41.0
Female	99	99	59.0
Total	169	169	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table 3.3. summarizes the gender of the participants of the study. As shown in the table, 99 of 169 were female while the remaining 70 was male, which means that 59% of the respondents were female and 41% were male. This indicates that a lot of women were interested in participating in the study in order to address the obstacles and to take advantage of the opportunities, while many men declined to participate for various reasons.

3.5.1.2 Age Distribution of the Participants

Table 3.4. Age Group

Age Group	Frequency	Percentage %
18-20	64	38.0
26-30	81	48.0
31-40	21	12.0
40 and above	3	2.0
Total	169	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table 3.4 shows the age group of the respondents in the study. 64 of the respondents are between the ages of 18-25 which represents 38%, followed the age between 26-30 that has the highest number of participating in this study 81 respondents which equals 48 %, while the age between 31-40 are 21 participants, or 12 % on average, and the lowest age group of respondents are 40 and above old which contains

only 3 respondents and makes about 2 %. The age group of 26-30 has the most participants which is 81 respondents. Actually, these are the generations that have the enthusiasm and can comprehend academically the challenges and opportunities of women participation in politics.

3.5.1.3 Educational Level

Table 3.5. Educational Status of the Respondents

Level of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Secondary	2	1.0
Bachelor	103	61.0
Master	59	35.0
PhD	5	3.0
Total	169	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table 3.5 presents the educational information on the respondents who participated in this study. Respondents of the study came from various educational levels from secondary level to PhD. in general, only 2 respondents have a secondary school education which is the least number of participants, also 103 of the respondents hold bachelor degree which equals to 61%, and it is the largest number in the educational level of the respondents, followed 59 or 35% on average respondents that have master's degree and the last 5 respondents hold PhD level which makes 3%.

3.5.1.4 Workplace of the Respondents

Table 3.6. The Respondents' Workplace

Institution	Frequency	Percentage
Government	49	29.0
Civil Society Organization	57	34.0
Other	63	37.0
Total	169	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table shows the workplace or the institutions where the respondents of the study work. As shown in table 6, 49 of the respondents which represent 29%, they work for the government, whereas 57 respondents which stand for 34 % work for civil society organizations and the remaining 63 respondents or 37 % which is the highest number and work in various places. The workplace of the respondents is very important for this study as the workplace particularly government institutions, civil society organizations and other working spaces is a place where we can identify challenges and opportunities of women participation in politics.

3.5.1.5 Work Experience of Participants

Table 3.7. Work Experience

Work Experience	Frequency	Percentage
1-2 years	62	37.0
3-4 years	65	38.0
5 and above	42	25.0
Total	169	100.0

Source: Survey data

Table 3.7 illustrates work experiences of all respondents. 37 percent of respondents have work experience of 1-2 years, while 38 percent of respondents have work experience of 3-4 years, and the last 25% of respondents have work experience of five years or more. This indicates that the majority of respondents have worked for 3-4 years which equals 38%, while the second group has worked for 1-2 years which is 37%, and the lowest number of respondents that means 25% has worked 5 years and above.

3.5.2.Descriptive Statistics for The Challenges Of Women Participation in Politics: A Case Study Of Somaliland

This portion of the study interprets the primary data from the questionnaire to statistical analysis and addresses the descriptive findings of the research. This section includes the mean index, standard deviation, and explanations or the interpretations of

the questions. Four variables are in this section: political challenges, religious barriers, and challenges in socio-economic terms and traditional obstacles. Each challenge has its own set of questions to achieve the exact purpose of this research.

3.5.2.1 Political Challenge

Table 3.8. Political Challenge

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Interpretation
The government and political parties are male dominant and they are not willing to waive their positions to women.	3.89	1.2661	Agree
Lack of clear government policies and laws to motivate women's participation in politics.	3.82	1.0197	Agree
Women have less membership in the political parties, which limits women to have equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections.	3.98	1.0059	Agree
Women's organizations failed to politically empower and to build up linkages among women	3.59	1.0933	Agree
Women's voice is unheard, since their representation in the political arena is too limited.	3.80	1.1916	Agree
Lack of political ambition of women contributed to their low participation in politics.	3.33	1.1490	Neutral
Overall Mean Index	3.740		Agree

Source: Survey data

As Table 3.8 shows, the respondents were asked that the government and political parties are male dominant and they are not willing to waive their positions to women, respondents agreed this thought on a mean of 3.89 and standard deviation of 1.2661. This implies that women are excluded from government roles and political parties, while men are dominant in these institutions. The second question of this item was that lack of clear government policies and laws to motivate women's participation in politics, participants agreed with this question and scored with a mean of 3.82 and standard deviation of 1.0197. This indicates the absence of practical and effective government regulations or policies to deal with the issue thoroughly.

The third statement concerns that Women have less membership in the political parties, which reduces women's access to the same opportunities as men and restricts women's chance to run for office, again this question, the respondents agreed with the highest mean and standard deviation 3.98 and 1.0059 respectively. This demonstrates that women face a greater obstacle than men in running for office, as they are underrepresented in political parties and do not have the same opportunities as men. Moreover, respondents were asked that the Women's organizations failed to politically empower and to build up linkages among women, this question scored a mean of 3.59 and standard deviation of 1.0933 which fell under "Agree" in accordance with the range of the study. It signifies that women's organizations have failed in their role of organizing and connecting women in general, as well as encouraging them politically.

On other hand, participants were also asked that the women's voice is unheard, since their representation in the political arena is too limited, the result became agreed with a mean of 3.80 and standard deviation of 1.1916. This outcome illustrates that women do not have an influential voice or authentic representation in politics. The sixth and last question in this section was related whether lack of political ambition of women contributed to their low participation in politics, this fell under "Neutral" accordance with range of the study with a mean of 3.33 and standard deviation of 1.1490. This indicates that the study's respondents are not quite sure about this subject.

