FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN MOGADISHU SOMALIA

MOHAMED MOHAMUD GULED

0799944288

mmguuleed@gmail.com

jomo kenyata university of agriculture and Technology

&

Dr. Stanley Kavale

0725735069

stanok8@gmail.com

Lecturer, School of business and economics, Moi University - Kenya.

ABSTRACT

In very corner of the world, women continue to aspire to political leadership positions fact that, politics is almost everywhere a male-oriented. Somalia is no an exception. In spite of that, great progresses have been made in the political realm, and women's participation has been increased to some degree over the last decay. However, women's participation in this field remains lower than expectations. In Somalia, women constitute more than fifty percent of the total population of the country and they play vital productive, reproduction, and community-managing roles for the society. The general objective of the study was to determine the factors influencing women participation in political relationship in Somalia. The specific objectives ware the effects of cultural attitudes, education level, gender bias and empowerment on women participation in political participation. This study used three theories that are decision-making theory, learning theory and transformational leadership theory. This study used descriptive research design. The Target population was 120 people. Random sampling method was used. The sample size was 92 arrived at by Solven's formulae. Primary data was collected using structured questionnaires and secondary data from books and journals. Pilot study was carried out on twenty respondents. Data was analyzed using SPSS version 21. Correlation, regression, ANOVA and model summary was generated. Data was presented in tables. The study found out that cultural attitudes, education level, and gender bias and women empowerment greatly affected participation of women in political leadership in Mogadishu Somalia. This study concluded that education and empowerment are key in women leadership. This study recommended that the Somali government should promote women's participation in political decision making by availing access to education of women.

Key words: participation, education, gender bias, leadership, participation, women

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The topic of women's political participation has become an issue of scholarly debate in recent years; World Bank (2010) women have not yet yielded substantive political participation as candidates and political office holders in the assemblies despite their numerical strength. The apparent invisibility of women in politics is a global phenomenon, particularly in Afraca (UNIFEM, (2010). In Somalia, women bear an unequal brunt of the hardships occasioned by poverty, conflict and community-based culture that promotes strict male hierarchy and authority. The gender inequality issues have been in the limelight for very many years all over the world. In Somalia, this has been the case since independence and before (Magdalena, 2012). This ideology of marginalization of women based on opportunities to bring about equality of women and men in terms of participation in development and in societal reward and opportunities. To date, there is no clear and functioning policy on gender issues in Somalia, but as it has been discovered in other countries, even when the policy is in place the situation on the ground does not change automatically.

Somalia women have joined the political arena in recent years due to an increased access to education though the majority of them are still restricted in traditional "female status". The urban labor force and political leadership participation rate for Somali women has increased to 30% from Somali national reconciliation conference held in Inbagati, Kenya in 2004 (SSWC, 2018). Despite their growing participation in the political leadership and workforce, there are still very few women in the top echelons of public decision and policy making positions. The most women in Somalia concentrate in low paying jobs, low status occupation with poor fringe benefits, carried out under

poor working conditions and therefore hold very little prospect for poverty reduction and upward mobility. On the other hand, the majority of the women in the rural areas spend a great deal of time on low productivity work, which has created major income disparities between men and women. The reason for gender disparity in employment opportunities and political participations include segregation in the labor market, social attitude towards women, inadequate capacity on the part of women in terms of their knowledge and capacity on the part of women in terms of their knowledge and skills and lack of tender responsive policies and programmers.

The gender issues range from equal participation right from the home front through to education, the labour market and position of leadership. The Women's issues were focused on preparation for the actual United Nations Decade for Women Conference, held in Nairobi in 1985. The plight of the women on land rights, employment and legal right were addressed. The idea of economic empowerment turned out to be the perceived solution for women; access to resources became an important tool of empowering women. They were not going to be able to compete on the same footing as the men without the resources available to men. The issue of unfair economic and social rules of women in development in Somalia assumed a prominent positioning United Nation Development Programmed strategy. The concern was now on equal opportunity in Education, Labor Market, government (political) appointment, political representation, land rights and legal rights, both in marital relation and in the public arena (United Nations Development Programmes, 2012). The Beijing conference of 1995 stressed the need for empowerment of women as one of the central development goals of the 21st century. It adopted a platform for action which called for the mainstreaming of a gender perspective in the design, implementation and monitoring of all policies and programs, including development programs. It committed countries to design their own specific programs and activities in consultation with women's group to implement the Beijing

platform for action. (UN Women, 2012). In Somalia, the federal promulgated constitution seems to give a ray of hope for Somali women. It allocates 30% Parliament members for the women but that still falls short of the expectation of the women. A gender commission has been set up. The newly promulgated constitution is a milestone for Somalia women as it addresses issues that seek to empower women in all areas where there has been discrimination (Federal Constitiution of Somalia, 2012)

Statistics shows that women are well represented in business administration enrolment figures and the rapid expansion of this sector has given them a healthy share of lower and middle-level management positions. The Gender Inequality Index for Somalia is0.776 placing Somalia at the fourth highest position globally. Somalia has extremely high maternal mortality, rape, female genital mutilation and child marriage rates, and violence against women and girls is common, though statistics are difficult to find.2 The participation and role of women in politics and decision-making spheres is extremely limited, perpetuating narrow gender based roles and inequalities. (Gender in Somalia, 2011-2015).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In a continent full of patriarchic societies, Somalia is no exception: Participation in political leadership is a critical tool for empowering individuals. This is because participation in political leadership empowers individuals to participate in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources are generated. In Somalia, women are under-represented in political leadership. The main purpose of this study was to examine the factors Influencing Women Participation in Political Leadership in Somalia. From the background, it was noted that there are disparities on gender representation in top leadership positions worldwide. It is believed that this disparity is not because of qualification, skills or talents but rather based on

gender discrimination. This disparity has led to under representation of women in major decision-making positions hence lack of equity in opportunity distribution in all sectors.   (Cool, 2013) The ILO report of 2009 indicate that despite women forming 50% of the world's population, only a partly 2-3% have managed to break the glass ceiling in top leadership. This disparity has continued despite the fact that women are equally if not more qualified than men have (Druskat, 2014). They possess the required technical know-how and are more than willing to serve in the top corporate leadership. This gender imbalance has continued to exist despite passing of several legislations by governments to provide for gender balancing. A lot of interventions have been formulated to enhance women's participation in political leadership. Such interventions are encompassed in international instruments ,covenants and interventions such as Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Beijing Platform for Action (Cool, 2013) . In Somalia, disparity and inequality in participation in political leadership has persisted probably due to lack of empowerment, demographic factors, cultural factors, economic factors, gender based electoral violence.

