

**WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLITICS AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF WARTA- NABADA DISTRICT, BANADIR, SOMALIA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Hamdi Abdulkadir Adam do declare that this dissertation is out of my own efforts and it has never been presented anywhere.

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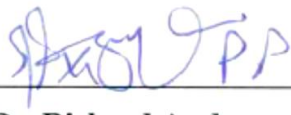
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06 / 09 / 2022

Supervisor: Dr. Richard Asaba

DEDICATION

This research dissertation is dedicated to my parents for their parental guidance and education they gave me, my brothers, my supervisor for his guidance and directions in writing this report and not forgetting my friends; for giving their love and ideas during my studies.

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First, I would like to acknowledge the divine presence of my Almighty Allah to whom this research study would not have been successful without his guidance, love, care and protection. All the Glory belongs to Him.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACROYNMS

CEDAW	:	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
FGM	:	Female Genital Mutilation
IDI	:	In-Depth Interview
ILO	:	International Labour Organisations
IPU	:	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IULA	:	International Union of Local Authorities
KII	:	Key Informant Interview
LG	:	Local Government
NGO	:	Non-Government Organization
OECD	:	Office of Economic Development
SIDRA	:	Somali Institute for Development and Research Analysis
UK	:	United Kingdom
UN	:	United Nations

ABSTRACT

Many democratic societies today are faced with the challenge of increasing women's visibility in public life and other key decision-making roles. The study investigated the contribution of women's Participation in Grassroots Development in Warta- Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia women's participation in local government politics to the development of Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia. The study objectives were; to analyse the nature and extent of women's participation in local governance politics in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, to examine the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, to examine the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia. This study was hinged on the Critical Mass Theory propounded in 1960s by Morton Grodzins. This study used a case study design. The sample size of the study was 20 participants. Being a qualitative study that sought to uncover diverse opinions from different stakeholders in women participation in local government, the number of research participants was adequate. The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique to select the participants of the study. The study employed in-depth interviews and Key informant interviews guide to collect data from the participants. The study findings showed that women entrepreneurship as facilitated by women's participation in local government politics, has contributed to economic growth and development through improving women's ability to access educational and healthcare systems, earning opportunities and socio-political rights in Warta-Nabada District. The study concludes that women's participation in local government politics in Warta-Nabada district has revealed a positive impact on the economic development of the district. The greater political empowerment of women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health. The study recommends for a drafting of a Gender Equality Policy which would address gender equality gaps through methods such as temporary special measures (TSMs), as well as raising awareness and supporting the creation of a level playing field by addressing gender differences.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the background, problem statement, research objectives, and research questions, scope of the study, the study significance and the definition of key terms.

1.1 Background to the study

1.1.1 Historical perspective

Many democratic societies today are faced with the challenge of increasing women's visibility in public life and other key decision-making roles. This is in spite of the implementation of considerable gender-related protocols such as the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations against Women (1979), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and more recently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), all of which aim to bring about gender equality and empower women, including their inclusion in governance and decision-making processes in particular. While these international agreements and frameworks have increased awareness of the inequalities in societies, gender inequalities still persist in governance and other public activities, especially in developing countries (e.g., Tripp, 2013).

Indeed, since the 1980s, several conferences, workshops, symposiums and debates have been organized at the international, regional, continental and national levels to address gender issues in governance and devise action plans. This increasing global attention to issues of participation of women in local governance as reflected in the growing body of literature, statements at international summits and declarations, government policy documents and discourses, suggest that women have considerable potential (Jadoon, 2009). Despite this commitment and the growing interest among women in taking part in the decision-making processes, women's participation in local governance still remains very low in many developing countries (Ekou, 2006; Tripp, 2013).

At the beginning of the 21st century, over 95 percent of all countries in the world had granted women the two most fundamental democratic rights: the right to vote and the right to stand for election. New Zealand was the first country to give women the right to vote, in 1893; and Finland was the first to adopt both fundamental democratic rights in 1906 (IPU, 2004). According to Wangnerud (2017), ten years ago, the average proportion of women in national parliaments and local level political positions was 11.7 percent; today it is 18.3 percent, an increase of 6.6 percentage points. Among all political positions, South Africa and Rwanda are now closest to reaching equal numbers of men and women: 48.8 percent of seats in the parliament are held by women, surpassing even the proportion in the Nordic countries. Women representation in Scandinavia is 42 percent, America 23.9 percent, Europe (excluding Scandinavia) 21.9 percent, Sub-Saharan Africa 20.9 percent, Asia 18.4 percent, Arab (Middle East) 15.7 percent and the Pacific 12.7 percent (Indiah & Adisti, 2018).

In Africa, statistics on women in political governance show that African countries have some of the world's highest rates of women representation in national parliaments. Currently, women constitute about 23.6 percent of parliamentarians in sub-Saharan African countries with Rwanda leading with a world record of 61.3 percent female parliamentary representation (IPU, 2018). Namibia, South Africa and Senegal also have more than 40 percent of their parliamentary seats held by women. Regardless of these great achievements, other African countries are still struggling to ensure equal leverage of participation across genders, as there is gross under representation of women politicians. For example, in Somalia, where this study was done, women have 24 percent of parliamentarians as of 2016/17; in Benin, it is 6.2 percent and 5.6 percent in Nigeria (IPU, 2018; ISS, 2019).

In Somalia the women are composed of the high demography that constitutes the highest level of the social sector and society at large. The demography of the area resonate the new women challenges that Somalia is faced with, democracy need to be involved and influence the existing political, economic and social rights of the people in the communities especially among young people. It is fundamental to note that the influence of the environment and the state of the work reveal an existing status of the tools that can create an environment for the changes in the workforce especially among the children. The women are at the front in the particular focus for determining the levels of literacy that are of political nature and provide the need for certainty

and addressing the mechanism that can create value to the communities through the democratic processes. The status of the known forms for development is fundamental for the participation in the building of the processes (UNOY Network, 2014). These changes need to be reflected in new language and in new structures and norms that welcome the youth for policy implementation by the local government.

According to Sirad (2018) the untapped potential of women and girls is gaining greater attention in Somalia. The country's new Constitution, passed in 2010, provides a powerful framework for addressing gender equality. It marks a new beginning for women's rights in Somalia; seeking to remedy the traditional exclusion of women and promote their full involvement in every aspect of growth and development. When Somali women have the freedom to reach their potential, all Somali families and communities will grow stronger. USAID for example has been empowering women to exercise their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. The results have shown that the women who have been empowered have the capacity to create more assets like land and even financial resources that are used for local government politics and the development, the women provide labour and expertise required for various projects, these women have been very vital in conflicts resolution and risks mitigation (USAID, 2018). Due to numerous benefits associated with women participation and local government politics and the development, that is why it is necessary to explore the influence of women participation and local government politics and the development.

According to Abdulkadir, (2018) in Warta- Nabada District, there is still a challenge in women participation and their role in local government politics and the development. According to him, women in Somalia are greatly discriminated, undermined and never put on the spheres of development. He for example cited the post-election violence of 2008 where women and children and women suffered most. The areas where women were most affected included: Warta-Nabada District, Banadir and many more. However during the reconciliation times, there were only two women who sat in the big bench and their views were from time to time opposed greatly by the men who overpowered them. Besides, women don't have access to properties, they don't have access to securities for development loans, they don't inherit land and other properties, they don't have equal access to education and vocational skills among others.

When women are treated differently from men, their ability to participate in local government politics and the development is compromised leading to poor results (Arthur, 2014). Empowered women are able to make decisions on best development projects to be implemented in the society, the best methods and approaches to be used in implementing the projects, they provide readily available labour, and women act as peace builders in cases where communities disagree on some matters and many more (Arthur, 2014). Women in marginalized counties should be empowered to participate in local government politics and the development since most of the times they are the people who are in touch with household chores and needs in Somalia. According to this report, the government should partner with other organizations to organize more workshops to sensitize the community on the importance of allowing women to participate on development of the community (Bayeh, 2016).

Omweri (2015) noted that level of education, cultural values, lack of finances, lack of information and marital status impacted negatively on rural women's participation. In cases where women were somewhat empowered and participated in local government politics and the development, their impact was very eminent. For example, women were found to be very keen in handling assignments given to them, they provided relatively cheap labour, their ways of solving projects conflicts was relatively fair and all these positively influenced the participation and implementation of projects. The conclusion drawn from this study showed that a lot more needs to be done in sensitizing rural women on the importance of participating in local government politics and the development.

Other studies have indicated that women in Somalia are still marginalized and have not effectively empowered to participate in local government politics and the development. According to USAID (2018), traditional ideas about the roles of girls and women restrict their contributions to Somalia's economy significantly despite the fact that women are very effective in handling various development projects once allowed to. However, these ideas hold women back from contributing to important development goals; especially in the areas of economic growth, nutrition and food security. Women in Somalia for example are underrepresented in decision-making positions. They also have less access to education, land, and employment. Those living in rural areas spend long hours collecting water and firewood; interfering with

school attendance and leaving them with little time to earn money or engage in other productive activities (Mbogori, 2014).

1.1.2 Theoretical background

This study was based on the critical mass theory propounded in 1960s by Morton Grodzins, a political science professor at the University of Chicago (Childs and Krook, 2006). Critical mass theory refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction resulting in an irreversible turning point and leading to the take-off of a new situation or process (Dahlerup, 1988). Thus, critical mass theory posits a connection between a number which is the input and the end product or action. Critical mass theory is also used to explain conditions under which reciprocal behavior is started within collective groups, and how it becomes self-sustaining. The theory has quantitative notion of a “sufficient number” and qualitative properties such as reputation, interests, commitments, capabilities, goals, consensuses, and decisions, all of which are crucial in determining whether reciprocal behavior can be started to achieve sustainability to a commitment such as an idea, new technology, or innovation (e.g., Evans 2010). This theory links women’s descriptive representation to policy change through the linchpin of a threshold number, which, once surpassed, has a transformative impact and serves to produce change (Beckwith, 2007). Critical mass theory shares ideas with Kanter’s (1977) work on the effects of sex ratio group behaviour in organizational settings in which he suggested that women need to occupy at least one-third of the available space in order to affect the cultural behaviour of the organization. In this context, the theory proposes that women need to be at between 15% and 30% representation within local council or grassroots to be able to reflect, to a much greater extent women’s concern. Local governance is expected to change and contribute to development as more women are elected.

Sarah C, and Mona L. K. (2008) Critical Mass Theory and Women’s Political Representation, *The Political Studies Journal* doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00712.x

1.1.3 Conceptual Background

According to Mtintso (1999), women's participation looks at what women do when they get into the decision-making positions. The focus of participation therefore should be on whether women are able to participate fully and influence decisions that are made. Greenberg & Okani (2001) for example view political participation through actions such as membership in a political party, standing for election, holding office, debating issues, and lobbying; these activities presuppose public roles and visibility. They also assume basic levels of confidence, skills and resources (Greenberg & Okani, 2001). The last three decades of the 20th century witnessed a significant change in women's share of participation in political, economic and social activities. The role of women has now become discernible in every sphere of life (Jabeen & Iqbal, 2010). These shifts have been due to the worldwide awareness campaigns through the media, feminist movements, better access to opportunities such as education, health, employment and women's self-fulfilment in contributing to the democratic governance process (Agbalajobi, 2008).

Local governance refers to the level of government that is closest to the people (Goetz, 2003). Goetz further asserts that the activities of local government officials affect both women and men in ways that are fundamental to satisfying their basic needs, and therefore have a significant impact on the quality of life of members of a community. According to the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) (1998), in *Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Governance*, local governments are in the best position to involve women in the making of decisions concerning their living conditions and to make use of their knowledge and capabilities in the promotion of sustainable development. IULA further notes that there is a great realization that seeking women's participation on various social and public policy issues is important to enhance their confidence in governing institutions.