3.5.2.2 Religious challenge

Table 3.9. Religious challenge

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Interpretation
Basically Islamic religion proposes women to carry out the essential work of their home.	3.73	1.251	Agree
Religious misperceptions resulted women not to participate actively in the politics	3.38	1.313	Neutral
Islamic scholars differ on the appropriate level of women's participation in political activities.	3.37	1.056	Neutral
Overall Mean Index	3.49		Agree

Source: Survey data

Respondents were asked three questions about religious challenges in order to achieve the goal of the study. The first one was that basically Islamic religion proposes women to carry out the essential work of their home; respondents agreed on this question (mean 3.73 and std. deviation 1.251). This does mean that women are very important and central to the family. The second question was related to religious misperceptions resulting in women not to participate actively in the politics, this fell under the scale of Neutral with a mean of 3.38 and a standard deviation of 1.313. The third question was that the Islamic scholars differ on the appropriate level of women's participation in political activities and this question also fell under the Neutral and scored a mean of 3.37 and standard deviation of 1.056. The last two questions which fell under the range of Neutral indicates uncertainty; however the overall mean of this section fell under the scale of Agree.

3.5.2.3 Challenges in Socio-Economic Terms

Table 3.10. Socio-economic Challenge

Items	Mean	Std. Deviations	Interpretations
Practically most society does not prefer women to represent in the political arena.	3.85	1.139	Agree
Majority of women do not have the financial resources to take part in the electoral processes of the country.	3.69	1.259	Agree
Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Educational barriers	2.61	1.268	Neutral
Women themselves do not support and promote one another in terms of voting and finance	3.99	1.185	Agree
Overall Mean Index	3.53		

Source: Survey data

This section, four questions were asked to the respondents to achieve the result which summarized in the above table 10. Firstly, respondents were asked that practically most society does not prefer women to represent in the political arena, as the result shows respondents confirmed their consent of this question 3.85 and 1.139 mean and standard deviation respectively. This proves that society allows women to represent them in politics. The second question was about the financial resources of the women and participants were asked whether majority of women do not have the financial resources to take part in the electoral processes of the country, the response of the participants indicated again consent, as shown in the result table (Mean 3.69 and

Standard deviation 1.259), and it implies that financial constraints restrict women to participate in politics generally or to run for office.

On the other hand, in the third question, the respondents were questioned that women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Educational barriers, this question received mean of 2.61 and standard deviation of 1.268 and according to the study's scale, this fell under the category of "Neutral." additionally, respondents answered another question that Women themselves do not support and promote one another in terms of voting and finance, respondents agreed on this question with the highest mean of 3.99 and standard deviation of 1.185 in this section. It indicates that women do not encourage one another when it comes to finance and voting.

3.5.2.4 Traditional Challenge

Table 3.11 Traditional Challenge

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Interpretations
Somali tradition is not recognized Women's equal access to political participation with men.	4.21	1.019	Strongly Agree
The elders of the clan are not willing that women have the power to serve and represent their clan in political roles.	4.07	1.013	Agree
Female candidates are not supported by women voters; instead, they prefer to vote for a man who belongs to their birth clan.	4.06	1.084	Agree
The father lineage is a cultural factor that provides the context upon which women play and accept minor roles.	3.52	.9946	Agree
Overall Mean Index	3.97		

Source: Survey data

As shown in the above table 3.11, four questions were asked of the participants of the study to identify the traditional challenges. The first question concerned the Somali tradition, and the question was that the Somali tradition is not recognized Women's equal access to political participation with men, respondents of the stud strongly agreed with the mean of 4.21 and standard deviation of 1.019, which clearly suggests that the Somali tradition is an obstacle to women's participation in politics in any way. Once more, the participants answered another question which was that the elders of the clan are not willing that women have the power to serve and represent their clan in political roles, the respondents agreed on this question 4.07 and 1.013 mean and standard deviation respectively. This demonstrates that there is a backlash against women, with clan elders not willing women to participate in politics or attempting to prevent women from exercising their political rights, implying how the clan elders are stifling women's political ambitions.

Moreover, the third question concerned that female candidates are not supported by women voters; instead, they prefer to vote for a man who belongs to their birth clan, this question is agreed based on the responses of the participants and scored with a mean of 4.06 and standard deviation of 1.084. This illustrates the fact that the clan is inviolable in the Somali context and has a significant impact on political affairs, decision-making as well as voting. Also, this indicates a lack of cooperation or support among women, as the female candidates are not supported by women voters. The last and the fourth question of this section, the respondents were asked, the father lineage is a cultural factor that provides the context upon which women accept minor roles and the respondents agreed with the mean of 3.52 and standard deviation of .9946. This indicates that women's roles are undermined by patriarchal lineage.

3.5.3.Descriptive Statistics for the Opportunities of Women Participation In Politics: A Case Study Of Somaliland

Table 3.12 Opportunities of Women's Participation in Politics

Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	Interpretations
Democratic principles give women a role in the political participation.	3.84	.9533	Agree
Women can be empowered by the adaption of gender policies and regulation that eradicates long-lasting bad practices.	3.53	.9942	Agree
Gender quota is a good manner to increase women's participation in politics.	3.69	1.190	Agree
Educated women have shown that they have the will and the capacity for leadership.	4.12	.9500	Agree
Advocacy and lobbying are one of the tools that can be empowered women's participation in politics.	3.78	.9681	Agree
The increase of women's socio-economic status enhances their participation in Politics.	3.89	.9724	Agree
The government recognizes and respects the international obligations that promote the women's political participation.	3.15	1.195	Neutral
The pressure of the Civil Society and international community promotes women's political participation.	3.69	1.103	Agree
Overall Mean Index	3.71		Agree

Source: Survey data

For this part of the study, which looks at the other side of the story and investigates the opportunities of women political participation in Somaliland, the participants were posted to eight investigative questions and they responded as follows:

The respondents were first asked that democratic principles give women a role in political participation and as written in the above table the respondents agreed on this statement with a mean of 3.84 and standard deviation of .9533, which clearly shows that the women are given a voice and a place in politics under democratic principles. The next question was about the women empowerment and the participants were asked, whether women can be empowered by the adaption of gender policies and regulation that eradicates long-lasting bad practices, according to the responses given by the respondents, this question was agreed upon (3.53 mean and .9942 standard deviations). The response expresses, bad practices cannot be eradicated unless gender policies or regulations are adopted and applied.

The third question was related to the gender quota and the statement was written as follows "Gender quota is a good manner to increase women's participation in politics" and the respondents agreed on this question, 3.69 and 1.190 of mean and standard deviation respectively. It does imply that gender quota is an essential component of women's participation in politics. Whereas the fourth question was about that educated women have shown that they have the will and the capacity for leadership, this question also was agreed and scored the highest mean and standard deviation of this section 4.12 and .9500 respectively. It indicates that educated women have the ability and experience to pursue their legal rights, comprehend profoundly their political and personal rights, and have the potential to lead the rest of society politically.