Participation in political leadership is imperative for women's empowerment because greater number of women in politics supported women's cause at every level (Awuor, 2012). Besides researchers have noted that when women get into leadership and management they bring a different perspective from men (Clinton, 2003); Women leaders are likely to focus on human development projects.. In view of the above highlight, this study explores the forces behind this disparity; it seeks to establish the challenges facing women to participate the top-political leadership in Mogadishu despite concerted efforts being made to bridge this imbalance (Awuor, 2012).

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by both general and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General Objective

To determine the factors influencing women participation in political leadership in Mogadishu, Somalia

1.3.2   Specific Objectives

1) To determine the effect of cultural attitudes on women participation in political leadership in Mogadishu.
2) To establish the effect of education level on women participation in Political leadership in Mogadishu, Somalia
3) To examine the effect of gender bias on women participation in political leadership in Mogadishu.
4) To investigate the effect of empowerment on women participation in political leadership

1.4   Research Hypothesis

This study used research hypothesis. The $null_0$ hypothesis was crafted as;

Ho_1: Cultural attitudes have no significant effects on women participation in political leadership in Mogadishu.

Ho_2: Education level has no significant effects on women participation in Political leadership in Mogadishu, Somalia

Ho_3: Gender bias has no significant effects on women participation in political leadership in Mogadishu.

Ho_4: Women empowerment has no significant effects on women participation in political leadership

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study provides vital information to all the groups advocating for equal human rights and more specifically gender equality and opportunities for men and Women alike. It can also be of fundamental importance to government policy makers and legislators especially with the setting up of Gender commission. The findings can also be important key in formulating policies and strategies for enhancing gender equality in different work places. The findings also assist scholars

and other students who may pursue studies in this field; it provides a basis for further investigations and conclusive study on women issues. It benefits women in recognizing the factors that influence their upward mobility and seek ways of managing these factors to increase their presence in top political leadership positions in Somalia government institutions.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study was carried out in Mogadishu, better known as Hamar, the capital city of Somalia that locates in the coastal Banaadir region on the Indian Ocean belt with approximately 3 million number of populations as permanent residents. The study was completed in March 2018. The researcher concentrated on preparation and submission of the research project following the presentation of the proposal in February 2018. The data collection, data analysis and compiling of the final report, recommendations and submission were all on time against the schedule in March 2018

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provided a general literature and research related to factors influencing women participation in political leadership in Somalia. The chapter covered theoretical framework, conceptual framework, review of variables, imperial review, research gab, critique of literature and summary.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study examined three theories that are relevant to the study. The three theories are; decision making theory, learning theory and transformational theory. Each of them is elaborated in the following subsections.

2.2.1 Decision Making Theory

Garvin and Roberto (2011) suggested, "Decision-making is arguably the most important job of the senior executive and one of the easiest to get wrong". Their research revealed that although leaders are get decision-making all wrong". Why this, and can public relations managers help senior, executives is make better decisions? Garvin and Roberto said the primary reason executives make bad decisions is that they treat decision-making as a discrete event where choice takes place at a single moment. What is the relevance to public relations, though? White and Dozier (2012) noted, "Strategic public relations require practitioner access to decision-making authority in an organization". In trying to determine what role communication managers and public relations practitioners play in strategic decision-making, White and Dozier developed the concept of strategic decision-making for public relations and suggested ways "in which practitioners make useful contributions to decision-making".

2.2.2 Learning Theory

Instructional designers could now think of learning in terms of taking experts' cognitive structures and mapping that knowledge into the heads of learners. The degree of similarity in cognitive structure between expert and novice was a good measure of whether learning objectives were being met. Constructivism. The roots of constructivism go back to philosophers, such as Socrates, who argued that knowledge is created by the learner rather than transmitted from the expert to the novice. Dewey, (2013), in the early 20th century, proposed that students' prior ideas and beliefs are important and should not be dismissed when building learning activities. Jean Piaget (1896-1980) also recognized the place of the learner in education, and demonstrated that assimilation and accommodation – as ways of processing information and building new knowledge – are important in explaining learning situations. Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934), another proponent of constructivism, believed that learning is a social activity and that meanings and understandings derive from collaboration. Constructivism is a paradigm that views learning as an active, building process. Learners are not tabula rasa; rather they bring prior knowledge and experience to the learning process. Learners remain active throughout the process of learning by creating their own experiences, judging inconsistencies, generating meaning, and modifying their knowledge accordingly. If what learners encounter does not fit their current understandings, their conceptions are modified to accommodate the new experiences. Boston Club, (2015)
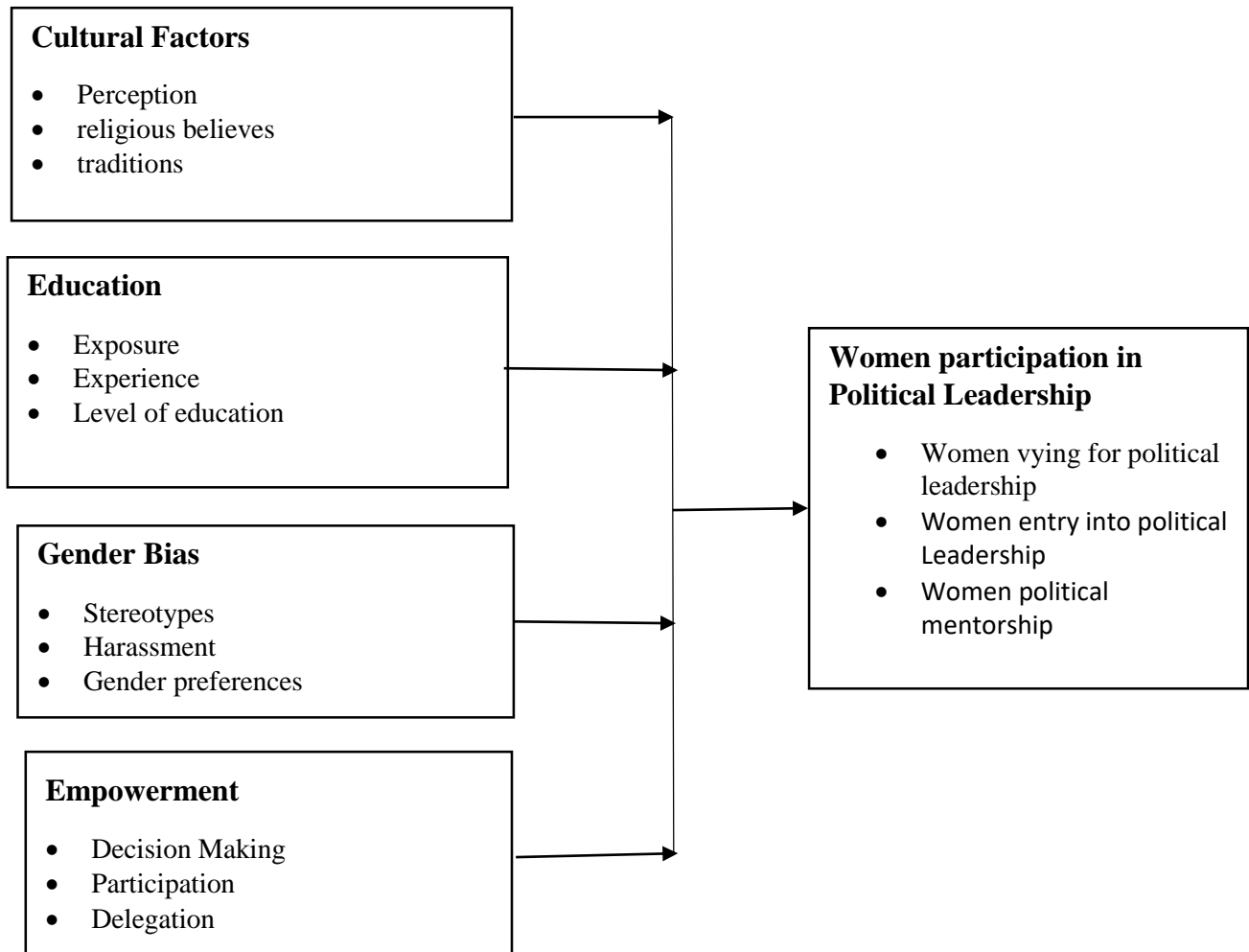
2.2.3 Transformation Leadership Theory