The concept of good governance which is based on such universally accepted values as equality, accountability, transparency, efficiency, participation and responsiveness, acknowledges the contribution of both women and men in various developmental efforts and incorporates the element of gender (e.g., Kauffman & Kraay, 2007). It is not only women's numerical representation in local government that matters, but their active participation in the sense of

being able to contribute to decisions about policies and allocation of resources that is of concern. Women's participation in politics at the local government level is a key driver for their empowerment. It is at the local government level where political parties are able to recruit their members and identify potential candidates who can later move on to contest at the national level (Panday, 2008). It is also at the local level where there is a higher probability of direct impact of women in politics because of its proximity to the community.

Warta Nabada District is a district in the southeastern Banaadir region of Somalia. It is one of the larger neighborhoods of the capital Mogadishu. The presidential compound Villa Somalia, the Federal Parliament building and Mogadishu Stadium are all located in this district. Warta Nabada District was previously known as the Wardhigley District until a name change in April 2012 (SabahiOnline.com). Yasin Nur Isse serves as the district commissioner, having succeeded Hussein Ibrahim Ali on 24 April 2014 (AllAfrica/Shabelle Media Network, (2014).

1.1.4 Contextual background

In Somalia, the Provisional Constitution was adopted in Mogadishu on 1st August 2012 and under Article 3 on the founding Principles subsection 5, it is stated that: "Women must be included, in an effective way, in all national institutions, in particular all elected and appointed positions across the three branches of government and in national independent commissions." In the same document Articles 15:2 and 11:1-2 both address the issue of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and the non-discrimination of any citizen in terms of gender, towards exercising their political or economic rights. Additionally, Article 22 gives every citizen the right to political participation (SIDRA, 2016). The Beijing Platform for Action, Paragraph 181 emphasized that *"women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for justice or democracy, but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Without the perspective of women at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved"* (UN, 1995). In Somalia, a lot of focus has been put on addressing women's access to health, justice, education, employment and economic opportunities and this focus has made gender equity a crosscutting theme in the international community's engagement with Somalia (SIDRA, 2016).

For the public sector to remain relevant and trusted in the eyes of the citizens, the Somali

government and its international partners have responded to the evolving and often high expectations of the citizens in terms of overall political direction, and more importantly, in service delivery or the way in which services are delivered in the federal context. In this case, the local government is said bridge the gap between the quick short-term gains of the delivery of public services and long-term state-building agenda (IPU, 2018). Whereas the involvement of women in decision making alongside the peace building process and lobbying campaigns for social equality political participation has been generally marginal (UN Women, 2012), there is limited evidence on how women's participation has led to changes in local governments. Therefore, this study was conducted so as to assess the relationship between women's participation and local government development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

1.2 Problem statement

Women's equal participation in decentralized local governance plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of citizens socio-economic and political life. According to Shohid & Saidul (2016), participation of women in local governance is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be considered. In Somalia, legal instruments such as the Provisional Constitution adopted in Mogadishu on 1st August 2012 under Article 3 on the founding Principles Sub-section 5, states that: "Women must be included, in an effective way, in all national institutions, in particular all elected and appointed positions across the three branches of government and in national independent commissions." Despite such provisions, little attention has been given to women's experiences and participation in decentralized local governance. In Somalia's Banadir region, women comprise nearly half of the total population but their status is much lower than that of men at every level of the local government structure (SIDRA, 2016). There is need to bridge the information gap by examining nature and extent of women's participation in local governance politics, and how their participation in politics impacts on economic development and social service provision. This study therefore intended to fill this gap by examining women' participation in local government politics and the resultant developments in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objective

To examine Women's Participation in Local Government Politics and the Development of Warta- Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To analyse the nature and extent of women's participation in local governance politics in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.
- ii. To examine the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.
- iii. To examine the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions;

- i. What is the nature and extent of women's participation in local government politics?
- ii. What is the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia?
- iii. What is the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia?

1.5. Scope of the study

The study stretched to cover the following areas in terms of time, geographical area and theme;

1.5.1 Subject scope

The study covered the nature and extent of women's participation in local government politics (mainly standing for positions, decision-making and implementation of government projects/programmes), impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia (mainly markets, economic inputs and extension services) and

the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia (education, improved healthcare, rural electrification and rural water extension).

1.5.2 Geographical scope

The study was conducted in Warta Nabada. This is a district in the South-Eastern Banaadir region of Somalia. It is one of the larger neighbourhoods of the capital Mogadishu; the presidential compound Villa Somalia, the Federal Parliament building and Mogadishu Stadium Masjidga. This area was chosen because it has women who participate in decision making at local government levels. Warta Nabada is chosen for this study because it has experienced a conflict in the past close to 20 years and continues to suffer the scourge and this has affected community development (UNECA, 2013).

1.5.3 Time scope

The study focused on the situation of Somalia between 2015 to 2020. This being the period in which Somalia has been said to lag behind due to its poor traditional ideals and roles that discriminate the women and youth in the society and as a result of absence of Strong Government Institutions have been reported most in Warta-Nabada District. The study period is deemed to be sufficient enough to enable in the data collection and presentation of findings to attain the information for both academics and decision making based on the period of 6 years.

1.6 Justification of the study

Women's participation in politics in Warta-Nabada has been dismal. In cabinet, there are few women and fewer in parliament. Those who struggle and get political positions, are normally dismissed or forced to resign and eventually get replaced by men. This is evident in several cases like the stepping down of former Minister Zahra Said Nuur and the painful loss of Mayoral candidate Zuhur in local elections thereby discouraging other potential women from participating in politics at local government level. The cause of women's dismissal from political participation, as based on the common views from women in the district is the lack of information about the contribution of women to the development of local government. The overarching goal of this research study therefore was to examine the nature and extent of women's participation in local

governance politics, the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia and the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

1.7 Significance of the Study

There is limited information about women's participation in politics in Warta-Nabada and there is very little to report about in the previous years. Thus, this study provides evidence on the contribution women politicians can make to the development of local governments, in this case Warta-Nabada District in Somalia.

The study results might enable the attainment of the local government that bridge an environment that support the women for the conflicts in the locations that are meaningful for the contribution for the local government politics for the places of the women.

The Policy makers: It is hoped that policy makers may also benefit from the findings of this study since they may get information which might help them to developing women public policies that aim to increase women participation and stress the role of women in creating peaceful societies through effective policies in the local government.

The study showcases the benefits that women politicians can bring to development. The study will be used by the government of Somalia, ministries of local government and gender and non-governmental stakeholders on women/gender and governance.

To the body of Knowledge, the study might bring in new information that may supplement the existing literature and provide a spring board on which future researchers it might be on to conduct more research in the future.

To development partners, the study findings may provide avenues that government can include women in useful activities that can reduce their influence in the conflicts situations in the country.

To the researcher, the findings of the study will enable him attain a Master's Degree in Development Studies of Kampala International University.

1.8 Operational Definition of Key Terms

Woman: In this study, woman was used to mean an adult female human being. The term woman (irregular plural: women) was used to indicate biological sex distinctions, cultural gender role distinctions, or both (e.g., Wikipedia, 2005).

Participation: This refers to the process by which people, especially the disadvantaged, influence decision that affect them and get a more equitable share of power (World Bank, 1992). In this study, participation was looked at broadly to include standing for political positions, decision-making and voice in designing and implementing development interventions (Ali & Almas, 2003), mainly local government projects and programmes.

Local government: This is defined as an intra-sovereign governmental unit within the sovereign state dealing mainly with local affairs, administered by local authorities and subordinate to the state government (Jahan & Momtaz, 1997). In political terms, it is concerned with the governance of a specific local area, constituting a political sub-division of a nation, state or other major political unit, in this case Warta-Nabada District.

Economic development: Economic development refers to the ability to develop some better system or mechanisms of economic production (Drew, 2003). In this study, economic development refers to opportunities for entrepreneurship, access to economic information and to local government projects on economic development.

Development: Chadwick (1998) defines development as a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process that aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the population". This improvement in welfare can be on the basis of people's active, free and meaningful participation in the development process, and in the fair distribution of benefits resulting from it. In this study the benefits include service provision and economic development.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature reviewed in line with women's participation in local government. It secondarily studied the concepts of political participation and local government, nature and extent of women's participation in local government, impact of women's participation on economic development and the impact of women's participation on public service provision as follows.

2.1 Theoretical Review

This study was hinged on the Critical Mass Theory propounded in 1960s by Morton Grodzins, a political science professor at the University of Chicago (Childs and Krook, 2006). Originally an idea from nuclear physics, critical mass theory refers to the quantity needed to start a chain reaction resulting in an irreversible turning point and leading to the take-off of a new situation or process (Dahlerup 1988). Thus, critical mass theory posits a connection between a number which is the input and the end product or action. The relevance of critical mass theory to redress the persistent low numbers of women in decision making institutions lies in the hope that having increased numbers of women local council members will ultimately transform the local government structure of Warta-Nabada District. The belief is that if enough women are elected to reach a "critical mass" within the local council, the result will be community transformation in favour of a woman's agenda (Norris & Lovenduski, 1989). Critical mass links women's descriptive representation to policy change through the linchpin of a threshold number, which, once surpassed, has a transformative impact and serves to produce change (Beckwith, 2007). It has been pointed out that critical mass theory shares ideas with Kanter's (1977) work on the effects of sex rating group behaviour in organizational settings. Kanter's 1977 study suggested that women need to occupy at least one-third of the available space in order to affect the cultural behaviour of the organization. As noted earlier, this theory proposes that women need to be at between 15% and 30% representation within local council to be able to reflect to a much greater extent women's concerns. Local governance is expected to change as more women are elected.

Over the last twenty years, ‘critical mass’ has gained wide currency among politicians, the media and international organisations as a justification for measures to bring more women into political office (Grey, 2006; Krook, 2005). However, gender and politics scholars have become increasingly sceptical of the concept as they have discovered other relationships between the numbers of women elected and the passage of legislation beneficial to women as a group. One scholar finds, for example, that women make a difference – and, indeed, perhaps a greater difference – when they form a very small minority (Crowley, 2004). Another observes that an increase in the proportion of women elected actually decreases the likelihood that individual female legislators will act on behalf of women as a group (Carroll, 2001). These developments have precipitated a crisis of confidence in ‘critical mass theory’, leading many to question its continued utility and relevance as a concept in research on the substantive representation of women (Childs, 2004; Sawer et al., 2006). In our earlier work, we go so far as to advocate that feminist scholars walk away from the concept entirely (Childs and Krook, 2006).

The advocates of gender quotas use the critical mass standard as a reference point in lobbying for an increase in the number of women in decision-making structures. Activists seeking to implement this agenda argue for it by citing international recommendations such as those presented in the United Nation Platform for Action agreed in Beijing in 1995, and the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In these international policies, the words critical mass” or „quota” are not directly used, but rather their meaning is indirectly implied. For instance, the Beijing Platform for Action talks about; setting specific targets and implementing measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary, through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions (Beijing 1995, section 192).