The fifth question, which was about the advocacy and lobby, respondents were asked "advocacy and lobbying are one of the tools that can be empowered women's participation in politics", this question fell under the scale of "Agree" with a mean of 3.78 and standard deviation of .9681. It sends a message which shows the extent that lobby and advocacy are important for the empowerment and participation of women in politics. A sixth question was asked of the participants and the statement was that the

increase of women's socio- economic status enhances their participation in Politics, the response of the participants indicated acceptance, as shown in the result table (Mean 3.89 and Standard deviation .9724). This proves, whenever women's socio- economic status rises, it positively influences the women and promotes their political aspiration and participation.

On the other hand, the seventh question concerned whether the government recognizes and respects the international obligations that promote the women's political participation, as the response shows this fell under "Neutral" accordance with range of the study with a mean of 3.15 and standard deviation of 1.195. This points out that the respondents are unsure whether or not the government respects and accepts international obligations. Lastly, this statement was answered by the respondents " the pressure of the civil Society and international community promotes women's political participation", the response of the participants indicated consent (Mean 3.69 and Standard deviation 1.103), and it implies that the efforts and pressure of the civil society and international organizations is an integral part to the engagement of women in politics and should be sustained.

3.6. MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This section evaluates the analysis and the findings of the research. It tries to offer a vivid interpretation of the findings with the alignment of the research objectives. The data was collected using questionnaire and analysed using software to identify the challenges and opportunities of women participation in politics: a case study of Somaliland. This section begins by explaining the status and demographic result of the participants which is extremely important for the study and then evaluates the essence of the research.

Gender Distribution: The gender distribution of this study proves that it is gender-neutral since both men and women were given equal opportunities to participate. However, the study shows that the female participation rate is higher than the male participation rate. A lot of women were interested and participated to the study, while

many men declined for different reasons. Therefore, it sends a positive message that women are ready to recognize and address the obstacles and to take advantage of the opportunities when it comes to participating in politics.

The Age Status: The majority of the participants of this research are young people aged from 18 years old to 40. Summarily, more than 98% of the research participants are younger than 40 years. This means that youth are engaged for the better things, energetic, and open-minded. If youths are well exploited and led in meaningful ways, they will help achieve the desired outcomes. They can also help to reduce and close the huge political participation gap between men and women.

The Educational Level: The majority of those who took part in the study are university graduates, which means that 99 percent of those who responded graduated from university and earned a bachelor's (61%), master's (35%), or doctorate degree (3%). This indicates that the participants of the study are academicians, which could improve the reliability of the study since the participants are well educated and provide responses in an analytical and scholarly manner.

Workplace and Experience Level: The workplace of the respondents is very crucial for this study as it is imperative to ask the questionnaire of the study someone who is knowledgeable about the subject or involved. According to the figures, over 60% of the participants work for the government or civil society organisations. This suggests that the majority of the study participants are fully aware of and engaged with the subject, implying that their responses can be trusted and represent the facts. Furthermore, in terms of career experience, some of the participants have 1-4 years of experience, while others have more than 5 years. It demonstrates that they are individuals with sufficient and relevant expertise who can contribute to this research.

The aim of this study is to identify the challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Somaliland. The challenges were examined using four indicators: political challenges, religious challenges, socioeconomic challenges, and traditional challenges, while opportunities were investigated in general. According to the

study's results, the majority of respondents acknowledged or agreed the existence of the challenges and opportunities of women participation in politics in Somaliland.

The second objective of the research was to study and investigate the major challenges against women Political participation in Somaliland. To reach this objective, they were divided into four main parts, each with its own set of questions and the participants agreed that there are challenges in Somaliland that prevent women from participating in politics, with the following major components:

Political Challenge: Researcher found from the analysis that the most of the respondents agreed the existence of political challenges with the overall mean of 3.74. The political challenges include lack of policies and regulations that allow women to engage in politics or that favour women in particular. Additionally, men dominate the government and political parties, limiting women's opportunities, and also women's organisations which do not meet their mandates as intended or offer practical assistance to women.

Religious Challenge: Respondents were asked three questions regarding religious challenges in order to achieve the goal of the study and they revealed that in Somaliland, a religious challenge prohibits women from participating in politics. The religious obstacles, according to the study, are religious misperception or a lack of a broad understanding of religion.

Socio-economic Challenge: Four questions were posed to the participants in order to identify the existence of socio-economic challenges, and they all revealed, as mentioned in the study (3.53), that women in Somaliland face socio-economic challenges to engage in politics effectively and actively. These impediments stand in the way of women's political aspiration and creativity. The socio-economic challenges include the fact that politically, women do not empower and help one another, and they do not receive practical support from society in terms of politics. Once more, the vast majority of women lack the financial means to participate in the electoral and democratic processes of the country.

Traditional Challenge: In terms of challenges, the last part is the traditional challenges. In order to attain the result and depth of this section, four questions were asked to the respondents and all agreed with the highest mean of 3.97. It indicates that the biggest barrier to women's political involvement in Somaliland is the traditional challenge. As shown in the descriptive analysis of this study, Somali tradition does not recognize women's equal access to political participation with men and also, the elders of the clans are not willing that women have the power to represent their clan in political positions. Aside from that, the father lineage culture matters and plays a great role in women's poor performance in terms of political participation.

The third objective of the research was to identify the opportunities for Somaliland women to participate in politics. In order to achieve this aim eight questions were asked to the participants to discover their attitude toward this objective. Participants decided and agreed on the questions posed with an overall mean of 3.71, which means that women in Somaliland have opportunities to participate in politics.

In the context of this study, women in Somaliland have a variety of opportunities to engage in politics, as seen in the study. These opportunities include:

Gender quota is one of these opportunities for women to engage in politics and to take their vital political role, and according to the study, gender quota is a necessary component of women's participation in politics. Following that education is very crucial always and particularly here, because educated women have shown that they have the desire and potential for leadership, which increases their chances of actively and successfully participating in higher levels of decision-making and politics.

Furthermore, as women's socio-economic status rises, so does their political participation; lobbying and advocacy are two of the most effective methods for empowering women's political participation. As mentioned in the analysis of this study, the efforts of Somaliland civil society organizations and the international community are worth mentioning because they play an important role in this issue, and need to be sustained. Finally, and most significantly, long-standing traditional and bad practices can

be eliminated by the adoption of gender policies and regulations, which removes one the main barriers to women achieving their political aspiration.



CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The aim of this study is to examine the challenges and opportunities for women to participate in politics in Somaliland. To identify the challenges and opportunities of women's political participation in Somaliland, data was collected and analyses were conducted.

The study chooses a quantitative approach, with primary data obtained through questionnaires from a variety of data sources such as government employees, staff of the civil society organizations, students, academicians and other experts in the field. The study also used secondary data including books, articles, journals, reports, policy and strategy papers, news sources and other documents.

The questionnaire has been classified into two sections. The first section inquired about the demographic status of the participants, the second section asked in depth about the obstacles and opportunities for women's political participation in Somaliland. The challenges are divided into four indicators; political challenges, religious challenges, socio-economic challenges and traditional challenges, while questions about opportunities are grouped together.

The research uses descriptive statistics to examine the reliability and quality of the data. The findings indicate that the information or data gathered is reliable and consistent. This is because Cronbach Alpha, a tool for calculating the overall reliability of a result, showed a score of 78 percent, meaning that the result is completely reliable or trustworthy.

During the research process, the research faces some difficulties, one of which is the low rate of male involvement in this study compared to females. Some interviewees, especially men, declined to participate in the study for a variety of reasons. Secondly, the Covid19 pandemic, which limited the researcher's options and prevented research from progressing as expected.

The study results concluded that the most respondents significantly agreed the existence of challenges against women Political participation in Somaliland, resulting in a mean index of 3.68. The researcher has explicitly revealed four different challenges and in according to the analysis of this study these common challenges of women's political participation are religious challenges, political challenges, and obstacles in socio-economic terms and traditional challenges.

The study revealed that there is a religious misperception and a lack of broad understanding of religion among the general public. Furthermore, some religious teachers misunderstand or misinterpret Islamic teachings and concentrate on particular teachings or interpretations which do not reflect the political interests of women.

At the political challenges, the study has produced that women do not receive all of the support they need from the government, women's organizations, and political parties. Women are excluded from government positions and political parties, while men are dominant in these institutions, leaving women without a powerful voice or genuine representation in the legislative and executive branches.

The researcher found that the majority of the participants believe that the biggest barrier to women's political involvement in Somaliland is the traditional challenge. As a result of the patriarchal structure of the Somali society, women have been given a minor roles and a status inferior to men who hold dominant positions in culture and politics. Also, Somali tradition is not recognized women's equal access to political participation with men and the elders of the clans are not willing that women have the power to represent their clan in political positions.

In the socio-economic challenge, the research conducted all the respondents agreed that women's economic status is far lower than men's and the vast majority of women lack the financial means to participate in the electoral and democratic processes of the country. In addition, the majority of respondents agreed that when it comes to representation in the legislative and executive branches, clan members, especially clan elders, typically favour men. Finally, the study showed that women do not empower and

aid one another, and they do not receive practical support from society in terms of politics.

On the other hand, the study results concluded that the most respondents significantly agreed with the opportunities of women to participate in politics in Somaliland, resulting in a mean index of 3.71. The study indicated that obtaining a gender quota to break down barriers as well as improving women's education is one of the most effective solutions for women's participation in politics. Women's access to financial support is another incentive or opportunity, as many women face financial difficulties that limit their activities and opportunities to participate in politics. On the contrary, whenever women's socioeconomic status improves, their political participation increases.

The study mentioned that the significant effort of the civil society organizations and the international community is another substantial opportunity that must be improved and sustained, such as lobbying and advocacy, which are two effective methods for empowering women's political participation. Finally, the study found that in order to remove obstacles to women's participation in politics and expand their opportunities, it is necessary to implement gender policies and legislation in order to abolish long-standing conventional and bad practices.

Based on the study findings and the conclusion, the researcher made the following recommendations:

- The government should establish national policies and laws to practically motivate and empower women's participation in politics.
- Political parties shall have a clear policy and strategy that allows and encourages women to play a role in party leadership, electoral process and the country's overall democratization process.
- Women organizations are the most significant place where women can form strong bonds and be motivated to fight for their political rights, so they should take their

part, mobilize women and build up connections among women to achieve their political goals.

- Women must raise their political aspirations in order to achieve their goals, and female politicians should show this desire and serve as role models for younger women.
- Religious leaders should dispel any misconceptions that might prevent women from actively participating in politics. They should also inform and clarify the public about the noble position that religion has bestowed upon women, their place in society, and their role in political participation.
- Majority of women do not have the financial means to take part in the electoral processes of the country, they should be financially supported.
- Women's education is critical for both the nation's growth and their involvement in politics; thus, women should be educated so that they can support the country and engage in its political affairs.
- The study highly advised, women to support and promote one another in terms of voting and finance.
- The government should use community awareness and laws to end long-standing bad practices against women.
- In terms of political participation, traditional elders must play a supporting role promoting women to put an end to women's unequal access to political participation compared to men.
- Advocacy and lobbying are one of the tools that can be empowered women's participation in politics so the civil society organizations and international community shall continue to advocate and lobby for women affairs.
- Women's involvement in politics can be aided by advocacy and lobbying, so civil society groups and the international community must continue to campaign and lobby on women's issues.

- Gender quotas are an effective way to increase women's involvement in politics, thus the government and all concerned institutions should move quickly to legalize and adopt the quota system.
- The government must remove any barrier that may impede or discourage women from engaging in politics, whether it is cultural, political, or other.



REFERENCES

1. Books

- Abokor, Yusuf, Adan, Steve Kible, Mark Brudbury vd (2006). Further steps to democracy: The Somaliland parliamentary elections, September 2005. London: Progressio.
- Almond, Gabriel, Sidney Verba (1989). Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. London: Sage Publication LTD.
- Heywood, Andrew (2002). Politics. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Barreto, Matt (2010). Ethnic cues: The role of shared ethnicity in Latino political participation. America: University of Michigan Press.
- Bauböck, Rainer (2006). Migration and Citizenship: legal status, rights and political participation. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Birnir, Kristin, Johanna. (2007). Ethnicity and electoral politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Böckenförde, Markus. (2011). A Practical Guide to Constitution Building: The Design of the Executive Branch. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA).
- Bradbury, M.ark (2008). Becoming Somaliland. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kothari (2004). Research Methodology. New Delhi : New Age International (P) Ltd.
- Debusscher, Petra. (2015). Evaluation of the Beijing Platform for Action +20 and the Opportunities for Achieving Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women in the Post-2015 Development. Brussels: European Parliament.
- Delys, Sarah. (2014). Women & Political Representation :Handbook on Increasing Women's Political Participation in Georgia. Tbilisi: Fountain/ Human Rights Education and Monitoring Center (EMC).
- Deth, Wvan, Jan (1997). Private groups and public life. London: Routledge.
- Deth, Wvan, Jan, Jose Romen Montero, Andres Westholm (2007). Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies: A Comparative Analysis. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Diamond, Larry, Marc F. Plattner (2010). Democratization in Africa: Progress and retreat. JHU Press.

