

# POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN SUDAN

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Wafaa Adil Bala ABDALGADER



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# POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN SUDAN

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# Contents

FOREWORD.....	viii
INTRODUCTION .....	9
CHAPTER ONE: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND WOMEN THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.....	12
The Importance of Political Participation .....	18
Types of Political Participation.....	20
Factors Affecting Political Participation.....	22
Mechanisms of Political Participation .....	29
Political Parties.....	30
Elections.....	31
Legislative Councils (Parliament).....	31
Pressure Groups.....	32
Media .....	32
Civil Society.....	33
Popular Referendum.....	33
The Opposition.....	34
WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.....	34
The Importance of Women's Political Participation .....	36
Factors Affecting Women's Political Participation .....	37
Gender-Based Discrimination in the Labor Force.....	39
Socio-Political Status .....	39
Patriarchal Social Structure.....	40
Historical Development of Women's Participation in Politics .....	41



CHAPTER TWO: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SUDAN THE  
POLITICAL HISTORY OF SUDAN..... 46

British-Egyptian Colonialism in Sudan (1899-1956): Anglo-Egyptian Sudan  
..... 47

Sudan Independence (1956)..... 48

South Sudan Issue (2011) ..... 49

Naivasha Agreement and The Secession of The South Sudan ..... 50

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SUDAN..... 50

Brief History of Elections in Sudan..... 51

First Parialmentary Elections (1953) ..... 51

Second Parliamentary Elections (1958) ..... 51

Third Parliamentary Elections (1965)..... 52

Fourth Parliamentary Elections (1968)..... 52

Fifth Parliamentary Elections (1986)..... 52

Elections of 2009-2010..... 53

First Civil Rule Period After Independence (1956-1958)..... 53

Constitutional Crisis..... 54

First Military Rule: The Period of Rule of General Ibrahim Aboud (1958-  
1965)..... 54

Constitutional Problem..... 55

Policy Outcomes and The Fall of the Regime..... 55

The Second Civil Rule (1966 -1968)..... 56

The Top of the Three No's..... 56

Prime Minister Sadiq Al-Mahdi..... 56

Dissolution of the Communist Party..... 57

Second Military Rule: May Regime and Numei Government (1969-1985)57

The Constitution in The Numei Period..... 58

Swear Al-Dhahab Military-Civil Transitional Government (1985-1986)..... 58

The Third Period of Democracy: Elsadiq Al-Mahdi (1986-1989)..... 60

The Coup of The Islamic Movement: Omar Al-Bashir's Government (1989-2019)..... 61

December Revolution (2019)..... 61

Current Situation in Sudan..... 64

Sudanese Laws and International Conventions..... 65

Arab Charter on Human Rights..... 66

CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SUDANESE WOMEN..... 68

SUDANESE LEGISLATION AND WOMEN (1956-2010) ..... 69

Period of Foreign Rule..... 71

Constitution of Self-Government (1953)..... 71

The Interim Constitution of 1956: The Constitution of Independence ..... 72

Sudan’s Interim Constitution of 1964 ..... 72

The May Constitution: The Permanent Constitution of 1973 ..... 72

Sudan’s Transitional Constitution of 1985..... 73

The Third Democratic Period (1986) ..... 73

LEGISLATION AND LAWS RELATED TO WOMEN BETWEEN 1989-2010..... 73

Constitution of the Republic of Sudan (1998) ..... 74

Transitional Constitution of Sudan (2005) ..... 75

Comprehensive National Strategy (2003-2007)..... 76

Pensions Law and Election Law..... 77

WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES..... 77

The Role of Parties in Women`s Participation in Decision Making..... 78

General Union of Sudanese Women ..... 79

HISTORICAL PROCESS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF  
SUDANESE WOMEN ..... 80

The Period Between 1956-1958..... 81

The Period Between 1964-1969..... 82

The Period Between 1969-1985..... 83

The Period Between 1985-1989..... 84

The Period Between 1989-2010..... 84

CONCLUSION ..... 87

REFERENCES..... 91

## FOREWORD

This book is based on my master's thesis titled “Participation of Sudanese Women in Political Process” which I completed in 2024 at the Department of International Relations at Karabuk University. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Asst. Prof. Abdül Samet ÇELİKÇİ, for their invaluable guidance, support, and encouragement throughout the preparation of this work. Their wisdom and dedication have been a constant source of inspiration.

I also extend my heartfelt thanks to my beloved family, whose love, patience, and support have sustained me every step of the way.

Finally, I dedicate this work to Sudanese women everywhere, in recognition of their resilience, courage, and significant role in shaping the future of our nation.

December 2025

Wafaa Adil Bala ABDALGADER

## INTRODUCTION

This book focuses on the involvement and influence of Sudanese women's participation in the political process during the period between 1956-2010. It examines the experiences of Sudanese women and previous studies on political participation in different governments, assessing their impact on politics in Sudan. Sudanese women initially held predominantly protective roles within the domestic sphere. However, after Sudan gained its independence from British colonialism and with the advent of various governments and the liberation government led by deposed President Bashir, they gradually started engaging in political activities.

Sudan is currently undergoing a significant political metamorphosis, marking a pivotal moment in its history. This study analyzes the chronological progression of women's transformation and political engagement in the realm of politics in Sudan. In the context of this study, addressing the mobilization of women's political participation is no longer a luxury but rather an urgent demand that various institutions from the government, the media, and non-governmental organizations must address. Although women have been able to achieve and realize the majority of their political rights in recent times, there are still many obstacles and difficulties that impede the activation of genuine political participation.

Despite the general development of Sudanese women and the importance of the positions they have achieved in the political, economic, social, cultural, health, education and work fields, political difficulties still constitute discrimination against them, and remove and weaken the impact of the efforts made to reach decision-making positions.

Regarding complete political rights, Sudanese women are not exempt from the reality that women are active participants in the political sphere. Historical evidence demonstrates their past and ongoing engagement in political life, as they continue to actively participate and fulfill their political responsibilities. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1924, the pioneers of education began to become active in school work. This marked the beginning of the commencement of Sudanese women working in public service. Beginning in the 1950s, the school started to join in union activities and form voluntary women's associations. These associations included the Teachers, Nurses, and Workers' Unions. Additionally, the educated women's movement started during this period. In the 1960s, they began to become more involved in general. There is a notable increase in the number of educated women joining political parties since the country gained its independence. These women are seen actively participating in these organizations, attending

meetings, and attending seminars. They still have a lot of work to do in order to attain genuine and effective participation in the decision-making process, despite the fact that it was a pioneer and played a key role in the expansion of political participation in Arab and African countries.

Sudanese women's involvement in the political realm is limited. The level of consciousness among Sudanese women regarding the significance of their involvement in political activism is low, despite the notable accomplishments they have made in the realm of education. Gender plays a significant role in the barriers that hinder women's involvement in both general work and political work. It is possible to say that an increase in female involvement in political activism within democratic systems that ensure equal rights for all segments of society. The lack of implementation of the legal provisions ensuring political participation rights for Sudanese women significantly hindered their level of engagement. Although Sudanese women's political participation is relatively weak, it is still comparatively better than that of women in numerous African and Arab nations.

Despite the qualitative development of Sudanese women since independence, which was a natural product of education on the one hand, and the rights and duties guaranteed to them by law on the other hand, the role of Sudanese women in political and social participation is still limited, especially as we live today in renewed political conditions that require women to actively participate in political work and in decision-making positions at all legislative, executive, legal and administrative levels. Hence the research problem of this study is to reveal the factors influencing the limited political and social participation of women in Sudan during the period 1956-2010.

This study aims to analyze the political situation of Sudanese women and the important contributions made by Sudanese women in the political field in Sudan between 1956-2010. In addition, the pivotal role played by Sudanese women in advancing education and knowledge within Sudanese communities will be emphasized, thus enhancing awareness among the Sudanese political community. This study also aims to verify the political and tribal loyalty of Sudanese women and evaluate the extent of their influence on Sudanese politics.

This book firstly discusses the concept of political participation and as well as the role that women play in the decision-making process and political parties. After that, it moves on to discuss political participation in Sudan and the role that women play in it by offering a historical perspective. So, one of the primary purposes of this study is to highlight the obstacles and challenges that weaken women's political and social participation. Throughout the study, national laws and legislation, as well as international

agreements regarding women's political participation, will be examined. As a result, the purpose of this study is to shed light on the political engagement of Sudanese women by identifying their practices in political participation and offering a historical perspective of their orientations towards the political process in Sudan at the same time.

In this study, literature review method has been used. Sudanese women have engaged in political activities by actively participating in political work in the system of successive governments in Sudan, and joining political organizations and parties, as documented in previous reports, studies, books, magazines, online platforms, and historical records. In this context, primary and secondary sources to collect data have been used, which is available in both English and Arabic. The research methodology will be historical and analytical, while the research design will be descriptive, focusing on political participation among Sudanese women throughout the history of Sudanese politics.

The scope of this study covers the period between 1956 and 2010. 1956 is a very important year in which Sudan gained its independence from the colonizer state, Britain. It is determined the beginning of the study as this year, so that there will be no external restrictions –the British colonizer power– that impose their restrictions on women's political and social path. The period after 2010 is excluded from the scope of this study, because after 2010, no notable event or evolution in the political process for women has been mentioned. The study includes more than five decades, which is a sufficient period to allow the researcher to trace this process in decades in which political life changed several times, which gave the study different areas in which to put its stamp on women's participation.

## **CHAPTER ONE: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND WOMEN THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

The concept of participation has a range of interpretations depending on the context. Participation refers to the active engagement of a person in the public sphere of his community, whereby he/she has the chance to contribute to the establishment of overarching objectives and choose the most effective strategies to accomplish them (Al-Othman, 2003: 3). Participation in politics is an issue that covers all around the world. Political participation is a form of political practice that is connected to the structure of a political system and the mechanisms of its various processes. Its position lies within the political system, whether it provides support to the existing authority or the opposition, but its goal is to change the outputs of the political system in a manner that is suitable for the demands of the individuals and groups that participate in it (Adamu, 2018).

Political participation can be understood in both narrow and broader senses, encompassing various activities and levels of engagement within the political sphere (Weiss, 2020).

In the narrow sense, political participation refers to the more formal, direct activities individuals engage in within established political processes. This includes:

Voting: Participating in elections to choose representatives or decide on specific issues through referendums.

Running for Office: Standing as a candidate in local, regional, or national elections.

Party Membership: Joining and actively participating in the activities of political parties.

Campaigning: Involvement in election campaigns, including canvassing, distributing materials, and promoting candidates or parties.

Engaging in Electoral Processes: Serving as election officials, observers, or monitors to ensure the integrity of elections (Verba & Nie, 1972: 47).

In the broader sense, political participation includes a wider range of activities that influence or engage with the political system, beyond the formal electoral processes. This includes:

Advocacy and Activism: Engaging in efforts to promote or oppose policies, often through lobbying, petitions, or public demonstrations.

Civil Society Involvement: Participating in non-governmental



organizations (NGOs), community groups, and other forms of civic engagement that influence political decisions.

**Public Deliberation:** Taking part in public discussions, forums, and debates on political issues, contributing to the shaping of public opinion and policy.

**Protests and Demonstrations:** Participating in marches, rallies, and other forms of public expression to support or oppose political causes.

**Social Media and Digital Engagement:** Using online platforms to discuss, share information, and mobilize support for political issues.

**Community Organizing:** Working within communities to build grassroots movements and advocate for local issues.

**Political Education:** Engaging in activities that raise awareness and educate others about political processes, issues, and rights.

**Consultative Processes:** Participating in government consultations, public hearings, and other mechanisms that allow citizens to provide input on policy decisions.

**Jury Service:** Serving as a juror in legal proceedings, contributing to the administration of justice, which is a foundational aspect of democratic governance.

**Boycotts and Consumer Choices:** Making purchasing decisions based on political or ethical considerations, thus influencing corporate and governmental policies (Norris, 2002).

Political participation, as conceptualized by Samuel Huntington, refers to the deliberate engagement of regular citizens in activities aimed at influencing government decision-making (Huntington, 1968: 32-33). This engagement can take various forms, such as individual or collective actions, organized or spontaneous initiatives, continuous or intermittent involvement, peaceful or violent demonstrations, legitimate or illegitimate means, and effective or ineffective outcomes (Huntington & Nelson, 1976: 3). Political practice refers to the implementation of political strategies within a political system. It involves supporting or opposing the existing authority in order to bring about desired changes in the system's outcomes, as per the demands of individuals and groups involved (Al-Bejj, 1997: 64).

In the contemporary modern era, political parties have played a significant role in shaping various forms of political participation. This trend began in France with the establishment of the Constituent Assembly in 1789, which introduced parliamentary elections and secret balloting. Subsequently, professional syndicates and civil organizations emerged, extending from the United Nations and beyond. Political engagement in Europe varies according to modern views. Capitalist philosophy is founded

on a set of concepts that prioritize the worth of the individual above the collective. Consequently, the involvement of the state in promoting public participation is seen as conflicting with this ideal. In the context, often referred to as the Third World, political engagement has been a challenging endeavor aimed at overcoming colonial rule and oppressive regimes, seen as crucial for progress. This notion is particularly applicable to many developing nations transitioning towards democratic systems. Political engagement often extends beyond the boundaries of the political system's input limit and progresses towards the stage of converting demands, particularly when there are people or organizations closely associated with the establishment of institutions and their sphere of operation. Political participation encompasses the citizen's right to actively engage in the process of making political choices. However, it also includes the citizen's right to scrutinize and oversee these decisions made by the ruler (Al-Mashat, 1988: 333-334).

This distinction distinguishes between engagement and curiosity, as well as between active involvement or reaction. That caring entails an active engagement, since the ordinary individual perceives a connection between the state, public events, and political actions and their own life and existence via influence. Regardless of whether this results in the use of a specific entitlement in the political decision-making process, attentiveness remains a distinct notion from participation. Interaction refers to the state of being responsive, when the citizen loses self-awareness within the realm of political life. This contact creates a circular process that facilitates interest and involvement. Interest may facilitate contact, while involvement might compel it (Moawad, 1983: 108).

The types of political participation by citizens in a state vary depending on the political system they are part of. The level of participation is determined by the nature of the political system and takes different forms based on its structure. Each system includes various roles played by individuals, such as citizens who participate by voting in general elections, professional politicians, and active party members. The relationship between these individuals is organized hierarchically based on their roles and the extent of their participation and according to political culture (Milbrath & Goel, 1977: 50-55).

Political engagement is a defining feature of contemporary and advanced cultures and political systems. The relevance and need of containment lie in managing the tensions arising from the process of mobilization and social changes that follow political modernization and political and economic growth initiatives. This makes it a comprehensive procedure, since it encompasses several dimensions. The dimensions of this issue are not solely determined by the level of political pressure exerted

by different social forces, but also depend on the response of the ruling political elites to the participation and influence of these forces. Additionally, the institutional capacities of the systems are crucial in accommodating and managing these forces, while ensuring political stability. Political involvement is widely regarded by several studies as the primary expression of a democratic system. However, broadening its reach without simultaneously increasing the political institution process poses a significant risk to political stability. Political stability relies on the balance between the extent of political involvement and the functioning of political institutions. Political stability depends on the progressive development of political institutions to match the fast growth of political engagement. This is necessary to accommodate the social forces that are now invested in and actively involved in political affairs, hence ensuring the continuity of stability (Ibrahim, 1988: 185).

Several intellectuals discuss the subject of political involvement within the framework of Democracy, where participation in decision-making and authority is not meant to be evenly divided. Positions are designed to both appease the general public and contribute to the management of Public Affairs (Al-Hiti, 2003: 147).

Samuel Huntington and John Nelson (1976: 3) described political activism as the engagement of ordinary persons with the purpose of exerting influence on the political decision-making process. Was this activity conducted alone or in a group, planned or impromptu, continuous or intermittent? Whether characterized by tranquility or aggression, conformity to the law or defiance of it, whether yielding desired results or proving futile.

Political participation, as defined by Francis Fukuyama (1993: 53), refers to the entitlement of citizens to use their voting rights in elections and engage in political activities. Thus, Huntington considered political participation to be one of the factors political development has a correlation with political institutionalization, as well. Political stability is achieved by creating political institutions and parties that work on organizing the participation process and expanding its circle. According to John Nelson, political participation means the increasing flow of it is a natural and orderly process, although it may sometimes be inconsistent controlled by protests and political violence (Kamel, 2000: 117).

Verba defines it as: any endeavor with the intention of exerting influence on the government, including all manifestations of psychological engagement. Psychological integration is a significant aspect of political knowledge and involvement in the realm of politics. Political conduct is distinct from the first mentioned item, while it serves as a preliminary step towards accomplishing the second. Political involvement, as defined by this

perspective, refers to the mechanism by which it takes place. An person actively participates in the political affairs of their community in order to foster progress and make meaningful contributions. When establishing and selecting these objectives, individuals must be driven by self-motivation. Volunteer labor embodies a feeling of societal obligation towards objectives and the shared challenges of the community (Youssef, 2006: 57-59).

According to Burhan Ghalioun (2004: 2), political involvement is synonymous with pluralism. It serves as the inherent structure for the exchange of authority among influential groups in society, specifically focusing on the reallocation of power to positions of influence and tangible control. Jalal Abdullah Mowed (1984: 4) affirms that political participation refers to the entitlement of citizens to actively engage in political decision-making processes and exercise their right to oversee and scrutinize the judgments made in relation to assessment and regulation.

Abdel Moneim Al-Mashat (1988: 306) asserts that political involvement encompasses several methods of engaging with the political system and its operational procedures. The position of different individuals or groups within the political system depends on whether they provide support to the existing authority or oppose it. However, their goal is to change the outcomes of the political system in a manner that aligns with the demands of the individuals and groups who are involved. This also signifies their engagement in political participation. It often extends beyond the step of converting claims at the input level.

Ali Khalifa Al Kuwari's (2000: 19) notion of effective political participation emphasizes the importance of equal chances and reliable data on the ground. This is done by adherence to constitutional and legal regulations that ensure and safeguard the participation process. Genuine policy and decision-making processes at different levels provide individuals with the opportunity to voice their ideas on the choices that should be taken concerning their personal and public matters. Omar Ibrahim Al-Khatib (1982: 18) defines political participation as the inclusive right of people to engage in the process of decision-making in politics, without any kind of discrimination. The country's public policy and the right to engage in decision-making and policy formation. By effectively organizing the collective masses, mobilizing their energy, and releasing their strengths, the organization successfully achieves its objectives.

Thamer Kamel (2001: 192) views citizen participation as a crucial factor in the development of the political system. It serves as an indicator of the system's level of democracy, as it encourages citizens to actively engage in public policy and decision-making processes. This active involvement of citizens is a fundamental aspect of democracy.

General democracy, as defined by Daoud El-Baz (2002: 15), entails providing citizens with equal opportunities to shape the form of government and influence the destiny of their state according to their preferences. This allows them to actively shape the political landscape in alignment with their desires. According to Atta Al-Sayyid Al-Shaarawi (2011: 18), citizen participation refers to any involvement or contribution by individuals in guiding the operations of government agencies or local governing bodies, as well as fulfilling community tasks. This participation can take various forms, such as providing advice, reporting, executing tasks, or overseeing activities. It can occur either directly or indirectly. As per Ahmed Jazouli (2000: 179), all administrative tasks, regardless of their outcome, are carried out in an organized or disorganized manner, either temporarily or continuously, by employing legitimate or illegitimate methods in order to exert influence over political decisions, the management of affairs, or the selection of governance at various levels of government, be it local or national.