Applications of ‘critical mass theory’ draw on the concept to explain a range of different outcomes, most obviously instances where increased numbers of women result in greater attention to women’s issues, but also cases where increased numbers of women result in little or no change, on the grounds that women may not yet constitute a ‘critical mass’. These studies assume that the percentage of women in the institution is the key determinant of their behaviour. As such, they reflect a ‘politics of optimism’ that gender differences can be eliminated and, especially, that women’s progress can proceed on a non-conflictual basis, provoking little or no

reaction from men as a group (compare Blum and Smith, 1988). Empirically, these accounts find that legislatures with high proportions of women introduce and pass more bills on women's issues than their female counterparts in low-representation legislatures (Bratton, 2005; Thomas, 1991; Thomas, 1994). Further, they discover that as the number of women increases, the number and rate of enactment of such bills also increases (Saint-Germain, 1989; Skard and Haavio-Mannila, 1985), including as a total proportion of the total legislation they introduce (Vega and Firestone, 1995). They explain these changes in terms of the more supportive legislative environment produced by the presence of more women, which leads even those who do not view themselves as representatives of women or women's issues to be drawn into the process (Flammang, 1985). This work thus focuses exclusively on opportunities for women to form coalitions with one another, anticipating that a 'critical mass' of women will be sufficient to promote women-friendly policy outcomes.

Critiques of 'critical mass theory', in contrast, focus primarily on cases where policy change does not occur, even as the percentages of women in the legislature reach 'critical mass' proportions, identified at levels ranging from 10 per cent to 40 per cent (Childs, 2004; Grey, 2002; Lovenduski, 2001; Norrander and Wilcox, 1998; Towns, 2003). This second set of authors is thus much more sceptical of the magic of numbers and attempts instead to delineate the various boundary conditions that may prevent women from pursuing reforms addressing women's concerns. Focusing on the limits of proportions, they call attention to the opportunities and constraints that stem from political party affiliation (Childs, 2004; Poggione, 2004), legislative committee membership (Norton, 1995; Swers, 2004), institutional norms (Considine and Deutchman, 1996; Kathlene, 1995; Rosenthal, 1998), legislative inexperience (Crowley and Childs, 2003; Jeydel and Taylor, 2003) and the external political environment, including the electoral system (Swers, 2004; Tremblay, 2003). These structures are compounded by potential for backlash, which generally increases as the number of women rises (Kathlene, 1995; Towns, 2003; Yoder, 1991; compare Heath et al., 2005). For this reason, women may be more effective when they are fewer, as they can mobilise individually (Crowley, 2004) or through women's legislative caucuses (Reingold, 2000; Thomas, 1991) to achieve gains for women without having to contend with the opposition of powerful men. As such, these scholars reject 'critical mass theory' but in fact provide empirical support for Kanter's and Dahlerup's intuitions regarding diversity among women, mobilisation despite small numbers and the potential for 'critical acts'

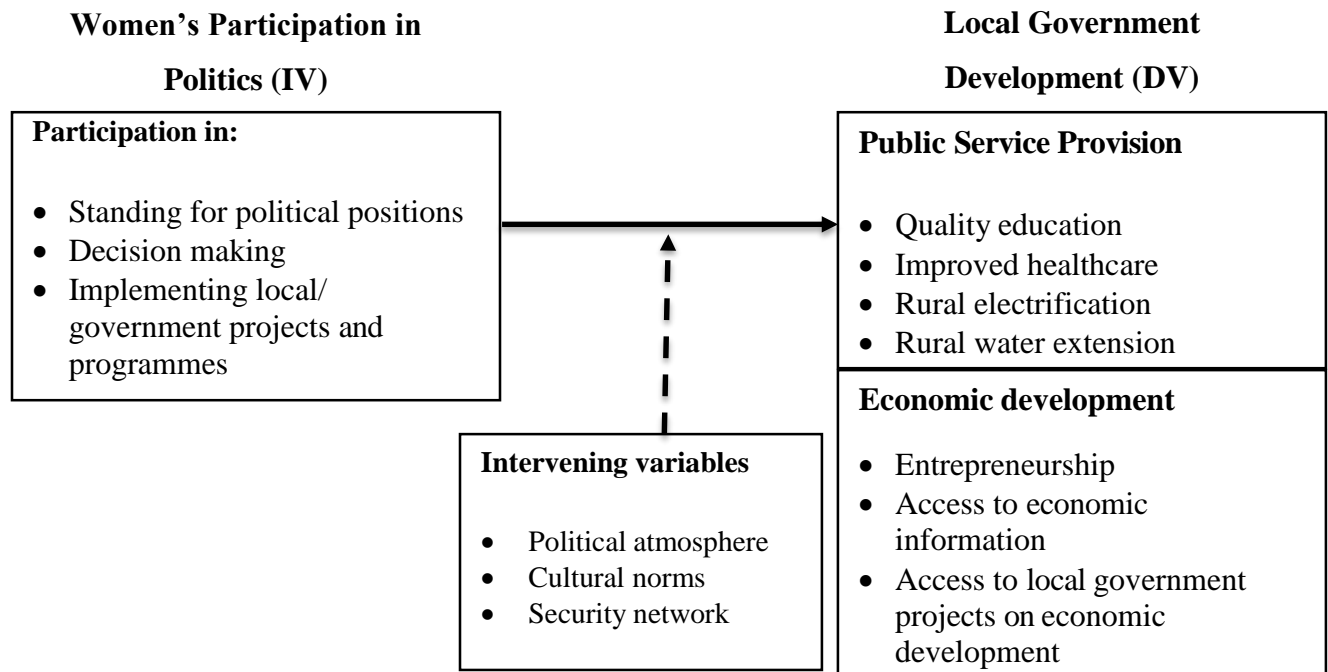
at all levels of descriptive representation.

Ironically, the misinterpretations that underlie ‘critical mass theory’ have played a crucial role in the spread of gender quotas around the world, by enabling advocates to lobby successfully for such measures on the grounds that greater numbers of women in politics are required before individual female legislators can begin to ‘make a difference’ in gendered policy debates. Given its resonance as a tool for change, activists are thus unlikely to give up on ‘critical mass’ any time soon (Childs and Krook, 2006). Nonetheless, scholars ought to adopt a more guarded approach: rather than simply assuming that women will form alliances with other women as their numbers increase, they must investigate multiple possibilities in the relationship between women’s descriptive and substantive representation.

In this study ‘critical mass theory’, I propose two means by which gender and politics scholars might rethink – and thus study empirically – the links between women’s descriptive and substantive representation. First, I argue for shifting the central research question from ‘when women make a difference’ to ‘how the substantive representation of women occurs’. Second, I suggest moving the analytical focus from the macro to the micro level, replacing attempts to discern ‘what women do’ to study ‘what specific actors do’. Combined, these reformulations open up a series of new possibilities for exploring legislative behaviour, not least by relaxing overly restrictive analytical frames regarding the actors, form and content of ‘acting for women’ (Childs and Krook, 2006). In particular, this new approach allows for more careful study of ‘critical actors’ in women’s substantive representation. Male or female, these legislators can be identified as those who initiate policy proposals on their own and often – but not necessarily – embolden others to take steps to promote policies for women, regardless of the number of female representatives present in a particular institution. Attention to these actors, I argue, offers new opportunities for exploring the legislative behaviour of women – and men – who mobilise on behalf of women as a group, and thus for identifying various possible paths to the improved substantive representation of women’s concerns.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1: Showing Conceptual Framework



Source: Researcher (2021)

The model above explains the inter-connections between the different independent and dependent variables. Women's participation was indicated as the independent variable whereas local government is the dependent variable. The conceptual model shows that women's participation in local government as decision makers, and implementers of government projects and programmes would improve on economic development in terms of influencing policies for marketing economic products, advocating for say free economic inputs, and improved extension services. Also, it would help to ensure effective public service provision through education improvement, improved healthcare, rural electrification, advocates for waste disposal management and rural water extension. This would therefore imply participatory planning forums and/or committees, budgeting, social evaluation, monitoring and audit of projects/programmes, local public administration, laws and legally created entities/ programmes full observation and local elections and locally elected councils fully functioning. However, the entire process might be affected by the nature of leadership in Warta-Nabada district, cultural

norms derived from clans within the area, the security network in the area, religion and local budget available to plan and budget for services.

2.3 Empirical review

2.3.1 Conceptual review

Woman

Woman means an adult female human being, as contrasted to men, an adult male, and a girl, a female child. The term woman (irregular plural: women) is used to indicate biological sex distinctions, cultural gender role distinctions, or both (Wikipedia, 2005). Gender discrimination is widespread in every sphere and at all levels.

Participation

The term participation has gained special momentum now-a-days, and has a simple meaning, that is, taking part or having to share with others. It is the action by which citizens take part in the operation of any process from micro to macro levels (Momtaz & Faisal, 1986). The vehicle through which a community can assure its members the opportunity of contributing to the creation of community's goals and services is participation (Baetz, 1975). Access to decision-making and active involvement in determining the practices and problems are must for it. It is processes by which people, especially the disadvantaged, influence decision that affect them and get a more equitable share of power (World Bank, 1992). Participation is also looked at as enabling to have a voice in designing and shaping development interventions (Ali & Almas, 2003). The all-pervasive nature of participation is the reason Akhter, & Chowdhury (2005) define it as *"taking part and involving to act in any process in politico-economic and socio-cultural arenas of life and the interaction of individuals with others through time in the organizational process is participation"*.

Local government

Local government is basically an organized social entity with a feeling of oneness. By definition, local government means an intra-sovereign governmental unit within the sovereign state dealing mainly with local affairs, administered by local authorities and subordinate to the state

government (Jahan & Momtaz, 1997). In political terms, it is concerned with the governance of a specific local area, constituting a political sub-division of a nation, state or other major political unit. In the performance of its functions, it acts as the agent of the state. In other words, the local government is an integral part of the political mechanism for governance in a country. Then, as body corporate with juristic person, it represents a legal concept (Muttalib et al., 1983).

Economic development

Economic development can be defined as social and technological progress. It typically refers to improvements in a variety of indicators such as literacy rates, life expectancy and poverty rates. The understanding of development can differ among countries and even among individuals, but it usually goes far beyond the objective of increased average income to include things like freedom, equity, health, education, safe environment, and much more (Soubotina, 2004, p1).

Todaro (1994) cites that development is both a physical reality and a state of mind in which society has, through some combination of social, economic, and institutional processes, secured the means to obtaining a better life. The World Bank (1991) attests that development must be conceived as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty.

Public service

This is a service intended to serve all members of a community (McGregor et al., 1982). It is usually provided by government to people living within its jurisdiction, either directly through the public sector or by financing provision of services. The term is associated with a social consensus usually expressed through democratic elections that certain services such as courts, electricity, education, environmental protection, health care, military, water, roads and waste disposal among others should be available to all regardless of income, physical ability or mental acuity (Anderfuhren et al., 2014).

2.3.2 Women Participation and Local Governance

The active participation of women, on equal terms with men, at all levels of decision-making and

political involvement is essential to the achievement of equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy and the inclusion of their perspectives and experiences into the decision-making processes (Mlambo & Kapingura, 2019). Local governments are expected to be more convenient for women to be represented since they are close to their homes, ease to access, and require less time and resources than positions in higher levels of government. However, women's participation in local governments remains low even at the local level. Women's participation in local government is measured by the SDG indicator 5.5.1b on the proportion of seats held by women in local government. The development of the indicator, led by UN Women, is a key step in measuring, understanding and improving women's political participation at the local level (Iknow-Politics, 2018).

Local governments can improve female representation in elected, administrative and appointed office across institutions through a combination of anti-discrimination and positive action measures, and additional support through mentoring schemes, flexible working hours, and affordable childcare provision. As major employers and service providers, local governments can significantly facilitate improvements to women's lives and include more women by using fair employment practices and ensuring non-discriminatory service provision to citizens. They are also on the frontline of tackling violence and harmful practices against women in both the public and private spheres (Iknow-Politics, 2018).