- Ballington, Julie, Azza Karam (2005). *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*. Stockholm: Trydells Tryckeri AB.
- Edwards, Alice. (2011). *Violence Against Women Under International Human Rights Law*. Cambridge University Press: New York.
- Eijk, Vander, Cees (1999). Why Some People Vote and Others do not. *Citizen Participation in European Politics* 21.
- Evans, Malcolm & Murray, Rachel (2008). *The african charter on human and peoples' rights: The System in Practice 1986–2006*. New York,: Cambridge University Press.
- Forbrig, Joerg. (2005). *Revisiting youth political participation*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Fox, H Gregory (1992). The right to political participation in international law. *Yale J. Int'l L.*
- Freedman, L. Amy (2000). *Political Participation and Ethnic Minorities*. London: Routledge.
- Gardner, Judith., & Judy El Bushra (2004). *Somalia-the untold story: the war through the eyes of Somali women*. CIIR: Plutor Press.
- Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop, (2016). *Comparative Government and Politics: An Introduction*. London: Palgrave.
- Hardy-Fanta, Carol. (1993). *Latina politics, Latino politics: Gender, culture, and political participation in Boston*. Philadelphia : Temple University Press.
- Hedtke, Reinhold., Zimenkova, Tatjana, (2013). *Education for civic and political participation: A critical approach*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Hellum, Anne & Aasen, Sinding, Henriette (2013). *Women's human rights: CEDAW in international, regional and national law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heywood, Andrew. (2002). *Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ilesanmi, O. O. (2018). Women's Visibility in Decision Making Processes in Africa—Progress, Challenges, and Way Forward. *Frontiers in Sociology* , 4.
- Ingiriis, Haji, Mohamed (2016). *The suicidal state in Somalia: The rise and fall of the Siad Barre regime, 1969–1991*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Lee, Caroline, Michael McQuarrie, Edward T. Walker (2015). *Democratizing Inequalities:Dilemmas of the New Public Participation*. New York: New York University Press.

- Maor, Moshe (2005). Political parties and party systems: Comparative approaches and the British experience. London: Routledge.
- Marczyk, Geoffrey, David DeMatteo, David Festinger (2005). Essentials of Research Design and Methodology. Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Martiniello, Marco (2005). Political participation, mobilisation and representation of immigrants and their offspring in Europe. In R. Bauböck, Migration and Citizenship. Amsterdam :Amsterdam University Press.
- Panday, Kumar, Pranab (2013). Women's Political Participation in Bangladesh. New Delhi: Springer.
- Peña-López, Ismael (2014). Handbook on Promoting Women's Participation in Political Parties. Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR.
- Pitti, Ilaria. (2018). Youth and Unconventional Political Engagement. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan .
- Ruane, M. Janet (2005). Essentials of Research Methods. Victoria : Blackwell Publishing.
- SScarrow, Susan, Webb, Paul D, Thomas Poguntke (2017). Organizing political parties: Representation, participation, and power. Oxfordshire: Oxford University Press.
- Shefter, Martin (1993). Political parties and the state: The American historical experience. Princeton University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie, Jae-on Kim. (1978). Participation and political equity: a seven nation comparison. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sinha, Niroja. (2007). Empowerment of Women Through Political Participation . Delhi: Kalpaz Publications.
- Zhong, Yang. (2018:3). Political Culture and Participation in Urban China. Shanghai: Palgrave Macmillan.

2. Articles, Proceedings, Other Printed Publications

- Aars, Jacob, Dag Arne Christensen (2018). "Education and political participation: The impact of educational environments".Acta Politica, 55(1): 86-102.
- Abdi, Mohamed, Cawo (2007). "Convergence of civil war and the religious right: Reimagining Somali women". Journal of Women in Culture and Society , 33(1), 183-207.

- Adam, M, Hussein (1994). "Formation and recognition of new states: Somaliland in contrast to Eritrea." *Review of African Political Economy*, 21(59), 21-38.
- Agbalajobi, Taiye, Damilala. (2010). "Womens participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 75-82.
- Aghazadeh, Jafar, Reza Mahmoudoghli, Shang Ha. (2017). Religion and political engagement. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1).
- Ahmed, Ismail, Reginald Herbold Green (1999). "The heritage of war and state collapse in Somalia and Somaliland: local-level effects, external interventions and reconstruction". *Third World Quarterly* , 20(1), 113-127.
- Aidid, Safia. (2011). Haweenku Wa Garab (Women are a Force): "Women and the Somali Nationalist Movement, 1943-1960." *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies* , 103-124.
- Ajide, B. Kazeem, Olorunfemi Y. Alimi, Simplice A. Asongu (2019). Ethnic diversity and inequality in sub-Saharan Africa: Do institutions reduce the noise. *Social Indicators Research* , 145(3), 1033-1062.
- Alelaimat, Mohammad, Soud (2019). "Factors affecting political participation (Jordanian universities students' voting: field study 2017-2018)". *Review of Economics and Political Science*.
- Alexandar, James. (2014). "Notes Towards A Definition of Politics." *The Royal Institute of Philosophy*, 276-277.
- Ali, Mohamed, Nasir (2013). "Searching for an Identity: Examining the Somaliland Quest for Recognition." *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* , 1(5), 337-344.
- Samatar, Ismail, Abdi, Ahmed I. Samatar (2008). "Somalis as Africa's First Democrats: Premier Abdirazak H. Hussein and President Aden A. Osman." *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, 2(1): 1-64.
- Arnstein, Sherry (1969). "A Ladder Of Citizen Participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4): 216-224
- Bawa, Sylvia, Francis Sanyare (2013). "Women's Participation and Representation in Politics: Perspectives from Ghana." *International Journal of Public Administration*, 36(4): 282-291.
- Begum, Sabina (2015). "Political participation of women: Some issues and challenges". *International Journal of Applied Research*, 11(1): 480-486.

