



**ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AND PERFORMANCE IN
THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN KENYA FROM 2010 TO 2017**

Ndikwe Rosalind Wanjiru

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Declaration

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other university.

Rosalind Ndikwe

Signed Date

This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University Supervisor.

Prof. Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira

Signed Date.....

Dr. Lanoi Maloy

Signed..... Date.....

Dr. Marygorety Akinyi

Signed..... Date.....

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my husband and my daughters for the sacrifice they made for me to complete this proposal. Their moral support, love, care, encouragement and constructive criticism inspired me to achieve this goal.

Acknowledgement

My utmost thanks, praise and worship goes to the Almighty God for granting me good health, wisdom, knowledge, understanding, finances and opportunity enabling me to pursue this course. I would also like to acknowledge my family and friends for their encouragement all through my course.

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Abstract

Globally, women under-representation in political sphere remains a concern in achieving gender balance in political representation and decision making. Increasing trend of African women leaders' entry into the political space has been noted with some of the African countries achieving over 33% in political leadership. Despite Kenyan women being on the frontline promoting this discourse, they continue to be under-represented in the political arena for almost a decade after the gender sensitive and progressive new constitution was adopted in August 2010. This study investigates and analyses the patterns of women representation and performance in political leadership in Kenya after the new constitution was promulgated. The research was guided by Feminist Political Theory and Critical Mass Theory using document review methodology of relevant secondary sources from 2010 to 2017. The study established that despite increased participation in politics, women under-representation continues to persist at the national assembly level with 23% representation. However, critical mass thresholds have been achieved at the county level, with 34% women representation due to adherence with the 2/3 gender rule which enabled nominations at the county to increase the number of women political leaders. Despite women being under represented at the national assembly they sponsored 12% of total Bills from 2013 to 2016. Their performance and impact has progressed as they gain access to and experience in political leadership. Performance assessment at the county level remains a challenge due to difficulties with accessing relevant data. The study recommends that women's representation in political sphere is paramount with at least 30% critical mass threshold. The state progress and prosperity depends on an inclusive

leadership with diverse players. Therefore the government of Kenya should ensure the constitutional provision on 33% gender principle is implemented to actualize the critical mass in all political levels.

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Acronyms and Abbreviation

IPU- Inter-Parliamentary Union

UN- United Nations

SDG- Sustainable and Development goals

NDI- National Democratic Institute

FIDA- Federation of Women Lawyers

IEA- Institute of Economic Affairs

MCA- Member of County Assembly

WCR- Women County Representative

URP- United Republic Party

NARC- National Rainbow coalition

KEWOPA- Kenya Women Parliamentary Association

AA- Affirmative Action

IRI- International Republican Institute

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Globally, women are underrepresented in the political sphere compared to their male counterparts. The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) reported that the number of women in national parliaments has only increased to 23.4% globally as at 2017. (IPU, 2018).

In Africa, the evolution of women's entry into political space with an increasing trend has been noted: Rwanda leads with the highest number of women leaders represented in parliament in the lower house at 63.8% compared with sub-Saharan Africa average of 23.6% as of June 2017. (UN, Facts and figures: Leadership and political participation, 2017). Despite notable progress, Kenya lags at 21.8% behind its neighboring countries Rwanda (63.8%), Tanzania (37.2%), Burundi (36.4%), and Uganda at 34.3% of women representation in the lower house. (IPU, Women in National Parliaments, 2018), The women representation in Kenya not only falls below the sub-Saharan average (23.6%) but also the 33% constitutional requirement in Kenya.

It has been 8 years since the 2010 constitution of Kenya was promulgated. The new constitution, awash with provisions on gender equality, presented a new dawn for the Kenyan women and celebration of gains achieved after a very long struggle 'fighting' for their rights as the old constitution validated the subjugation of women (Kabira, 2012).

For the first time in Kenyan's history, there is a constitution that recognizes women rights. This was a great achievement promising the Kenyan women an end to their adversity and heralded the beginning of new chapter to enjoying their human and equal rights as full and equal citizens. The constitutional recognition of women's equal rights to that of men is vital in achieving women's empowerment. The constitutional rights of women ranged from rights to inheritance, equal rights to ownership of property including land, equal citizenship, and leadership and governance positions. (African Woman and Child Feature Service, 2011). That notwithstanding, Kenyan women are still under-represented in high level decision making positions and political leadership.

On representation of the people, the 2010 constitution provides in Article 81(b) that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. Despite this requirement, women were still under represented in the political leadership. The implementation of the 2/3 gender rule will increase women political leaders representation in political offices and enhance their visibility in the public sphere.