Ali al-Din Hilal defines political participation as a form of public contribution and involvement in the political process. It is important to note that political participation is just one aspect of popular contribution, which extends beyond politics to include social, economic, and cultural dimensions. While political participation is a form of popular contribution, it specifically pertains to political matters (Hamid, 2006: 107).

By reviewing the previous opinions, it becomes clear that the concept of political participation is based on the following foundations and principles:

1. It is an expression of an action with the intention of influencing policies and public affairs.
2. Political participation no longer stops at inputs, but rather it aims to change the outcomes of the political system in an appropriate way demands of individuals and groups.
3. It has become a criterion for the growth of the political system and an indicator of its democracy the framework in which the concept of democracy is mixed with the reality of the data social and political. Also, political participation has come to express a close connection with a situation.
4. Political stability, as there is a close direct relationship between them. The greater the pace of political participation, the greater the spread of the phenomenon of political stability.
5. In continuation of the previous points, participation is one of the sources of legitimacy of the ruling political regimes, but rather it is the standard by which it indicates the degree and percentage of this legitimacy.

6. It is voluntary and willing and not coercive. It is also general, comprehensive, and a right for all citizens without discrimination based on gender, color or belief or any other basis (Al-Adwan, 2021).

### **The Importance of Political Participation**

The significance of engaging in political involvement via diverse means in decision-making and influential roles lies in its capacity to empower individuals to secure and safeguard their rights and interests, so granting them agency over their own lives and facilitating their contribution to shaping the trajectory of society as a whole.

Political participation is fundamental to being a citizen and is the practical manifestation of citizenship. Citizens possess civil, social, economic, cultural and political rights that are universally acknowledged through the social contract and safeguarded by the corresponding laws. Political participation serves as the foundation of democracy and serves as a means for the people to exercise their sovereignty.

Political participation is currently being discussed in political circles, particularly in the context of "sustainable development" in societies, particularly those in the third world. These societies are characterized by inclusive systems or the dominance of traditional concepts over citizenship concepts in shaping political elites. Political engagement in contemporary democracy is a gradual process influenced by several circumstances, with poverty and illiteracy being the most significant. Additionally, even in stable democratic nations, political participation tends to be restricted (Mayary, 2003: 6).

This historical exposition elucidates the significance of participation, revealing several conceptions of political engagement. Political participation is the means by which individuals actively engage in the political sphere to promote social and economic development. It entails giving every citizen the opportunity to contribute to setting goals and determining the most effective means to achieve them. Citizen participation is driven by self-motivation and voluntary work, reflecting a sense of social responsibility towards shared objectives and challenges. It is essential that both men and women believe in their freedom to participate in politics (Moubayed, 2003).

Political participation is crucial for any nation as it fosters national unity, integration and equitable resource distribution among its citizens, irrespective of their affiliations. This expands the scope of citizenship, breaks down regional, social and sectarian barriers, and establishes equal political rights. Moreover, political participation empowers individuals to select, monitor and remove rulers when necessary, while also lending legitimacy to governance. Furthermore, it enhances the citizens' ability to

participate in formulating the overall strategies of the government, establishing its stance on crucial matters, and prevents the inclusion of politicians with covert opposition that could jeopardize its survival by pressuring the leaders to adopt a policy that addresses the demands of the public (Nimah, 2009: 19).

Political participation is a fundamental requirement for the proper functioning of democratic systems. It grants legitimacy to the ruling regime and promotes stability within society. Democratic societies value the right of their members to assess the government's performance and the peaceful transfer of power. This participation ensures that decisions are made in the best interest of the citizens themselves. True democracy is characterized by effective policy-making and the guarantee of all rights and basic freedoms. Institutions that facilitate competition and dialogue play a crucial role in achieving this (Jassim, 2013: 3).

Active engagement in politics is vital, since it aligns with the fundamental idea of fostering genuine societal progress. Political success is contingent upon active participation, which serves as a benchmark for measuring political development. Political systems are subsequently categorized as either advanced or traditional based on this criterion. The significance of political participation lies in its role as a mechanism for conveying and communicating the needs of citizens to the government. By providing information about society's preferred priorities and exerting pressure on rulers, citizens can influence their behavior. This process expands opportunities for participation, curbing the potential for abuse of power and promoting the values of equality and freedom (Al-Youssef, 2003: 125).

Given its significance, international treaties have affirmed and specified Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which states that every individual has the right to participate in the governance of their nation, either directly or through freely chosen representatives. Furthermore, it underscores the significance of the people's volition as the foundation for the nature of leaders. This volition should be manifested through impartial elections conducted regularly, allowing all individuals to vote freely and equally, either through secret ballot or an equivalent method that ensures the right to vote, as stated in the International Covenant on Civil Rights. The political and governmental concept asserts that "every citizen is entitled, without any form of discrimination, to engage in the administration of public affairs." It also underscores that individuals have the right to enjoy their entitlements without undue limitations. This statement affirms that individuals exercise their right to vote in fair elections that are conducted regularly and allow all eligible individuals to participate. The secrecy of the vote ensures that

voters may freely express their will (Nimah, 2009: 20).

As for Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it emphasizes all people are equal before the law, and they have an equal right to enjoy the protection of the law without discrimination. They also have an equal right to enjoy protection from any discrimination that violates this declaration and from any incitement to such discrimination (United Nations, 1948).

### **Types of Political Participation**

Research on political involvement extends beyond elections to include various forms, reflecting the evolving understanding of political engagement in line with democratic norms. Political participation is a constitutional right that allows citizens who do not typically engage in protests or vocalize their opinions in various organizations and spaces, except during elections, to express themselves. However, when elections are not available for some reason, the concept of political participation broadens to include other forms, such as violence, which can be seen as an alternative to the ballot boxes. Therefore, violence becomes a part of this expanded notion of political participation. If individuals do not see official channels as legitimate, the notion of political involvement is in a negative condition (Mashti, 2010).

The process of political participation is contingent upon the characteristics of the political system, specifically its level of openness or closedness to citizen involvement and the extent to which it is accessible. The mechanisms available for political participation are determined by the choices made by citizens, either through their active engagement or their decision to abstain, which is influenced by their preferences and inclinations towards political action. Consequently, two distinct types of political participation can be identified (Al-Bejj, 1997: 41).

1. Independent political participation: It stems from the individual's self-will. The first type is built on several pillars, including:

a. The political system is subject to the voice of the people, with their will and affiliation.

b. The political system's belief in, respect for, and striving for political participation expanding it.

c. The ability of the political system to respond to changes occurring in society so that it has the ability to accommodate social segments new and responding to its demands without exclusion.

d. Representing all segments of society with their various political orientations and affiliations religious, national, sectarian and tribal.

e. The existence of a constitution and submission to it as it



transcends the authority of the rulers.

2. Mobilized political participation: This has no influence on the will of the citizen but it may be pushed or forced towards it depending on intellectual and ideological trends.

Regarding this matter, it is crucial to differentiate between involvement, interest and interaction. Caring is a subjective matter that arises from an individual's personality, while participation is a systematic procedure allowed by the political structure. Interaction, on the other hand, is a consequence of either interest or participation in relation to an individual's connection with the state. Interest is a separate concept from participation, as it pertains to the citizen's perception of public affairs and political decisions, and how it relates to their own existence. Interaction, however, involves responding in a manner that causes the citizen to overlook their own political existence, thus serving as a connecting link between attention and participation. When examining the previous categorization of political participation, the primary distinguishing factor is the voluntary and affirmative nature of gender participation. This characteristic is inherently democratic and is present in societies that have achieved a state of equality among their members, regardless of whether they are voters, political activists, or members of trade unions. Participants in this context actively contribute to bringing about noticeable changes in the political system (Boutros, 2007: 209).

The second category is founded on non-democratic involvement. The will of the citizens plays a significant role in coercing and organizing huge segments of the people. The public lends support to political choices and grants them legitimacy via rallies, popular marches, and celebrations, excluding elections in this context. This type of participation is not intended for genuine engagement but rather serves as a mechanism to reinforce the political system and counter external public opinion. Additionally, due to the absence of robust and public opposition, political participation is only permitted within the confines of the regime's single party and its ideology. From the aforementioned, we can deduce the key features of this form of participation. They are:

1. An imbalance in the segments of political society, as there is a clear decrease in segments of participants and an increasing number of segments of those who are not interested.

2. This participation is considered formal, temporary, ineffective and negative, examples of this include the phenomenon of one candidate and fake elections and the lack of opposition.

3. The state clearly intervenes in mobilizing the masses without expression; real participation stems from citizens' interest in what is

happening around them Political community.

Some individuals introduce a third category besides the two previously mentioned categories. Coercive participation, characterized by the use of violence and armed actions, arises from the belief held by certain groups that the political system lacks legitimacy and fails to adequately represent the demands of the majority of the population. Consequently, these groups resort to violence as a means to overthrow the regime and its symbols. Political engagement may be categorized into two distinct forms: legal and illegal participation (Al-Manoufi, 1987: 342).

Legal participation is represented in the following forms:

1. Vote.
2. Participation in electoral campaigns.
3. Membership in political parties.

Illegal participation includes the following methods:

1. Civil disobedience.
2. Terrorist acts.
3. Riots.

### **Factors Affecting Political Participation**

Political engagement is a complex matter influenced by several causes. Various terms, conditions and influencing variables may enhance participation rates, but these rates decline as circumstances change.

The level of objectivity should align with the development of the participation process. The social and political upbringing of individuals significantly influences their inclination towards active participation, and the sense of citizenship aligns with the presence of conducive conditions. Upbringing naturally contributes to this, and a political culture characterized by tolerance, acceptance of others, and a focus on collective well-being also plays a crucial role in organizing political participation. Political participation is closely connected to political awareness, as individuals must be cognizant of the actions they are undertaking and the values and concepts that arise from political awareness. This awareness is crucial for fostering participation, particularly in an unstable political environment, as it instills values and ideas that shape individuals' political behavior.

Thus, in this chapter, the most important factors influencing participation politics are examined according to the following axes:

#### **Age**

There is a significant correlation between a person's age and his/her political conduct, which in turn affects his/her level and extent of

political engagement. It has been observed that young individuals, as highlighted by Dr. Sadiq Al-Aswad (1990: 51), exhibit certain patterns in this regard. Genuinely, individuals of African descent do not prioritize politics, particularly abstaining from participating in elections. This apathy is notably on the rise among individuals aged sixty-five and older. Additionally, the younger generation exhibits impulsive and extremist attitudes, in contrast to the elderly who lean towards conservatism and moderation.

### **Race**

Racial theories highlight the biological inequality among human races, which is manifested in cultural distinctions and has an impact on human behavior, particularly political behavior. This influence is evident in the formation of social values that are shared by members of the same race. Although ethnic values have diminished in importance due to the rise of democracy, they still hold sway in governance. Some societies restrict political participation, whether through voting, political party affiliation, or interactions with immigrant communities in Western countries. This can lead to discrimination, exclusion, and persecution of minorities, sometimes even resulting in genocide.

### **Gender**

Gender exerts a significant influence on human behavior, as it encompasses the inherent societal expectations and cultural norms associated with the roles of males and females. These factors contribute to the divergence in behavior between females and males, stemming from variations in perspectives, cognitive processes, and levels of responsibility. Consequently, gender also impacts the extent of social engagement and the allocation of rights and responsibilities within relationships. Politically, numerous societies continue to enforce limitations on women, depriving them of many rights while granting men a greater and broader range of freedoms. Studies on political behavior have revealed that women exhibit a lack of interest in political matters, which can be attributed to various factors, including biological predispositions, age, religious beliefs, and social circumstances. It is important to note that the marital status of a woman significantly influences her perspective, with married women differing greatly from unmarried women. Furthermore, there are notable distinctions between working women and those who do not participate in the workforce.

### **Social, Economic and Geographical Factors**

The political behavior of a person is influenced by their social environment, which shapes their thoughts, political stances, and actions. Additionally, the geographical context in which an individual resides has a

significant impact on their conduct. The urban population exhibits distinct behavioral patterns compared to the rural population, prompting countries to extensively invest in establishing communication infrastructure, such as roads and various media, to foster a cohesive national community. In terms of economic impact, the tools utilized by individuals in production and commerce are intricately linked to the prevailing social relationships and the equitable distribution of economic resources. The social situation is greatly influenced by it, and it contributes to the stability of the political system. This can be observed in developed societies, where a prosperous society tends to exhibit more moderate and conservative political behavior, supporting the existing order and increasing political participation. Conversely, deteriorating economic conditions, along with widespread poverty and unemployment, can lead to political behavior characterized by violence, rebellion, and a lack of political engagement. The socio-political environment operates via several mechanisms and diverse channels, such as leadership positions within the family, school, and unions. Furthermore, this includes affiliations such as political parties and groups, as well as media outlets, in addition to other methods. These factors strengthen principles and solidify ideas among individuals in society. The environment significantly impacts political engagement by instilling values and concepts, which in turn influence individuals' political conduct and ultimately shape society. The social environment serves three key functions in this regard: The functions of preservation, transmission, and change pertain to the safeguarding and dissemination of ideas and beliefs within the realms of political culture. Through the transmission of values, beliefs, and traditions, whether within a single generation or throughout multiple generations, there is a process of gradual change and replacement, where old values and ideas are substituted with new ones, either whole or partly.

### **The Psychological Factor**

The impact of psychological factors on behavior in the political realm should not be overlooked. It is crucial to delve into the fundamental origins of individual personality formation, which can be traced back to early childhood experiences. Consequently, the quality of the child-parent relationships subconsciously influences all subsequent social interactions, including attitudes towards authority and the dynamics that stem from it, as well as personal inclinations. Political: Certain scholars posit a strong correlation between the early familial upbringing, the political system, and an individual's subsequent stance on authority. This stance is believed to be influenced by the individual's interactions with their parents. Consequently, the child's relationships with their parents are assessed across three dimensions:

1. Distribution of power in the family, i.e. is it distributed among

family members concentrated in one person.

2. The closeness and warmth of relationships between the child and those who have authority over him/her family.

3. Patterns of discipline in the family: Are they severe or more lenient (Al-Aswad, 1990: 55).

### **Education**

Education has a major role in understanding political matters and enlightening the individual the horizon before him is to be an active member of society because he defines a higher value political participation is considered a way to open other doors in life the public, and therefore the educated citizen knows the importance of participation political, which is a very easy means in the socialization and political process by instilling the values of democracy, love of work, and respect for everyone contributing to public activities, especially political ones, and education it varies from one country to another and from one political system to another, and it is in developed countries tend towards implanting democratic values while in non-democratic countries tend towards participation in order to preserve the gains of the ruling authority, that is, education in democratic systems produces an individual who is able to work independently while being educated totalitarian regimes reproduce the individual to be a tool for maintaining and sustaining them the existing system.

### **Political Upbringing**

It is the process of transferring political culture from one generation to another that achieves order political stability is achieved by paying attention to teaching the generation the priorities of political culture approved by the state or political system, and Gabriel Almond defines it as: The process of citizens acquiring the political attitudes and values that they carry with them when he engages in various social roles and functions as a group beliefs that determine the situation in which political action takes place its framework is a continuous and ongoing process in a person's life from childhood until aging (Baghdadi, 1993: 287). The cohesion of every human society depends on its members' understanding of its values and rules common to everything that the idea of culture actually entails, this understanding the joint is not acquired by a person at birth, but is acquired through stages his different lives, and political upbringing is considered the most important link between social systems and between political systems and leads individuals to engage to different degrees in the existing political system and political participation. Political philosophers emphasized the importance of political socialization both Plato and Aristotle emphasized the importance of training members of society to practice Different styles of political activity, Jean-Jacques Rousseau has recognized the role

education is about instilling values, as liberal philosophers of the nineteenth century stressed on political education as well. The individual acquires his political tendencies through political upbringing. He develops it and through it becomes aware of the political system and political culture being aware of it and through it, political standards and values are determined among individuals the first influence is the family, then the group of peers, friends, and school it is intuitively reflected in his future behavior, and political upbringing varies from one society to another, depending on circumstances and circumstances. The bottom line is that the upbringing process plays a major role in determining the development process political participation through the values it instills in the souls and behavior of individuals the political aspect is determined in light of it, the degree of an individual's participation in political life depends on the type of political awareness he is exposed to, but awareness politics is not enough to push an individual to participate politically, but it must be available to him a reasonable amount of political interest, and that values are instilled through institution different types of (family - school - places of worship - media) in individuals, and the quality of political participation depends on the quality of values inculcated, the values of dialogue, freedom and democracy lead to political participation democracy, but the values of submission, fear, and obedience to the political system must be it reflects ineffective participation in which the citizen's will has no role, but rather is forced it does not affect the process of making and taking political decisions. Different types of (family - school - places of worship - media) in individuals, and the quality of political participation depends on the quality of values inculcated, the values of dialogue, freedom and democracy lead to political participation democracy, but the values of submission, fear, and obedience to the political system must be it reflects ineffective participation in which the citizen's will has no role, but rather is forced it does not affect the process of making and taking political decisions (Nimah, 2009: 27).

### **Political Culture**

Lucien Pye defined political culture as a set of values the prevailing beliefs in society that distinguish it from other societies it creates a kind of social appropriateness for the behavior of individuals, and gives the process It has a political form and content in the same way that culture gives the features of social life (Morlino et al., 2017: 64-74; Al-Tamimi, 2008: 157). The concept of political culture is recent, although its roots extend far back to the Greek philosophers who were proposing the concept of civic virtue, and it was established efforts to isolate political culture as related to political phenomena. It is pure and can isolate the political orientations of individuals, in other words others, according to Maurice Duverger defined it, it is a group of sects or a meeting of small groups spread throughout the

country and linked together by a coordination system are part of the prevailing culture in a society certain, but with the sum of its elements it is an organized structure and includes a nature political (Kollman, 2016; Al-Aswad, 1990: 3). The general political culture can influence decision makers especially since it arises from natural and acquired social and educational conditions through it, dealing with public opinion as the final outcome of political action political sociologists have pointed out that there are three elements of culture political attitudes through which individuals' attitudes towards the political system. These are Cognitive Elements, Emotional Elements and Valuable Elements (Al-Hadithi, 1988: 3).

Together, these elements constitute criteria for measuring individual attitudes toward any political topic, the cognitive elements mean everything that the individual knows about information about the political system, while the emotional elements consist of feelings individuals' attitudes towards the regime and its institutions range from admiration and sympathy to rejection and aversion, the value elements consist of values, principles and beliefs that on its basis, the position of individuals towards the political system is determined.

### **Political Awareness and Behavior**

It can be said that political participation is linked to political awareness the basis is that individuals must be aware of the activity they are performing these activities may or may not be rational, but they are conscious activities and the relationship political awareness and participation cannot be separated, as each one is complementary at the same time, it is impossible to imagine that there is political awareness if it does not exist there is political participation. In terms of the Islamic idea, it referred to the issue of awareness within the framework of politics legitimacy. The word awareness in Islamic thought has been linked to collection and preservation it has created political awareness among muslims since the establishment of the Islamic State in Medina Al-Munawwarah, and began working to spread Islamic preaching and disseminate political concepts which Islam brought (Hamid, 2004). In general, political awareness, as addressed by researchers, refers to (the extent of the citizen's knowledge of his political rights and duties, as well as his ability to visualize comprehensively of the surrounding reality and understanding it (or it is) the process through which a person can knowing the world and changing it (Khattab, 2004: 43). When we discuss human behavior, it is the sum of psychological, physical and motor activity the physiological and verbal expression that comes from a person as he interacts with his environment the concept of human behavior overlaps with many social and psychological sciences economic, political, and there are many definitions that address the concept Human behavior, among

them, is all actions and activities that arise from the individual, whether apparent or not (Issawi, 1991: 113).