- Bereketeab, Redie. (2012). "Self-determination and secessionism in Somaliland and South Sudan." Nordiska Afrika Institutet , 1-37.
- Bourne, Andrew, Paul. (2010). "Unconventional Political Participation in a Middle-Income Developing Country." *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences* , 2(2): 197-203.
- Bourne, PA, Pryc CS, Davis AH, vd (2017). "Political Participation and Its Correlates in Jamaica: An Empirical Viewpoint." *Social Criminology* , 5(165), 22-25
- Bradbury, Mark, Adan Yusuf Abokor, Haroon Ahmed Yusuf (2003). "Somaliland: Choosing politics over violence." *Review of African Political Economy* , 30(97), 455-478.
- Caul, Miki. (1999). "Women's representation in parliament: The role of political parties." *Party politics*, 5, No. 1 (1999): 79-98.
- Cheng, Christine, MargitTavits (2011). "Informal influences in selecting female political candidates." *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(2):460-471.
- Chhabra, Soraj (2015). "Legislative and Judicial Perspective of Women Empowerment." *International Journal of Law and Legal Jurisprudence Studies*: ISSN, 2348-8212.
- Cicatiello, Lorenzo, Salvatore Ercolano, Guiseppe Lucio Gaeta (2015). "Income distribution and political participation: a multilevel analysis." *Empirica*, 42(2): 447-479.
- Dalton, Russell (2008). "Citizenship Norms and the Expansion of Political Participation." *Political Studies Association* , 56(1): 76-98.
- Danfulani, John (2016). "African Women in Politics: Prospects and Challenges in the Coming Decade." *IOSR Journal of Polymer and Textile Engineering* , 31&32.
- Deth, W.van, Jan (2001). *Studying political participation: Towards a theory of everything*. Paper presented at the Joint Session of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research, Grenoble, 5.
- Driskell, Robyn, Elizabeth Embry, Larry Lyon (2008). "Faith and Politics: The Influence of Religious Beliefs on Political Participation." *Social Science Quarterly*, 89(2), 294-314.
- Duignan, Brian, Carolyn DeCarlo (2019). *The Executive Branch Carrying Out and Enforcing Laws*. New York: Britannica Educational Publishing.
- Duski, Loven, Joni(1997). "Gender Politics: A Breakthrough for Women?" 709.

- Ekman, Joakim, Erik Amna (2012). "Political participation and civic engagement: towards a new typology." *Human affairs* , 22(3), 283-300.
- Enaifoghe, Osehi, Andre (2019). "Exploring Africa political structure and the effort to improve women's struggle for representation in politics". *Journal of Gender, Information and Development in Africa (JGIDA)* , 8(1), 257.
- Elliott, Zvan, Ktaj (2014). "Morocco and Its Women's Rights Struggle: A Failure to Live Up to Its Progressive Image." *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* , 10(2), 1-30.
- Eubank, Nicholas. (2010). "Peace-Building without External Assistance: Lessons from Somaliland." *Center for Global Development Working Paper* , (198).
- Fox, Richard, Jennifer, L. Lawless (2004). "Entering the arena? Gender and the decision to run for office." *American Journal of Political Science* , 48(2), 264-280.
- Fung, Archon (2006). "Varieties of Participation in Complex Governance." *Public administration review*, 66: 66-75.
- Gaheir, Abdilahi, Gaheir & Jama, Ahmed, Guled. (2018). "Somaliland: A Male Democracy". Hargeisa: CPA.
- Gill, Gardon (2013). "Culture, complexity, and informing: How shared beliefs can enhance our search for fitness." *the International Journal of an Emerging Transdiscipline*.
- Guudle, Osman, Mohamed, Muharrem Hilmi Osev (2019). *Somali State Conflict: Revisiting the Political Economy of the Somali Security State (1969-1991)*. Ortadoğu Etütleri, 11(2): 206-233.
- Hansen, Jarle, Stig, Bradbury, Mark (2007). "Somaliland: a new democracy in the Horn of Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* , 34(113), 461-476.
- Hauwermeiren, Van, Remco (2012). "The Ogaden War: Somali women's roles." *Afrika focus* , 25(2): 9-30.
- Hillygus, Sunshine (2005). "The missing link: Exploring the relationship between higher education and political engagement." *Political behavior* , 27(1), 25-47.
- Hoehne, Virgil, Markus (2013). *Limits of hybrid political orders: the case of Somaliland*. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7(2): 199-217.
- Haroon, Yusuf (2012). "The Saga of the Pursuit of Women's Quota in Somaliland. Reflections and Lessons of Somaliland's Two Decades of Sustained Peace, Statebuilding and Democratization. " Hargeisa: Social Research & Development Institute .

- Ihemeje, Godwin (2016). "Patriotism, Political Participation and Women's Rights: A Critical Analysis of Nigeria's Fourth Republic." *Journal of Politics and Law*, 15.
- Ingiriis, H. Mohamed, Markus Virgil Hoehne(2013). "The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women: a blessing in disguise." *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7(2): 314-333.
- Innes, Judith, David E. Booher (2004). "Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century." *Planning Theory & Practice* , 5(4): 419-436.
- Jamal, Amaney (2005). "The political participation and engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque involvement and group consciousness." *American Politics Research* , 33(4), 521-544.
- Louise K, Davidson-Schmich. (2011). Gender, Intersectionality, and the Executive Branch: When Do Female Prime Ministers Promote 'Women's Interests'?. SSRN 1915747 (2011).
- Kaariye, M. Barkhad (2017). "You Must Know: Somalia or the Somali Republic?" *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* , 50-55.
- Kassa, Shimelis (2015). "Challenges and Opportunities of Women Political Participation in Ethiopia". *Journal of Global economics*, 3(4), , 1-7.
- Kernell, Georgia. (2015). "Party nomination rules and campaign participation." *Comparative Political Studies* , 48(13), 1814-1843.
- Kibble, Steve. (2001). "Somaliland: Surviving without recognition; Somalia: Recognised but failing?." *International Relations* , 15(5): 5-25.
- Kivoi, Lucas, Douglas (2014). "Factors impeding political participation and representation of women in Kenya." *Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(6): 173-181.
- Kumar, Panjak. (2017). Participation of women in politics: Worldwide experience. *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* , 22(12): 77-88.
- Paxton, Pamela, Sheri Kunovich, Melania M. Hughes (2007). "Gender in Politics." *The Annual Review of Sociology*. 33, 263-284.
- Leighley, Jan (1995). Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: A Field Essay on Political Participation. *Political research quarterly* , 48(1), 181-209.
- Hasaballah, Ali, AbdelHafiez, Ali Yassin Sheikh Ali. (2013). "Challenges and constraints faced by Somali women entrepreneurs in Benadir region." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business* , 436-441.