Women should be well represented in leadership positions to ensure that effective policy development affecting women is not inhibited due to under-representation of women (Crowley, 2004). Also, the inclusion of women's concerns in policy making would, therein improve societal dynamics within the public sphere. In addition, having women represented in public space can have an indirect influence on men by increasing their attention to policies concerning women. Participation of women in politics will also promote gender equality and empowerment. (Nzomo P. M., 2012)

(Feldman, 2015) Argued that political representation involves both formal and informal channels. Broadly, it involves political system knowledge and the means of accessing it, the right to vote, involvement in local campaigns and governing structures, representation in national and local government, and the freedom to represent interests as a lobbying and voting bloc.

Women engagement through political representation is a major concern. One of good governance critical pillars is to have equal representation by both genders in the political sphere. It allows exercise of fundamental rights such as freedom of expression association (Kivoi, 2014).

The United Nations Sustainable and Development goals (SDGs) address the global challenges women face including those related to inequality i.e. gender equality. These challenges include equal access to primary education between girls and boys and this translates into lack of access to skills and limited opportunities in the public space. Other challenges are sexual harassment, child marriages lack of equal inheritance rights and ownership of properties. (UN, Sustainable Development Goals, 2018). It is a fundamental human right to achieve gender equality, it is a beginning of a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. Kenya supports the UN SDG goals to be achieved by 2030.

The under-representation of women at any level of governance and decision-making results in a democratic deficit. Decisions made by diverse groups have been proven time and again to be the best. This is true, especially when it comes to a task as challenging as representing the interests of all citizens and most importantly at the grass-root level. The local government makes important decisions as well affecting the lives of the community and therefore the representation and

participation of women in local decision making processes is critical for prioritizing women's practical needs in localizing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Gender-balanced local councils may be an important step in helping to attain gender balance at the national levels.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenyan women continue to struggle with under-representation in the political arena for almost a decade after the much celebrated new constitutional was adopted. Several studies (Kamau N. , 2010; IEA, 2015; Nzomo A. P., 2014; Kasomo D,2012) as well as (NDI, 2018) indicated that Kenyan women are underrepresented in political leadership trailing far behind the global average as well as its Eastern African counterparts.

While the same studies have recognized the initiatives undertaken to ensure women's representation achieves at least 1/3 gender principle as provided by the constitution, there is limited information on the impact of these interventions on women's participation and representation in political leadership. This gap creates a ground for investigating and analyzing the patterns of women's participation and representation in political leadership in Kenya after the new constitution was promulgated. This research will analyze the secondary data from year 2010 to 2018 on the question of women's political participation and leadership.

1.3 Study objectives

The general objective of this study was to establish the patterns of women representation in political leadership in Kenya after the promulgation of the 2010 constitution. The specific objectives are:

- i. To analyze women representation in the National and county assemblies after the 2013 and 2017 general elections
- ii. To assess the performance of Kenyan women political leaders elected and nominated.
- iii. To explore the impact of having women representation in political leadership.

1.3.1 Research questions

- i. What was the outcome of Kenyan women representation in political leadership after the 2013 and 2017 general elections?
- ii. How is the performance of elected and nominated Kenyan women political leaders?
- iii. To what extent is it important to have women representation in the political sphere?

1.4 Justification of the study

The study will offer valuable insights from both a practical and theoretical standpoint. From a theoretical standpoint, it presents a general understanding on the impact of the new Kenyan constitution on women representation in political leadership. To academics and researchers, the study would offer information that

will form a basis for further research on interventions required to promote women representation in political sphere.

To the political parties in Kenya, the study outlines the status of women challenging them to find ways which will enable more women get involved in politics, and encourage and support them to pursue political positions. To the Kenyan government, the study provides facts on their involvement in adhering to the new constitution provisions in relations to the women rights. In addition, the study also provides significant information which can be used to create more policies to promote women representation in political leadership.

1.5 Scope of the study

The study covers the period after the 2010 Kenyan constitution was promulgated i.e. 2010 to 2017. The purpose of choosing this period is because it's a milestone period for Kenyan women after the much jubilated constitutional provision. The joy, hope and courage could be seen clearly on their faces from photos as they danced marching to parliament to present their petition on 2/3 gender representation on August 26 2011. (Kabira, 2012) The focus areas of the petition included constitutional provisions alluded to equal rights, two-third gender rule, gender equality in political parties and political leadership in Kenya.