Adopting laws and/or policies that require equitable representation of women on decision-making bodies is a powerful means of empowering women. Political parties should further adopt measures, including internal quotas, to ensure that women are proportionately represented in local offices and on electoral rolls. The adoption of laws reserving a number of seats for women on decision-making bodies greatly helps to motivate women to accept the nomination (African Union Development Agency, 2018).

2.3.3 The Case for women's Representation in Local Governance

The available studies that focus on the causes of women representation in local governance are the same as those that determine representation at national governments. Just as at national level, socio-economic and cultural determinants matter for women's local representation as well. Women's local representation increases as female labour force participation rates support for

leftist parties, and levels of urbanization increase (Aksel & Stockemer, 2015). However, corruption at the local level that tends to benefit those already in power and prolong male-dominated networks lead to less women in local councils. In addition, the traditional views of gender roles and local cultural norms may also act as a hindrance to women's local representation. Gender stereotypes, particularly stereotypes that make women seem unfit to be leaders such as emotional, passive, submissive, weak and soft can as well harm women's chances to be nominated and elected to local offices (Sundström & Wängnerud, 2016).

Hennings and Urbatsch (2016) agreed that the political party system and party-level attributes determine women's representation in local governments. Parties can choose to adopt gender quotas in the absence of nationally legislated quotas or instate quotas that are higher than the mandated minimum, which increases women's opportunities to become political candidates. A party's ideology and commitment to improving women's representation can also shape women's chances of becoming viable candidates. Since political parties typically dominate candidate recruitment and selection processes, they act as gatekeepers to local elected office and the formal and informal rules and norms that parties establish can both facilitate and hinder women's local representation (Hennings & Urbatsch, 2016).

Lastly, the electoral systems and institutional arrangements at the local level of government such as proportional representation, district magnitude and term limits determine women's descriptive representation in local governments. Most notably, similar to the national level, the adoption of gender quotas plays an enormous role in increasing women's presence in local governments (Crowder-Meyer & Smith, 2015).

2.3.4 Nature and extent of Women's Participation in Local Government

The concept of participation is becoming less concerned with participation in projects and programmes and beginning to focus more on participation in policy processes (Mavisakalyan, 2012). Participation can be defined as taking part as an individual and as a community in decision-making in each step of the development process. As a term it is also used to refer to semi-autonomous statutory authorities who are elected by the local people and are legally responsible for the planning and implementation of specific functions (Kurebwa, 2016).

According to Mavisakalyan (2012), there is the tradition of political participation through which women engage in the traditional forms of political involvement such as campaigns and voting, collective action around policies, contacting political representatives and protests and demonstrations. However, within the context of local governance, these two notions of participation (social and political) should be linked to the broader notion of participation as citizenship or citizen participation. The move from government towards governance offers new spaces in which the concept of participation may be expanded to one of citizenship, one that involves linking participation in the political and social spheres (OECD, 2016). Citizenship as participation represents the human agency in the political arena where female citizens have the right to act as agents. It refers to the intervention of private citizens with determined social interests in public activities. It incorporates civic education and also expresses itself in knowledge about fundamental human rights and civic responsibilities, public debating and discussions on issues, and public activities (Mavisakalyan, 2012).

Women participation in local governance has been a key focus occurring within development projects and programmes as implemented in local communities. Participation within this scope represents the process by which women members of a community influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them. From this perspective however, participation could be seen in the level of consultation or decision-making in all phases of a project cycle, from needs assessment, to appraisal, to implementation, to monitoring and to evaluation. A woman is assumed to have fully participated socially when she is present, is involved and exerts control during implementation of social interventions (Shied & Saidul, 2016).

Kurebwa (2016) posits that the participation of women in local governance can be enhanced in all three essential areas: as voters, policy-makers and as members of decision-making bodies. There is need for policies that involve empowering local authorities and communities to develop strategies that combine the empowerment of communities and rural women. In order to be able to identify the needs of the community and to best promote social and economic development, local authorities need the input of their constituents to be able to best identify those areas that need addressing. Local authorities must encourage the involvement of the community and community organisations in local governance. The representation and participation of women

in local governance is directly linked to the advancement of women and is a basic requirement in the journey towards gender equality. To ensure that the decisions that affect women's lives are taken seriously, women should not be passive bystanders in their own development but should be proactively involved to ensure that the socio-economic patterns that marginalize and keep them dependent are changed (Kurebwa, 2016).

According to the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) in *Worldwide Declaration on Women in Local Governance*, local governments are in the best position to involve women in the making of decisions concerning their living conditions and to make use of their knowledge and capabilities in the promotion of sustainable development (IULA, 1998). Women continue to be significantly under-represented and play lesser local government decision-making roles than men (Cornwall & Goetz, 2005). Further aggravating the situation is the fact that women are also underrepresented in institutions and processes that inform and influence decision-making at the national level.

Political participation denotes women's ability to negotiate with governing bodies through voting, contesting as candidates, campaigning for themselves and others' candidacy, occupying political office and/or lobbying individually or collectively. Exercising the right to vote alone, therefore, does not denote the fulfilment of citizenship rights and political participation is an all-inclusive concept which consists of all these above-mentioned attributes (Jabeen & Iqbal, 2010).

Political participation is one of the major ways to ensure women's empowerment, to increase decision-making power and enhance ability to influence matters that affect their lives in the community and in the larger society. In a broader sense, participation in politics goes far beyond electoral politics, such as voting and election to public office. Women's empowerment begins with their consciousness, perceptions about themselves, their rights, capabilities, potential and awareness of the socio-cultural, economic and political forces that affect them. Women's political empowerment and equal representation in all decision-making institutions are critical inputs in the struggle for freedom from patriarchal subjugation (Kurebwa, 2016).

Women in decision-making, often also defined or explained as "women governance," focuses on the ways young people are involved in decision making efforts at multiple levels of an initiative or organization (W.K.K.F., 2015). It can include advising the individuals or groups that hold the

ultimate decision-making responsibility (Search Institute, 2015) as well as opportunities in which young people are the ultimate decision makers. Women decisions may be administrative [for example, hiring staff, designing programs, or conducting a needs assessment] or operational leading women groups, training volunteers etc. Some refer to “women in decision making” as “a variety of efforts to engage young people in any level of determining outcomes or decision-making. Decision-making can be related to an issue, a project, a program, a policy or an organization (Justinianno & Scherer, 2011).

According to Lori, Women in governance refers to those situations where women work in partnership with adults to set the overall policy direction of organizations, institutions and coalitions (Mantooth, 2013). Specifically, governance refers to the ability to lead and vote as a full, participating member in a board or governing structure. Young people may work on boards of directors, sanctioned committees, planning bodies and advisory groups. The women are voting members and equal stakeholders in all decisions that come before the group, including such issues as budget, staff and strategic planning.

Women in governance are also referred to as Women on Boards or Women as Decision makers. This includes a variety of efforts to engage young people in determining outcomes or decision making. Decision making can be related to an issue, a project, a program or an organization (Justinianno & Scherer, 2011).

Women are capable of leading, but they need help. Any effort to involve young people has to tread a careful line between providing guidance and providing autonomy. Many successful programs give young people the ability to oversee or direct particular areas of influence. For example, the Manitoba 4 Women Advisory Council associated with the Province of Manitoba has allowed their members to plan and facilitate a leadership conference and select the winners of a provincial health award (Government of Manitoba 2011). In the municipal context, this could entail having women plan events or facilitate recreation programs for younger women

2.3.5 Impact of Women's Participation on Economic Development

The relationship between economic growth and women's economic empowerment is bidirectional. As stated in previous sections, women entrepreneurship is recognized as a factor which has unrecognized potential to contribute to economic growth and development. These can occur mainly by improving women's ability to access educational and healthcare systems, earning opportunities and socio-political rights. On one hand – economic growth and development as such can contribute to women's empowerment by driving down substantial inequalities between women and men, enhancing fight against discrimination; but on the other hand – women's active participation in labour market is a driving force for economic growth and accelerates development.

Recently several empirical analyses have been released which concern impact of women's entrepreneurship on socio-economic development. In the papers, the impact of female engagement in economic development process has been evaluated the lens of GDP per capita dynamics, total female employment of women productivity (Minniti, 2010; Fuller-Love, 2008; & Bahmani et al. 2012).

Nonetheless, the most frequently applied measure appears to be employment and self-employment, which is mainly assessed as the number of start-ups. Setting-up a new business, appears to be a crucial factor contributing to job creation, creating market activities, ensuring women to gain a stable source of earnings. On the other hand, job creation is critical from the point of view of social stability and security. Stable jobs, especially self-employment, create relatively better living, higher opportunities for further education and skills improvement. Growing demand for social and welfare benefits imposes an additional burden on public budgets, whereas a declining demand for commodities and services in the marketplace diminishes growth. On the contrary, substantial increase in the number of newly established jobs results in reversed dynamics, and therefore we can observe an upward spiral (Mitchell, 2011). As an example, we can cite the results of research conducted in the United States (a random sample of eight million women-owned businesses) by the Centre for Women's Business Research in 2009 revealed that their estimated economic impact amounted to 3 trillion dollars per year, which was reflected in establishment and/or retaining more than 23 million workplaces – 16% workplaces on the

American labour market (Centre for Women's Business Research, 2009). Taking into consideration the fact that women currently constitute nearly half of the workforce and more than half of college students, their lingering in the field of setting up high-growth companies has contributed to notable economic deficit. As a result, the nation's offers fewer jobs and lower potential in emerging industries in comparison with the situation of women's entrepreneurship were equal to men's entrepreneurship (Mitchell, 2011).

Many scholars have studied this relation between female education and economic growth in details, using evidence from one country or one region. According to different situations, the authors choose different methods. Many of these studies match the general conclusion we mentioned before. Economic growth benefits from the development of female education. Self & Grabowski (2008) examined female education's effects on the development of Japan. They divided Japan's history in three parts: the pre-war years, the five decades following the war and the after-war rapid rise years. Using the vector auto-regression analysis, authors demonstrate that economic growth benefits from female secondary and tertiary education in modern times. As for Pakistan and Sri Lanka, Fatima (2013) introduced the role of education on growth on the basis of gender aspects. The author applied the generalized Method of Moment in order to reveal that gender equality in education is beneficial to economic development in these two countries. Hassan & Cooray (2013) utilize another method called extreme bounds analysis to analyse, choosing a panel of Asian countries. They drew a similar conclusion that Asia can improve their economies by promoting female education.

Sometimes the general conclusion may not apply to a single country. For example, Dauda (2012) focused on Nigeria, an African country. The author did research on whether female education has a positive impact on economic performance. Opposite to expectations, the results showed that female education does not stimulate economic development. Some problems appeared in low-income countries, "investing in primary education tends to pay off more than investing at secondary and higher educational levels, and girls are concentrated at lower levels of the education system than boys." (Coleman, 2004) Families tend to choose boys to receive higher level of education if they have limited financial resources.

One of the advantages of female politics is that women are less corrupt than men. The behaviour of females is always different from that of males according to practical experiments. Rivas (2012) argues that women can be more careful for the relationship and have higher standards of ethics, implying that women are more willing to sacrifice private benefits for the public. Besides, women are more risk averse than men, leading them less corrupt since corruption can be regarded as risky activity. Just as previous research said, “Women attach great importance to the quality of contact between people and are less individualistic than men. (ENE, 1997) focusing on Asia, Panday (2008) mentioned that women’s participation in parliament certainly has a positive impact on the character of Asian parliaments and make public policies create „a more peaceful, productive and less corrupt societies”.