Transformational leadership is defined as a leadership approach that causes change in individuals and social systems. In its ideal form, it creates valuable and positive change in followers, with the end-goal of developing followers into leaders. According to Bass and Riggio (2013), transforming

leadership is a process, in which leaders and followers help each other to advance to a higher level of morale and motivation. Lussier and Achua (2014) propose that leadership theory attempts to explain the distinctive characteristics accounting for leadership effectiveness. Researchers analysed physical and psychological traits, qualities such as high energy levels, appearances, aggressiveness, and self-reliance, as well as persuasiveness and dominance, in an effort to identify a set of traits that all successful leaders possess. Transformational leaders try to motivate their employees and stimulate them to achieve the goal of the organization (Druskat 2014). In this type of leadership, roles of employees and task requirements are clarified; followers are rewarded positively and negatively, depending on their performance (Kreitner and Kinicki 2012). Transformational leadership motivates others to do more than they originally intended and often even more than they thought possible. Bass and Riggio (2013) that transformational leaders empower followers and pay attention to their individual needs and personal development, helping followers pay attention to their individual needs and personally develop their own leadership potential. This theory supports political leadership which is the dependent variable.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework is the diagramatic representation to show the relationship between dependent variable and independent variable (Cooper and Schinder, 2013). According to Young (2009),.. In this study, the dependent variable is political leadership and the independent variables are cultural factors, education, gender bias and empowerment as shown in Figure 2.1

Cultural Factors

- Perception
- religious believes
- traditions

Education

- Exposure
- Experience
- Level of education

Gender Bias

- Stereotypes
- Harassment
- Gender preferences

Empowerment

- Decision Making
- Participation
- Delegation

Women participation in Political Leadership

- Women vying for political leadership
- Women entry into political Leadership
- Women political mentorship

Independent Variable   **Dependent Variables**

 Figure 2. 1: Conceptual Framework

2.4 Review of Variables

In this section, the review of the variables of the study is undertaken, the variables reviewed are;

cultural attitudes, education levels, gender bias, empowerment and participation in politics.

2.4.1 Cultural Attitude on Political Leadership

Cultural attitudes and long inherited patterns of social traditions always burden women to hold

high-level political positions in Mogadishu. Women are important factor to contribute to wellbeing

and cohesion of family, but they are still delimited by beliefs and attitudes to participate in politics. Social norms on women's role within the family remain little influenced by these changes in the labor market. Gender wage gaps, as well as higher rates of female part-time employment, can be explained by gender inequalities in unpaid care work (Catalyst, 2013). Social norms on the parental roles within the family account for women spending between two to five times more time than men on unpaid care activities. Female political voice remains relatively weak: (OECD, 2014).

Although culture is not static and its challenges differ from one country and region to another, often within individual countries but sometimes is the strongest reference that people use as a formula of solving problems and sharing powers. In many countries, the role given to women was symbolized by the traditions and cultures of society of that country. Somali women have inadequate role to play in community development process (i.e. socio-economic development, peace building negotiations, formation of nation institutions, etc.). An analysis of the available information on the various national realities highlights the fact that, in all parts of the world a certain number of conditions favour or on the contrary hinder women's active involvement in political life. Wider community awareness of issues associated with women's participation in political life is an important aspect of correcting the current imbalance (Union, Inter-Parliamentary, 1999).

2.4.2 Education on Political Leadership

Education is a powerful element that strengthens the understanding and thinking of person's mind. The right to education for all has been an international goal for decades, but since the 1990s, women's education and empowerment have come into sharp focus. Several landmark conferences, including the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo, and

the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, placed these issues at the center of development efforts. However, still women account for two-thirds of the world's illiterate adults, because older women are less likely to have attended school than their younger counter-parts (Bank, 2010). They are also much more likely to be illiterate if they are poor and live in rural areas. Literacy programs and continuing education exist, but the efforts are not systematically reported across Somalia. In addition, girls and women are disadvantaged when it comes to technical and vocational education, in fields such as science and technology that have long been dominated by men here in Somalia. In many traditional practices in Somalia, girls are prevented from attaining their schools and thus lower priority placed on educating daughters (who marry and leave the family) and the lower status of girls and women in general. Families may have concerns about the school fees, girls being taught by male teachers and girls' safety away from home (Ashford, 2012).