- Li, Yaojun, David Marsh (2008). "New forms of political participation: Searching for expert citizens and everyday makers." *British journal of political science*, 38(2): 247-272.
- Linssen, Rik, Hans Schmeets, Peer Scheepers, vd (2011). Trends in conventional and unconventional political participation in Europe between 1981–2008. panel 'The emergence of new types of political participation and its consequences' at the 6th ECPR General Conference, Reykjavik , 4.
- Mannarini, T, M. Legittimo, C. Talo (2005). "Determinants of social and political participation among youth. A preliminary study." *Psicología política*.
- Massoud, Fathi, Mark (2020). *The Rule of Law in Fragile States: Dictatorship, Collapse, and the Politics of Religion in Post-Colonial Somalia*. *Journal of Law and Society* , 47, S111-S125.
- Memoli, Vincenzo (2016). "Unconventional participation in time of crisis: How ideology shapes citizens' political actions." *Partecipazione e conflitto* , 9(1): 127-151.
- Mervis, Zungura, Nyemba Eve, Mutasa Florenza, vd (2013). "The relationship between democracy and women participation in politics." *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 3(1), 169.
- Meyer, Katherine., Hellen Rizzo, Yousef Ali (1998). "Islam and the Extension of Citizenship Rights to Women in Kuwait." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* , 131-144.
- Mlambo, Courage, Forget Kapingura (2019). "Factors influencing women political participation: The case of the SADC region." *Cogent Social Sciences*, 5(1), 1681048
- Modebadze, Valeri. (2010). "The Term Politics Reconsidered in the Light of Recent Theoretical Developments." *IBSU Scientific Journal* , 4(1), 39-44.
- Mohamed H. Ingiriis & Markus V. Hoehne. (2013). "The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women a blessing in disguise." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , 324-325.
- Mohamed, Abdulkadir, Iman (2015). "Somali Women and the Socialist State." *Journal of Georgetown University-Qatar Middle Eastern Studies Student Association* , 2015(1), 4
- Ndlovu, Sibonokuhle, Sani Boniface Mutale (2013). "Emerging Trends in Women's Participation in Politics in Africa." *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 3(11), 72-79.

- Nekola, Martin. (2006). "Political participation and governance effectiveness: does participation matter." Centre for Social and Economic Strategies (CESES), Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic , 1-3.
- Newton, Kenneth, Heiko Giebler (2008). Patterns of participation: Political and social participation in 22 nations. DEU , 4.
- Niven, David. (1998). "Party elites and women candidates: The shape of bias." *Women & Politics* , 19(2), 57-80.
- Noyoo, Ndanga (2000). Ethnicity and development in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Social Development in Africa* , 15(2), 55-68.
- Nwabunkeonye, U. P. (2014). "Challenges to women active participation in politics in Nigeria." *Sociology and Anthropology*, 2(7): 284-290.
- Ojeda, Christopher. (2018). "The Two Income-Participation Gaps." *American Journal of Political Science* , 62(4): 813-829
- Oke, Leke. (2010). "Democracy and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth." *An International Multi-Disciplinary Journal* , 4(3)
- Omelicheva, Mariya & Ranya Ahmed (2018). "Religion and politics: examining the impact of faith on political participation." *Religion, State & Society* , 46(1): 4-25.
- Owiso, Rodger, Bright Sefah (2017). "Actualising women's participation in politics and governance in Africa: the case of Kenya and Ghana. *African Human Rights Yearbook* , 264-266.
- Pailey, Neajai, Robtel (2019). Women, Equality, and Citizenship in Contemporary Africa. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
- Pegg, Scott, Micheal Walls (2018). "Back on track? Somaliland after its 2017 presidential election." *African Affairs*, 117(467), 326-337.
- Persson, Mikeal. (2012). "Does type of education affect political participation? Results from a panel survey of Swedish adolescents." *Scandinavian Political Studies* , 35(3): 198-221.
- Persson, Mikeal. (2015). "Review Article: Education and Political Participation." *British Journal of Political Science*, 45(3), 689-703.
- Pirk, Reelika, Raili Nugin. (2016). "Multiple faces of conventional political activism: a youth council case study." *Studies of Transition States and Societies* , 82-83.

- Powell, Benjamin, Ryan Ford, Alex Nowrasteh (2008). "Somalia after state collapse: Chaos or improvement?" *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* , 67(3-4): 657-670.
- Quaranta, Mario. (2012). "The Rise of Unconventional Political Participation in Italy: Measurement equivalence and trend over time, 1976-2009." *Bulletin of Italian Politics* , 255.
- Pons Rafols, Xavier (2018). "The right to political participation in international law, independence referendums, and international good practice." *Spanish yearbook of international law*, Vol. 22, p. 197-223.
- Randall, Svasand (2010). "Political parties and democratic consolidation in Africa." *Democratization* , 9(3), 30-52.
- Rayale, Siham. (2011). "Participation through Peacebuilding: Somaliland Women's experiences of Peace Initiatives in Somaliland since 1991." *Somaliland Journal for Peace and Development*, 24-40.
- Renders, Marleen, Terlinden, Ulf (2010). "Negotiating statehood in a hybrid political order: The case of Somaliland." *Development and change* , 41(4), 723-746.
- Ridout, Timothy (2012). "Building Peace and the State in Somaliland: The Factors of Success." *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* , 3(2), 136-156.
- Rowe, Gene, Lynn J. Frewer (2000). "Public participation methods: A framework for evaluation." *Science, Technology, & Human Values*, 25(1): 3-29.
- Sabucedo, Manuel, Jose, Constantino Arce (1991). "Types of political participation: A multidimensional analysis." *European Journal of Political Research*, 20(1), 93-94.
- Sh. Ali, Yasin, Ali (2012). "Changing role of women in Somalia: an empirical survey of social and economic contribution of somali women entrepreneurs in banaadir region." *Academic Research International* , 311-321.
- Sh. Ali, Yasin, Ali, Fatima Mohamed Mohamoud (2015). "Constraints Hindering Somali Women's Advancement to Higher Political and Leadership Positions." *Educational Research International* , 132.
- Shvedova, Nadezhda. (2005). "Obstacles to women's participation in parliament." *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers*, 33 , 22-45.
- Ullah, Raza (2018). "Socio-cultural and economic factors affecting women political participation in Dir district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa." *The Women-Annual Research Journal of Gender Studies* , 26-41.