Another advantage which is widely proved is that the presence of more women in parliament brings better governance. Achieving gender equality is seen as essential to reducing poverty and improving governance. Women’s participation in politics can facilitate democracy, not only because it improves their civil rights and helps them speak out their interests, but also because powerful women tend to make different policy choices from their male counterparts, which is beneficial to the local distribution of public resources and the development. When a woman is in charge, they invest more in infrastructure which matches the needs of women in order to cover the imbalance of women resulting from the past ignorance of women (Coleman 2004). The 56th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference points out that the political culture can be changed by more women participation in the decision making and women represent change and creation.

On the microeconomic aspect, Khandker (2005) proved that female microeconomic borrowing is much more efficient than males borrowing, showing that women are better microeconomic operators. This efficiency may also have an impact when women are in the office. Moreover, microfinance endows greatest long-term interests on the social status of women. Studies show that women with microfinance can obtain more decision-making power in family, a growing number of political and legal awareness, and more participation in public affairs than other women. Microfinance can also reduce wife abuse because women start to generate income of their own and need not only depend on male to survive (Coleman, 2004).

Other interesting findings about the role of female parliamentarians are how they are able to

promote female representation in parliament. Intuitively, senior women officers in national managerial system tends to increase the number of women representatives by putting forward a lot of female-supportive policies, for example, they can facilitate gender equality when the parties make a decision of the candidates submitted to voters (Kunovich & Paxton, 2007). Moreover, active women political activities have undoubtedly succeeded in creating a more open political environment for women (Chappell, 2002). And Reindgold (2000) stated that female legislators are much more likely to make laws beneficial to females' interests.

2.3.6 The impact of Women's Participation on Public Service Provision

Available evidence shows that greater political empowerment of women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health. Indeed, women's inclusion at the decision-making table is associated with increased spending in these sectors (Mavisakalyan, 2012). Further, and according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), women politicians have been "the main drivers of progress in gender equality" (Ballington, 2008); often bringing attention to such issues as gender-based violence, family-friendly policies and responsiveness to citizen needs (OECD, 2014). In this sense, women's inclusion in politics ensures that decision-making bodies "reflect the diversity of the societies they represent and can provide a balanced perspective in designing and implementing rules, thus enabling an inclusive approach to policy making and service delivery." (OECD, 2014)

OECD research has shown that inequality rates tend to decrease in countries with a greater share of women in legislatures (OECD, 2014) and that women's inclusion in executive government (as ministers, for example) can strengthen public confidence in national governments (OECD, 2016). In local government as well, research shows that more balanced representation among men and women in local councils ensures that local policy and service delivery issues are examined from a broader perspective, recognizing the needs of minority and underrepresented groups. Some research has shown women members of local council are often seen as more sensitive and responsive to community concerns and voters.

As regards the policy agenda, it is suggested that women were likely to raise issues of equality, education, women's relatively poor economic position, childcare, violence against women and integration of gender into the issues of employment and pay. However, in terms of policy

outcomes, the few initiatives that were considered successes for the women (such as the development of the National Childcare Strategy) were in areas that dovetailed with existing government policy. The evidence from the UK shows mixed results of greater women's representation in parliament with few distinct women's-oriented policy-related outcomes (Devlin & Elgie, 2014).

Delys (2014) asserts that it is widely agreed upon that women's representation is crucial to creating gender-sensitive policies and services and female politicians can act as advocates of women's issues as well. This is especially the case in local governments. Good local governance is essential for the living conditions of local communities. Unless women are also involved in policy development and decision making at this level, changes to women's political and socio-economic status will most likely remain minimal (Delys, 2014).

Sow (2012) reported that in Burundi, women parliamentarians have been most effective for women's rights when they have been able to link up with Civil Society Organizations. Civil Society Organizations helped in redrafting the penal code to give a clearer definition of rape and gender-based violence, and their amendments were supported by female parliamentarians. Some of these amendments remain in the new code.

In Uganda, the women's movement and the women in parliament have been successful in implementing acts important for women, among them the Land Act. The Land Act, which was passed in Parliament in the 6th Parliament, is supposed to provide for the tenure, ownership and management of land (Land Act, 1998). The Land Act was passed in Parliament in 1998, but without a co-ownership clause securing women the right to inherit and co-own land. According to women rights groups, this was the most important clause. The basic principle behind the co-ownership clause is that both husband and a wife shall equally own the land where their home is situated. It is argued that if women were co-owners of land, together with their spouses, they would have been in charge of their own income, and consequently financially independent of their husbands (Asiimwe, 2012).

There are broadly consistent findings that increased numbers of women in parliament leads to an atmosphere which is more women-friendly, and therefore more receptive to women's issues in the internal workings of government (Devlin & Elgie, 2014). Literature examining Africa

identifies perceptions that women's political representation has contributed to women's public freedom of speech in general, confidence, moral authority, and changed attitudes towards women's leadership (Bauer, 2012).

According to Muriu (2013), it is expected that through participation by women citizens, local governments have better knowledge of the preferences and hence can vary services to suit demands. Further, where exit options exist, women can put pressure by moving to jurisdictions where their needs are met effectively in terms of water near their homes, electricity, and improved healthcare. The resulting competition and fear of loss of tax revenues is likely to make local governments keener in their resource allocation so as to satisfy all the citizens including women in their jurisdiction (Muriu, 2013).

Accountability and reduction of corruption: Accountability is the practice where service delivery agents make public and are responsible for their actions. In this case it is the extent to which officials of the local government give account to the citizens on the resources at their disposal and how they have been used in service delivery. Reduction of corruption is the extent to which abuse and misuse of public resources for private gain has been controlled and minimized. Where those charged with decentralized service delivery apply all resources for the intended purposes. It is also seen as the measure in which transparency through information sharing is practice. According to Devlin & Elgie (2014), enhanced women participation can strengthen accountability. In so doing women should have accurate and accessible information about local government: about available resources, performance, service levels, budgets, accounts and other financial indicators. This indicator will be assessed based on records of information accessibility, level of information asymmetries in local government, and existing structures of demand and supply of accountability (Muriu, 2013).

2.3.7 Challenges and Personal factors affecting Women's Participation in Development

The involvement of women in development activities is essential however; studies show that women are challenged by conditions related to cultural norms that perpetuate gender violence and limited access to resources.

One of the norms that challenge women to take part in development is to give preference to son

over the birth of a girl child which is present in almost all societies and communities. The society is more biased in favour of male child in respect of education, nutrition and other opportunities. The root cause of this type of attitude lies in the belief that male child inherits the clan (Shettar, 2015). Women often internalize the traditional concept of their role as natural thus inflicting an injustice upon them. Poverty is the reality of life for the vast majority of women and it is another factor that poses challenge in realizing women's empowerment (Shettar, 2015).

Another major issue that haunts the process of development of women is the issue of gender violence. Violence has an economic, social and political cost to society and is not a private affair. In most families, majority of the working-class women, even while facing violence, also face trivialization of reality in their lives (Pande, 2017). Middle class women face another kind of censoring of the violence that they face within homes. The public private divide which operates very strongly in many middle-class women's lives do not allow them to speak about the humiliation and violence they undergo and this keeps them behind the scene of economic development (Pande, 2017).

In addition, rural women are concentrated in low-skilled, low-productivity, and low or unpaid jobs with long working hours, poor working conditions and limited social protection. They are more likely to work as unpaid contributing family members which mean their work is largely unrecognized or undervalued. They are most active in the informal rural economy and are far less likely than men to participate in rural wage employment (both economic and non-economic). When they do work for wages, rural women are more likely to be employed in part-time, seasonal, and time- and labour-intensive activities (ILO, 2019).

Lastly, rural women have less access than men to productive resources. The gender gap exists for many assets and services, including land, improved seeds and fertilizers, livestock, extension and financial services. Women also have fewer opportunities for education and training, potentially limiting them from adopting new technologies as readily as men (ILO, 2019).

2.4 Gaps in Literature

Based on the literature reviewed above, there is the tradition of political participation through which women engage in the traditional forms of political involvement such as campaigns and voting, collective action around policies, contacting political representatives and protests and demonstrations (Mavisakalyan, 2012). Also, effective implementation of policies meant to better the local communities in terms of economic development (OECD, 2014) and social service provision in ways that politically empower women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health (Delys, 2014). However, the situation of Warta-Nabada district is not known, and this is why this study was conducted, that is so as to assess women's participation in local government politics, focusing on the nature and extent of women's participation, impact of women's participation on economic development and the impact of women's participation on public service provision.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, the study area, study population, sample size, sampling technique, data collection tool, data collection procedure, ethical considerations, validity and reliability of the tool, data analysis and presentation of research findings, ethical considerations and the limitations and delimitations of the study.

3.2 Research Design

This study used a case study design. Basically, a case study narrows down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic and in a particular location (Kothari, 2004). The case study in this case was the local government of Warta-Nabada district, and this allowed an in-depth, rather than breadth investigation of the nature and extent of women's participation in local government, and the impact of women's participation on economic development and public service provision. The study was qualitative.

3.3 Study Area

The study was conducted in Warta-Nabada. This District was previously known as Ward Higley District until it was officially renamed in 2012. It is found in the south-eastern Banaadir region of Somalia and this is one of the larger neighbourhoods of the capital Mogadishu; the presidential compound Villa Somalia, the Federal Parliament building and Mogadishu Stadium Masjidga. Yasin Nur Isse serves as the District Commissioner of Warta Nabada having succeeded Hussein Ibrahim Ali in the position on 24 April 2014. This was chosen due to the fact that there is some representation of women in the local governments.

3.4 Population of the Study

Warta-Nabada District has a population of 1,650,227 residents of which 50.7% are females. All these come from 303,021 households (AllAfrica/Shabelle Media Network, 2014). It also has the highest percentage of residents who are internally displaced persons among the regions of Somalia, because of its relative safety and availability of resources. However, given that this study was qualitative; its population was comprised of politically appointed and elected officers, women's representatives from different groups such as market women, aspiring political office holders, women-focused non-governmental organizations and women professional groups. These were specified in the findings.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size of the study was 20 participants (See Table 3.1). Being a qualitative study that sought to uncover diverse opinions from different stakeholders in women participation in local government, the number of research participants was adequate. According to Morse (1994), for qualitative interviews, a person's opinion is enough to generalize a code. The study participants therefore included:

Table 3.1: Summary of Study Participants

Category	No. of Participants	Sample Size	Sampling technique
Elected women leaders (Women members of federal parliament, Members of Somali National Women Association and Warta-Nabada District council members)	10	09	Purposive sampling
NGO representatives (Somali Women's Study Centre (1), Daryeel Women Organization (1), We Are Women Activists (1) and Save Somali Women and Children (1).	04	04	Purposive sampling
Women groups (Somali Women league (1), Youth women Foundation (1), & Peace Initiative Organization (1))	03	03	Purposive sampling
Technical officers (Officials from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development)	02	02	Purposive sampling
Total	20	18	

Source: AllAfrica/Shabelle Media Network, (2014)

After data collection, the response rate was 90%, as shown in Table 3.2

Table 3.2: Response Rate

	Frequency	Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Participants that responded	18	90.0
	Participants that did not respond	02	10.0
	Total	20	100.0

Source: Field Findings (2021)

This response rate was found to be highly satisfactory since according to Mugenda (2003), a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of 70% and over is excellent.

3.6 Sampling technique

The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique to select the participants of the study as outlined in 3.5 above. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique in which the researcher as a judge selects cases with a definite purpose in mind (Kothari, 2004). The goal of purposeful sampling is to get cases that are “information rich” with respect a study. Therefore, by use of this technique, the researcher purposively selected the participants to take part in the study. The respondents were selected based on their experience and knowledge about women’s participation in politics and local government activities.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

3.7.1 In-depth interviews

The study employed in-depth interviews to collect data from the 10 women’s elected representatives. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation (e.g., Carolyn & Palena, 2006). This method provided a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information and participants felt more comfortable having a conversation with the researcher so as to get rich information. The tool for data collection here was the In-depth Interview Guide.