### **Achieve a Sense of Citizenship**

The concept of citizenship did not appear in the sense that we know and deal with today one historical moment, and not within one intellectual framework, but rather passed through stages. Multiple historical backgrounds, and it has been addressed by various intellectual and philosophical schools, even if they differ in the way they dealt with the concept, both negatively and positively, but they all participated in formulating the contemporary concept of citizenship. Citizenship was linked to the movement of human history and took the form social movements that began from the establishment of agricultural societies through the civilization of Sumer, Assyria, Babylon, the Nile, China, Persia, the Phoenicians, and the Canaanites. These civilizations contributed to laying the foundations of justice and equality by providing broad horizons for human endeavors. To confirm his nature, prove himself, and have the right to participate in making decisions and determining options, which opened the way for the Greeks, and after them the Romans, to put Each of them has his own concept of citizenship (Al-Hamash, 2018). The emergence of the modern concept of citizenship was accompanied by the declaration of the independence of the United States on July 4, 1776, and The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in France in 1791. These two documents are an important turning point in the history of the concept of citizenship and stipulate political and civil rights, including the concept of participation.

### **The Nature of The System of Government**

Political participation is gaining qualitative importance in a multi-cultural society. Sects, orientations, and political and intellectual tendencies, as participation in communities like this are one of the mechanisms for achieving community cohesion and social integration participation will ensure the achievement of stability if it is organized. It acquires legal and legitimacy qualities by the authority, and also guarantees its effectiveness. Every class or group after placing it on an equal footing with other classes or groups that make up society, providing equal opportunities for all, and reducing conflicts between them by relying on democratic principles that guarantee the transfer of power and achieving the principles of transparency between the individual and authority (Fouad, 1995). In the case of dictatorial authority, it is considered the harshest authority that it exercises oppression and tyranny on members of society by preventing public freedoms, persecuting political forces, monopolizing power, and persisting in the deprivation of public rights and freedoms. All of this would make the characteristic of dictatorship and



tyranny the basis of tyrannical authority, which threatens Political stability in society and its place in the cycle of continuing violence, The dangers of dictatorial power also appear in that it stands as an obstacle to social and political development in society, as it leads to societal impotence that appears in the lack of political participation, and that the effect of dictatorial and authoritarian power in political participation is manifested in Restricting public freedoms and violating rights, and being more distant from any democratic practice, as it Tends to fight cultural diversity and pluralism social and seeks to fuse social formations through force (Al-Janabi, 2015).

### **The General Opinion**

Public opinion was not used as a term until the late eighteenth century Necker, the French Minister of Finance before the French Revolution, was the first to use it as a political force, some studies indicate that (Nicola Machiavelli) was one of the first to demand attention to the trends of public opinion, followed by Montesquieu who referred to the term (public spirit) and expressed it (Jean-Jacques Rousseau) as a concept (General Will) . It must be pointed out that there is a difference between the concept of the audience and the concept of the audience. Public opinion: Although the two concepts are sometimes mixed, public opinion is distinguished from the public in terms of the fact that the individuals in it are not determined by a place and are not linked by primary relationships, they are Influencing it without contact occurs without the need for direct contact The individual's submission is not total, as the individual can maintain his personality and its independence, while (the audience) refers to a specific place and time and depends on direct relationships and the individual's submission to the public is complete, and therefore there is no one it is necessary for public opinion to represent the sum of the opinions of the people who make up any society or society a group because personal opinions may or may not agree and perhaps the opinion of a minority of people it crystallized and prevailed as a result of persuasion, and here there is an interaction between different opinions It is necessary to achieve common acceptance, and propaganda and the media play a role in realize this statement (Abdulrazzak, 2009: 142).

### **Mechanisms of Political Participation**

There is no doubt that political participation requires the availability of mechanisms to achieve a clear and well-known system through which opinions and ideas flow, efforts are coordinated, plans and events are organized, and on known legal foundations.

If we know that the volume of political participation has begun to increase and escalate in the clear democratic momentum in the world remained the result of tremendous intellectual and technological progress.

Therefore, the mechanisms were numerous and took different forms and shapes depending on the circumstances of each political system in terms of its inputs and outputs. Among these mechanisms that this chapter will address are political parties, pressure groups, elections, popular referendums, the right to assembly demonstrations, political opposition, non governmental organization, parliamentary councils and the media in its various forms, images, and techniques.

### **Political Parties**

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If the volume of political participation has begun to increase and escalate in the clear democratic momentum in the world remained the result of tremendous intellectual and technological progress. Therefore, the mechanisms have been numerous and have taken different forms and shapes depending on the circumstances of each political system in terms of its inputs and outputs.

A political party is distinguished by its multiple meanings and the diversity of its implications for society to another, this may be due to the different circumstances that govern the emergence of the party on the difference in viewpoints, the phenomenon of political difference is self-evident social and cultural among members of society, which leads to the establishment of groups of individuals with certain interests agree to defend those interests and a group of people individuals to establish a political organization that leads to the emergence of the political party (Duverger, 1964: 6).

Jurisprudence has differed in formulating the definition of political parties, The Irish political thinker Edmund Burke defined the party as “a group of individuals united by their common endeavour” aiming to achieve the public good on the basis of unified principles they agreed upon (Al-Khatib, 1983: 130). As Duverger defined it, it is a group of sects or a meeting of small groups spread throughout the country, connected to each other by a system of coordination and custom, it is an organization that appoints candidates for elections by entering the legislative body. A political party is based on a number of elements, the most important of these are: Membership, organization, ideology, command unit and the goal of achieving power (Khaled, 2013: 164-169).

The mission and the basic task of political parties is to nominate and support a group of individuals and their representation in the electoral process, as well as appointing some people to assume important and

specific positions when the party wins the elections. The party has an impact on national life in society and has a major role in building political awareness of the people by giving information to individuals through newspapers and means of communication, it also has a strong and direct influence on public opinion through activating the political feeling of individuals (Al-Aswad, 1990: 47).

### **Elections**

The conventional meaning of the word election, it is a legal procedure its system, time and place are determined in a constitution or regulation so that it can be chosen accordingly one or more persons to chair or become members of a council, union, symposium, or the like that (General Administration of Lexicons and the Revival of Heritage, 1989: 90).

Election means the method of selecting people to hold certain positions. By voters, its means those eligible to vote according to rules and procedures the electoral system is also expressed as the basis of the democratic system the means by which rulers can be chosen democratically. This is why election is considered a democratic means, through which the people choose the intentions of those who represent them and express their will. Therefore, different systems are keen to carefully organize this method and surround it with sufficient guarantees for this. Its results are truly expressive, as they express the true will of the people without distortion or falsification (Fares, 2009: 3).

However, the general election cannot be regulated by the authorities therefore, constitutional law jurists believe that adopting the principle of general election does not conflict with the existence of some conditions aimed at organizing it and from them:

1. Nationality
2. Age
3. Eligibility
4. Registration in the electoral rolls (voter register) (Al-Ani, 1986: 33).

### **Legislative Councils (Parliament)**

The word "Parliament" is linguistically derived from the verb "speak" (Parler) it is a french word and in the Middle Ages it meant an assembly held in it study and discussion, and from France this term passed with the Normans to England when it is the house of Lords, and then the house of Commons (Rabat, 1971: 129; Ali, 2007: 81).

Parliament can be defined idiomatically as a political institution composed of one or two legislative chambers, each of which consists of a

relatively large number of members have the power to discuss and decide, and Parliament is distinguished from the constituent committees from a small number of members and advisory councils and associations that it has the power of consultation without the power of decision-making.

The single legislative council system is based on the principle that legislation is monopolized one chamber: Voters elect representatives on their behalf, and these representatives are composed a single council that exercises the powers stipulated in the constitution and is considered a system a single legislative council is more dynamic in unified or simple countries (Saifan, 2008: 290).

### **Pressure Groups**

It can be said that the concept of pressure group as a political term consists of two parts. The first is the concept of group and the second is the concept of pressure, which means a group of people who have common characteristics such as a standard of living, a similar level of income, similar profession and general behavior, and a similar scientific cultural level. As for the concept of pressure, it is linked to political processes, as it means that the group in the previous sense has taken over a unified trend or opinion on a specific issue. The influence of pressure groups on the official authorities and on the unofficial authorities (Nimah, 2009). The concept of resorting to violence to gain political power in democratic countries was dropped and replaced by the option of a democratic approach (elections) to win political power. At that time, organizations emerged that worked to exert pressure on the authorities to achieve the largest possible number of demands. Pressure groups are a type of groups that are formed and joined by individuals or groups in society with the aim of influencing the public and policy on a particular topic or issue.

### **Media**

The opinions of citizens, whether official or unofficial, are shaped as a result observing and interpreting events, and the media is the first observer for events, it is one of the important sources for interpreting them, so the media use them a prominent role in guiding decision makers and providing them with an important piece of information on the basis of which they make decisions and adopt certain policies, in addition to being the media is an important source of information that can be benefited from as an indicator of public opinion and a guide to the position of individuals and groups towards government policies internal and external, decision makers have become more inclined to respond to influences media in decision making (Issa, 1963: 110).

The media has the ability to influence public attitudes the recipient is drawn to the political events raised based on their presentations And political products the media is interested in political events and facts the

level of the whole world, and thus attracts viewers to be exposed to the news and follow-up, in addition to the growing interest in events and facts and the growing desire to more and more, this political news includes multiple patterns of behavior politics that carries many connotations, such as elections and conflicts political, demands for rights, etc (Ezzi, 2004: 70).

### **Civil Society**

A new trend has emerged in the study of political systems based on the concept civil society is an entry point for study and analysis, and this concept is not new it has its necessities and previous extensions in Western political and philosophical thought, as well as in the historical experiences of political practice mainly in the West in other regions of the world, the revival of the concept coincided with the third wave for the democratic transformation, civil society forces and organizations played an important role in pushing the transformation process in many countries of Central Europe, Asia and Latin America also, the growth of new social movements in the West, such as the environmental, peace, anti-nuclear weapons and anti-torture groups human rights...etc. have constituted an essential factor for the growing interest in the concept (Civil Society) .The most common definition of the concept is one that looks at society civil society as a network of free voluntary organizations that fill the public sphere between society and the state, it works to achieve the material and moral interests of individuals this is within the framework of commitment to the values and standards of respect, compromise and political tolerance intellectual, acceptance of pluralism and difference, and peaceful management of differences and conflicts (Ibrahim, 2008: 155-159).

### **Popular Referendum**

It is an important means of political participation, which is embodied in an invitation citizens to express their opinions as a democratic practice that requires a poll the people in what is presented to them in the constitutional, legislative and political fields giving support or rejection to it, in addition to the real importance of this method among the people, it makes them feel the importance of their influence in political life and painting the democratic and political approach of their country, and it also contributes to the development of awareness political development of citizens and raising their capabilities and cultures in directing the country's policies.

### ***Gathering and Demonstrating***

Freedom to express one's opinion is a fundamental right for every human being and should not be denied any one can exercise their right to this freedom, and a person is free to express himself it expresses his opinion and is personally responsible for the opinions, ideas and trends he expresses political, economic, social, cultural, etc., and therefore it should not be

offensive use this freedom and do not exceed the limits when exercising it morals, ethics, public health, security of society and the state, governments and freedoms others. Peaceful assembly is considered a form of expression of opinion through it, the attendees express their rejection of some of the decisions issued by the ruling authority or their protest against the positions of some political officials in the state, whether related to internal or external political affairs or in economic, social, educational or other affairs life matters that concern the citizen and affect his lifestyle (Al-Khatib, 2007: 96).

### **The Opposition**

The word opposition dates back to the eighteenth century Locke's doctrine is the idea that the opposing party stands in opposition to the existing government accordingly, the change of government can occur through peaceful means (Schapiro, 1972: 10).

The idea of opposition is closely related to the principle of separation of powers Montesquieu argued that force stands by force, and thus opposes all political institutions from one to the other, it is an opposition within the state apparatus . what cannot be denied is that the opposition is based on Western thought, but it cannot be denied that the opposition is older than the theories of that thought, but rather exists in the existence of creation according to the nature of the human soul and its innate differences, which leaves no room for doubt islam has created a reality for the opposition that is compatible with the principles of tolerance (Kazem, 2012: 8).

The political opposition constitutes an important element of the regime politically, it gives an accurate picture of the degree of development of the political experience it means participation and acceptance of other opinions and therefore represents a normal practice for the duality of life in general, it is therefore necessary to prevent the monopoly and concentration of power in the hands of a social group or political elite.

### **WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

The percentage of women's participation in political life varies from one country to another and from one society to another according to the system of laws, values and ideas that prevail in society. Recent decades have witnessed a clear increase in the frequency of calls to empower women and make room for their participation in political life. Despite these fervent calls, efforts to involve women in political life still face many obstacles. Some analysts believe that these obstacles lie in two basic matters, the first of which is society's own acceptance of women assuming a leadership role, and secondly the extent to which political parties are open to including women in their cadres. The weak participation of women is also linked to the weakness of general political action in some countries as a result of the

absence of strong and effective political and party movements. Political participation is a political activity that symbolizes the contribution of citizens and their role within the framework of the political system, and a feature of consensus among political scientists and researchers specialized in issues and problems of political and social transformation on the extreme political participation and women (Hawija, 2015).

Women's participation in political life depends on the circumstances of the society in which they live, and the degree of this participation depends on the degree of freedom and democracy that the individual enjoys in society, both politically and socially, and is based on the social freedoms that society grants to women to exercise this role. However, a number of reports and studies believe that the future of women's political and societal participation depends on the woman herself and the extent of her ability to confront attempts to marginalize her role in the future by some political forces and elites, and the extent of her ability to preserve the societal gains she achieved previously, which came as a result of her long struggle, and not a grant. Or a gift from someone (Al-Jrad, 2013: 6).

Women also bear a large part of the responsibility for their lack of political representation, given their silence in the face of the lack of seriousness of the ruling Arab regimes in making room for them to participate in decision-making. Many women confirm that their attempts to break this silence often fail to convince Arab officials of the importance of their role in public and political life, or rather, they are not allowed to do so because of the number of obstacles and obstacles that are placed in their way to limit their progress and their move towards achieving their ambitions at all levels. Women's participation in political life has two aspects: the first aspect lies in running for elections, where they decide to enter political life on their own, and work from within the political kitchen. The second aspect is represented by the election, where it is decided that it will have a voice and a role in determining who represents it in order to defend its rights and express its problems and concerns. Women's participation in political life is one of the most important elements of the democratic process in a country and reflects the nature of the political and social system in the country. Accordingly, the weakness of democratic mechanisms and forces in society contributes to the marginalization of women's political participation. The degree of development of societies is also measured by their ability to integrate women into public and private societal issues, and to enhance their abilities to contribute to the development process in it (Mahmoud, 2002: 277).

It is worth noting that traditional societies are more inclined to recognize women's political rights compared to the possibility of

recognizing women's social and economic rights, which means that there is a possibility for women to reach decision-making positions, but it may be accompanied by imposing a siege on them so that their presence is more formal than practical, as soon as women enter. In political life until restrictions begin to increase in order to preserve the system of customs and traditions and the dominance of male society.

### **The Importance of Women's Political Participation**

When we talk about women, the importance of their political participation takes on a special character due to the specificity of the women's issue, which is the issue of eliminating all forms of discrimination against them in society to achieve equality and equal opportunities between them and men. Therefore, the importance of its political participation has other dimensions. This is what takes women out of the private sphere represented by the family and brings them into the public sphere, which helps in reconsidering the perceptions and visions that govern the sharing of roles between men and women, which makes the women's issue become a general social issue and not an issue on the margins of societal issues that concern women only. The role of women's participation in decision-making at all levels enables women to obtain their rights, exercise them formally, and contribute to the management and direction of society. The importance of women's political participation at various levels serves the idea of equality not only between the sexes but among all citizens, and the concept of gender equality is considered an embodiment of equality among all citizens, and a true application of the concept of participation, which is considered the basis of democratic practice. The presence of women in decision-making centers serves society in all its issues and aspects (International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, 2019).

Women's participation in political life on an equal basis with men constitutes one of the mechanisms for democratic change in society, which contributes to restructuring this society and restructuring its political system on the basis of the actual interests and needs of citizens. Women's political participation is considered an indicator of the growth and strengthening of citizen participation and a means to redistribute power relations between the genders and improve the mechanisms of democratic practice. The presence of women in positions of power and authority will achieve the interests associated with them, highlight their issues, defend their rights, and accelerate their granting of a real role in the process of community development in general. All of this is because of the impact these positions –power and authority– have on women's lives. Political participation gives women greater ability to control the affairs of their lives and the affairs of others, whether in their family or society, by enabling them to obtain their rights, realize their interests, and defend them. Despite the



importance of women's participation in public life for the reasons mentioned, and despite the efforts made by the feminist movement demanding equality that has been active in Lebanon since the first half of this century, which led to women obtaining the right to vote and run for office and for girls to benefit from educational opportunities with the increase in the number of schools. A number of women participate in work in all sectors, although the percentage of participation in the overall labor force remains is still slim (Akiyode-Afolabi, 2020).

### **Factors Affecting Women's Political Participation**

One of the most important difficulties of women's political participation is gender-based violence, which hinders all other life activities. Gender-based violence encompasses a wide range of harmful acts directed at individuals based on their gender. It can occur in various forms, including physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence (Heise et al., 1999: 1). Below are the main types of gender-based violence:

#### **1. Physical Violence**

**Domestic Violence:** Physical abuse by a partner or family member, including hitting, slapping, or using weapons.

**Intimate Partner Violence:** Abuse by a current or former partner, which may include physical harm, assault, or coercion.

**Female Genital Mutilation (FGM):** The partial or total removal of the external female genitalia for non-medical reasons, often resulting in severe health issues.

#### **2. Sexual Violence**

**Rape:** Non-consensual sexual intercourse or penetration, often involving force or threats.

**Sexual Assault:** Any non-consensual sexual act, such as groping, molestation, or other forms of sexual contact.

**Sexual Harassment:** Unwanted and inappropriate sexual remarks, advances, or behavior in various settings, including workplaces and educational institutions.

**Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation:** The recruitment, transportation, or harboring of individuals for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

#### **3. Psychological Violence**

**Emotional Abuse:** Insults, threats, humiliation, and other actions that harm an individual's emotional well-being.

**Intimidation and Coercion:** Using fear and threats to control or manipulate someone.

Stalking: Persistent and unwanted attention or harassment, often causing fear and distress.

Gaslighting: Manipulating someone into questioning their own reality or sanity.

#### 4. Economic Violence

Financial Abuse: Controlling or restricting an individual's access to financial resources, employment, or education.

Economic Exploitation: Forcing someone to work without fair compensation or under abusive conditions.

Deprivation of Financial Independence: Preventing someone from working, earning money, or having control over their finances.

#### 5. Cultural and Harmful Practices

Child Marriage: Forcing individuals, often girls, into marriage before they are legally or emotionally ready.

Honor Crimes: Violence committed to protect or restore the "honor" of a family or community, often against women who are perceived to have brought shame.

Dowry-Related Violence: Abuse or violence related to dowry demands, which can lead to severe physical and emotional harm or even death.

#### 6. Structural and Institutional Violence

Discrimination and Inequality: Systematic practices and policies that disadvantage individuals based on their gender.