Somali women and girls who access to schools and higher education institutions are fewer than their counter-parts and there are many factors that reduce enrollment rates of women and girls at schools in Somalia. The country has the one of the world's lowest enrolment rates for primary school children, only 42 per cent of children are in school. Of those, only 36% are girls (Jamal, 2009). The old Somali adage, "A mother's purpose is to be a cook, laundrywoman, nurturer and wife to her husband," describes to some degree the traditional role of women in Somalia, where women remain at the bottom rung of the social ladder. They continue to be subjected to serious to female genital mutilation. Due to both lack of infrastructure and ongoing conflict, limited research has been conducted on education in Somalia. In 2003-2004, a survey of primary schools in Somalia reported 1,172 operating schools, with a total enrolment of over 285,574 children representing a 19.9 per cent gross enrolment ratio. This places Somalia among the lowest enrolment rates in the world (Jamal, 2009).

This may be a visible barrier to female participation in Somalia political leadership in a successful career or political positions that make primary requisite academic qualifications and education degrees from the candidates of those positions or careers.

2.4.3 Gender Bias on Political Leadership

Women are much less likely than men to be considered leaders. In 2015, only 5 percent of the companies in the Standard and Poor's 500 index had female chief executive officers (Catalyst, 2013). Of course, the leadership gap is not confined to business. In the nonprofit sector, women are more likely to be in leadership positions, but they remain underrepresented. For example, in a 2015 Massachusetts study, only 21 out of 151 nonprofit organizations had boards with at least 50 percent women (Boston Club, 2015).

Meanwhile, women make up only one in five members of the U.S. Congress, and just six states (New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, and South Carolina) currently have female governors (Centre for American Women & Politics, 2016). Nevertheless, the leadership gap is not confined to business and politics; unions (Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012), religious institutions (Christ, 2014), the legal profession (Rikleen, 2015), academia (American Council on Education, 2012), and many other institutions also exhibit this gap. 8 percent of equity partners are people of color, women account for just 29 percent of Asian equity partners, 33 percent of black equity partners, and 24 percent of Hispanic equity partners (Rikleen, 2015). Statistics about lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (LBT) women leaders are not readily available, but a recent study found that women whose résumés indicated they were LBT received 30 percent fewer callbacks than other women, which suggests that LBT status may further limit leadership opportunities (Mishel, 2016). Achieving gender parity in leadership is, first and perhaps most

important, a matter of fairness. Leaders are powerful, so when women are excluded from top leadership, they are denied power to make a difference in the world. Leaders enjoy high status and privilege, and leadership in one area opens doors to other opportunities, which further amplifies the perks of leadership. Leadership also pays. In most organizations, the top leader is also the most highly compensated, and managers and supervisors tend to have higher salaries than workers who are not in leadership roles.

2.4.4 Empowerment on Political Leadership

Gender equality is shaped by several factors, such as rules, social norms, social perceptions, territorial claims, and personal and household attributes. The influence and magnitude of each factor varies across cultures and countries. In developing countries in particular, promoting gender equality can be difficult. Often, countries have long-standing cultural traditions that preclude women's participation in fundamental economic, social, and political activities. Despite the limitations, gender equality is a basic human right, and women can be important drivers of sustainable development. As such, women's involvement is increasingly promoted, if not mandated, as one of the objectives of many development projects, programs, and policies.

This study examines whether requiring women's participation in a development program increases female empowerment. Evidence is used from a cohort of women in the Solomon Islands exposed to a community-drive development (CDD) program known as the Rural Development Program (RDP). While women in the Solomon Islands are commonly regarded as having a lower status than men, the RDP includes special provisions in its objectives to improve gender equality. The provisions include promoting (i) the significant and visible participation of women in the expression of needs and decisions made in the program and (ii) non-discriminatory access to the social and economic benefits of the program's projects.

2.4.5 Political Leadership

Historically, there have been different positions taken by theorists on the subject of elites. The study of elites has concentrated upon descriptive and explanatory questions, who actually are elites, how do they maintain themselves, and what is the nature of elites (Bill and Hardgrave 2012), unlike the democratic theorists who ask normatively, are elites necessary and for what purpose? In other words, the theoretical position of democrats differs considerably from that of the elitists who take the elite-mass dichotomy based on unequal distribution of power to be a natural phenomenon. The elitists do not justify why this unequal division should be necessary (Medding, 2011). In fact, all factual history has shown an elite-dominated form in that a few able individuals or groups influence the decision-making processes. To the democratic theorists, however, the natural phenomenon has been defended on the prescriptive and normative basis.

2.5 Empirical Review

Seemingly, many laws discriminate against women. For example, women are legally required to obtain the consent of their husbands or father before they can obtain a national identity card, a passport or a bank loan. Female widows lose their work pensions when they remarry although widowers do not. Women are sometimes excluded from inheritance settlements, and widows are unable to administer their husbands' estates without the consent of their children.

According to UNDP report of 1999, despite the fact that many governments have adopted and adapted affirmative action measures and the rhetoric of gender balance, the figures still indicate that globally, despite the fact that women are half of the population, they are nowhere near half of the decision-making structures. The threshold of 30% advocated by the UNDP Report, as a prelude to the 50% is still a dream for most women. In summary, the review indicates that intelligence, ability and motivation are the attributes of a good leader. These attributes are inherent in both men

and women, and gender has no role to play in determining these attributes. However, in pursuit to investigate the factors influencing women progression to leadership, social/cultural factors, lack of access to advanced education, organization culture, workplace policies and discrimination of women in appointments have come out clearly as the factors inhibiting women.

2.6 Critique of the Existing Literature

One of the most recent and impressive in the advancement of cross-cultural leadership studies is House and associates (House, 2013) groundbreaking endeavor that examined 27 hypotheses with over 17,000 middle managers who worked in 951 organizations. While prior leadership research was predominately U.S.-based, the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) study was conducted over a 10-year period in societies for the purposes of understanding societal culture along with organizational and leadership effectiveness. This included survey research, archival data, media analyses, individual and focal group interviews, and observational tactics. In an obvious display of esteem for Hofstede's (Hofstede, 2014) prior work to create testable cultural dimensions, the GLOBE study built on and extended Hofstede's five measures to nine. Five of these dimensions are submitted as enhanced versions of Hofstede's power distance, uncertainty avoidance, future orientation, and individualism collectivism, which is broken into two sub-dimensions: institutional collectivism and in group collectivism. The remaining four represent an effort to extricate discrete elements in Hofstede's masculinity-femininity dimension: performance orientation, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, and humane orientation. Large-scale studies resting on Hofstede's original framework are clearly relevant for cross-cultural research (Kirkman *et al*., 2013). The GLOBE research is theory driven, beginning with more general constructs, and later writing items and developing scales (Javidan *et al*., 2011).