Table 3.3: Women’s elected representatives

Women’s elected representatives	Sample size
Women members of federal parliament	2
District women council members	5
Members of Somali National Women Association	3
Total	10

Source: Field Findings (2021)

3.7.2 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were used to collect data from 9 women-focused non- governmental organization staff, women professional groups and technical officers at Warta- Nabada district. This involved interviewing a selected group of individuals who are likely to provide needed information, ideas, and in-sights on a particular subject (Krishna, 1989), in this case women in local government politics at the study district. Using the method, the researcher went deeper into issues of women participation in politics and local government by prompting and probing questions with experienced participants for objective information. The data collection tool here was a Key Informant Interview Guide.

3.8 Data quality control

Reliability and validity of the data collection tool were measured as follows:

3.8.1 Validity

The researcher constructed both In-depth Interview and Key Informant Interview Guides and submitted them to the supervisor who cross examined and approved them for purposes of their validity. After the approval of the tools then, the researcher proceeded to collect data.

3.8.2 Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which the measuring tool produces consistent scores when the same groups of individuals are repeatedly measured under the same conditions. Thus, in order to ensure the reliability and consistency of the data collected, the constructed tools were pre-tested with 5 women representatives in Abdiaziz, another district in Somalia.

3.9 Data collection procedure

After the approval of the research proposal, the researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Directorate of Higher Degrees and Research of Kampala International University. This letter was presented to the District Commissioner, Warta-Nabada, Benaadir Region, Somalia who then

granted permission to conduct the study. The district commissioner also wrote an acceptance letter for the researcher that she presented to the participants requesting them to respond to the study. In addition, each participant was given a letter of informed consent that explained to them the purpose of the study (appendix A). The researcher made appointments with various study participants concerning the time, date and place for In-depth and Key informant interviews. Thereafter, data collection commenced. At the end of data collection, transcribing of the responses in written form was done for later analysis.

3.10 Data presentation and analysis

In the process of data analysis and presentation, the researcher read through and listened to all the audio interviews to get an overview and transcribe them all; where necessary some transcripts were read again and more carefully and an interview summary for each participant was made. This way, the data was transcribed, edited and coded before analysis. To make an important connection to the research objectives, the researcher employed thematic analysis to identify the most interesting and demonstrative patterns across interviews. Thematic analysis discovered the most common and relevant themes within the data and in line with the research objectives as the lens for analysis.

3.11 Ethical considerations

The study received ethical approval from the Directorate of Higher Degrees and Research of KIU. The nature and the rationale for the study were explained to the participants as well as the objectives of the study. The researcher also respected the study participants' rights and safeguards their personal integrity. The participants were not required to mention their names, but each interview transcript was given a code number for reference, hence the anonymity of the participants was maintained. The study participants were assured that the information given was treated confidentially and for academic use only. They also assured of their rights and freedom to withdraw from the study at any point or time without consequences.

3.12 Limitations and delimitations

Notably, the study involved the collection of data that had the potential to affect the privacy of subjects, and induce some level of stress and anxiety. However, the research was conducted

professionally and ethically, with strict respect for principles of integrity, honesty, confidentiality, voluntary participation, impartiality and the avoidance of personal risk. The study was also limited by time during data collection as the targeted participants were preoccupied with their daily activities. This was solved through designing a favourable schedule both for the researcher and the participants to effectively conduct the study. The study was also limited by inadequate finances including transport expenses, printing, binding and other related costs. However, this was solved by lobbying from relatives and friends.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the response rate, demographic factors of the respondents (bio data), and interview analysis based on the specific study objectives of : (i) analysing the nature and extent of women's participation in local governance politics in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, (ii) the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, and (iii) the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

The findings on sex, age, marital status, age bracket, designation / sector of the respondent, educational level, length of involvement in politics of Banadir local government as indicated below;

4.2.1 Sex of Participants

Table 4.1 below presents the Sex of the participants.

Table 4.1: Sex of the Participants

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	4	22
Female	14	78
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.1 above show that 78 percent were females while 22 percent were males respectively. Thus, the involvement of both male and female respondents, enhanced representativeness and reliability of the interview data collected. This was in reference to Mbabazi (2008) who argued that survey data that incorporates responses from both sexes is reliable than from a single sex.

4.2.2 The Marital Status of the Participants

Table 4.2 below presents the marital status of the participants.

Table 4.2: Marital Status of the Participants

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	7	37
Single	4	21
Widowed	3	15
Widower	2	12
Separated	01	9
Divorced	01	6
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.2 above indicates that 37 percent were married, 21 percent were single, 15 percent were widows, 12 percent of the respondents were widowers and 9 percent had separated from their partners while the minority 6 percent had divorced from their partners.

4.2.3 The Age of the Participants

Table 4.3 below presents the age of the participants

Table 4.3: The Age of the Participants

Age	Frequency	Percentage
28- 37	06	33
38- 47	04	25
18- 27	03	17
48-57	03	14
58+	02	11
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.3 above show that 33 percent of the participants belonged in the age group of 28 – 37 years, 25 percent, belonged in the age group of 38 – 47 years, 17 percent belonged in the age group of 18 – 27 years and 14 percent of the participants belonged in the age group of 48 – 57 years while the remaining 10.8 percent belonged to the age group of 58 and above years. The results therefore indicate that the majority of respondents were of mature and of experienced age which made the researcher to consider their views as valid and authentic in relation to the study. These findings concur with Amin (2005) who argue that majority age of above 18 years adds value to the responses given that mature people are more and take time to think about a particular aspect of life given their wide exposure and experience.

4.2.4 Designation of the study participants

Table 4.4 below presents the designation of participants involved in the study.

Table 4.4: Designation of participants

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Elected women political leaders	9	50
NGOs representatives	4	22
Women professional groups members	3	17
Technical officers from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development	2	11
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.4 above show that 50 percent of the participants were elected women political leaders whereas 22 percent of the participants were NGOs representative, 17 percent were members from Women Professional Groups, and 11 percent of the participants were Technical officers from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development serving Warta-Nabada district, Somalia. The implication of the findings is that more women were represented in the study to give information and thus, the data produced was objective in nature.

4.2.5 Number of years in politics

Table 4.5 below presents the findings on the number of years in politics of the Respondents in Warta-Nabada district of Somalia.

Table 4.5: Number of years in politics

Number of years	Frequency	Percentage
0 < 3 year	6	23
3 - 7 years	8	34
8 – 10	6	27
11+ years	4	16
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.5 above indicate that, majority 34 percent of the respondents had spent between 3-7 years in the politics of Warta-Nabada district of Somalia. While, 27% had between 8 -10 years, 23% had less than 3 years, and 16% had 11 and above. And thus, this meant that the majority of the respondents had spent enough time in the politics of Warta- Nabada district of Somalia. Hence, it can be asserted that, the study respondents had the satisfactory knowledge about the study phenomena under investigation in their respective capacities.

4.2.6 Educational Level of the Participants

Table 4.6 below presents the findings on the education level of the study participants.

Table 4.6: The Educational Level of the Participants

Education levels	Frequency	Percentage
Diploma	05	22
Bachelors	08	36
Tertiary institution	02	15
Post graduate Courses	02	15
Secondary certificates	01	12
Total	18	100

Source: Field Findings (2021)

Results in Table 4.6 above indicate that a bigger proportion of participants were Bachelor's Degree and these accounted for 36 percent. Participants with diploma came second and these accounted for 22 percent while, 15 percent of the participants were post graduates, 15 percent other participants had certificate from tertiary institutions and 12 percent of the participants had acquired secondary education certificates. The implication of the findings is that majority of participants, more so women were educated to a level that is reasonable for them to effectively participate in local government politics and lead to the development of Warta-Nabada District in Somalia.

4.3 Nature and Extent of Women's Participation in Local Government Politics

Regarding the nature and extent of women's participation in local governance politics in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, most of the participants noted that women participated in local government politics through gender quotas at district level, political candidature, and employment as gatekeepers at offices of elected leaders in the district despite being affected by corruption that prolong male-dominated networks and traditional norms. The findings are exemplified in the following narratives:

During the key interview with NGO officials, two participants were recorded noting that:

"...the electoral systems and institutional arrangements at the local level of government in Somalia like Warta-Nabada District such as proportional representation, district magnitude and term limits determine women's descriptive representation in local governments. Most notably, similar to the national level, the adoption of gender quotas plays an enormous role in increasing women's presence in local governments" (KII Interview with the Official from Somali Women's Study Centre).

"Gender quotas are favourable to women and through these, women's presence in local government politics is evident" (KII Interview with the Official from Daryeel Women Organization).

From the in-depth interviews held with elected women political leaders in Warta-Nabada District, Somalia, a certain participant reacted with different views from those of the BGO Officials that:

“... a political party’s ideology and commitment to improving women’s representation can shape women’s chances of becoming viable candidates” (IDI with Women Member of Federal Parliament).

“...in Somalia, most political parties typically dominate candidate recruitment and selection processes, they act as gatekeepers to almost all local elected offices and the formal and informal rules and norms that parties establish can both facilitate and hinder women’s local representation” (IDI with A District Woman Councillor).

From the KII interviews conducted with technical officers from the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development, Warta-Nabada District Somalia, one participant reported that:

“...parties can choose to adopt gender quotas in the absence of nationally legislated quotas or instate quotas that are higher than the mandated minimum, which increases women’s opportunities to become political candidates” (KII Interview with Technical Officer at the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development).

The elected women political leaders also indicated a negative perception of women participation in local government politics by revealing that corruption and gender norms discouraged women from full participation in Warta-Nabada District. This is evident in the following verbatim quotes:

“Corruption at the local level that tends to benefit those already in power and prolong male-dominated networks lead to less women in local councils” (IDI with a District Woman Councillor).

“The traditional views of gender roles and local cultural norms may also act as a hindrance to women’s local representation” (IDI with a Member of Somali National Women Association, Warta-Nabada District).

“Gender stereotypes, particularly stereotypes that make women seem unfit to be leaders such as emotional, passive, submissive, weak and soft, can as well harm women’s chances to be nominated and elected to local offices” (IDI with A District Woman Councillor).

The crux of the above narratives is that women participate in local government politics through being represented in gender quotas at district level, standing as political candidates, and working as gatekeepers at all officers that involve elected leaders in the district. However, the findings indicated that the gaps in women's participation exist due to corruption that prolong male-dominated networks. These findings are in line with the reviewed literature of Kapingura, (2018) who asserts that Local governments can improve female representation in elected, administrative and appointed office across institutions through a combination of anti-discrimination and positive action measures, and additional support through mentoring schemes, flexible working hours, and affordable childcare provision. Further, Mlambo and Kapingura, (2019) argues that, the active participation of women, on equal terms with men, at all levels of decision-making and political involvement is essential to the achievement of equality, sustainable development, peace and democracy and the inclusion of their perspectives and experiences into the decision-making processes.

4.4 Impact of Women's Participation on Economic Development

Regarding the impact of women's participation on economic development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, majority of the participants noted that women participation led to increased access to education, healthcare, reduced inequality between men and women, job creation, and improved security. These findings are evident in the following verbatim quotes:

From the In-depth interviews conducted with the elected women political leaders, the following response was quoted from one of the participants:

“Women entrepreneurship is recognized as a factor which has unrecognized potential to contribute to economic growth and development through improving women's ability to access educational and healthcare systems, earning opportunities and socio-political rights” (IDI with A District Woman Councillor).