Denial of Rights and Opportunities: Preventing access to education, healthcare, and legal protection due to gender biases.

Incarceration and Punishment: Gender-specific forms of abuse or mistreatment within legal and penal systems (Council of Europe, 2024).

Among the political difficulties that limit women's participation, and constitute a fundamental obstacle to women's involvement in political life, is the low level of women's participation in leadership positions in party political bodies, and weak competition in electoral and geographic constituencies. Among the difficulties facing women's participation in political work are the high rate of illiteracy, environmental problems in their various forms, poverty, women's continuous striving for livelihood and construction, the weakness of the media in educating and making women aware of their political rights, and the absence of democracy. It also limits the movement of female activists who are not affiliated with government institutions, including the aforementioned difficulties and obstacles to women's participation in political life, and the extent of this participation.

It is clear to us that some of these difficulties are related to the prevailing cultural and ideological system that determines the values and beliefs associated with men's relationships with women. In addition to that, there are difficulties related to women themselves, as some women prefer to choose men to hold public positions, and not compete with men in the political right.

More than one social and individual element participates in shaping political participation. Inactive other factors that affect political participation in general are constant, but they directly affect women's political participation in particular. These factors can be handled in three titles: Division of labor based on sex/gender, socioeconomic status, and patriarchal structure.

### **Gender-Based Discrimination in the Labor Force**

A factor influencing women's political participation at the national and local levels. The first factor is gender. The concept of gender appears in the biological differences between men and women, which is used to describe people as masculine and division into females due to reproduction or in connection with such division it is defined as a structured practice Alexandrovich, 2021: 131-136).

The concept of woman and man is also used to denote gender characteristics, and both the boundaries of the party's roles have been drawn. These roles are mostly assigned to men and women by society, while women are limited to domestic life from the perspective of society, so are men women and men took their place in life shaped by gender differences through these roles, women are assigned the role of "woman of the house" and men are assigned the role of "head of the family." In this case, it can be said that a woman's position in society is determined by the society in which she lives. It is shaped by their social roles and traditions as a result of the gender division of labor, women are excluded from political life participation becomes difficult (Topgöl, 2011: 23-24).

### **Socio-Political Status**

It is one of the leading factors and has an impact on women's political participation, the element that has a major impact on the political and social situation is education, as individuals are affected by political events by reporting on the process and also by making some political value judgments. The political socialization of women plays an important role in political equality between the sexes in societies where women have access to appropriate education.

In societies where access to proper education is not possible, the situation manifests itself in the opposite direction and yes, it is. Women's economic freedom and social independence are meant to be enhanced

through education, and the opportunity to receive education and use it positively. Women who are able to evaluate themselves in this sense have a place in commercial life and in the political arena.

The education an individual receives affects his experiences and thoughts, the environment that shapes her structure is of great importance in determining her profession. A profession undertaken by a person shows his/her standing in society. Because the individual the higher his status in society, the more interested he became in political issues increasing. Political participation of the individual who is most interested in political issues the frequency of performing their activities may also increase. Therefore it should be mentioned that it is related both the level of education and the nature of the profession that a person practices affect political participation and can affect it negatively or positively. Especially for women when considered, educational opportunities are insufficiently provided or not provided at all, are authoritarian and competitive, and obtaining professional status under difficult circumstances limits political participation or may have a complicating effect.

There is another social and economic factor that affects women's political participation it is the level of income, because whether a woman is strong or weak in terms of income is a factor it has a decisive role in political participation, especially as a mother or housewife. Women's political participation is a highly controversial issue in societies where women are seen as such, to the point that in a society where a gender-based approach is taken, a woman is considered a mother or a woman.

Getting rid of the role of housewife, taking a place in working life, and becoming an active part of social life has become more difficult to happen compared to men.

### **Patriarchal Social Structure**

One of the factors that influence women's political participation is the social factor it is the structure. -To express all organized relationships in society. The concept of patriarchal structure used provides a framework for society to the extent that before an individual is born, this framework is protected by culture and relationships they are all organized systematically. The structure of different societies, social events, developments and in raising certain issues in the context of relationships and in relation to these issues the financial structure plays a major role in arriving at laws because the establishment of the structure it occurs with the unity of role, groups, class, institutions and culture, these parts that make up the structure also have independent and coincidental relationships (Baliamoune-Lutz, 2013).

On the contrary, it is a set of systematic relationships that provide

a framework in society, it is the patriarchal structure that has such a comprehensive nature in the first place it would be appropriate to mention that it is effective in many areas, including politics.

Participation is shaped within the framework of roles adopted by a patriarchal society. since the role of women in this structure is very limited, the dominance of men likewise, it is widespread in most regions, based on the gender approach different roles were assigned to men and women and women were responsible for family relations while men were responsible for relationships outside the home and in this regard it was adopted that women have no important place in political life because of the roles imposed on the sexes.

In general, it has become difficult for women to have a role and politics has been taken out of women's sphere of interest.

### **Historical Development of Women's Participation in Politics**

Political life and concepts/topics related to political life go back to ancient times in the history of democracy in its present and most distinguished sense and the history of elections of this type is relatively recent. In this regard it can be said that women's attempts in politics to guarantee their rights date back to the eighteenth century. Women's political participation in the study women's political participation in the world and in Sudan. It is discussed in two separate ways: participation and historical development.

It has been participated in many struggles of social and political importance throughout history women who participated very actively in the aftermath of these struggles in times of stagnation and renewal, they were excluded from the struggle (Tekeli, 1982: 69). For this reason, women participated in politics after obtaining some other rights they were able to obtain the right to participate women enjoy equal rights with men. Their struggle to guarantee certain rights, especially with regard to political participation, decades after the French Revolution, when women were seriously organized after its passage, it began to appear in France and England. From this perspective, the nineteenth century was a period when women embarked on serious struggles to obtain their rights it is considered a period (Say: 1998: 4).

Women's real participation in political life began in the nineteenth century the class that emerged with the social transformation that occurred after the Industrial Revolution it began as a result of their struggle. And yet, even within the family, the decision maker women who are not in a position to realize their lack of rights thanks to the class struggle the struggle over various rights, including property, wages, voting, and candidacy she began by giving (Minibaş, 1996: 74).

In the 1830s, women came to the United States to gain their rights to political participation as a result of the women's movements that first began in the world in 1890, the United States of America and in Wyoming, by granting women the right to vote (Say, 1998: 5).

With the amendment made to the US Federal Constitution in 1920, this political rights were granted to all women throughout the United States of America although the first women's movements began in the United States, they began in 1893 (Hammarberg, 2012: 140). New Zealand, Australia in 1902, Finland in 1906, Norway in 1913 Switzerland, Canada in 1918, England in 1928, Türkiye in 1934, 1944 In 1971, France and Switzerland granted women the right to political participation, regarding the beginnings of the feminist movement in Sudan and the challenges it faced, Ihsan Faqiri says, "The beginning of the feminist movement in Sudan dates back to the founding of the Educated Girl Association in 1947, which included a number of pioneers of the feminist movement, namely Khalida Zahir, Fatima Talib, Nafisa Al-Malik, and Nima Ghandour." But the association did not last long, as its activity ended in 1949 (Watson, 2020: 36).

In general, the women's movements that flared up on the European continent expanded over time and became the liberal movements of that period. It paved the way for important changes in democratic constitutions, especially after First World War (Zabunoğlu, 2013: 51).

In many countries, especially European countries, women's political participation rights are although some studies have been conducted on the legal right to political participation, the rate of representation of winning women in parliaments was very low, between 1945-1970, the period has been described as a slow/heavy period in terms of women's rights. The main reason for this situation is that women in the mentioned period they did not show the necessary interest in politics. However a choice a woman who exercises her right to run loses her right to run because of patriarchal society. She states that they cannot use it, and in this sense they are excluded from politics (Marduç, 2015: 9).

In order to improve the status of women in a positive way, she fought studies conducted under the umbrella of the United Nations Economic and Social Council led by the Committee on the Status of Women, which was established in 1946, it has acquired a special and formal significance. The committee concerned is the United Nations "Human rights" that were submitted to states for ratification in 1948. It also played an important role in writing the Universal Declaration without distinction between genders (Turkish Prime Ministry General Directorate of Women's Status and Problems, 2000: 1). Then, in 1952, the United

Nations General Assembly took into account the principle of equal rights between men and women. and participation in public services under equal conditions, the United Nations “on the basis of the Treaty” and the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights”, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women was adopted (United Nations, 1953).

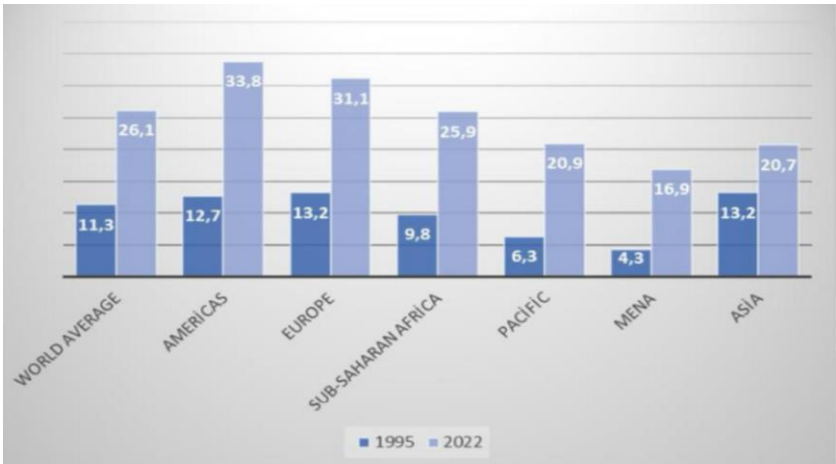
In 1975, through the United Nations in Mexico City, the "World Conference" was organized and then the United Nations General Assembly declared the period between 1975 and 1985 the "Decade of Women", the objectives of the decade were “Equality, Development and Peace”, and the main theme was “Employment, Health and education.” As a result of national and international studies, equality mechanisms were established in 127 countries and under the umbrella of the United Nations “Research for the Advancement of Women” and Training Institute (INSTRAW) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) it began to be seen as the “fundamental and equal subject of development” in the ten years in question 1975 and 1985.

In order to study developments when the period was in its middle, the “International Women’s Conference” was organized. At this conference an “Action Plan” was adopted which outlines the measures to be taken to improve the situation in a positive way then, after the conference, it was adopted by the General Assembly in 1979 as the United Nations “For the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women” and the Convention on the Abolition of the Death Penalty (CEDAW) was submitted for approval by member states in 1980. In July 1985 to examine and evaluate their achievements in peace matters the Third World Conference on Women was held in Nairobi. The basis of the conference the steps taken aim to ensure equality in social participation, political participation and decision-making. In 1995, the “Commitments Conference” was held in Beijing. The Beijing Declaration and two documents called Action Platform 11 were prepared and accepted. To empower women, achieve equality between men and women, and include gender in policies and programmes full and equal participation of women in the private and public spheres.

After the Fourth World Conference on Women through the United Nations General Assembly, in order to assess developments and determine new actions and initiatives to be taken, it was decided to hold a special session. In this regard, from 5 to 9 June in New York, the conference “Women 2000: for the Twenty-First Century” was held between. In 2000, final decisions were made. By the United Nations General Assembly “Gender Equality, Development and Peace” laws apply differently to men and women, both nationally and internationally, due to traditional roles and women being minimally represented but in decision-making positions.

It has been stated that they maintain some cooperation among themselves, however, quotas and other positive discrimination apply, although great progress has been made in practices, women are not treated in the traditional sense, their roles and financial weakness make them inadequate in decision-making mechanisms, leading to weak participation.

But today there are studies on women's political participation and the extent of their participation it varies from one region to another or from one country to another, and despite the differences, there is a great deal of political participation, especially in democratic countries, and in this section it can be said that women have gained some rights, but there is controversy about how and to what extent these rights are used. Granted to women because women voting only once every four years means participation in political life. True political participation is not limited to voting and giving, but also to participating in the political public arena, that is, in Parliament, filling local government seats and assuming roles in the public sector it represents a broader nature (Say, 1998:5)



**Figure 1:** World and Regional Averages of Women Representation in Parliaments (1995 and 2022). **Source:** (IPU, 2021)

Until today, women have enjoyed the right to vote and run for office in almost all countries of the world their representation rates in parliaments have increased since 1995. However, the average political participation of women is 11.3%. from 1995 to 2022, when the rate reaches 26.1%, women will be allowed to vote and stand for election to the International Parliament and this can be verified based on data provided by the IPU (IPU, 2022).

Thus, the total number of representatives in parliaments until May



2022 is 44,310, including 32,680 men and 11,630 women. Women represent 11,630 people, or 26.2%, compared to data for January 1997 (a total of 38,493 deputies). While 33,981 of the number are men, and 4,512 are women, and this number is (equivalent to 11.7%) Women's representation in parliaments The rate has improved significantly over time, but remains at 30%. It is clear that it lags far behind men, and is not even able to represent the largest percentage (IPU, 2022).

## **CHAPTER TWO: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SUDAN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF SUDAN**

The Republic of Sudan is an African Arab country located in northeastern Africa. It is bordered by 7 countries: Egypt to the north, Libya to the northwest, Chad to the west, South Sudan to the south, the Central African Republic to the southwest, Ethiopia to the southeast, Eritrea to the east, and the Red Sea to the northeast. Sudan has a population of approximately 48 million people (2022 estimate), an area of 1,861,484 square kilometers (718,723 square miles), making Sudan the third largest country by area in Africa and the Arab world. It was the largest in Africa and the Arab world in terms of area before the secession of South Sudan in 2011. Sudan is located in the middle of the Nile Valley basin. The Nile River divides the territory of Sudan into two eastern and western parts. The capital, Khartoum, is located at the confluence of the Nile River, the Blue Nile and the White Nile, the two main tributaries of the River Nile (Central Intelligence Agency, 2024).

The history of the region that constitutes current Sudan goes back to ancient times, and the Karma civilization existed (about 2500 BC - 1500 BC). During this period, Sudan was influenced by the Egyptian Kingdom and then came under the control of the new Egyptian Kingdom for a period not exceeding five centuries, and this was followed by the emergence of the Kingdom of Kush in northern Sudan (about 785 BC), became a dominant state and in turn controlled Egypt for nearly a century. After the decline and fall of Kush, the Nubians built three Christian kingdoms: Noubatia, Makuria and Alwa, the last two kingdoms lasting until 1500. Between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most of Sudan was settled by Arab nomads. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the Sultanate of Sennar controlled central and eastern Sudan, while the Sultanate of Darfur ruled the west, and the Ottomans ruled the far north. This period witnessed the spread of Islamization and Arabization, after which the Christian kingdoms declined (Collins, 2025).

This period, from 1820 to 1874, saw the conquest of the entire Sudan by the Alawite dynasty (Ottoman rule-Turkish preemption). Between 1881 and 1885, the rule of the Alawite dynasty was met with a successful revolution led by Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi, who declared himself the Mahdi caliph, leading to the establishment of the Mahdist state. This state was eventually defeated in 1898 by the British, who ruled Sudan with Egypt (Henahan, 2016).

In the twentieth century, Sudan witnessed the growth of Sudanese nationalism, and Britain granted autonomy to Sudan in 1953, and independence was declared on January 1, 1956. Since independence,

Sudan has been ruled by a series of parliamentary governments and unstable military regimes, under the rule of Jaafar al-Numeiri, Sudan introduced Islamic law to the judiciary in 1983. This exacerbated the dispute between the Islamic north - the seat of government - and the Christians and others in the south. Differences in ethnicity, language, religion and political power caused a civil war between government forces, which were heavily influenced by the National Islamic Front, and the southern rebels, whose most influential faction was the Sudan People's Liberation Army, eventually leading to the secession of South Sudan in 2011 and South Sudan is an independent country (Collins, 2008). Between 1989 and 2019, Sudan witnessed a military dictatorship that lasted 30 years, led by Omar al-Bashir. Due to mismanagement of governance, war broke out in the Darfur region in 2003. Al-Bashir was accused of committing ethnic genocide that left between 300,000 and 400,000 dead. Protests broke out in late 2018 with the people's demand for Al-Bashir's resignation, which led to a successful coup on April 11, 2019, and the people succeeded in overthrowing Omar Al-Bashir's government, known as the Salvation Government (CNN, 2024).

The name Sudan was given to the part of Africa located south of the Sahara Desert, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean in the east. while this name now means the area located in southern Egypt, specifically the central part of the Nile valley Basin. The Republic of Sudan is an Arab-African country that represents a unique social fabric with different cultures, races, and characteristics, rarely found anywhere in the world. Regard to religion Islam is the most common religion in Sudan, and it has been dominated by Muslims. The Muslim population is 97%, including many Arab and non-Arab groups, while the remaining 3% are followers of the Christian religion and traditional beliefs. The city of Khartoum is the capital of Sudan, and is known as the triple capital, as it consists of three cities: Khartoum (the political capital), Khartoum Bahri (the industrial capital), and Omdurman (the national capital) (Britannica, 2024).

### **British-Egyptian Colonialism in Sudan (1899-1956): Anglo-Egyptian Sudan**

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was a former name for the current Sudan during the period of the Anglo-Egyptian occupation of Sudan between 1899 and 1956. This period witnessed the establishment of the foundations of the modern state in Sudan and greatly shaped the contemporary Sudanese political landscape. It paved the way for the civil war that led to the secession of the south in 2011.

Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 and then sought to secure the sources of the Nile, so the British government negotiated agreements with

the Italians and Germans to keep them out of the Nile Valley. Britain was less successful with the French, who wanted the British to withdraw from Egypt, and then the British thought about invading Sudan to protect the sources of the Nile from the French, especially in 1896 when a French scouting campaign moved across Africa from the west coast to an area in the upper Nile called (Fashoda), where it was believed that a dam could be built to obstruct the flow of the Nile's waters (Wesseling, 1996).

As reports reached London in 1896 and 1897 about the French expedition to Fashoda, Britain's inability to isolate the Nile Valley became embarrassingly exposed. British officials tried desperately to dissuade the French from Fashoda, but to no avail. By the fall of 1897, British authorities had come to the conclusion that an invasion of Sudan was necessary to protect the waters of the Nile from French encroachment. In October of that year, an Anglo-Egyptian army led by General Horatio Herbert Kitchener advanced to invade Sudan. Kitchener crawled towards the Nile steadily but cautiously. The Anglo-Egyptian forces defeated the Mahdi's army decisively, with heavy losses, on April 8, 1898. After that, the French were forced to withdraw from the (Fashoda) region under British pressure. An Anglo-French treaty in March 1899 stopped French expansion towards the sources of the Nile (Encyclopedia, 2024).

In March 1896, when the English armies, aided by the Egyptians, marched into Sudan under the command of British Commander Lord Herbert Kitchener to recolonize it under the British Crown. Omdurman, the capital of the Mahdist state, fell in the year 1898, and Sudan was placed under the administration of a dual government according to the agreement of 1899, between England and Egypt, which stipulated that the head of the military and civil administration in Sudan would be an English governor-general nominated by the government of England and appointed by the Khedive of Egypt (Jones, 2014). The Governor-General enjoyed absolute powers in the administration of Sudan. Thus, sovereignty over Sudan was shared between the Egyptians and Britain, and the Egyptian and British flags were raised side by side. In practice, the agreement made Sudan an independent state under the management of British employees, assisted by junior Egyptian employees (Bashir, 1987).

In fact, there was no equal partnership between Britain and Egypt in Sudan, as the British controlled the situation in Sudan from the beginning.