2.7 Research Gap

Major studies undertaken on political participation of women, cover the some specific countries and to some extent to some regions they demonstrate how the state was an instrument of actualizing male interest thereby enhancing men's power over women and offering women limited opportunities of ownership of land, participation in formal economy and the exercise of statutory power. These literatures interrogate political and socio-cultural structures and practices that shaped and controlled women's lives in colonial era of Africa by examining the dilemma of African women within the milieu of two oppositional legal frameworks – pre-colonial and colonial and how women dealt with them, with varying degrees of success. Mwangi, (2014) asserts that when colonial authorities began to create a system of private property rights in Kenya, they extended those rights to men only because ownership in the west was historically a male privilege. Nyakwaka (2012) notes that Kenyan women constitute a vital national resource whose ideas, creativity and concerns for social cohesion can help bring about positive change in all spheres of the society. Therefore, their potential needs to be fully exploited if Kenya needs to forge ahead in development.

Notwithstanding low participation of women in political processes, most historical studies undertaken in Kenya have not been gendered. Zeleza, (2013) argues that the documentation of historical change in Africa has been biased against women. He continues to note that even the regional histories displays the same tendencies. This is the same case with Kenyan. Writing about 'Gender Analysis', Ochwada (2011) asserts that Kenyan, women, are invisible in most of the historical works in Kenya. There were those that totally ignored women, and others just mentioned them in passing. Therefore, local level research is needed to bring to cognition the social, economic and political realities that grassroots women are subjected to (Pala, 2013).

2.8 Summary

Regarding the secondary literatures read, many researchers and scholars have identified some dangers of class-ceiling of gender discrimination on women political leadership in society and effects to the economy and social issues. Some causes have also been identified but not very clearly. The gap therefore exists in identifying the cause of gender discrimination where women are prevented from assuming leadership Somalia top political leadership and also establishing possible ways of mitigating the evil practice. This study therefore sought to identify clearly the causes of gender disparity in Mogadishu and predict tangible solution for this scenario.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the research methodology which was used in carrying out the study. It therefore addresses the research designs, the target population, sample size, the sampling design, data collection methods, analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design

This study used a descriptive research design. This design was preferred because it is concerned with answering questions such as who, what, why and when, (Cooper and Schindler, 2001). A descriptive study ensures complete description of the situation, making sure that these is minimum bias in the collection of data to hold costs to a minimum bias and reduce errors in interpreting the data collected. The design is justified because it enabled the study to determine 'what' the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable

3.3 Target Population

Population refers to the entire group of people or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate, Sekaran (2010). The target of population of study was 120 female and male members of parliament, cabinet of ministers and civil society selected members.

Table 3. 1 Target Population

Respondents	Target Population
Members of Parliament	50
Ministers	10
Men & Women in Civil Society	60
TOTAL	**120**

3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

This part covers the sampling technique and the sample size.

3.4.1 Sampling Technique

The study adopted a stratified random sampling technique. In this technique, each member of the population has an equal chance of being selected as subject. The entire process of sampling was done in a single step with each subject selected independently of the other members of the population. There are many methods to proceed with simple random sampling (Cooper and Schinder, 2013). The technique was justified because the population comprised of three distinct groups (strata).

3.4.2 Sample Size

Sample size determination is the act of choosing the number of observations or replicates to include in a statistical sample. The sample size is an important feature of any empirical study in which the goal is to make inferences about a population from a sample (Bryman and Bell, 2015). The sample size for this study was obtained using the formulae developed by Cooper and Schinder, (2013). The sample size was 92 and derived as shown below;

$n = N / 1 + N (\alpha)^2$

Where: n= the sample size,

N= the sample frame (population)

α= the margin of error (0.05%).

$n = 120 / 1+ 120(0.05)^2 = 92$

Table 3. 2 Sample Size

Respondents	Population	Sample size
Members in the Parliament	40	31
Ministers of cabinets	20	15
Men and women in the Civil Society	60	46
TOTAL	**120**	**92**

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

3.5.1 Primary Data

The primary research data was collected using structured questionnaires. Items in the questionnaire were arranged in a logical sequence according to the themes being studied and items that elicited similar responses were grouped together. The questionnaire had closed ended, predetermined and standardized set of questions. These closed-ended questions were adopted since they are easier to analyze as they are in an immediate usable form, are easier to administer and are economical to use in terms of time and money (Kothari and Gang, 2014).

3.5.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data was obtained from journals and books. The researcher made use of secondary data from the political economy. These sources were reviewed to give insight in the search for the primary information.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection instrument in this study was structured a questionnaire. Bryman and Bell, (2015) narrate that questionnaire method is an inexpensive method for data collection. The use of questionnaire has many advantages that are as follows: they have standard questions that can be administered to a large number of respondents in Mogadishu Somalia within a short time and at a minimal cost. Respondents was assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Before the questionnaire was given out, the researcher sought for authorization from responding institutions in Somalia to collect data. A covering letter explaining the objectives of the study and assuring the respondents' confidentiality and asking them to participate in the study accompanied the questionnaire. The research instrument were conveyed to the respondents through the drop and pick technique. The researcher approached each respondent, introduced himself to the respondents by explaining to them the nature and purpose of the study and then left the questionnaires with the respondents for completion and picked later within three days. Respondents were asked to willingly to participate in the survey and give the data. Respondents was required to fill the questionnaires that included responses on measurement of sustainable performance as well as the demographic information.

3.7 Pilot Testing

Cooper and Schindler (2013) indicate that a pilot test is conducted to detect weakness in design and instrumentation and to provide proxy data for selection of a probability sample. Pilot testing provides an opportunity to detect and remedy a wide range of potential problems with an instrument. By conducting a Pilot testing it ensures that appropriate questions are asked, the right data is collected, and the data collection methods works. A pilot study was undertaken on 20 respondents to test the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. The rule of the thumb is that 1% of the sample should constitute the pilot test (Cooper & Schindler, 2013, Creswell, 2013). The proposed 20 respondents for pilot test was within the recommendation.