From the KII interviews conducted with technical officers in Warta-Nabada District Somalia, one participant noted that:

“...women’s active participation in labour market is a driving force for economic growth and accelerates development which in turn can wholesomely contribute to women’s empowerment by driving down substantial inequalities between women and men, enhancing fight against discrimination” (KII Interview with Technical Officer at the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development).

Another technical officer asserted that:

“Investing in primary education tends to pay off more than investing at secondary and higher educational levels, and girls are concentrated at lower levels of the education system than boys. Families tend to choose boys to receive higher level of education if they have limited financial resources” (KII Interview with Technical Officer at the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development).

The KI interviews held with NGO officials from Warta-Nabada District Somalia revealed that women participation led to increased job creation and market availability for products produced by entrepreneurs. In their own statements, participants reported that:

“Job creation is critical from the point of view of social stability and security. Stable jobs, especially self-employment, create relatively better living, higher opportunities for further education and skills improvement” (KII Interview with Official from Save Somali Women and Children).

Another NGO official was quoted saying that:

“...Setting-up a new business, appears to be a crucial factor contributing to job creation, creating market activities, ensuring women to gain a stable source of earnings. Growing demand for social and welfare benefits imposes an additional burden on public budgets, whereas a declining demand for commodities and services in the marketplace diminishes growth” (KII Interview with Official from We Are Women Activists).

The observation of the above statements show that women participation led to increased access to education, healthcare, reduced inequality between men and women, job creation, improved security, and market availability for products of entrepreneurs. Therefore, the study findings are

in agreement with many scholars who have studied this relation between female education and economic growth in detail, using evidence from one country or one region. For example; Self and Grabowski (2008) examined the effects of women's education on the development of Japan. They divided Japan's history in three parts: the pre-war years, the five decades following the war and the after-war rapid rise years. Using the vector auto-regression analysis, authors demonstrate that economic growth benefits from female secondary and tertiary education in modern times. As for Pakistan and Sri Lanka, Fatima (2013) introduced the role of education on growth on the basis of gender aspects. The author applied the generalized Method of Moment in order to reveal that gender equality in education is beneficial to economic development in these two countries. Hassan and Cooray (2013) utilize another method called extreme bounds analysis to analyse, choosing a panel of Asian countries. They drew a similar conclusion that Asia can improve their economies by promoting female education from the interviews conducted.

4.5 The impact of Women's Participation on Public Service Provision

Regarding the impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia, most of the participants showed that with increased women participation in local government politics, there was improved standards of living as a result of quality education, healthcare services, family justice, and effective policies for effective social service delivery. These findings are supported by the following narratives:

The KI interviews carried out with NGO officials from Warta-Nabada District Somalia showed that women participation led to improved education quality and healthcare. In their own statements, participants had the following to say:

"...greater political empowerment of women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health" (KII Interview with Official from Somali Women's Study Centre).

"Today, the inequality rates tend to decrease in countries with a greater share of women in legislatures and that women's inclusion in executive government (as ministers, for example) can

strengthen public confidence in national governments” (KII Interview with Official from Save Somali Women and Children).

From the KI interviews with technical officers, one reported that:

“...according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), women politicians have been “the main drivers of progress in gender equality often bringing attention to such issues as gender-based violence, family-friendly policies and responsiveness to citizen needs” (KII Interview with Technical Officer at the Ministry of Women and Human Rights Development).

While exploring the interview responses of elected women political leaders of Warta-Nabada District Somalia, two participants were quoted that:

“Women’s inclusion in politics ensures that decision-making bodies reflect the diversity of the societies they represent and can provide a balanced perspective in designing and implementing rules, thus enabling an inclusive approach to policy making and service delivery” (IDI with Women Member of Federal Parliament).

Another participant also added that:

“More balanced representation among men and women in local councils ensure that local policy and service delivery issues are examined from a broader perspective, recognizing the needs of minority and underrepresented groups” (IDI with a Member of Somali National Women Association).

The results extracted from the above narratives show that women participation in local government politics resulted into improved standards of living as a result of quality education, healthcare services, family justice, and effective policies for effective social service delivery. From the literature reviewed, the study findings were supported by, Delys (2014) asserts that it is widely agreed upon that women’s representation is crucial to creating gender-sensitive policies and services and female politicians can act as advocates of women’s issues as well. This is especially the case in local governments. Good local governance is essential for the living conditions of local communities. Unless women are also involved in policy development and decision making at this level, changes to women’s political and socio-economic status will most

likely remain minimal. Further, Sow (2012) reported that in Burundi, women parliamentarians have been most effective for women's rights when they have been able to link up with Civil Society Organizations. Civil Society Organizations helped in redrafting the penal code to give a clearer definition of rape and gender-based violence, and their amendments were supported by female parliamentarians. Some of these amendments remain in the new code. And finally, (Devlin and Elgie, 2014), noted that, there are broadly consistent findings that increased numbers of women in parliament leads to an atmosphere which is more women-friendly, and therefore more receptive to women's issues in the internal workings of government.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the Discussion of the findings, conclusions and recommendations arising out of the research findings in chapter four. It also suggests areas for further research as well as contribution to knowledge.

5.2 Discussion of findings

This section provides the summary of the major findings as regards to the three objectives of the study.

5.2.1 Nature and extent of Women's Participation in Local Government Politics in Warta-Nabada District

The findings of this study reveal that the electoral systems and institutional arrangements at the local level of government in Warta-Nabada District such as proportional representation, district magnitude and term limits determine women's descriptive representation in local governments. This is mainly possible with the adoption of gender quotas that play a role in increasing women's presence in local governments. The findings were in line with Mavisakalyan (2012), who noted that there is the tradition of political participation through which women engage in the traditional forms of political involvement such as campaigns and voting, collective action around policies, contacting political representatives and protests and demonstrations. However, within the context of local governance, these two notions of participation (social and political) should be linked to the broader notion of participation as citizenship or citizen participation. The move from government towards governance offers new spaces in which the concept of participation may be expanded to one of citizenship, one that involves linking participation in the political and social spheres (OECD, 2016). Citizenship as participation represents the human agency in the political arena where female citizens have the right to acts as agents. It refers to the intervention of private citizens with determined social interests in public activities. It incorporates civic education and also expresses itself in knowledge about fundamental human rights and civic

responsibilities, public debating and discussions on issues, and public activities (Mavisakalyan, 2012).

Also, the findings of the study revealed that the political party's ideologies and commitment to improving women's representation shaped women's chances of becoming viable candidates and it is through this that women were able to participate in local government politics. The study findings also revealed that women act as gatekeepers to all local elected offices and the formal and informal rules and norms that political parties established could facilitate and at times hinder women's local representation. The findings were in line with Shied & Saidul, (2016), both authors were in agreement that Women participation in local governance has been a key focus occurring within development projects and programmes as implemented in local communities. Participation within this scope represents the process by which women members of a community influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them. From this perspective however, participation could be seen in the level of consultation or decision-making in all phases of a project cycle, from needs assessment, to appraisal, to implementation, to monitoring and to evaluation. A woman is assumed to have fully participated socially when she is present, is involved and exerts control during implementation of social interventions (Shied & Saidul, 2016).

In addition to the above, the findings of the study showed that corruption at the local level tends to benefit men already in power and thus, prolonging male-dominated networks that leads to less women representation in local councils. Furthermore, the study findings showed that the traditional views of gender roles and local cultural norms also acted as a hindrance to women's local representation in addition to gender stereotypes that make women seem unfit to be leaders. Such stereotypes include emotional, passive, submissive, weak and soft. The findings were in line with Kurebwa (2016), who posits that the participation of women in local governance can be enhanced in all three essential areas: as voters, policy-makers and as members of decision-making bodies. There is need for policies that involve empowering local authorities and communities to develop strategies that combine the empowerment of communities and rural women. In order to be able to identify the needs of the community and to best promote social and economic development, local authorities need the input of their constituents to be able to best identify those areas that need addressing. Local authorities must encourage the involvement

of the community and community organisations in local governance. The representation and participation of women in local governance is directly linked to the advancement of women and is a basic requirement in the journey towards gender equality. To ensure that the decisions that affect women's lives are taken seriously, women should not be passive bystanders in their own development but should be proactively involved to ensure that the socio-economic patterns that marginalize and keep them dependent are changed (Kurebwa, 2016).

5.2.2 Impact of Women's Participation on Economic Development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District

The study findings showed that women entrepreneurship as facilitated by women's participation in local government politics, has contributed to economic growth and development through improving women's ability to access educational and healthcare systems, earning opportunities and socio-political rights in Warta-Nabada District. The findings were in line with Mitchell, (2011), who noted that, the most frequently applied measure appears to be employment and self-employment, which is mainly assessed as the number of start-ups. Setting-up a new business, appears to be a crucial factor contributing to job creation, creating market activities, ensuring women to gain a stable source of earnings. On the other hand, job creation is critical from the point of view of social stability and security. Stable jobs, especially self-employment, create relatively better living, higher opportunities for further education and skills improvement. Growing demand for social and welfare benefits imposes an additional burden on public budgets, whereas a declining demand for commodities and services in the marketplace diminishes growth. On the contrary, substantial increase in the number of newly established jobs results in reversed dynamics, and therefore we can observe an upward spiral (Mitchell, 2011).

The study findings have also indicated that women in Warta-Nabada District have been active participants in labour market which has been a driving force for economic growth and development. Hence, this has contributed to women's empowerment by driving down substantial inequalities between women and men and enhancing fight against discrimination. The findings were also in line with Mitchell, (2011), who emphasised that taking into consideration the fact that women currently constitute nearly half of the workforce and more than half of college students, their lingering in the field of setting up high-growth companies has contributed to

notable economic deficit. As a result, the nation's offers fewer jobs and lower potential in emerging industries in comparison with the situation of women's entrepreneurship were equal to men's entrepreneurship (Mitchell, 2011).

Furthermore, the findings of the study have showed that job creation was critical from the point of view of social stability and security. Stable jobs, especially self-employment, created relatively better living, higher opportunities for further education and skills improvement of women in Warta-Nabada District. The findings were in line with Self & Grabowski (2008), the authors examined female education's effects on the development of Japan. They divided Japan's history in three parts: the pre-war years, the five decades following the war and the after-war rapid rise years. Using the vector auto-regression analysis, authors demonstrate that economic growth benefits from female secondary and tertiary education in modern times.

Lastly, the study findings indicated that women participation in local government politics led to creation of market for goods of all types and hence, this resulted into stable source of earnings. The findings were also in line with Fatima (2013) introduced the role of education on growth on the basis of gender aspects. The author applied the generalized Method of Moment in order to reveal that gender equality in education is beneficial to economic development in these two countries.

5.2.3 The impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia

The findings revealed that greater political empowerment of women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health. The findings were in line with Devlin & Elgie, (2014), who gave emphasis as regards the policy agenda, it is suggested that women were likely to raise issues of equality, education, women's relatively poor economic position, childcare, violence against women and integration of gender into the issues of employment and pay. However, in terms of policy outcomes, the few initiatives that were considered successes for the women (such as the development of the National Childcare Strategy) were in areas that dovetailed with existing government policy. The evidence from the UK shows mixed results of greater women's representation in parliament with few distinct women's-oriented policy-related outcomes.

The study findings also showed that women politicians in Warta-Nabada district have been the main drivers of progress in gender equality often bringing attention to such issues as gender-based violence, family-friendly policies and responsiveness to citizen needs. The findings were in line with Delys (2014) who asserted that it is widely agreed upon that women's representation is crucial to creating gender-sensitive policies and services and female politicians can act as advocates of women's issues as well. This is especially the case in local governments. Good local governance is essential for the living conditions of local communities. Unless women are also involved in policy development and decision making at this level, changes to women's political and socio-economic status will most likely remain minimal (Delys, 2014).