1.6 Limitations of the study

There were challenges encountered during data collection where there was limited and fragmented data on political parties' primaries elections performance, both at the National and County levels. There was also limited data at County Assemblies level on motions and bills presented and/or passed. The study however extensively

sought reliable information from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission reports, county websites and published interviews from elected and nominated leaders at the county Assembly level.

1.7 Definition of terms

The following were the main terms used in the study as defined below;

Women representation- political representation is the activity of making citizens' (in this case women) voices, opinions, and perspectives “present” in public policy making processes.

Double dividend- A concept that when women hold office they tend to advocate more strongly not just for women rights but also for marginalized group rights.

National Assembly- is the lower house of the parliament which includes 290 elected members, 47 Women County elected representatives and 12 nominated representatives.

Senate - is the upper house of the parliament of Kenya. It consists of 47 elected representatives from each county and 20 nominated senators.

County Assembly- Consists of 1,450 members elected from each ward and nominated members to achieve the 2/3 gender rule principle and also nominated members representing the marginalized groups including persons with disabilities and youth.

Affirmative Action- is a policy initiative in which women have pushed to increase the number of women in political office such as political parties, County and

National assemblies, in addition to appointive bodies and public service employment to ensure the critical mass of 30% representation.

Critical mass- It is the attainment of 30% representation within the political sphere necessary to influence public policy making and implementation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature review for this study and theoretical perspectives. The literature reviewed was on women involvement in politics and their representation in political leadership in Kenya, the constitution provision of 2/3 gender rule, global representation of women in leadership, equal treatment and opportunities and gender equality in political parties and the relevant theories.

2.1 Representation of women in political leadership.

There is a lot of information on women representation focusing on African countries including Kenya with the broad thematic focus being; women's underrepresentation in politics, the status of women in political leadership and contribution of women in the political arena. Most researchers have noted that women continue to be highly underrepresented in positions of political decision-making. (Chhetri, 2014) The inadequate representation of women in politics however is a problem in all of the democratic countries of the world today.

The Kenyan women story is unique in some ways; their intensive struggle and undying commitment to ensure their inclusivity in the constitution making process birthed the many celebrated 2010 constitutional gains that were expected to change the trend of women representation in political leadership to at least 33%.

The women displayed leadership when they demonstrated their capacity to negotiate and reaped a 'basket full of fruits in the 2010 constitution' (Kabira&Kimani, 2012)

The research done by the National Women's Steering Committee in partnership with Institute of Economic Affairs highlighted that 'women political leaders underrepresentation in political office is unjustified; a country merely cannot move forward socially, economically and politically without half its citizens participating significantly in political spheres'. (IEA, 2015)

Kenya has held two general elections after the adoption of the 2010 constitution and clearly some progress has been observed with increased number of women in political leadership. From 9.8% in 10th parliament to 20.7% in 11th parliament i.e. after the 2013 general election. (IEA, 2015)

The number of women who vied for political positions in 2017 were more than that in 2013. (1,259 vs 971 respectively). However their number still lagged far behind their male counterparts and of all the 2017 candidates participants, only 8.7% were women. Among the women elected in 2017, there were 3 governors and 3 senators which was a great achievement. At the Senate and National assembly, women comprise about 24% of representation in all standing committees. However, women hold fewer leadership positions in either body, such as committee chairs or speaker positions, and have been unable to breakthrough into significant committee assignments or other influential positions. Women are chairs of only 3 of the 27 committees in the National Assembly, and zero committees in the Senate. (NDI, 2018).

Though the 2017 elections represented a step forward for women representation compared to 2013 elections, women comprised 9.2% of 1835 elected individuals in 2017, an increase from 7.7% in 2013. (NDI, 2018). A survey by Inter-parliamentary Unit also shows a very slight margin of women representation comparing the 11th and 12th parliament from 20% to 21% (IPU, Women in Parliament in 2017, 2018). The IPU report being an international record reflecting status of women in parliaments is able give comparisons of each country against their regions as well their global position. However the report does not include the women representation at the local government which is very crucial as it indicates the involvement of women in politics from the community level. A report on devolved government will be significant to show status of women participation especially as political power is taken to the grassroots closer to the women's sphere of operations. (Njeri, 2016)

A study by (Kabugi, 2017) revealed that women representation in Kenya has been gradually increasing especially after the 2010 constitution was adopted. Of interest is that the findings of this study also revealed that women do not have a full understanding of the constitution since their responses did not reflect what the Constitution of Kenya 2010 states. A further interrogation is required to find out if Kenyan women really know their rights, constitutional gains in their favour and opportunities therefrom that would enable them increase their visibility and representation in political leadership.