Uzodike, Okeke, Ufo, Hakeem Onapajo (2013). Women and Development in Africa: Competing Approaches and Contested Achievements. *Alternation* 20(2): 27-51.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi, Moran Yarchi, Tal Samuel-Azran (2016). Political information repertoires and political participation. *Political information* , 18(9): 2096-2115.

3. Reports

Abukar, Abdi (2015). Somalia: A brief country report. Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa.

Affi, Ladan (2020). Excluding women: the clanization of Somali political institutions. Bergen: CMI (Chr. Michelsen Institute).

Druciarek, Malgorzata. (2020). Women in parliament:1995-2020. Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Dualeh, Mohamed, Ahmed (2014). Republic of somaliland ministry of labor and social affairs (somaliland post election study). Republic of somaliland ministry of labor and social affairs.

Elder, Claire. (2013). What future for democracy in Somaliland? Nairobi: RVI.

Goetz, Marrie, Anne (2003). Women's education and political participation. Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report , 13.

Hersi, Farah, Hersi. (2015). Confronting the Future of Somaliland's Democracy: Lessons from a Decade of Multi-partyism and the Way Forward.

Hollekim,Ragnhild, Stig Jarle Hansen, Geir Moe Sørensen (2006). Somaliland: Elections for the Lower House of Parliament September 2005. Nordem.

Horizon Institute (2016). Women and the judiciary in somaliland. Horizon Institute

ICG (2003). Somaliland: Democratisation and Its Discontents. Nairobi/Brussels: International Crisis Group.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (2020). Women in parliament: 1995-2020–25 years in review. Geneva.

Makokha, Jacinta, Yussuf Ali (2013). Somalilanders speak Lessons from the November 2012 local elections.

Markham, Susan (2013). Women as agents of change:having voice in society and influencing policy. National Democratic Institute.

- Kandawasvika-Nhundu (2013). Political Parties in Africa through a Gender Lens. International IDEA.
- Rai, (2005). Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership : background paper. New York: UN. Department of economic and social affairs (DESA).
- Schueller, Marie-Luise, Michael Walls. (2017). Report by international observers on the 2016 voter registration process in Somaliland. Progressio.
- Simkin, Paul, Paul Crook (2002). Report on the Somaliland Local Elections held on 15 December 2002. European Union.
- Stone, Lee, Mireille Affa'a Mindzie (2006). Women in Post-Conflict Societies in Africa. Johannesburg.
- Tungaraza, Beata, Maria (2010). Women's human rights in Somaliland. Nagaad.
- Walls, Michael, Conrad Heine, Andrea Klingel, vd (2017). The Limits of Consensus? Report on the Somaliland presidential election.
- Warsame, Mohamoud, Amina (2002). Queens without crowns: Somaliland women's changing roles and peace building. Nairobi : FotoForm.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

I am carrying out this study for the partial fulfillment of my Master's thesis. This study aims, **Challenges and Opportunities of Women Participation In Politics: A Case Study Of Somaliland.**

Responding to this questionnaire is a valuable contribution to this task. Please answer each item by marking (✓) the most appropriate option for you (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree).

The information you provide will be handled for Academic Purposes and with confidentiality.

Section (A): Demographics of the Participants

1. Gender
a) Male ☐ b) Female ☐
2. Age
a) 18-25 ☐ b) 26-30 ☐ c) 30-40 ☐ d) 40 and above ☐
3. Education Level
a) Secondary ☐ b) Bachelor ☐ c) Master ☐ d) PhD ☐
4. Institution at work
a) Government ☐ b) Civil Society Organization ☐ c) Other ☐
5. Level of Experience
a) 1-2 years ☐ b) 3-4 years ☐ c) 5 years and above ☐

Section (B): Challenges and Opportunities of Women Participation in Politics

Direction: Write tick (✓) the appropriate response.

1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

Items	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Political Challenge					
The government and political parties are male dominant and they are not willing to wave their positions to women.					
Lack of clear government policies and laws to motivate women's participation in politics					
Women have less membership in the political parties, which limits women to have equal opportunities in candidacy for the elections					
Women's organizations failed to politically empower and to build up linkages among women					
Women's voice is unheard, since their representation in the political arena is too limited.					
Lack of political ambition of women contributed to their low participation in politics.					
Religious Challenge					
Basically Islamic religion proposes women to carry out the essential work of their home.					
Religious misperceptions resulted no to participate actively in the politics.					
Islamic scholars differ on the appropriate level of women's participation in political activities.					
Socio-economic Challenge					
Practically most society do not prefer women to represent in the political arena					
Majority of women do not have the financial resources to take part in the electoral processes of the country					
Women have no power to participate in the politics of the country, due to the Educational barriers.					
Women themselves do not support and promote one another in terms of voting and finance					

Traditional Challenge	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Somali tradition is not recognized Women's equal access to political participation with men					
The elders of the clan are not willing that women have the power to serve and represent their clan in political roles.					
Female candidates are not supported by women voters, instead, they prefer to vote for a man who belongs to their birth clan					
The father lineage is a cultural factor that provides the context upon which women play and accept minor roles.					
Opportunities of Women's Participation in Politics	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Democratic principles gives women a role in the political participation					
Women can be empowered by the adaption of gender policies and regulation that eradicates long-lasting bad practices.					
Gender quota is a good manner to increase women's participation in politics.					
Educated women have shown that they have the will and the capacity for leadership					
Advocacy and lobbying are one of the tools that can be empowered women's participation in politics					
The increase of women's socio- economic status enhances their participation in Politics.					
Women's participation in Somaliland politics is a very important aspect as it enhances the welfare of our society					
The government recognizes and respects the international obligations that promote the women's political participation					
The pressure of the Civil Society and international community promotes women's political participation					

Thanks for your contribution