### **Sudan Independence (1956)**

In 1938, the Sudanese group formed the (Graduates Conference), which called for the liquidation of colonialism in Sudan and granting the Sudanese the right to self-determination. In 1955, negotiations began between the dual governments of England and Egypt regarding the

formation of an international committee to supervise self-determination in Sudan. The Sudanese Parliament met in 1955 and approved 4 proposals that defined the country's demands:

1. Responding to southern demands for federalism.
2. Declaration of independence.
3. Formation of the Sovereignty Committee.
4. Forming a constituent assembly.

Southern demands that a federal government for the three southern provinces (Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria) be considered by the Constituent Assembly were postponed. Parliament unanimously agreed on independence and that Sudan become an independent, sovereign state. The desire to obtain rapid recognition of independence resulted in the selection of a committee of five representatives, one of whom is a southerner, by Parliament to exercise the powers of the head of state in accordance with the provisions of a temporary constitution approved by Parliament until a head of state is elected in accordance with the provisions of a permanent constitution. At eleven o'clock in the morning on Sunday, the first of January 1956, the flags of the British and Egyptian bilateral government were lowered from the flagpole of the Governor-General's Palace (The Republican Palace), and at the same moment the flag of the Republic of Sudan was raised and witnessed the birth of a new state, in front of a large crowd of Sudanese (Hamad, 2022).

Sudan joined the League of Arab States on January 19, 1956, and the United Nations on November 12, 1956. It was one of the founding countries of the Organization of African Unity on May 25, 1963, and the African Union, which succeeded it in July 1999 (El-Ayouty & Zartman, 1984).

### **South Sudan Issue (2011)**

When the dual rule (Egyptian British) was established in Sudan in 1899, Britain built its policy in southern Sudan on two pillars:

1. Reducing the northern presence in the south
2. Weakening Arab culture and working to prevent the spread of Islam there

The British role in sparking the problem of the civil war in South Sudan was explored, and the documents of that period were delved into the methods used by London to work to separate the south from the north, especially those related to the role of Christian missions and the policy of weakening Arab culture, replacing southern employees with northerners, and preventing northern merchants from entering the country. Arriving in

the South, and the impact of all this on the continuity of the problem to this day. The British administration feared annexing the south to the north, claiming that the more educated northerners would oppress the isolated, illiterate southerners. However, the establishment of the South as an independent state was faced with the challenges of the lack of resources in the South and its lack of any seaport (Badran, 2021).

After their hesitation, Britain decided to announce its choice for unity between the two parts of the country at the Juba Conference in 1947 (Robertson, 1974). However, the relationship between the two parts of the country throughout all these years was characterized by constant tension and armed conflict due to cultural, ethnic and religious differences, which became the longest civil war in Africa until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the secession of the South in 2011.

### **Naivasha Agreement and The Secession of The South Sudan**

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in Naivasha between the Government of Sudan, represented by the Vice President of the Republic, Ali Osman Mohamed Taha, and the head of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, Dr. John Garang de Mabior, which put an end to the second civil war in South Sudan and granted the South Sudan region autonomy and participation in central government, and stipulated to organize a referendum on unity or independence in 2011. The new transitional constitution was also signed in 2005 (Dbpedia, 2023).

A general referendum was held on January 9, 2011, in which the residents of South Sudan cast their votes, and a large percentage of them voted in favor of secession. At eight and forty-five minutes in the morning on Saturday, the ninth of July 2011, the flag of the Republic of Sudan was lowered from the city of Juba, the capital of the South, and the flag of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement - which was chosen to be the flag of the new state - was raised, marking the birth of the state of South Sudan. Thus, the last step of implementing the provisions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement concluded between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement has been completed. Sudan was the first to recognize the new state (Tull, 2005).

### **DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SUDAN**

Since Sudan gained its independence from Britain, successive governments have not been able to develop a permanent constitution to preserve the general principles agreed upon between the political and social components and advance the highest national interests. With the change of military governments and fragile democratic regimes, which did not withstand wars, economic crises for long, and the problems of

consolidating the mixed Arab and African identity, the constitution has been changing in Sudan since the first interim constitution, on January 1, 1956. With the issuance of the Autonomy Law in 1953, for the purpose of organizing the administration of Sudan, the country's journey began with the making of the first constitution after independence, with the issuance of the "Sudan Interim Constitution of 1956." But Lieutenant General Ibrahim Abboud blocked this path by implementing the first military coup, on November 17, 1958. His government's first decision was to suspend the constitution. Cycles of military and democratic rule continued until August 17, 2019, when the (dissolved) Military Council and the "Declaration of Freedom and Change" forces signed a constitutional document, following the army leadership's removal of Omar al-Bashir from the presidency (1989-2019), on April 11, 2019 under pressure from popular protests against his rule.

### **Brief History of Elections in Sudan**

#### **First Parliamentary Elections (1953)**

The Sudanese held their first parliamentary elections in 1953, in which five political parties participated: These are:

1. The National Unionist Party
2. Uma Party
3. South Bloc
4. Socialist Republican Party
5. Anti-colonial Front

The National Unionist Party was able to obtain fifty-one seats, obtaining an absolute majority that allowed it to rule alone. The number of constituencies proposed for the House of Representatives elections was 97, and the electoral process was carried out in a satisfactory manner accepted by the citizens, and no objection occurred except in one constituency, where a complaint was submitted to the Elections Commission regarding a violation that occurred in the votes at a polling station in this constituency. There was also an accusation related to a discrepancy in the number of votes collected and the number of voters who showed up at the polling stations, but the investigation proved that it was unfounded (Abushouk & Abdelsalam, 2020).

#### **Second Parliamentary Elections (1958)**

The Sudanese Constitution of 1956 stipulates that all governing bodies established after the 1953 elections, such as Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Judiciary, the Civil Service Commission, and the Auditor General, shall continue until the election of the President of the Republic.

The Constituent Assembly, which was supposed to be held in August 1957 in accordance with the text of Article 56 of the 1956 Constitution, but the Sovereignty Council intervened, using its powers, and postponed holding the elections until February 1958 in order to avoid heavy rains in August. In these elections, the Umma Party won 63 seats, the People's Democratic Party won 26 seats, the Federal National Party won 44 seats, and the Southern Liberal Party won 40 seats. It is worth noting that these elections were the beginning of the era of coalition governments in Sudan, as none of the six parties that participated in these elections obtained the majority of seats that would qualify them to form a single government (Eastlaws, 2024).

### **Third Parliamentary Elections (1965)**

Five political parties participated in the parliamentary elections held in 1956. The National Unionist Party won 73 seats. The Uma Party won 92 seats, the Islamic Charter Front Party won 5 seats, the Sudanese Communist Party won 11 seats, and the Beja Congress won 10 seats (Hawass, 2017: 57).

### **Fourth Parliamentary Elections (1968)**

22 political parties and regional or tribal blocs participated in these elections. Among the most important parties and organizations that participated are The Democratic Unionist Party, The Umma Party with its two wings (Al-Sadiq - Al-Mahdi), Sano Party, Islamic Charter Front, Beja Congress and Southern Front. The votes were distributed among these parties, and none of these parties was unique in having the majority that would enable it to form the government on its own, although the Democratic Unionist Party, which was established as a result of the merger between the National Unionist Party and the Umma Party, the People's Democratic Party obtained 101 seats, which is the highest seat it has obtained. No party wins in these elections, followed by the Umma Party, with its two wings, with 72 seats (Abushouk & Abdelsalam, 2020).

### **Fifth Parliamentary Elections (1986)**

The fifth parliamentary elections in 1986 were considered the fifth episode in a series of parliamentary elections that took place in light of party pluralism, the political structure of which had begun to take shape since the period of self-rule and self-determination. These elections demonstrated the interaction of the old and the new in shaping the political behavior of the Sudanese citizen, candidate and voter, noting that several variables accompanied the electoral campaign, which had a major impact, including the new parties that presented themselves for the first time in the political arena, the method of electoral propaganda, press follow-up, and the introduction of some Parties, problems of Sudanese society, then electoral alliances. However, these variables did not have complete dominance in



directing the practices of the parties and their candidates, or determining the final results of the elections, because they were partially subject to the influence of the traditional factors of tribalism, sectarianism, and regionalism. These elections began after the Mayo regime ruled the country from 1969 to 1985. The parties that participated in these elections were: - The Umma Party - Democratic Federal Party - National Islamic Front - Sudanese National Party - Arab Socialist Baath Party - Sudanese African Congress - Sudanese Communist Party. The Umma, Democratic Union, and National Islamic Front parties won the highest seats in these elections. Since no party obtained a majority, a number of coalition governments were formed during the period from 1986-1989 (Abushouk & Abdelsalam, 2020).

### **Elections of 2009-2010**

Under the Election Law of 2008, the Commission is required to organize elections in Sudan that are the first of their kind in terms of comprehensiveness and size, where the following will be elected:

1. President of the Republic
2. Prime Minister of the South.
3. State Governors.
4. Members of the National Legislative Council.
5. Members of the Legislative Council of South Sudan.
6. Members of state legislative councils.

The elections also witness the designation of constituencies for women and parties on the basis of proportional representation, for the first time in the history of Sudan. The proportion of women's constituencies is 25%, proportional representation list constituencies is 15%, and geographical constituencies are 60%. This division applies to national and state legislative bodies. The electoral process begins with defining geographical constituencies, then registering voters and announcing the final register, then nominations, the electoral campaign, and finally voting and announcing the results (Embassy of The Republic of The Sudan, 2015).

On April 13 and 16, 2015, the first general elections were held after the secession of South Sudan to elect the president and the Sudanese National Council. The presidential elections were won by President Omar al-Bashir, amid a boycott by the majority of the opposition. Sudan's ruling National Congress Party also won a majority in the National Assembly (BBC, 2015).

### **First Civil Rule Period After Independence (1956-1958)**

In the period before and after independence, no agreement was

reached on a specific model of governance, and the political arena was dominated by several party currents during independence. The political current based on sectarianism was represented by two parties: the Umma Party, sponsored by Sayyed Abdul Rahman al-Mahdi, which witnessed several divisions later, and the Brothers Party, which became Later, the National Unionist Party was sponsored by Mr. Ali Al-Mirghani, before the People's Democratic Party split from it. The non-sectarian Islamic political current, based on the Islamic elite, is represented by the Islamic Charter Front Party, which later changed its name to the National Islamic Front, then the National Congress Party, then the Popular Congress Party, and its spiritual leadership is represented by the person of Hassan al-Turabi, the leftist movement represented by the Sudanese Communist Party. In addition to these main movements, there were other movements such as liberals, independents, the Republican Brotherhood (the movement founded by Mahmoud Muhammad Taha), and various regional political forces, most notably the southern political forces (Asharq Al-Awsat, 2023).

### **Constitutional Crisis**

After the end of the transitional period, a constitutional vacuum occurred because independence abolished the self-government constitution in force at the time. Also, the position of President of the country, which was held by the British Governor-General, became vacant after it was abolished with the abolition of the dual rule agreement. Therefore, the constitution of the transitional period was amended to suit the post-independence period, and it would operate temporarily until a new permanent constitution was approved. The main argument for accelerating the filling of that vacuum was to quickly obtain recognition by other countries of Sudan's independence, and that the shortest way to do so was to amend the law on self-government. The most important thing stipulated in the interim constitution was the formation of a high presidential council, called the Sovereignty Council, to be the supreme constitutional authority and the leadership of the army would devolve to it. The Sudanese parties, with their various movements, failed to agree on any compromise formula between them regarding the system of government and the constitution, and the dispute continued for several years after independence and failed to solve the problem of South Sudan. This led to the intervention of the army to remove them from power, taking advantage of the growing public discontent to worsen the situation in the country (Khalid, 1990).

### **First Military Rule: The Period of Rule of General Ibrahim Aboud (1958-1965)**

Lieutenant General Ibrahim Aboud, the seizure of power by the army, led by Lieutenant General Ibrahim Abboud, on November 17, 1958,

was the first blow to the multi-party system in Sudan. Regardless of how the army came, and whether it was at the invitation of one of the parties, with its blessing, or with its support for it and expression of its willingness to cooperate with it, the process of dissolving the parties in itself and announcing a military council to rule Sudan indicates the depth of the governance crisis in Sudan from the beginning. In addition, Lieutenant General Abboud's move generated a feeling among Sudanese public opinion that whenever the situation in the country worsens, attention turns to the army seeking relief from the crisis (Ibrahim, 2022). It was this feeling on which the subsequent military rule, supported by a technocratic civilian government, built the legitimacy of seizing power, especially since it found support from broad sectors of the people immediately after it came to power.

### **Constitutional Problem**

At the time of the coup, the country was governed by a temporary constitution, which was a modified version of the self-government law drawn up by the colonial administration. The government saw that the problem of the constitution could be solved by first paying attention to local government. That is, starting to establish the foundations of democracy at the local level and spreading them among the people. In August 1959, a ministerial committee was formed to study a system of local government as a first step towards formulating a constitutional system suitable for Sudan, and based on its recommendation, three local government laws were issued. The drafting of a permanent constitution for the country was postponed to avoid transferring power from the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, headed by Lieutenant General Abboud, to an elected parliament (Khalid, 1990: 188).

### **Policy Outcomes and The Fall of the Regime**

Despite these economic achievements, Abboud's government faced a deep political crisis that did not give it long to remain in power. In 1963, South Sudan witnessed intense political activity by the southern opposition in exile against the Abboud government. The SANU (Sudan African National Union) party, led by Joseph Adoho, emerged as an advocate of southern independence, as the last option if the north rejected federal union as a solution to the problem. Adoho's initiative was not responded to, and escalation continued on both sides, which led to the outbreak of civil war in the south. In September 1963, the Anyanya movement (the word means poisonous black snake in the language of the Madi tribe to which the leader and founder of the movement, Joseph Lagu, belongs) emerged to wage a guerrilla war in the three southern directorates (Upper Nile, Bahr el Ghazal, and Equatoria), which led to a deterioration in the security situation there (Wells & Samuel, 1993).

Under these pressures, Lieutenant General Ibrahim Abboud announced the resignation of his government and the dissolution of the military council. He entered into negotiations with leaders of trade and professional unions, representatives of opposition parties, and academics, which led to the formation of a transitional government headed by Sir Al-Khattim Al-Khalifa, in addition to Lieutenant-General Abboud remaining as head of state, who quickly abandoned power and dissolved the government. He is replaced by a presidential council consisting of five members, just as was the case before he came to power. Thus began the second period of democracy.

### **The Second Civil Rule (1966 -1968)**

Military rule ended in October 1964, and party life returned for the second time to Sudan. The most important goal of the stage was to return the country to civilian rule and solve the problems that caused instability. The parties refused to address the issue of the constitution in the transitional period before the general elections.

During this period, other regional movements entered Parliament, in addition to the southern movements, representing regional forces outside the center, most notably the Beja Conference in eastern Sudan, which won ten seats, and the Nuba Mountains Union in South /ordofan, while the Umma Party split into two wings: the wing of Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi and the wing of Imam Al-Hadi Al-Mahdi (Uncle Al-Sadiq), and the two parties of the Khatmi sect united under the name of the Democratic Union, and the opposition Sano Southern Party entered parliament with fifteen seats and the Southern Front with ten seats, while the leftist communists were absent from parliament (International Institute of Social History, 2008).

### **The Top of the Three No's**

Ismail Al-Azhari, with Abdel Nasser, Arif, Al-Atassi and Bou Mediene during the Fourth Arab Summit in Khartoum. At the level of foreign policy, the government of Muhammad Ahmed Mahjoub was active in the Arab world, hosting the Fourth Arab Summit on August 29, 1967 AD, after the setback, which was known as the Three No's Summit.

### **Prime Minister Sadiq Al-Mahdi**

Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi was elected head of the Umma Party in November 1964 AD, and he disagreed with his uncle, Imam Al-Hadi Al-Mahdi, which led to the aforementioned split in the Umma Party. Al-Sadiq pressured Prime Minister Muhammad Ahmed Mahjoub to resign as soon as Al-Sadiq reached the legal age required to be prime minister, then he assumed the premiership for the Umma Party. In a coalition government with the National Unionist Party on July 25, 1966 - succeeding Mr.

Mohamed Ahmed Mahjoub, who led part of the Umma Party's membership in parliament for the opposition (Club de Madrid, 2017).

### **Dissolution of the Communist Party**

In 1965, the Muslim Brotherhood accused a member of the Sudanese Communist Party of insulting Islam in a public meeting. Demonstrations took place calling for the dissolution of the Sudanese Communist Party and ended with the government raising the issue in Parliament, which approved by a majority a draft resolution calling for the dissolution of the Communist Party, banning its activity, expelling its representatives from Parliament due to the party's aggression, and amending the interim constitution in a way that would allow the implementation of the decision that was not possible. Under the interim constitution. The Communist Party resorted to the Supreme Court and filed a lawsuit against the legitimacy of the government's decision, which ruled in its favor confirming the unconstitutionality and invalidity of the government's decision, but the government of Sadiq al-Mahdi ignored the ruling of the Supreme Court and proceeded with implementing its decision. In January 1967, the Communist Party participated in the general elections under the name of the Socialist Party, circumventing the ban (Khalid, 1990: 222). But soon the Sudanese Armed Forces took control of the country again under the leadership of colonel Muhammed Jaafar Numeri, and the period of civilian rule ended.

### **Second Military Rule: May Regime and Numeri Government (1969-1985)**

On May 25, 1969, Omdurman Radio broadcast a statement by Colonel of Staff Colonel Jaafar Muhammad Numeri announcing that the Sudanese Armed Forces had seized power again, and two councils were formed:

1. The Revolutionary Command Council, headed by Colonel Jaafar Numeri, who was promoted on the same day to the rank of Major General (and later to the rank of Field Marshal).

2. The Council of Ministers is headed by Babakar Awadallah, the former head of the judiciary, who resigned from his position in 1964, in protest against the decision to dissolve the Sudanese Communist Party (Al-Buni, 1995: 13).

The two councils together represent the legislative authority and the executive authority. The revolutionary Command Council included nine officers, almost all of them of the rank of major, and the new government included ministers, headed by Jaafar Numeiri, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and Minister of defense. It was an actual government of technocrats whose members held extensive academic

degrees and advanced qualifications.

### **The Constitution in The Numeiri Period**

In his effort to solve the problem of the ruling system, Jaafar Numeiri dissolved the Revolutionary Command Council and held a general referendum on the presidency of the republic, making Nimeiry the first to hold the title of President of the Republic in Sudan. A government committee was formed to study the constitutional structure, and Jaafar Muhammad Ali Bakhit was assigned to draw up the draft, to be assisted by Mansour Khaled and Badr al-Din Suleiman (the three were ministers of Jaafar Numeiri's government and theorists in that period) (Al-Buni, 1995: 22). While the Sudanese Socialist Union replaced the parties, along with its affiliated mass organizations and unions, within the framework of what was known at the time as the philosophy of the People's Working Forces Alliance (borrowed from the regime of President Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt).

The first elections were held for a parliament called the People's Assembly, in which many members of previous parliaments won. It was natural for the point of view of the drafters of the constitution to clash with the members of the Council, especially with regard to the secularism or Islamism of the regime, because the issue of the form of the republican regime had been decided by the installation of Jaafar Nimeiry as President of the Republic. The debate raged again between the secular and religious groups, and the first point raised by the latter was that Jaafar Muhammad Bakhit's draft did not contain a text on the official state religion, the constitution stipulates language, science, and honors, so how can it be possible to neglect religion (Al-Buni, 1995: 24). As for the secular team, headed by Jaafar Muhammad Bakhit, "the author of the draft", he described the issue of stipulating religion as "an issue of appearance and not substance and has no scientific significance, because the state is a moral entity that has no religion, and it does not practice the worship that the individual practices and the state is the basis of citizenship." The southerners followed this same doctrine when they emphasized Sudan is a secular, not a religious state (Al-Buni, 1995: 35).