3.7.1 Reliability

Testing of the reliability of the scale is very important as it shows the extent to which a scale produces consistent results if measurements are made repeatedly. This was be done by determining the association in between scores obtained from different administrations of the scale. If the association is high, the scale yields consistent results, thus it is reliable. Cronbach's alpha was used to determine the internal reliability of the questionnaire. Values range between 0 and 1.0; while 1.0 indicates perfect reliability, the value 0.70 is deemed to be the lower level of acceptability (Hair, Black, Barry, Anderson, & Tatham, 2006). The reliability constructs were within acceptable margins as shown below;

Table 3. 3 Reliability Statistics

Variable	N	Alpha	Decision
Cultural attitude	4	.71	Accept
Education Level	4	.75	Accept
Gender Bias	4	.78	Accept
Empowerment	4	.81	Accept
Political Participation	4	.88	Accept

3.7.2 Validity

Validity is the degree to which results obtained for the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomena under study. It indicates how accurate the data obtained in the study represent the variables of the study. The researcher used internal consistency measure for testing validity. Content validity for this study was done by exposing the questionnaire to experts who recommended it for the study.

3.8 Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation

Kothari and Gang, (2014) argue that data collected has to be processed, analyzed and presented in accordance with the outlines laid down for the purpose at the time of developing the research plan. Data analysis involves the transformation of data into meaningful information for decision-making. It involves editing, error correction, rectification of omission and finally putting together or consolidating information gathered. The collected data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Descriptive and inferential statistics generated using SPSS version 22. Multiple regression model, Correlation, ANOVA and model summary were generated. Fraenkel and Wallen, (2014) argue that regression is the working out of a statistical relationship between one or more variables. The multiple regression equation was shown as follows;

Participation= α + β_1 Attitude+β_2Edulevel + β_3 Gender Issues + .β_4 Empowerment + ε

Where α is the regression constant $\beta1$**, β_2, β_3** & **β_4** are the Partial regression coefficients and **ε is** error term or stochastic term.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1.   Introduction

The study focused on the factors that influence women participation in political leadership in the in Mogadishu Constituency of Banadir region, Somalia. This chapter presents the result of the findings. The result is presented in tables. Descriptive statistics is used to describe the data and inferential statistics to test for relationships among variables and test of hypothesis.

During data collection, 92 questionnaires were issued out to the respondents- members of parliament, cabinet ministers and civil society. Ninety-one (91) questionnaires were returned and used for analysis. This translated to 99%. The high response rate is attributed for two main reason: first, the way questionnaires were structured and secondly, the target respondents were almost university graduates that they answered the questionnaires without any difficulties as compared to uneducated once as revealed in Table 4.1

Table4. 1: Response Rate

	Number	Percentage
No Issued	92	100%
No Returned	91	99%

4.2. Validity and Reliability of the Instrument

This section explores the validity and the reliability of the instrument used to scrutinize the content test by the experts

4.3.1 Validity

The data collection instrument was scrutinized by the experts in the area of human resource and guidance through the thesis supervisor. The aim was to ensure that the content in the questionnaire was relevant to capture the construct it was intended to capture. This was done to test content validity.

4.3.2 Reliability

The reliability of the instrument was assessed using the Cronbach's alpha statistic. These values ranking from 0.0 for no reliability to 1.0 for high reliability. An alpha value of 0.7 or more is taken to acceptable range. The Cronbach's alpha results presented in table 4.2 shows that the items alpha scores are above the recommended value of 0.7. Women empowerment had highest reliability (α =.811) followed by political participation (α =.772) and the least is education level (α =.723)

Table 4. 2: Cronbach's Test of Reliability

Variable	N	Alpha	Decision
Cultural attitude	4	.744	Accept
Education Level	4	.723	Accept
Gender Bias	4	.782	Accept
Empowerment	4	.811	Accept
Political Participation	4	.772	Accept

4.3.   Demographic Analysis

The demographic characteristics considered in this study were; Age, Gender, Marital status, Experience and Education level of the respondents in Mogadishu Constituency. These

characteristics are deemed to have an implication on the women participation in politics. The findings are presented in the following sections;

4.5   Analysis of Study Variables

The section provides with the measurement for the variables of Likert scale and the key of the questions for the simplicity of quick understanding.

4.5.1 Cultural Attitude

The cultural attitude variable was measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The mean and standard deviation of the responses were calculated. The result presented in table4.9 shows that the mean values of the four items on cultural attitude range from 1.73 (SD=1.034) to 2.62. Indicating that, on average, the respondents agreed that there are barriers to women participation. In particular, they agreed that perception affects women participation in political leadership (m=1.73, SD=1.034), they also agreed that the society views women in political leadership as persons of lose morals (m=2.16, SD=.981). The result thus suggests that cultural attitude was not favorable to supporting women participation in politics.

Table 4. 3: Cultural Attitude

	Mean	Std. Dv
Perception affects women participation in political leadership	1.73	1.034
The society views women in political leadership as persons of lose morals	2.16	.981
Political leadership is associated with men and thus limits women PL	2.36	.925
Women are not allowed to hold political leadership positions	2.62	1.373

4.5.2   Education Level

The effect of education level on women participation was assessed using four items. The mean and standard deviations are presented in table4.10. From the result, the scores are close to 2. That is, *Agree*. Meaning; respondents agreed to the education level items in general. In particular, they agreed that majority of the women in Somalia have no higher education (m=2.12, SD=1.324). Given that education is important in advancing to most positions, the result suggest that the education level in Somalia, particularly women, is an hindrance to participation in politics.

Table 4. 4: Education Level

	Mean	Std. Dev.
Majority of the women in Somalia have no higher education.	2.12	1.324
Early marriage prevents women to complete education leading less PL	2.13	1.046
Somali women have no educated role models in PL to follow suit	2.24	1.099
Households prefer for boys over girls in terms of education	2.36	1.312

4.5.3 Gender Bias

Gender bias was also assessed using four items and the result is presented in table4.11. The result generally indicates that the respondents concurred with the gender bias items. They agreed that patriarchy is the main system of Somali families in which women are oppressed (mean ≈ 2.33; SD= 1.193) secondly, respondents agree that many women who venture into politics are harassed by their male counterparts (mean ≈ 2.59, SD=1.154) (mean ≈2.33, SD= 1.193)

Table 4. 5: Gender Issues

	Mean	Std.
Women are housekeepers, take house chores, care of the children	2.31	1.152
Patriarchy is the main system of Somali families in which women are oppressed	2.33	1.193
Many women who venture into PL are harassed by their male counterparts	2.59	1.154

Women do not have financial muscles to launch sufficient campaigns	2.63	1.244

The study observed that the common course done by women in Mogadishu is education. Many women are trained as nursery, primary or secondary teachers. These courses does not fully place one in a position of acquiring political skills and financial strength to enter in politics (Bari, 2005).

4.5.4   Empowerment

Concerning women empowerment, the respondents agreed to a range of women empowerment issues. They agreed that women do not often go for elections, thus they stand for less chance to be elected (M=2.05, SD=.959). Political parties do not nominate women and women have no resources required in political scene.