Contribution by women in political leadership tends to be invisible in public domain and due to lack of publicity, many women leaders may not be known to the public. It's a significant challenge faced by women where they lack positive media coverage

creating a situation where voters do not understand women achievements. (Kamau N. , 2010). According to the same research, the findings indicated that the societal beliefs such as men are better leaders have had much influence on voters and by extent, negative perception by women themselves that they themselves cannot lead enabling male domination in the public space.

Sufficing to note a report by International Republican Institute (IRI) on women representation and leadership in the executive and legislative level in Africa which focused on 29 countries including the Eastern African countries, that is Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania and Burundi. Just like many other studies, it validates the critical mass concept, whereby, until women are represented in numbers large enough to have a collective voice, their ability to make an impact in male dominated systems is limited. (IRI, 2016). However there is a gap existing in this study which requires further research on how the countries with the highest percentage of women's political leadership have performed differently or better than those which are lowly represented by women in terms achieving the SDG goals.

Representing women is to make women's viewpoints visible in making political decisions. A rather interesting perspective by (Delys, 2014) on how women can dominate the male-dominated environment once they are elected in Parliament, suggested that rather than mere implementation of gendered policies an evolution needs to take place in the minds of the dominant group since they establish the marginalized group in political decision-making bodies. However, the question is how can women dominate in parliament while they hold a very few positions? In addition, there is a knowledge gap whereby it is not indicated how this can be done.

Researchers (Kurebwa, 2016) (Bari, 2005) have used different arguments for the advancement of women's representation in politics within the intrinsic and instrumentalist schools of thought. The intrinsic approach maintains that women should have the corresponding share of politics and influence as that of men from a human rights perspective. It is only fair that women possess half of the political power since they comprise half of population in the world. The instrumentalist argues that women and men are naturally different. It assumes that what women can bring in politics men cannot.

The human rights perspective argues that gender equality is an unalienable right and discrimination against it, is prohibited under almost every human rights treaty. It is therefore wrong that women and girls consistently have their rights violated and are condemned to marginalization because of gender discrimination and an unequal distribution of power and resources (UN, Sustainable Development Goals, 2018).

The instrumentalist perspective shows women have a greater responsibility compared to their male counterparts. In the family they care for children and other family members and so they are more likely to invest resources in meeting household requirements than their own consumption. Therefore investing in women is more valuable since it reaps rewards that extend beyond women to their families and community at large (Yolande Bouka, 2017).

Vast literature recognizes that women are still under represented in political leadership (Chhetri, 2014), (IPU, Women in Parliament in 2017, 2018), (Kamau N. , 2010) (Kabugi, 2017), (Kabira&Kimani, 2012) (IEA, 2015). These studies have also extensively focused on the challenges women political leaders' face both when

accessing the political space and also when they are elected to political positions. Whilst there is recognition that some progress has been made within the 2010 constitutional dispensation, there is limited knowledge on the actual impact the gradual increase in women representation has made. This is a gap that this study hopes to fill by contributing more information on performance and influence of Kenyan political women leaders' represented in political offices.

2.2 Outcome of women representation in National and County Assemblies after 2013 and 2017 general elections.

Since independence in 1963 up until 2007, Kenyan voters have elected only 50 women into parliament, the number could be less considering the re-elections (FIDA, 2013). This is very poor whilst compared to the standing of women demographics in Kenya at slightly above 50%, according to the country meters information. As the (IEA, 2015) argued, a country cannot advance without half its citizens participating significantly in critical decision-making processes and political spheres.

The 2010 constitution created more political positions which were not there in the previous constitution. Currently the Kenyan parliament is made of the National Assembly and the Senate. The National Assembly consists of 290 directly elected members from the 290 constituencies, 47 women county representatives (WCRs) elected to represent women from each individual county, and 12 members nominated by political parties. The Senate has 47 elected and 20 nominated positions (FIDA, 2013). The added political positions and especially the affirmative 47 WCRs presented an opportunity to Kenyan women leaders to significantly

increase their representations in the political sphere. So, why haven't the Kenyan women not achieved the critical mass? Extensive literature exists exploring challenges inhibiting women access to leadership. However, further investigation should be done to identify the interventions employed to solve these problems.