### **Swear Al-Dhahab Military-Civil Transitional Government (1985-1986)**

If the army's seizure of power, led by Colonel Jaafar Muhammad Numeiri, came as a surprise, at least to some, then the coming of Lieutenant General Abdul Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab to power on April 6, 1985, was not a surprise, but rather it was the event that many had expected for at least some time. Before it happens. Just as the protests of October 1964 began as simple, spontaneous protests that quickly developed into comprehensive civil disobedience that forced the military to relinquish power, the protests

of April 1986 began with simple, spontaneous demonstrations against the new high prices that the government had set for some commodities, including sugar. However, the “bitter sugar” demonstrations, as they were called, quickly developed into continuous strikes and protests despite the government’s retreat from the new pricing, until the Army General Command was forced to intervene to avoid deteriorating security conditions and the spread of chaos in the face of the inability of the government headed by Vice President Omar Mohamed Al-Tayeb - he was President Nimeiry is out of the country on a visit to the United States - to contain the crisis (Alquds Alarabi, 2018).

On the morning of Saturday, April 6, 1985, Lieutenant General Abdel Rahman Sewer al-Dhahab, Minister of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the People, broadcast a statement in which he announced the seizure of power and the end of President Numeri’s rule. The justification for this step stated that “the People’s Armed Forces, after observing the deteriorating security situation throughout the country and the extremely complex political crisis it has reached, decided unanimously to stand by the people and their choice, and to respond to their desire to seize power and transfer it to them over a period of time.” A specific transitional period according to a statement by Lieutenant General Abdul Rahman Siwar Al-Dhahab (Sky News Arabia, 2018).

After that, several decisions were issued stipulating the suspension of the Constitution, the declaration of a state of emergency in the country, the dismissal of the President of the Republic, his deputies, his assistants, advisors, and ministers, and the dissolution of the Socialist Union. However, the most important things stated in those decisions and orders were the goals of the phase of change, which was described as a transitional phase, not aimed at replacing one military regime with another. Rather, it came in order to contain all the effects of the previous period of rule in various economic, political, and social fields, in addition to preparing a national political action charter based on basic foundations (complete independence, preserving national unity) that is, in short, paving the way for a government that works to solve Sudan’s political problems, most notably the problem of governance and war in the south. On April 9, 1985, he announced the formation of a transitional military council to exercise the work of the legislative and executive powers, headed by Lieutenant General Abdul Rahman Siwar al-Dhahab and Lieutenant General Taj al-Din Abdullah Fadl as his deputy, and with the membership of 13 senior army officers, including two from South Sudan. A civilian government was also formed, headed by Al-Jazouli Dafallah (Al-Buni, 1995: 60).

Lieutenant General Abdul Rahman Siwar Al-Dhahab fulfilled his promise after the one-year deadline had passed, in a unique precedent of its

kind in Africa and the Arab world. For the first time, the leader of a military coup gave up power voluntarily and after a promise he made to his citizens without any special political or material compensation. The elections were held on time and the New Umma Party, led by Sadiq al-Mahdi, won ahead of other parties and assumed the presidency of the Council of Ministers, while the Democratic Unionist Party, which was led by Ahmed al-Mirghani, came in second place and assumed the presidency of the Head of State Council, while the National Islamic Front Party and its leader emerged from it. Hassan Al-Turabi leads the ranks of the opposition in Parliament. The gold bracelet handed over power to the new civilian government.

### **The Third Period of Democracy: Elsadiq Al-Mahdi (1986-1989)**

This period was characterized by instability, as five coalition governments were formed within four years. The Democratic Unionist Party, which emerged from the coalition government, signed a peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, which achieved military victories as a result of the military aid and political support it received from Ethiopia, some African countries neighboring Sudan, and church organizations. The agreement stipulated a ceasefire, in addition to lifting the state of emergency, in order to pave the way for a general constitutional conference, preceded by freezing the implementation of punishments (Islamic law, or the September laws, as they were called) or replacing them with new, similar laws.

The successive defeats suffered by government forces in South Sudan caused complaints from the Army General Command, which held a meeting and submitted a memorandum to Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi, demanding that he work to provide the army with the necessary military equipment, or put an end to the ongoing war in the south. The memorandum caused political confusion in the country because it included a veiled threat to the government, or at least an official rebuke for its negligence in one of its basic tasks, which is defending the country, by neglecting its obligations towards the army. This memorandum was also a dangerous indicator of the army's direct interference in politics. Rather, it was strange for an army-in a democratic system- to involve itself in politics, moving away from professionalism, and to notify the Prime Minister publicly and directly, and not through the Minister of Defense, of what it must do to solve national problems. The relationship between the army and the government of Sadiq al-Mahdi deteriorated after Lieutenant General Fathi Ahmed Ali, Commander-in-Chief, issued a warning to the government and demanded that it moderate its political positions and relieve the suffering of citizens. Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi rejected this threat, and the Umma Party issued a statement condemning the behavior of the



Commander-in-Chief and the army's interference in politics (Ahmed, 2014). But the result of that memorandum was that the Mahdi government eventually yielded to pressure and announced its acceptance of the peace agreement concluded by the Democratic Unionist Party with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, and of course that step was the beginning of the end for the democratic government of Sadiq al-Mahdi (Natsios, 2012: 90-95).

### **The Coup of The Islamic Movement: Omar Al-Bashir's Government (1989-2019)**

In 1989, the Islamic Front carried out a military coup under the name of the National Salvation Revolution. At the beginning of the coup, the political direction of the two coups was not known. Then the Islamic Front, led by Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi, appeared behind it. As a result of the policies of the new Sudanese government, its foreign relations deteriorated, Sudan was boycotted, and aid from the country was stopped. Before the United States of America, it was included on the list of states sponsoring terrorism. The National Congress government (as it was later known) succeeded in extracting and exporting oil, which provided a large and regular income for the government until the secession of the south (Khair, 2013).

In 1999, the government stripped Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi of all his powers as head of the National Council and accused him of trying to remove him from power. He was arrested, and thus the Popular Congress arose and the party split into two groups. In 2003, the Darfur crisis broke out, as the Sudanese government was accused of arming tribes of the people of Darfur (The Janjaweed) for use in suppressing the rebellion, which led to the establishment of many rebellious movements, including the Justice and Equality Movement, led by Khalil Ibrahim, who was assassinated in 2011, the Sudan Liberation Movement, and other movements. Against the backdrop of the raging crisis in Darfur, the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court in The Hague, Luis Mourinho Ocampo, issued an arrest warrant against President Al-Bashir (which is considered a precedent), accusing him of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity (Ahmed, 2008: 54).

### **December Revolution (2019)**

The Sudanese Revolution, the December 19 Revolution, or the Glorious December Revolution, is a series of Sudanese protests that broke out on December 19, 2018 in some Sudanese cities due to rising prices, the high cost of living, and the deteriorating condition of the country at all levels, at the invitation of the Sudanese Professionals Association and other leftist forces and communism.

Hundreds of Sudanese citizens gathered to denounce the high prices of bread and basic materials in the country, the decline in the value of the Sudanese currency, and the scarcity of many goods in some cities, including Khartoum. Then the protests began spontaneously, after 4 months of peaceful protests, which continued without interruption, demanding a civilian government that brought down the popular movement and peaceful protests, demanding an end to the rule of President Omar al-Bashir, which lasted 30 years, and he is the one in charge. He has been in power in the country since 1989 during a military coup (Abushouk, 2021).

The protests began spontaneously when hundreds of Sudanese citizens gathered to denounce the high prices of basic materials in the country, the decline in the value of the Sudanese currency, and the scarcity of many goods in some cities, including Khartoum. Only a few hours after its outbreak; Security personnel surrounded the demonstrators and tried to prevent them from reaching the president's house (BBC, 2018). At first, the police used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators, while some areas witnessed the use of live ammunition, causing hundreds of injuries, amid reports of hundreds of deaths as well, without official data or anything. Amid youth calls to join the popular movement against the ruling regime, some Sudanese cities joined on the second day, as their residents -whose number was estimated at hundreds- took to the streets to denounce what the government has done and is doing, as it is the one that raised the price of bread, bringing the price of a loaf from one pound to three pounds. While others accused her of giving the army authority to beat and assault demonstrators (Aljazeera, 2018).

At the end of March 2019, the isolated regime began to collapse under street pressure. The isolated Bashir appeared shaken in his speeches to his supporters, and events in Sudan topped the international news exchange, reporting violations of the regime's security services. Social media played an essential role in directly documenting the killing of peaceful demonstrators, exposing the serious violations of the regime's security apparatus, and transmitting them to the eyes of the world. On April 6, and as the sun set on that day, millions surrounded the General Command, on the 6th. April 2019 was a turning point in the Sudanese movement's journey, in which the myth of the regime's repressive apparatus collapsed, in the face of the human torrents that flowed towards the Army General Command in the center of the capital, Khartoum, beginning the countdown to the end of the Bashir regime. The Forces of Freedom and Change announced a sit-in until the president stepped down. The security services and shadow brigades affiliated with the Islamic Movement tried to break up the sit-in by force, but they failed in more than

one attempt. The scene of that day will remain engraved in the memory of the Sudanese for a long time, starting with the arrival of a small number of demonstrators at the gate of the army command, meters away from the guest house where deposed President Omar al-Bashir resides, chanting the slogan of freedom, peace, and justice (Süleyman, 2019).

On April 11, the army announced the dismissal of Al-Bashir, and the formation of a military council led by his former deputy Awad Ibn Auf, who appointed Lieutenant General Kamal Abdel Maarouf as his deputy. They are members of the security committee formed by Al-Bashir to confront and dismantle the protests. Immediately after the announcement of the military council, the sit-in square erupted, and the masses rejected the formation of the council from the security committee of the isolated regime, and they held Ibn Auf and Abdel Maarouf responsible for the violations and murders against peaceful demonstrators. Under pressure from the crowds, Ibn Auf resigned on the same day and dissolved the Military Council. He announced the formation of a new formation headed by Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, the Inspector General of the Army at the time and the current President of the Transitional Council. The commander of the Rapid Support Forces, Muhammad Hamdan Daglo "Hemedti," was appointed Vice-President of the Council, who It included a number of army leaders (Asharq Al-Awsat, 2019).

On June 3, the security services invaded the sit-in square in the vicinity of the army command and committed a heinous massacre, killing dozens of people and wounding hundreds of protesters. This caused a complete break between the "Forces of Change" and the Military Council -at the time- which came out announcing the cancellation of the agreement with the "Forces of Change", so that the situation returns to the square of protests again.

Following the coup, the Transitional Military Council was established, which in August 2019 concluded an agreement with the groups that organized the protests and established the Sovereignty Council, consisting of 6 civilians and 5 military personnel. Within the scope of this agreement, the figures approved by the Sovereignty Council assumed the ministries in Sudan. However, the next stage did not witness the achievement of any of the expected issues, such as economic recovery, forming the Legislative Council, and organizing democratic elections. The disputes between civilians and the military worsened during this stage, and in October, the army placed Abdullah Hamdok, who holds the position of Prime Minister and is charged with representing civilians, under house arrest in his home, and the army took control of power by force (Al-Ain, 2019).

## **Current Situation in Sudan**

New disputes arose between civilian groups and between civilian groups and the military, after Abdullah Hamdok resigned from the position of Prime Minister for the transitional period in Sudan. Power remained in the hands of the military, and no civilian government was formed as the people demanded. This situation led to a deepening of the political crisis. For this reason, the United Nations Integrated Mission to Support the Transition in Sudan (UNITAMS) launched resolution negotiations to ensure the transition from the fragile democratic phase in the country. Lieutenant General Abdel Fattah Al-Burhan was commander of the ground forces during the Bashir era, and became commander of the armed forces and president of the sovereign council. Lieutenant General Muhammad Hamdan Dagalo, known as Hemedti, founded the Rapid Support Forces, relying on the militias that fought a bloody war in the Darfur region, and became Vice-President of the Sovereign Council. The two most powerful generals in Sudan are fighting for power, after a period of alliance between them when their interests converged after the overthrow of former president, Omar al-Bashir, in 2019 (Sky News Arabia, 2022).

The strength of the alliance between them was apparent during their seizure of power in October 2021, in a move that the civilian forces described as a “coup,” as Al-Burhan then issued a speech on television to announce the removal of civilians from power and support for Hemedti, But yesterday's friends, each of them had "different political aspirations", and enjoyed the military influence of the two largest powers in the country.

Suddenly, fighting broke out between the army and the Rapid Support Forces on April 15, 2023, and the attack began south of the capital, Khartoum. Its area quickly expanded to include all parts of the three capital cities - Khartoum, Omdurman, and Bahri. The year 2023 witnessed tragic events in Sudan that made it the worst year in the country's history, as a fierce war broke out between the army and the Rapid Support Forces, starting from the heart of the capital, Khartoum, and extending to more than 60 percent of the country's area. It left about 12,000 dead, and displaced more than 7 million people stranded inside and outside the country (Aljazeera, 2023).

The war is still continuing at this moment, but there is a glimmer of hope on the horizon. Many Sudanese cling to the year 2024 bringing good news that will stop the great destruction caused by the war and restore the country's integrity in light of the persistent efforts made by local, regional and international parties to reach an end to the fighting and the human tragedy that has occurred millions of Sudanese live in it (Anadolu Agency, 2022).

## **Sudanese Laws and International Conventions**

In 1986, Sudan joined five of the seven United Nations human rights conventions, namely the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Economic, Social and Cultural rights. In the same year, it joined the African Charter on Human Rights. Sudan ratified the convention on the elimination of All Forms of Racial discrimination and the convention on the rights of the child in 1990. Sudan also ratified the convention against Torture and other cruel, Inhuman or degrading Treatment or Punishment in 1986. It also acceded to the two optional Protocols to the Convention on the rights of the child; regarding the involvement of children in armed conflict 2005, and the sale of children, children's autonomy and pornography 2004. As for the regional covenants, Sudan agreed to the Cairo declaration of Human Rights in Islam issued by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Islamic Countries in 1990, which is an indicative document that does not require ratification. It also approved the Arab Charter on Human Rights, which was adopted by the Arab Summit in Tunisia in 2004, but most Arab countries and peoples did not ratify it.

As for the laws, Sudanese laws, legislation, and international conventions pertaining to women are based on human rights, and each of them derives its legitimacy in the issue of rights from a reference with different intellectual origins and membership. In the field of political participation, which is the subject of the research study, international conventions call on governments and organizations to take all measures to achieve women's participation in all political activities, including the right to vote, the right to nominate and elect, and calling for their equal representation with men in institutions, governmental bodies, and civil society institutions. And in assuming all positions, including the presidency of the state. Although Sudan's various constitutions, legislation, and successive laws granted women political rights to varying degrees from one constitution to another, the Interim Constitution of 2005 constituted a great shift in integrating human rights concepts into the provisions of the constitution to the extent that international treaties, covenants, and covenants were considered ratified by Sudan, it is an integral part of the bill of rights contained therein. Therefore, it is necessary to enact laws, and activate existing laws that were originally enacted in a manner that is consistent with the relevant global and regional charters, and that does not conflict with positive discrimination derived from laws and principles, so that Sudanese women can achieve political gains, making them a model at the level of their surroundings. Regionally, in the Arab world, and in Africa, but rather as a model at the Islamic world level, and the humanitarian and global level. On the other hand, successive constitutions, legislation, and

laws in Sudan allowed women political rights to varying degrees from one era to another, giving them special priority through positive discrimination derived from Islamic laws, principles, rulings, and custom.

### **Arab Charter on Human Rights**

Based on the Arab nation's belief in human dignity; Which God has honored since the beginning of creation, and that the Arab world is the cradle of religions and the home of civilizations with lofty human values. This charter was adopted by the sixteenth Arab Summit Conference, which the State of Tunisia hosted on May 23, 2004, and among the conference's messages is the affirmation of the human right to a dignified life on the foundations of freedom and justice. And equality, in fulfillment of the eternal principles of the Islamic religion and the Charter, and of other heavenly religions, brotherhood and equality. And tolerance among people, believing in the rule of law and its role in protecting human rights in their comprehensive and integrated sense, and recognizing the close connection between the provisions of the Covenant between the two countries affiliated with the United Nations with regard to civil and political rights, political rights, and cultural, social and economic rights, Based on the above, the parties to this Charter agreed in Article (1) to place human rights in the Arab countries among the national humanitarian concerns that guide the human will in the Arab countries and enable them to progress towards the better in accordance with the above. To the satisfaction of noble human values. Article 3 stipulates that men and women are equal in dignity, rights and duties in light of the positive discrimination approved by Islamic law and other laws, legislation and covenants in force in favor of women. Accordingly, each State undertakes to take the necessary measures to ensure equal opportunities and equal effective participation between women and men in the enjoyment of all the rights contained in this Charter (United Nations, 2004).

Article (24): Every citizen has the right to:

1. Freedom of political practice.
2. Participation in the management of public affairs either directly, or through freely chosen representatives.
3. Nominate himself or choose someone to represent him in a free, fair and equal manner among all citizens; It included the free expression of the will of the citizen.
4. To have the opportunity, on an equal basis with everyone, to hold public office in his country on the basis of equal opportunities.
5. Freedom to form and join associations with others.
6. Freedom of assembly and freedom of assembly in a proper

manner.

7. The exercise of these rights may not be restricted by any restrictions other than the restrictions known in accordance with the law, which are necessary in a society that respects freedoms and human rights to maintain national security, public order, public safety, public health, and public morals, and to protect the rights and freedoms of others (United Nations, 2004).

Article (33) stipulates in paragraph (2): States and society shall guarantee the protection of the family, strengthen its bonds, protect individuals, and prohibit various forms of violence and ill-treatment among its members, especially against women and children. It shall also guarantee the family, childhood, old age, and people with special care needs. and the necessary care (United Nations, 2004).

## **CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SUDANESE WOMEN**

Women's participation in political life depends on the circumstances of the society that surrounds them, and the degree of this participation depends on the amount of freedom and democracy that society enjoys socially and politically, and on the social freedoms that society grants to women to practice in this life (Verba et al. 1995: 310-320). Sudanese women participated in political work and in modern political parties to a large extent and in parties with a sectarian dimension to a lesser extent during the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century. This led to the parties agreeing to accept an amendment to the laws in favor of women, and so granting women the right to vote was approved in 1956 for women. Women's participation in parties included registering women in the election registers, raising awareness about voting, and urging them to vote, as statistics confirm that the percentage of women voting was higher in the elections of 1965 and 1986. In Khartoum, for example, the percentage was 83% for women from the group Women of voting age compared to 78% of men (Ahmad, 2015: 22).

It is clear that with regard to the participation of Sudanese women in parliaments or legislative councils, regardless of their names, and in the supreme ruling party bodies during totalitarian regimes, or their participation in legislative councils at the state level or grassroots committees, that although the regulations. It stipulated that a quota be given to women, ranging from 10% to 25%. But in many cases, women were unable to fill the seats, and their representation remained no more than 10%, and only one woman held the position of head of a parliamentary committee. The Social Affairs Committee was an example of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and no woman succeeded in holding the position. President or Vice-President of the Legislative Council, or even chairing political or economic committees in Parliament. The weakness of holding political leadership positions, whether in parties, government or parliament, reflects the dominant male mentality that emphasizes the inferiority of women and the dominance of men. Given this contradiction between women's enthusiasm for voting and their contribution to the national movement and their weak representation in leadership positions, it emphasizes the importance of changing values to enhance women's position and leadership role and increase women's organization and unity. Therefore, we can say that the participation of Sudanese women in political work has developed since 1964 during the October Revolution. Women have proven their ability to work in all arts of political work and have been able to gain confidence in their abilities. However, this applies to a small number of women on the one hand, and it has not led to women assuming



the position of party leader or party vice president or for their number to be equal to men (Yeshaneh, 2023).