Table 4. 6: Empowerment of Women

	Mean	Std.D
Women do not often go for elections, thus they stand for less chance to be elected	2.05	.959
Political parties do not nominate women members to be senior political candidates	2.31	1.152
Many women do not have resources at their disposal to venture into PL	2.52	1.119
Women are not encouraged to take higher posts in political parties in the country	2.63	1.226

4.5.5.   Women Participation in Political Leadership

The mean and standard deviation of women participation is presented in table 4.13. Most of the items on women participation were agreed to Women lack a political mind to venture into the thorny path to participate. Women want to enter political world but have not political mentorship. There are few number of women in the political leadership.

Table 4.13 women participation

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Women lack a political mind to venture into the thorny path to participate politics	2.37	1.217
Gender based electoral violence also discourages women from participating in PL	2.51	1.047
Women want to enter political world but have not political mentorship at all	2.60	1.094
There are few number of women in the political leadership	2.15	1.105

4.6 Correlation Analysis

Correlation was conducted for the dimensions of factors effecting women political participation in Mogadishu, using bivariate correlations. As shown in table 4.13, Cultural Attitude is insignificantly correlated with Education level (r=.195, p>0.05), while Cultural Attitude has positive significant relationship with Gender issues (r=.376[**], p=.000), Empowerment (r=.494[**], p=.000), and Women Participation (r=**.432**[**], p=.000). Moreover, dependent variables was significant, positively correlated with the four dimensions of independent variables, namely cultural attitude (r=.431, p=.001), education level (r=**.265**[*], p=.001), Gender bias (r=**.328**[**]p=.000), and empowerment (r=**.589**[**], p=.001). Factors influencing women participation in political leadership variables as the independent variables are significantly correlated with dependent variables. In addition, momentous correlations among the four independent variables were observed, which show that they are measuring the proposed concept (Bari, 2005)

Table 4. 7 Correlation

		1	2	3	4	5
Participation-1	Pearson Correlation	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)					
CulturalAttitude-2	Pearson Correlation	**.432**[**]	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	**.000**				
Educationlevel-3	Pearson Correlation	**.265**[*]	.195	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	**.011**	.064			
Genderbaised-4	Pearson Correlation	**.328**[**]	.376[**]	.322[**]	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	**.002**	.000	.002		
empowerment-5	Pearson Correlation	**.589**[**]	.494[**]	.181	.304[**]	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	**.000**	.000	.086	.003	

** Correlation is significant at 0.01 levels *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

4.7 Regression analysis

The analysis of the current study variables via linear regression analysis stands at the core of this research. The regression assumptions were checked before proceeding to further analysis. The dependent variable in this study (women participation in political leadership) was normally

distributed across all independent variables. The linearity, Collinearity, and outliers were also checked. Therefore, no violations were observed.

The model summary table result in table4.14 shows that the four independent variables account for 86% (R-square=.864) of variations in women participation. The remaining percentage is accounted for by other variables not in the model. Therefore, the high percent suggest that the model is fit for prediction of women participation in politics in Somali from the set of the four independent variables.

Table 4. 8: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.929[a]	.864	.857	.31715

a. Predictors: (Constant), EMPT, EL, GB, CAL

Analysis of Variance result in table 4.15 shows the sources of model variations; sum of squares degree of freedom the mean squares and the most important ratio; the F ratio. From the result the F value is significant and (F=136, P=.000). Therefore, the regression model is fit in predicting women participation in politics given the level of independent variables.

Table 4. 9: ANOVA

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	54.869	4	13.717	136.373	.000[b]
	Residual	8.650	86	.101		
	Total	63.519	90			

a. Dependent Variable: Women Participation b. Predictors: (Constant), EMPT, EL, GB, CAL

The regression coefficient result in table4.16 indicate that cultural attitude (β=.274, p=.006) had a significance positive influence on women participation. Based on the result, the study rejects the H01 hypothesis in favor of its alternative at 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, the study affirms that there is a significant influence of cultural attitude on women participation in politics. From the regression coefficient results, education level has a significant influence on women empowerment (β=.269, p=.005). The null hypothesis, H02 is thus rejected in favor of its alternative at 0.05 significant level. Therefore, the study affirms that women empowerment significantly influence their level of participation in political affairs in Mogadishu.

Regarding gender issues, findings indicate that gender sensitivity has a significant influence on women participation (β=.210, p=.002). The null hypothesis H03 is rejected in favor of its alternative. Therefore, there is a statistical evidence to state that gender sensitivity on issues especially political influence women participation in politics. Finally, women empowerment has positive significance influence on women participation in politics. β=.553 =.000. Thus, H04 is rejected in favour of its alternative at 0.05 significance level. And therefore the study infer that women empowerment has a significant influence on women participation.

Table 4. 10: Regression Coefficient

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.356	.127		-2.797	.006
	CAL	.274	.095	.228	2.894	.005
	EL	.269	.075	.220	3.561	.001
	Gender	.210	.075	.097	2.840	.002
	EMPT	.533	.087	.475	6.098	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Women Participation

The estimated linear regression model based on the coefficient parameters obtained by the ordinary Least Square estimate is of the form.

Participation= -.356 + .274 Cultural + .269 Education + .210 Gender + .533 Empowerment

$$R^2=.864$$

From the model, empowerment has the highest effect on empowerment, followed by education level. Gender issues have the least contribution among the four independent variables.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

In conclusion, the objectives of this study were achieved in connection to the findings. The study concludes that;

1. Cultural attitude was a significant determinant of the level to which women go to achieve meaningful participation in politics. There were cultural barriers to women participation.

2. Education level is low among women in Mogadishu. Achieving higher Education enhances the chances of women to political participation.

3. Gender prejudices and stereotypes about women are common among the people in Mogadishu. They had a profound influence on the number of women likely to participate in politics

4. Women empowerment was a significant factor influencing women participation in politics and finally

5. This study showed that there are various factors influencing women participation in political leadership such as; lack of empowerment in the area of economic and political spheres not failing to mention security and women's low self-confidence. These factors are interlinked; some depend on the others to bring a change in women participation in political leadership. Other factors such as role of men in supporting women contribute significantly to women participation in political leadership.

5.1   Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations;

1. There is need to have a culture change among the community in order to see the real benefit of women participation in politics. This can be achieved through community sensitization using the media to reach mass number of people.