Further, the study findings indicated that women's inclusion in politics in Warta-Nabada district has promoted decision-making through bodies that reflect the diversity of the societies they represent and can provide a balanced perspective in designing and implementing rules, thus enabling an inclusive approach to policy making and service delivery. The findings were in line with Sow (2012), who reported that in Burundi, women parliamentarians have been most effective for women's rights when they have been able to link up with Civil Society Organizations. Civil Society Organizations helped in redrafting the penal code to give a clearer definition of rape and gender-based violence, and their amendments were supported by female parliamentarians. Some of these amendments remain in the new code.

Lastly, the study findings indicated that more balanced representation among men and women in local councils ensure that local policy and service delivery issues were examined from a broader perspective, recognizing the needs of minority and underrepresented groups. The findings were in line with Devlin & Elgie, (2014), they noted that there are broadly consistent findings that increased numbers of women in parliament leads to an atmosphere which is more women-friendly, and therefore more receptive to women's issues in the internal workings of government (Devlin & Elgie, 2014). Literature examining Africa identifies perceptions that women's political representation has contributed to women's public freedom of speech in general, confidence, moral authority, and changed attitudes towards women's leadership (Bauer, 2012).

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Nature and extent of Women's Participation in Local Government Politics in Warta-Nabada District

The electoral system and institutional arrangements at the local level in Warta-Nabada District, Somalia such as proportional representation, district magnitude and term limits determine women's representation in local government. Most notably, similar to the national level, the adoption of gender quotas plays an enormous role in increasing women's presence in local governments. However, women also participate as political candidates and as gatekeepers at offices of elected leaders in the district despite the fact that they are affected by corruption that prolong male-dominated networks and traditional norms.

5.3.2 Impact of Women's Participation on Economic Development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District

The above nature of women's participation in local government politics in Warta-Nabada district has revealed a positive impact on the economic development of the district. More specifically, women participation leads to increased access to education, healthcare, reduced inequality between men and women, job creation, and improved security. Women participation also leads to increased job creation and market availability for products produced by entrepreneurs. This has promoted the development of men and women as well as the economic boom of the district.

5.3.3 The impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia

The study concludes that women's participation in local government politics in Warta-Nabada district has revealed a positive impact on the economic development of the district. The greater political empowerment of women often leads to higher standards of living and positive developments in education, infrastructure and health. In addition, women's inclusion in politics ensures that decision-making bodies reflect the diversity of the societies they represent and can provide a balanced perspective in designing and implementing rules, thus enabling an inclusive approach to policy making and service delivery. Thus, more balanced representation among men and women in local councils ensure that local policy and service delivery issues are examined

from a broader perspective, recognizing the needs of minority and underrepresented groups.

5.4 Recommendations

The experiences gained from literature and field study throughout the research have made it possible for the following recommendations to be made.

5.4.1 Nature and extent of Women's Participation in Local Government Politics in Warta-Nabada District

Sensitize women to better understand their leadership and decision-making roles. If women are effectively sensitized, they will better understand their leadership and decision-making roles, and this will ensure that they participate more effectively in politics and local governance. It was further argued that when women's awareness is raised on gender policies and human rights in general, it strengthens their resolve to pursue their rights in all spheres of life.

Also, effective advocacy is very important for changing negative perceptions about women's participation in decision-making and leadership. The study findings have highlighted the importance of effective advocacy to ensure that women are accepted in decision-making and leadership positions in Warta-Nabada district. These efforts are further reinforced if traditional and religious leaders support such advocacy, if Community Based Organizations (CBOs) are involved, and if there is a good collaboration between the public and private spheres. Building awareness of gender issues further changes the negative perceptions about women's involvement in politics.

It was further observed that women tend to be more proactive and participative when men advocate for their participation in decision-making and leadership. Therefore, there is a need for more dialogue forums, especially at the community level, and information education materials to promote the role of women in leadership and decision-making processes. It is further crucial to change attitudes and the behaviour of political parties to ensure that they effectively address gender equality in Somalia.

5.4.2 Impact of Women's Participation on Economic Development in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia in Warta-Nabada District

The study recommends for a drafting of a Gender Equality Policy which would address gender equality gaps through methods such as temporary special measures (TSMs), as well as raising awareness and supporting the creation of a level playing field by addressing gender differences. Support systems and services include child care crèches in elected offices, workshops and media programs that portray women leaders as role models, identifying and training aspiring and potential women candidates, and training and capacity building programs for elected women.

In Warta-Nabada district, it was indicated that there are political parties that have active women members, but who fail to put forward women candidates during election times. Therefore, political parties should support women's representation by allocating a minimum of elective seats to women, or having less demanding financial requirements for women candidates. This will encourage more women to run, and enable their election.

Local governments should ensure women's equal access to land and economic and natural resources. Thus, local authorities have an important role to play in identifying women and girls affected by violence and providing them with appropriate support and services.

5.4.3 The impact of women's participation on public service provision in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia

Local governments in Somalia should establish mechanisms to make it easier for women to obtain legal documents such as birth certificates, provide legal aid services that support women in exercising their rights, and guarantee women's participation in land governance institutions and policy-making processes.

Local government in Somalia should also fully mainstream a gender perspective into local legislation, urban planning and policy-making to tackle multiple barriers to women and girls' empowerment.

There is also need for provision of leadership and decision-making training for women. Adequate training should be provided to assist women to take up leadership and decision-making roles and thereby broaden the pool of candidates for such positions. Such training should further incorporate modules that will equip women leaders with the skills to develop strategies and

action plans in the political arena.

Lastly, observation of adopted laws and/or policies that require equitable representation of women on decision-making bodies is also strongly recommended. Observing laws and/or policies that require equitable representation of women on decision-making bodies is a powerful means of empowering women. In addition, the adoption of laws reserving a number of seats for women on decision-making bodies will greatly help in motivating women to accept the nomination.

5.5 Areas of further study

The following areas are suggested for further investigation.

The researcher suggests that more studies be conducted on the structural and legal obstacles that hinder all girls' and women's participation in politics and decision-making, the effect of temporary quota systems on inclusive, gender-sensitive leadership pathways for girls and women into political spheres and the level of equal visibility of female politicians and decision-makers in Warta-Nabada district, Somalia.

5.6 Contribution to knowledge

The following are the major interventions available to promote women participation in local politics in Warta-Nabada District, Banadir, Somalia; and these include: capacity training and change monitoring workshops for Civil Society Organizations (CSOs); a conference on gender issues for women leaders; convening a women's forum with 366 participants; convening a lawmakers' forum and a seminar for traditional and religious leaders on the role of women leaders in governance; and the distribution of 43,750 IEC gender-related documents. Additionally, the study shows the need to recognize that women's political participation does not exist in a vacuum; rather it affects and it is affected by many environmental factors. Obstacles to women's full participation in public life are varied and may include cultural and social issues, traditional political structures, and access to resources, discriminatory legislation, educational and economic barriers and gender-based violence. Since circumstances affecting women's, political participation is complex and often specific to a country or region, adapt an approach for the particular context in which the program is taking place, and the needs and opportunities at the time of implementation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES AND PROFESSIONAL GROUP MEMBERS

Title of the Study: Women's Participation and Local Government Development in Warta-Nabada District, Banaadir, Somalia.

Information

Researcher:

Reg. No.:

Department of Development, Peace & Conflict Studies, KIU

This research aims to; analyse the nature and extent of women's participation in local government, examine the impact of women's participation on economic development and examine the impact of women's participation on public service provision. The study will serve as partial fulfilment of the requirements of a Degree of Masters in Development Studies of Kampala International University.

All the information gathered as part of this interview will be **CONFIDENTIAL**. No name will be published in the write up of the findings and **CONFIDENTIALITY** and **ANONYMITY** will be adhered to at all times. The interview will take approximately 15-20 minutes.

Participation is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or withdraw from participation in this study at any time. I however appeal to you to help in the success of this study through your participation. This study will benefit both the local government and you as an individual, as it will contribute to effective participation of women in local government in Warta-Nabada District. The results of the study will be made available to the district. If you voluntarily agree to participate in this study, please indicate your consent by signing this form.

Name

Signature

Date

.....//

APPENDIX 2: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES

1. How old are you?
2. What is your religion?
3. What is your marital status?
4. What is your highest education qualification?
5. It is evident you participated in local governance elections. How was the process?
6. How many times have you stood for your position?
7. What was your inspiration to become a people's representative?
8. Would you please brief me about your experience as a woman member in Local Government?
9. In which ways do you participate in local governance in Warta-Nabada District? Do you attend district meetings? How many women politicians or councillors usually participate?
10. How are you involved in decision making in Warta-Nabada District? For what kind of decisions?
11. How are you involved in implementation of local government projects and programmes in Warta-Nabada District?
12. How has your participation in local government in Warta-Nabada District contributed towards economic development in the district? *Probe the following:*
 - Market availability
 - Provision of economic inputs
 - Extension services
13. How has your participation in local government in Warta-Nabada District contributed towards public service provision in the district? *Probe the following:*

- Quality education
- Improved healthcare
- Rural electrification
- Effective waste disposal management

14. What do you think should be done to improve women politicians' role in contributing to development in Warta-Nabada District?

End of Interview

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

**APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN-FOCUSED
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, WOMEN PROFESSIONAL
ORGANISATIONS AND DISTRICT TECHNICAL OFFICERS**

1. How old are you?
2. How long have you served in this position?
3. What inspires women to become a people's representatives in local governments, such as Warta-Nabada District?
4. Would you please brief me about women politicians' experience as a woman representative in Local Government?
5. In which ways do women political representatives/councillors participate in local governance in Warta-Nabada District? Do they for example attend district meetings? How many women politicians or councillors usually participate?
6. How are women politicians involved in decision making in Warta-Nabada District? For what kind of decisions?
7. How are women political representatives involved in implementation of local government projects and programmes in Warta-Nabada District?
8. How has the participation of women in local government politics in Warta-Nabada District contributed towards economic development in the district? *Probe the following:*
 - Market availability
 - Provision of economic inputs
 - Extension services
9. How the participation of women in local government politics in Warta-Nabada District contributed towards public service provision in the district? *Probe the following:*
 - Quality education
 - Improved healthcare
 - Rural electrification
 - Effective waste disposal management
10. What do you think should be done to improve women politician's role in contributing to development in Warta-Nabada District?

End of Interview

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!

APPENDIX 4: INTRODUCTION LETTER



**KAMPALA
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**Directorate of Higher Degrees and Research
Office of the Director**

Our ref. 2018-08-00119

Monday 20th September, 2021

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR HAMDI ABDULKADIR A DAM
REG. NO. 2018-08-00119**

The above mentioned student is a student of Kampala International University pursuing a Master's Degree in Development Studies.

The student is currently conducting a research study titled, *"Women's Participation in Local Government Politics and the Development of Warta-Nabada District, Banadir-Somalia"*.

Your organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to the research subject of interest. The purpose of this letter therefore is to request you to kindly cooperate and avail the student with the pertinent information needed. It is our ardent belief that the findings from this research will benefit KIU and your organization.

Any information shared with the researcher will be used for academic purposes only and shall be kept with utmost confidentiality.

I appreciate any assistance rendered to the researcher

Yours Sincerely,


Ibrahim Abdullahi PhD
for Director

C.e. DVC Academic Affairs
Principal-CHSS

"Exploring the Heights"