As for the level of participation in ministerial eras or the position of governor, women have held the positions of minister, minister of state, governor of a state, and member of the executive committee of the ruling party. This was during the periods 1972 until now, but in most cases they have held one position in some ministerial sessions and were not held as a sovereign ministry, but rather the Ministry of Social Affairs. This ministry was recently named the Ministry of Social Planning, and at one time it was the Minister of Health and a state from South Sudan in Bahr al-Jabal state.

### **SUDANESE LEGISLATION AND WOMEN (1956-2010)**

To know the positions of Sudanese women theoretically in legal texts and laws, and based on actual practices, it is necessary to review the laws and legislation that were issued in the various political systems, beginning with foreign rule - the colonial period - and then national democratic and military rule.

The following table shows the progression of Sudanese women's participation in the legislative institution from zero in 1954 to 25% in 2010 (Ministry of Welfare and Social Security, 2010).

**Table 1: Sudanese Women Elected to Legislative Elections**

**Source: (Ministry of Welfare and Social Security, 2010)**

<b>Constitutional system</b>	<b>Legislative institution</b>	<b>Total membership</b>	<b>Number of women</b>	<b>Percent age of representation</b>
<b>Period of autonomy</b>	First Parliament 1954	98	-	-
<b>The dawn of independence</b>	Second Parliament 1958	173	-	-
<b>The era of President Aboud</b>	Central Council 1963	72	-	-
<b>Second democracy</b>	First Constituent Assembly 1965	171	1	0.6%
	Second Constituent Assembly 1968	261	-	-
<b>May Period</b>	First People's Assembly 1972	225	11	4.9%
	Second People's Assembly 1974	250	12	4.9%
	Third People's Assembly 1978	304	17	5.5%
	Fourth People's Assembly 1980	368	18	4.9%
	Fifth People's Assembly 1982	153	14	9.1%
<b>Third democracy</b>	Third Constituent Assembly 1986 .	261	2	7 %

<b>National Rescue</b>	National Transitional Council 1992	301	26	8.8%
	First National Council 1996	400	22	5.3%
	Second National Council 2001	360	35	9.7%
<b>Transitional period</b>	Third National Council 2007	450	85	18%
<b>Transitional period</b>	Current National Council 2010	456	114	25%

### **Period of Foreign Rule**

During the period of foreign rule and during the stage of struggle in which women participated alongside men, the regime issued the following laws:

1. A law prohibiting employees from political work to paralyze the movement of political parties.

2. A law prohibiting women from joining workers' unions.

3. The law of work by marriage for married women. The law stipulates that a married woman must work on a monthly work contract. This stipulates that she does not enter into permanent service, and therefore she loses her right to a pension, or a bonus, and the rest of the privileges that they made a man's right.

4. The House of Obedience Law, which obligates a wife separated from her husband to return to the marital home unwillingly, if the court rules so. Otherwise, she will be taken to the House of Obedience by the police (Abdel Al, 1997).

### **Constitution of Self-Government (1953)**

In the first pluralist elections law in Sudan, which was issued under the Constitution of Self-Government of 1953, women were given the right to vote without running for office, but this right was only granted to women who had completed their secondary education to vote in graduate constituencies, and under this condition they benefited from this right at that time. A small number of women, not exceeding twelve women's (Musa, 2011: 2).

## **The Interim Constitution of 1956: The Constitution of Independence**

In the interim constitution of 1956, which represented an attempt to fill the void left by the sudden transition to national independence, pending the development of an integrated constitution (Al-Awad, 2006: 123). The law stipulates in Article 4, Paragraph 1, that “All persons in Sudan are free and equal before the law.” This article came as an explicit reference to equality between persons without specifying gender. Article (4), paragraph (2), also stipulates the right to hold positions and employment for everyone without allocation. No Sudanese shall be deprived of his rights by reason of birth, religion, race, or gender, with regard to holding public office, private employment, or accepting or practicing any job, trade, business, or profession. Article 64 of this Constitution also stipulates equality with regard to the qualifications for membership in Parliament in all rights and freedoms. In this era, personal status laws were also subject to review (Eastlaws, 2024).

### **Sudan’s Interim Constitution of 1964**

It is a document that includes a basic law (the right to freedom and equality) that governs the country during the period of transition, and according to which a constituent assembly establishes a permanent constitution. Article (4) (1) (2), Chapter two, entitled Fundamental Rights, stipulates (that all persons in Sudan are free and equal before the law), “No Sudanese shall be deprived of his rights by reason of birth, religion, race, or gender with regard to holding Public positions, or for private employment, or by accepting any job, craft, business, or profession, or by practicing it. In 1965, Article (5) of the Elections Law of 1965 granted women the right to vote. Or nomination in geographical constituencies following the October 1964 revolution (Republic of Sudan National Records House, 2004).

### **The May Constitution: The Permanent Constitution of 1973**

In 1973, President Numeiri established a new constitution for the country. It was approved by the People’s Assembly, and this constitution lasted for twelve years (Al-Awad, 2006: 25). This constitution stipulates that rights are guaranteed on the basis of equal citizenship between men and women. Article (27) of the Constitution also stipulates that the state shall care for motherhood and childhood and shall enact the necessary legislation for that (Republic of Sudan National Records House, 2004: 220).

While Article 54 abolished discrimination between Sudanese in job opportunities and wages and guaranteed them equal opportunities. It also obligates the state, under Article (55) thereof, to take care of mothers

and children and provide adequate guarantees for working women. “Mothers and children have the right to care, and the state provides mothers and working women with adequate guarantees (Republic of Sudan National Records House, 2004: 225).

The 1973 Constitution stipulated the allocation of a quota, or a quota, for women in the federal legislative institution, as well as the state, and this represents a successful step towards ensuring a minimum level for the participation of Sudanese women in all fields: legislative, executive, judicial, and political Al-Awad, 2006: 126).

### **Sudan’s Transitional Constitution of 1985**

After the collapse of the May regime in April 1985, a transitional council was formed to rule the country, and despite women’s participation in the uprising, they received little benefit. However, the Constitution of the Transitional Period recognized the right to equality, work opportunities, and earning. Article (17), paragraph (1), stipulates that “all persons in the Republic of Sudan are equal before the law.” Article (17), paragraph (2), states that: “Citizens are equal in rights and duties and in opportunities to work and earn, without distinction based on birth, race, color, sex, religion, or political opinion.” Also, Article (23) of the Constitution guarantees the right to freedom of movement for all without discrimination. Citizens have the freedom to reside and move inside and outside the country in accordance with the restrictions stipulated by the law. What is criticized about this constitution is that it did not develop the political and social rights that women had gained in previous constitutions. Rather, it did not include implementation of international conventions ratified by the state (Republic of Sudan National Records House, 2004).

### **The Third Democratic Period (1986)**

After the parties assumed power in 1986, the first thing they did was look into the electoral system, abolishing factional representation, including women’s constituencies, and retaining only the graduates’ constituencies, as two women from the graduates’ constituencies were able to enter the Constituent Assembly; She is Professor Souad Al-Fatih, Professor Hikmat Hassan Ahmed, and on the list of the National Islamic Front, and we find that during the period from 1985 to 1989, no tangible progress was achieved on the level of the women’s issue with regard to the laws (Othman, 2004: 6).

### **LEGISLATION AND LAWS RELATED TO WOMEN BETWEEN 1989-2010**

We point out during that period the most important law in particular, which was the Personal Status Law of 1991, which was considered the most important legislative area regarding women’s rights in

the family, society, their humanity, and their citizenship. Despite the many achievements that have been made for women, the field least affected by development and responsive to change is the field of personal status legislation. We find that the Sudanese Personal Status Law of 1991 sparked intense controversy among women's organizations and human rights activists, considering it an opponent of women and incompatible with the role they play in public life and what they offer to society. Accordingly, several proposals for an alternative law were presented, and memorandums were submitted to amend the law and harmonize it with women's rights. We find that the current personal status law is derived from custom, and that (90%) of the law is jurisprudential jurisprudence that can be amended, and that the articles derived from jurisprudence do not exceed the four articles in the sermon Othman, 2011).

From what was mentioned above, we see that it is necessary to reconsider many of the articles of the Personal Status Law of 1991 , and open the door to ijtihad in Sharia issues so that its provisions are compatible with contemporary developments in a way that does not conflict with religious teachings and foundations, and is consistent in letter and spirit with Islamic Sharia, which came to ensure Justice, the good of humanity, and its flexibility are valid for all times and places.

### **Constitution of the Republic of Sudan (1998)**

During the rescue period, the process of constitutional construction began with the issuance of constitutional decrees until their number reached fourteen constitutional decrees, some of which were subject to amendment, repeal, and reform through monitoring the practice in the federal government, states, and local government bodies, and by completing the holding of constitutional ceremonies legally and in effect, the general picture of the constitutional system began (Al-Awad, 2006: 120-127). We find that Article (15) of the 1998 Constitution stipulates that the state shall sponsor the family system, facilitate marriage, raise children, care for a woman with a pregnancy or child, free her from injustice in any life situation and purpose, and encourage her role in the family and public life. In the section on freedoms and rights, the Constitution grants women the right to equality with men in the text of Article (21): All people are equal in rights and duties before the judiciary, and Sudanese are equal in rights and duties in public life functions, and discrimination is not permitted solely because of race, gender, or religious sect. They are equal in eligibility for office and public authority, and are not distinguished by money (Constitutionnet, 2024).

In this constitution, women were also granted the right to pass on their nationality to their children in the text of Article (22). Every person born to a Sudanese mother or father has the right to enjoy national

nationality and its rights, and to bear its costs, and every person born in Sudan or residing for several years has the right to nationality as regulated by it. the law. The Constitution also gave it conditional freedom of movement in the text of Article (23): Every citizen has the right to freedom of movement, residence in the country, exit from it, and entry into it, and it is not permissible to change his way except by the controls of the law (Constitutionnet, 2024). It also granted her the right to resort to the Constitutional Court in Article (34) (Republic of Sudan National Records House, 2004: 315-317) and we find that the constitution has stipulated in general that a share of non-geographic seats be allocated to women, but it was not cut to a specific percentage, and that is the case with the law. Indeed, Article (28) of the Elections Law of 1998 stipulated that women be represented in thirty-five seats out of the total of ninety seats allocated. For factional representation, representation ranges from one seat to three for each of the twenty-six states of Sudan - depending on population density - and it constitutes a percentage (10%) of the total membership of the Council, but the following is taken into account (Al-Awad, 2006: 22):

1. The Constitution specifies the electoral pattern that must be followed to fill the bases reserved for women, which is known as special election.

2. This constitution grants women rights such as equality, granting citizenship to their children, freedom of movement, and the right to resort to the Constitutional Court, which are stated in the general provisions of the constitution.

3. This constitution subjected rights and freedoms to the law, and this subjection robs these rights and freedoms of their constitutional character.

4. This constitution stipulated that a man be nominated for the Presidency of the Republic, with conditions and specializations, and there was no reference to women.

### **Transitional Constitution of Sudan (2005)**

Sudan's Interim National Constitution of 2005 granted women all their rights on the basis of fair equality and non-discrimination, supporting their rights in all economic, political, and social aspects, and giving them special priority through positive discrimination. We find that Article (15) (2) stipulates that "the state shall protect motherhood, protect women from injustice, promote gender equality, affirm the role of women in the family, and empower them in public life" (Constitute, 2024). Article (32) (1) states: "The state guarantees to men and women the equal right to enjoy all civil, political, social, cultural, and economic rights, including the right to equal pay for work and other job benefits" (Constitute, 2024).

According to Article (32) (2), The state promotes women's rights through positive discrimination; Article (32) (3), "The State shall work to combat harmful customs and traditions that diminish the dignity and status of women" (Constitute, 2024) and Article (32) (4), "The State shall provide health care for motherhood, childhood, and pregnant women" (Constitute, 2024).

In continuation of the gains, the National Civil Service Law of 2007 stipulated in Article (28) as "equal pay for equal work based on the nature of the work" and Article (61) of the same law stipulated "that the basis for selection to assume the job shall be on the basis of merit without discrimination and bonuses shall also be enjoyed and allowances and she has the right to promotion." In Article (36), it is stated that "She has the right to appeal" and Article (40) "She has the right to training" which is an obligatory right. And according to Article (45) "She has the right to annual leave" and Article (46) has the right to vacation. Without salary and leave to accompany the husband without pay. The man also has the same right. Also among the provisions regulating the labor laws in Sudan's transitional constitution, Article (19) stipulates, "The woman has the right to employment, provided that she may not be used in dangerous jobs that require physical effort to carry weights." Article (20) stipulates, "It is not permissible for women to be employed between the hours of ten in the evening and six in the morning, with the exception of women in administrative, professional work, and health services." Article (49) "Maternity leave is entitled to a working woman after six months have passed since her appointment" (Constitute, 2024). And in each subsequent year of her service, she is granted maternity leave with full pay for a period of eight weeks starting from the date of birth. The service regulations for the year 2007 have equated the cash replacement allowance between workers without discrimination according to sex or type, as well as the children's allowance, in compliance with her colleague. In accordance with the principles contained in international conventions, the Constitution also gave both sexes the right to organize for political, social, cultural, and professional purposes without discrimination. The Sudanese Trade Union Law also guaranteed women the right to work for union purposes at all levels (Ministry of Social Welfare, Women and Child Affairs, 2009).

### **Comprehensive National Strategy (2003-2007)**

Likewise, the situation of women in Sudan can be identified through the comprehensive national strategy, which talked about the quarter-century women's strategy 2003-2007, and whose most important objectives were summarized in:

1. Mobilizing the women's sector as an important human resource in achieving comprehensive development in order to empower them



economically, culturally, and technically, and prepare them for the world.

2. Ensuring the role of the family.

3. Adopting policies and legislation in development plans and programs that help women's participation, and integrating their issues into the social and economic development sectors (ISDB, 2023).

### **Pensions Law and Election Law**

According to the Pensions Law of 1990, a woman is entitled to a pension if she reaches retirement age 55 years old, and based on the amended Social Insurance Law of 2008, and the National Pension Fund, the age was amended the pension is from 55 to sixty years. This article affirmed equality between men and women in the age of living, and this is among the gains achieved by the Sudanese women's lives (ISDB, 2023).

Article 29 (2) stipulates that the National Council shall consist of four hundred and fifty elected members as follows:

(25%) women; They are elected on the basis of proportional representation at the state level through separate, closed party lists. This is a great gain for women, and a step to empower women politically (Ministry of Justice, 2008: 20-21).

### **WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES**

Political parties were formed in Sudan in 1945, and political work was active at the secret and public levels. Women's work in the political field began to take a clear form, and political parties opened their doors for Sudanese women to join after women's membership in political parties existed only in leftist organizations, and within narrow limits in the Sano Party and the National Federal Party, which opened opportunities for two female members (Badriya Al-Zain and its winner is Ahmed Saleh) before 1964 (Badri, 2002: 127-130).

After women gained their full political rights in October 1964, women's bodies affiliated with the various political parties were formed. The Women's Body of the Federal National Party was formed in 1965, and the Women's Body of the Uma Party was formed in 1965. As for the group of Muslim sisters, it formed the Women's Front in 1964, and the women's bodies of: The People's Democratic Party, the Baath Socialist Party, the Nasserist Party, and the Southern Women's League; It is a women's organization for the Southern Front in 1964. Despite the subordination implied by the idea of forming women's bodies within traditional political parties, it helped, along with the efforts of social political organizations, to push women to exercise their newly acquired rights, and produced good results in the 1964 elections (Badri, 2002: 130-133).

Three years after the May 1969 Revolution, and after the

formation of the Socialist Union, the Women's Affairs Committee was established. It is a committee concerned with issues directly affecting women and general national interests, and devising all means leading to the direct and effective participation of women in the process of change (Abdel Mahmoud, 1973: 41). Hence, it must be noted that during the May Revolution, Sudanese women held the highest positions, reaching the rank of minister, and were the first woman at the Arab and African levels to hold the position of minister. For the example of Fatima Abdel Mahmoud, women reached the position of a member of a political bureau through elections and appointment, as well as a member of a central committee. As for the third democratic period, 1985-1989, women reached membership in the political bureau and head of sectors in the Uma Party.

In the National Rescue Revolution, the secretariat for women's Affairs was established in 1990, and it included the specialized secretariats of the Conference. It is a secretariat specialized in building and organizing women in the National Conference, addressing women's and family issues, and involving them in public work. In 2011, women became Vice President of Parliament (Samia Ahmed Muhammad), and chairing important committees in Parliament on legislation and justice (Köndgen: 2018). The Sudanese Interim National Constitution of 2005 guaranteed women the right to participate in forming and joining political parties, which made all Sudanese parties include effective women leaders in leadership offices, central and executive committees, which enabled women to participate in making many political decisions and participate in talks. Peace, and the signing of its "agreements" (Ministry of Welfare and Social Security, 2009: 37-38).

The establishment of women's social and political organizations, and women's organizations affiliated with parties, was a great victory for Sudanese women and the entire national force. It also proved the soundness of the line of the women's movement in calling for women's political rights. It also obligated political parties to give their electoral programs and constitution a special and important place. For the position of women.

### **The Role of Parties in Women's Participation in Decision Making**

In a democratic society, the political party is a result of the requirements of society and the people, and the task of the parties that consider themselves democratic parties is to make major transformations within society, the most important of which is seeking women's participation in the political process and their contribution to political decision-making. There are several international agreements that guarantee women's rights to participate in political life, but bringing that

right out of its abstract framework into lived reality requires persistent work on the ground. Political parties represent a major aspect of women's participation in politics, as political parties are the ones that recruit and select candidates for elections, and they determine the policy agenda within the country. Supportive women, while their representation is limited in decision-making positions. Women's participation in political parties has remained much lower than that of men. This is a logical result if we take into account the lack of access to established networks of influence, the scarcity of available resources, and most importantly, the lack of pioneering women who serve as role models for other women and provide them with care and guidance, and support is limited (Ojilere, 2015).

How women participate in political parties, how these political parties encourage and develop women's participation in them, and how they integrate gender equality issues are key determinants of women's political empowerment. Parties are also necessary to ensure that gender equality issues are addressed within the broader framework of society. If strategies to enhance women's participation in the political process are to be effective, they must be linked to steps that parties can take during specific stages of the electoral cycle. They are: the pre-election stage, the election stage, and the post-election stage. These strategies must also be linked to the organization and financing of the parties themselves. The most effective strategies for increasing women's participation in political parties are those that combine reform of political institutions with targeted support for women party activists inside and outside party structures and for women candidates and those elected to official office. These strategies require the cooperation of a variety of actors and political parties across the political spectrum (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2021).

The weak presence of women in parties may be due to many reasons, the most important of which is the low level of education, especially in the women's society, and the instability of democratic systems, and thus the parties' inability to build their internal structures freely and flexibly. Especially since some of these parties have been persecuted by security forces for long periods, as well as exploitation by the parties of women, as they are dealt with on the apparent and not the deep principle of democracy in order to reach their partisan goals that are far from women's political aspirations through their participation, and women's issues are not included through electoral programs except for advertising and election campaign (Ahmad, 2015: 25).