2. Education (Druskat, 2014) for all should be prioritized with educating the girl being at the chore of education for all. Education went a long way in reducing gender bias and prejudices

3. It is critical to ensure that the community is sensitized on the need for political participation especially women. The government in order to build more space for women to participate in and influence

   All the stakeholders, from the households to the federal government should come up with a concerted efforts in promoting female education this leading to empowering the women empowerment.

REFERENCES

American, C. o. (2012). *The American College President.* Washington DC.

Ashford, L. S. (2012). Global Women's Issues. *Women and Education*.

AutoXpress. (2016). *Annual Reports.* Nairobi: ACTS.

Awuor, O. M. (2012). *Factors influencing women participation in political Leadership.* Nairobi: Univeristy of Nairobi.

Bank, W. (2010). *Development and Climate Change.* Washington, DC.

Bari, F. (2005). *Women's Political Participation: Issues and Challenges.* United Nations: Unpublished.

Bass, B. (2013). *transformational Leadership 2nd Ed.* New York: Pschology Press.

Bill, J., & Hardgrave, R. (2012). *Comparative Politics:The Quest For Theory.* Columbus Ohio: Charles Merril. Co.

Bokman, A., & Morgen, S. (2014). *Women & In Politics of Empowerment.* Philadephia: Temple University Press.

Boston Club. (2015). *Stability Isn't Progress: The 2015 Census of Women Directors & Chief Executives of Massachusetts Largest Non-Profit Organizations.* Massachusetts: Marble Head MA.

Bryant-Anderson, R., & Roby, P. (2012). The Experience of Leadership:Women & Men Shop Stewards Perspectives in 10 Trade Unions. *Labour Studies Journal*, 37 (3) 271-292.

Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2015). *Business Research Methods.* London: Oxford University Press.

Catalyst, R. (2013). Women of colour in corporate Management Opportunities and Barriers. *Journal of Strategic Management*, 45, 9-10.

Centre for American Women & Politics. (2016). Women Presodential and Vice Presidential Candidates:A Selected List. *Journal of Development Studies*, 5, 9.

Christ, C. P. (2014). Do We Still Need the Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion? *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 30 (2). 139-141.

Cool, J. (2013). Woment in Parliament. *library of Parliament*, 17.

Cooper, R., & Schinder, S. (2013). *Business Research Methods.* New York: McGrawHill.

Dewey, J. (2013). Knowledge and The Relativity of feeling. *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 17:56-70.

Druskat, Q. (2014). *Transformational Leadership Among Women.* New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Limited.

(2012). *Federal Constitiution of Somalia.* National Ph].

Garvin, D., & Roberto, M. (2001). What you Don't Know About Making Decisions. *Harvard Business Review*, 79 (8), 108-116.

(2011-2015). *Gender in Somalia.* Mogadishu: UNPD Country office.

Hofstede, G. H. (2014). *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values.* Washington: Thousand Oaks CA:Sage.

House, R. J. (2013). *Culture, Leadership & Organizations:The Globe Study of 62 Socities.* Washington: Oaks CA:Sage.

Jamal, A. L. (2009). *Somali Girl's Education (ISPABE Project).* Mogadishu: Qualitative Research Findings.

Javidan, M., House, R. J., Dorfman, P. W., Hanges, P. J., & Deluque, M. S. (2011). Conceptualizing & Measuring Cultures and Their Consequences:A Comparative Review. *Journal of Business Studies*, 37, 897-914.

Kanogo, T. (2014). *Squatters and Roots of MauMau.* London: James Quarry.

Kirman, B. L., Lowe, K. B., & Gibson, C. C. (2013). *A Quarter Century of cultures's Consequences. A Review of Empirical Research Incorporating Hofstede's Cultural Values Framework & Interdependence.* Florence KY: Taylor & Francis/Routledge.

Kothari, C. R., & Gang, W. (2014). *Research Methodology:Methods & Techniques.* New delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd Publishers.

Kreitner, P., & Kinicki, C. (2012). Individual Power Distance Orientation & Follower Reactions to Transformational Leaders. *Academy of management Journal*, 52 (4), 744-764.

Lussier, B., & Achua, C. (2014). *Taming & Promoting Charisma to change Organizations. The Leadership Quarterly.* London: Oxford University Press.

Magdalena, B. (2012). *http://www.doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2012.659855.* Retrieved from Global Governance, Gains and Gender- Un Business Partnership.

Medding, P. (2011). Elitists Democracy:An Unsuccessful Critique of a Misunderstood Theory. *Journal of Politics*, 31:641-654.

Mishel, E. (2016). *Discrimination Against Queer Women in the US Workforce.* Washington DC: CA: Sage Publishers.

Mugenda, O. M., & Mugenda, A. G. (2009). *Research Methods: Quantittative and Qualitative Appraoches.* Nairobi: Acts Press.

Mwangi, S. W. (2014). Women's Political Participation in Kangema Division in Muranga District. *Journal of Kenyatta University*, Retrieved from https://www.KenyattaUniversity.ac.ke.

Nyakwaka, D. (2014). The Gendered Political Transformation in LuoLand. *Journal of Egerton University*, Retrieved from https://www.egerton.ac.ke.

Ochwada, P. (2011). *The Impact of African Crisis on Women.* Pennsylvannia : Pennsylvannia University Press.

OECD. (2014). *Social Institutions & Gender Index.*

Pala, D. Y. (2013). *Women in Political Leadership in Zambia.* Lusaka: University of Zambia.

Rikleen, L. S. (2015). *Women Lawyers Continue to Lag Behind Male colleagues.* Washington DC: John & Wiley Limited.

Sekaran, U. (2015). *Research Methods for Business:A Skills Building Approach.* New Delhi: John Wiley & Sons.

Somali Constitution. (2012). Mogadishu.

Somalia, C. R. (2014). *Beijing +20.*

SSWC. (2018, February 27). Executive director. (Researcher, Interviewer)

Tundi, T. (2014). Factors influencing women participation in Political leadership. *Journal, Global Advanced Research*, 26.

UN Women. (2012). *political leadership.* Oxford.

UN Women. (2012). *United Nations Entity for Gender Equalilty and the Empowerment of Women.* New york: New york 10017, US.

UNICEF. (2002). *women rights in Islam and Somali culture.* Hargeisa.

Union, Inter-Parliamentary. (1999). participation of women in political life.

United Nations Development Programmes. (2012). Nerkyork: NU.

White, J., & Dozier, D. M. (1992). *Public relations land management decision making, Execcellence in Public relationis and commnucation managment.* NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Zeleza, P. T. (2013). Gender Biases in Africa's Historiography. *Journal of Development Studies*, 5 (2) 78 - 79.