### **General Union of Sudanese Women**

In 1989, under the Salvation Government, many women's associations, associations, and organizations were formed. In the period 1989-1990, the General Union of Sudanese Women was established, which

is a national voluntary feminist organization registered with the Humanitarian Aid Commission and the Sudanese Council for Voluntary Associations. It enjoys membership in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as an observer, and works through a general secretariat with a Secretary-General, three assistants, and four assistants. Ten specialized secretariats, a Shura Council, and secretariats in all states, governorates, localities, and grassroots branches at the neighborhood level. The basic objectives of the General Union of Sudanese Women are: developing women socially, economically, and politically, enhancing and increasing the gains of women's rights, reducing illiteracy rates, paying attention to religious and cultural awareness, national education, and paying attention to family care. Including mother and child, participation in building and making peace, and spreading the culture of women's involvement in decision-making (ISDB, 2023).

In 1991, the Mahira Charity Association was established, in 1992 the Working Women's Association, and in 1992 Bint Al-Balad Charitable Association, in 1993 the Parents Charitable Foundation, in 1994 the Women of Islam Organization was established, and in 1997 the Sudanese Women's Skills Development Association was founded (ISDB, 2023).

From what was mentioned above, we find that the social organizations that preceded the establishment of political organizations have helped in educating women, raising their awareness, revitalizing their general role in society, and doubling the pressure to obtain their other rights by various means and from their various positions, and have achieved much and new in women's lives in social and economic aspects. , politically, and created a new situation for it in nearly half a century; It differs from her situation in the mid-forties, and this is considered, for example, a model worthy of research and study, especially with regard to the participation of Sudanese women at both levels. Social and political.

### **HISTORICAL PROCESS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SUDANESE WOMEN**

To determine the roles of women and their responsibilities, they can be classified in three locations in the family, work, and in society. The role of women in the family is embodied in the reproductive process, which is the most dangerous social function, as it falls as a mother of the responsibility of generating generations, as well as the wife's role and partner for men in family life, and contributes to him in caring for family affairs, and this requires from her -a house of house- to make the family the first school to build a human creation, thought, and body. Its role is embodied as a producer in the workplace, where she participates in the development process in all its aspects with the new responsibility it bears in this field to the farthest that it can, and exercise its role in society as

citizenship in all forums, political, cultural, and social fields, and contributes to building its society through its contribution to decision-making, as it highlights its role in social construction by belonging to professional, trade union and women organizations, after referring to the roles of women in the three main sites, he is ever to address the basic considerations that enable them to undertake the responsibility of the community.

The first, most dangerous, and most important consideration is recognition of its full rights, recognition of its right to freedom of expression, thinking, and choice. The second consideration is based on the rehabilitation of women, emotionally, mentally, and physically, to enable her to perform her roles and duties in a better way, and a greater achievement. As for the third consideration, it highlights the importance of achieving a balance between the three roles as a mother, a wife, as a producer and as a citizen, provided that its performance is not in one of these sites at the expense of her performance in other sites.

The political role of women in Sudan has emerged since the fourteenth century in the Nuba kingdoms, where women were queens of the Nuba kingdoms who led armies in some historical conquests. In the nineteenth century, women's participation became clear in the Sufi orders. In spreading religious teachings and eradicating illiteracy, such as Sheikha Fatima bint Jaber; In the Funj Kingdom, women assumed the presidency, and the tribe prevailed (ISDB, 2023).

As for the Turkish era in 1920, a number of women participated in opposing the Turkish era, such as Mahira bint Aboud, against Ismail Pasha, and Rabiha al-Kananiyah, who was carrying messages for the Mahdi forces (Othman, 2004: 4). In the twenties of the twentieth century, names emerged. Wives of freedom fighters; Such as the wife of Ali Abdul Latif (Aza Abdullah), and Arafat's wife Muhammad Abdullah (Amna Arafat), who were a link between the members of the secret societies. At the beginning of the forties, the struggle against the colonizer crystallized, and unions had an advanced role in combating the colonizers. Sudanese women joined unions. Such as (he Nursing Workers Union and the Teachers Union), which were considered a new support for the national movement.

### **The Period Between 1956-1958**

Women have practiced their political rights in 1954; When she was the first Sudanese parliament, and the woman who completed her secondary education won the right to vote, and women participated in this period in the first committee to put the constitution of Sudan, and this right was received by Mrs. Thuraya Al -Dardiri, and that was the most sincere A guide for women's participation in decision -making sites, and in making a historical document related to Sudanese human rights men and women (Abdel Al, 1997: 45). After independence in 1956, the efforts of women in

political action in evaluating national rule emerged through all public and secret activities.

The national movement, with its progressive national thought, believed in the issue of women as part of its people's issues, capabilities, and its right to participate in political and social work, as after independence it won equality in wages and expanding job opportunities in civil service; Especially in the field of training, nursing, the conservation of the rights of the working mother, rehabilitation, training in addition to union work, and the submission of personal status laws to review; According to the so-called "House of Obedience", international participation without supervision, or facilities, and the abolition of the Labor Law with careful after marriage, while confirming the pension of the working woman. What is achieved for women in this historical era is a long fruit of Sudanese women; Through conscious, aware, and aware of the issue of women as an integral part of the issue of the Sudanese people, and their struggle for economic, political, and social sovereignty (Abdel Al, 1997: 43).

Sudanese women have played throughout the past times-as is the case always-a prominent role in resisting military systems, and in order to recover democracy, so the first military rule of 1958-1964 witnessed the experience of the first woman in opposing national rule, so it was natural that the woman would not accept the delivery of the November 1958 coup. After enjoying freedom of expression and organization, and made many gains under democracy, it organized its ranks in secret to combat this system, and its resistance due to the clear decline that occurred to the women's movement during the period of military rule; Like disrupting the activity of women organizations, locking roads in front of them to demand their legal rights, which imposes on women after marriage not to work with a permanent contract, but a month for a month, as well as the issuance of the law of obedience, and the retreat from opening job opportunities even if she has efficiency, and reducing her opportunities In higher education, in scientific colleges, and clearly low in economic conditions, in addition to preventing them from exercising basic freedoms, which led to their disruption from its role in public work (Mahmoud, 2002: 270).

### **The Period Between 1964-1969**

At the beginning of the year 1964, the opposition movement began to increase, and the masses were fed up with dictatorship, and the people expressed their opposition to the regime through various civil society organizations, so he declared the general political strike, and the demonstrations erupted in the major cities of Sudan, and the woman recorded a clear presence and feminist activists participated in the leadership of the strikes Through unions, which led to the fall of the regime on October 26, 1964, and women also participated in mobilizing the

masses of the revolution of the twenty-first of October, and securing them, and also participated in the front of the bodies that ruled Sudan for a period that ruled Sudan for 6 months, after which general elections were held that restored democratic rule to the country (Mahmoud, 2002: 276).

In 1954, when the first parliament was elected; Women had the right to vote in the departments of the graduates only, and after the October Revolution, and the prominent role of women in them, all women's bodies focused on demanding the entire political rights of women, and their full political right has already been granted, and it was practiced in the elections for the first Sudanese parliament after the October 1964 revolution, which was held in June 1965. The first woman entered the Sudanese parliament; It is Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim through the graduate circles.

### **The Period Between 1969-1985**

The May regime has announced its bias to the issue of women, and opened the doors of work, and the equal wages, and even guaranteed its constitutional rights to be a member of the People's Assembly; It participates in setting the permanent constitution of the country, and also participated in the political authority in democracy, and the appointment to participate in the development of public policies in Sudan, also worked in the executive system at all its levels, and it also had a prominent role in participating in regional and international conferences in the country's permanent constitution for the year 1973, it singled out articles for women, and their rights (Kamil, 1997: 179-187).

The May government also paid attention to establishing its organizational pillars, Besides the Sudan Women Union, the government established the Sudanese Socialist Union on the basis that it is the ruling party and the popular councils, in which the government stipulated the membership of women with the equivalent of a quarter, or 25%, and if their share is not completed, women are completed by appointment. Article 21 of the Local Government Law of 1971, and the government appointed the first minister in the history of Sudan, Dr. Fatima Abdel Mahmoud, Minister of Social Affairs Mahmoud, 2002: 286). In the year 1974, the scope of women's participation expanded by the establishment of regional legislative councils and the application of the Local Popular Governance Law, where the membership of women in the People's Assembly was 13 members, they represent the directorates of Sudan different.

After the year 1983, the Mayo authority suffered a stifling economic and political crisis, which caused a complete darkness in the life of the Sudanese women, as women separated from public work under the umbrella of the public good law, and judges were separated from work in the judicial corps on the basis that the women's reference in the judiciary is not permissible in addition For a discussion on the basics of women's rights.

The May era ended with a popular uprising organized by the masses of the people in all its sectors; The woman participated in it as part of the trade union movement, professional organizations, and as part of the total of female students, workers and housewives. From the above, it is clear to us that the Sudanese women did not obtain their entire electoral right; "Nomination and voting in all departments" except during the election of the People's Assembly in the year 1978 with their participation in the geographical departments, and for the first time During the reign of May, and the opportunities for participation for women expanded in all leadership jobs; In political, executive, legislative, and judicial bodies, women - for the first time in Sudan - became a participation in the division of political and executive power as a deputy to the minister, such as "the psychology of Ahmed Al -Amin, who was deputy minister of youth and sports", as a state minister, and a consultant to the President of the Republic, And his ambassador at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and women also participated in all fields of work, and took their vanguard role in managing institutions, and opened the door wide for them to establish relations with the women of the world by participating in conferences (Mahmoud, 2002).

### **The Period Between 1985-1989**

After the April 1985 uprising, a transitional government was formed, and despite the participation of women in the uprising, they did not have anything to do, but the constitution of the transitional period acknowledged the right to equality in job opportunities and gain. When the general elections were held in 1986, the woman was nominated in the geographical districts, and in the seats of the graduates, and only two women in the seats of the graduates were won on the Islamic direction: Souad al-Fateh, and the ruling of Hassan Ahmed (Othman, 2004: 6).

### **The Period Between 1989-2010**

In the year 1989, the rescue system began holding national conferences for national dialogue, and presidential decision was issued on December 3, 1989 for the convening of the Women's Dialogue Conference, so the conference was held from January 20-31, 1990, and the goal was to expand the participation of women in women's work. The masses, and the recommendations of the conference were the establishment of a new organization in the name of the General Union of Sudanese Women.

In this era, women have made progress in various fields at the political, economic, social, and cultural levels ministerial and Consulting Paws, and participated as a state minister from 1990-2005, and they took over as governor, Supreme Court judge, and we find women in all the political and senior positions taking the decision (Ministry of Social Welfare, Women and Child Affairs, 2009). In 1998, the percentage of



women's representation jumped to 28 members after the issuance of the 1998 constitution. It has seats in the various sectors, and the parliament witnessed the appointment of the first leader of the council (Souad Elfatih Moh. Elbadawi), the committees headed four women, and this period recorded the entry of the first parliamentarian from a geographical circle, and a significant progress was made after the 2005 transitional constitution, and the percentage of women's participation increased from 9% to 18.75% with 85 women. According to the election law for the year 2008, an achievement of Sudanese women, distinguished earnings in achieving 25% for women in representation for parliament, and legislative councils (ISDB, 2023).

This positive distinction for women enabled them in the 2010 elections to achieve the highest parliamentary representation, as the number of women (114) parliamentary women reached (25%), and after the southern members went, the number of women (78) became 22.14%. Parliamentary women achieved a qualitative boom, where she held the position of Deputy Speaker of Parliament (Samia Ahmed Mohamed), and the chairmanship of the Legislative and Justice Committee (Badriya Suleiman), along with her active participation in trading in legislative and supervisory issues where he reached the number Parliamentary women in the legislative bodies throughout Sudan more than 400 women, and this is the largest number of women's participation in the history of modern Sudan (Ministry of Welfare and Social Security, 2010).

With a closer look at the provisions mentioned regarding women's participation, we find the following:

1. The Election Law of 1953 gave women the right to vote, and at the same time required them to complete secondary school, which limited the matter to only 12 women.

2. After the October Revolution of 1964, women gained the right to nominate and vote, but it was limited, as the first woman entered Parliament; Ms. Fatima Ahmed Ibrahim, and after that the number of participants increased.

3. In 1972, their number reached (14) members, and in 1974 the number decreased to (12) members, and in 1978 (17) members, and in 1980, it reached (18) members, and in 1986, two women won seats in the Constituent Assembly; (Souad Al-Fateh Al-Badawi, Hikmat Hassan Ahmed), and in 1994 (25) members and in 1996 (21) members.

4. After the issuance of the 1998 Constitution, women obtained seats across the various economic, political, social, student, and administrative sectors, and this was proven in the election law.

5. In the National Transitional Council in 2001, their number

reached (35); One of them is the Chairman of the Social Affairs Committee; Mrs. Safia Abdel Rahim Al-Tayeb.

6. In the National Transitional Council in 2007, their representation reached (85), and in the National Council in 2010, their number reached (114) members. The number decreased to (27) members after the secession of the south and the departure of the southern members. Thus, we conclude that the articles related to women's participation in the temporary constitutions in effect in the period 1956-2010 are mentioned as follows:

Successive constitutions of Sudan from 1956 to 1981 established equality between persons without specialization to gender - and this included holding public positions and employment in any job, craft, business, or profession. In accordance with rights and freedoms.

There are constitutions -such as the May Constitution- that not only guarantee rights on the basis of citizenship, but also obligate the state, pursuant to Article (55) thereof, to care for mothers and children, and to provide guarantees. Especially for working women.

The 1983 Constitution affected the status of women in an almost radical way, going beyond what they gained during their struggle since the 1940s. In the period 1989-2005, policies and visions were imposed on the women's movement, in order to comply with the regime's vision of the appropriate status of women and their protection when traveling.

## CONCLUSION

The research reached the following results:

1. The social organizations that preceded the establishment of political organizations helped in educating women, raising their awareness, strengthening their role in society, and increasing the pressure to obtain their social and political rights.

2. The governmental women's organizations (Sudan Women's Union-Sudanese Women's Union - Women's Union). None of these three women's organizations benefited from the experience of those that preceded them. Rather, each organization was separate and with new foundations and systems other than those, and therefore their experiences were less. Which was expected in activating the role of women's participation in political and social life, and despite that, they had a role in making Sudanese women unique in leadership and leadership in the Arab and African worlds.

3. The lack of fair representation of women in all social and political activity despite positive discrimination, because male society still deals casually with gender balance, and accepts women's participation without conviction.

4. Political parties did not care about women until their right to vote was confirmed.

5. Legislators' interest in women's legal and political rights is weak and negligible compared to other provisions in constitutions and regulations, with the exception of the Election Law of 2008, which authorized a quota and was implemented in the 2010 elections and led to an increase in the number of women in Parliament by (25%). Despite this, we find that it brought about superficial changes that had no effect on integrating gender into parties or changing masculinity.

Through the study results, we recommend the following:

1. The state must adopt clear policies and laws that support women's issues in order to establish a national organization for Sudanese women that includes all political trends and pressure groups and is based on sound foundations and a solid base that works to activate the role of Sudanese women in political and social life without excluding others, and draws from This organization derives its strength from the specific role of women in society.

2. Educating and empowering society, and women in particular, about the importance of participation. Enabling women to participate in decision-making at all party leadership and grassroots levels and in all legislative, executive and advisory fields.

3. Including women in party structures, and supporting their participation in decision-making and leadership centers by assuming leadership positions that have an impact on setting party policies. Parties must include women in leadership bodies to a minimum set by law, and place women on the electoral list and give them electoral constituencies and support them. To be nominated for it.

4. Develop fair legislation based on the principles of justice and equality, to achieve gender justice.

5. Activating existing and already enacted laws in a manner consistent with regional and international conventions that do not conflict with the positive discrimination derived from laws and principles, so that women can achieve political gains, making them a model at the level of their regional surroundings, Arab and African, and even at the level the Islamic world and the global level.

6. Strengthening women economically so that they can participate in public work. It provides the political will for real political participation for women.

7. Increasing women's participation in parties and not viewing them as a candidate for the election fund.

8. There is support from civil society organizations and women's groups to empower women.

9. Spreading a culture of peace, political participation, empowering women, and building their capacities Especially in rural areas and unstable regions.

10. Develop strategic plans for education, employment, community development and economic situation.

11. Private media and state agencies must play a role in raising awareness of women's political rights.

12. State institutions must strive to gain trust through the services, facilities and freedoms they provide to serve citizens.

13. Instilling the concepts of equality, participation and non-discrimination.

14. Recognizing women's important economic role, especially in the traditional sector, localizing women's work culture, and resolving all issues that hinder working women or reduce their performance.

15. Supporting scientific research that discusses issues and problems of women in society.

From the above, it is clear that political participation no longer stops at the inputs are now aimed at changing the system's political outputs

in the image which suits the demands of individuals and groups and is considered the standard of growth for the political system. It is an expression of the close correlation with the state of political stability. Indeed, it has become it is considered one of the sources of legitimacy, but rather the measure by which the degree of this legitimacy, it cannot be said that political participation is an absolute process. Rather, it is subject to a number of circumstances and variables that determine the appropriate frameworks for it the most prominent of these variables are political incentives, personal factors, and the nature of political conditions, political obligations, as well as social conditions. Historical developments played a clear role towards Sudanese women in maturing the participation process, political through the development witnessed by many of its mechanisms and means especially in the field of political parties' work, as they are the central linking body between individuals, political power, and development in the theory of representation that started from recommending the presence of individuals who represent society before the political authority or in councils consultation and legislation lead to the innovation of elections as a means of organizing the competition of the willing to represent society in the authorities and public positions in the state (Ballington, 2011).

Sudanese women's attitudes towards political participation depend on the extent of freedom and democracy that society enjoys politically, and on the social freedoms that society grants to women to exercise this role. The Constitution guarantees Sudanese women the right to practice political work and political participation, as the Constitution does not differentiate between women and men. It also has the right to assume high political positions. Therefore, women in Sudan can assume the position of President of the Republic, Governor, Minister or Member of Parliament.

Likewise, the results of the research as a whole showed that Sudanese women have an interest in political affairs in satisfactory proportions that make them willing to participate in the political process, such as nomination and voting, in light of the demographic differences. This is also the case despite the differences in geographical regions, which were distributed between rural and urban areas, stable and unstable areas and between north and south, after the separation, economic, whether good or bad. However, we find that there is a contradiction between the great interest of Sudanese women in political affairs and their good preparation for political participation, and their weak representation in leadership positions. If there is a real desire from the government and its mechanisms, and a greater degree of confidence in state institutions, and if there is a greater role for legislative institutions and political parties in

activating the role of women, all of this will contribute to improving the rates of actual political participation of Sudanese women, and perhaps they will be able to enjoy that constitutional right (Kandawasvika-Nhundu, 2021).

Finally, we believe that participation in the political process should be based on basic pillars, including the political system's belief in participation and its pursuit to expand it, and enhance the opportunities for representation of all segments of society. In the institutions of the political system, such features like the government's submission and response to the demands of the people and the ability of the political system to respond to the changes taking place in society on the basis of participation (as a goal and a means at the same time) are crucial. It is a goal because a sound democratic life requires mass participation in responsibility, which means changing trends behaviors towards a sense of responsibility are also a means of empowering the masses playing a pivotal role in advancing society towards progress, prosperity and contribution in advancing the development and policy process.

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