The March 4th 2013 general election was the first of its kind in Kenyan history in terms of complexity and new procedures. Kenyans were expected to fill six elective positions of which four positions were new to them i.e. the governor, senator, county women representatives and member of county assembly. The (FIDA, 2013) report highlights the IEBC failure of not conducting an effective voters education exercise limiting them to one month to sensitize voters before the elections leading to unprecedented number of rejected votes. A gap in this report is that it did not mention how IEBC conducted the candidates' electoral process, whether the candidates were provided with adequate time and information on the requirements to vie for the political positions of interests, and especially women who have been sidelined in political space and vying for the first time for the new positions.

The number of women elected in the National assembly dropped from 8% in the 10th parliament to 6%. Prof. Maria Nzomo also noted the irony of the decline in the number of women elected despite the affirmative action, hence a sign that the patriarchy was fighting back. (Nzomo M. , Gender Forum; Representation of Women in Political Leadership; taking stock, 2013).

The IPU global report compares status of women representation limited to the national level hence leaving a gap on women representation at the local government (IPU, Women in National Paliaments, 2018). This study seeks to fill this

gap by adding information on women representation at the county levels and the national leadership demonstrating a consolidated overview of total Kenyan women representation in political positions.

The new constitution dispensation and devolution have demonstrably acted as key enablers for women seeking public office, positively influencing the pattern of women representation in Kenya. However many obstacles still remain, including new challenges that have emerged through the implementation of the same devolved constitutional system (Yolande Bouka, 2017). The government of Kenya has the potential for redressing the gender inequality in political leadership representation hence alleviating the situation where women been under-represented since time in memorial (Watson, 2013). In addition these obstacles such as inadequate financial resources, less media coverage and lack of political party support, gives men an advantage over women by providing mechanisms of male power in Kenya. The men think that leadership belong to them and when women try to access political positions, men often undertakes what (Longwe, 2000) defines as 'dirty tricks' to prevent women from accessing political positions such as propaganda and attacking the character of women political aspirants especially alluding to sexual morality which is very common.

2.3 Performance of the elected and nominated women political leaders in Kenya

Whilst the 2013 and 2017 elections outcome saw the number of women within national and county government increase, so are the expectations from the society. It is never a smooth ride for women as the pressure for them to justify their election and or nomination based on the gender card is quite high. However their

substantive influence when in office has remained constrained by institutional, legal, political, economic and social factors. (Yolande Bouka, 2017).

The (Mzalendo, 2015) study provides information on Kenyan women political leaders performance in 11th parliament only up to 30th June 2015. It also concentrated on contributions by women parliamentarians only leaving out contributions by women at the county level. This study aims at getting more updated data on women contribution at the parliament and also contribution at the county assemblies.

Understanding leadership effectiveness has been a controversial issue in the literature especially on the difference between men and women on attributes relevant to leadership. The extant research reveals that traits do play an important role in leadership effectiveness (Hoyt, 2010). The patriarchal nature of African society undermines women leadership by associating leadership with masculine traits. There is a need to appreciate the differences between women and men on traits related to effective leadership. (Kamau N. , 2010) Argues that good leadership is characterized by ethical awareness and is not based on gender.

The preconception of a male dominated society have assumed that only men make better leaders due to their personality (perceived as strong, focused, assertive and dominant) vis a vis women considered having weak leadership characteristics (timid, indecisive, emotional, etc.), the attitude of think male think leader (Kamau N. , 2010). This literature continues to argue that this presumption plays a very big role in determining the expectations of leader's performance from the public/the people that chose them.

The general elections held in 2013, brought 86 women into leadership positions in The National Assembly and The Senate comprising of 16 elected members of the national assembly and 5 nominated ones, 47 women's representatives elected to fulfill the affirmative action principle popularly known as the two thirds gender principle and 18 nominated women to serve in the Senate. Based on the challenges highlighted in different studies like in (Kamau N. , 2010), the women who take up these positions are subjected to stereotypes, sexism and accusations of incompetence. The County Women Representatives have been the most criticized position, I personally have found myself defending their position as it has been perceived as tokenism eating into tax payers' money and the majority of Kenyan do not understand their role. The (Mzalendo, 2015) report attempts to dismantle the prejudice by deconstructing and showing how women performed in the 11th parliament. The report found out that most of the issues that women were passionate and vocal about were similar across the board, at the National and Senate Assemblies.

The Mzalendo report has also indicated that there is no great disparity between the elected/nominated women MPs and the 47 Women County Representatives (WCRs) as well as the senators in terms of quality and nature of contributions. Nevertheless, the difference in mandate and access to resources is clearly a limiting factor for women's performance in their leadership. The new constitution dispensation through the gender principle has seen an unprecedented number of women in political positions with majority of them nominated especially at the county and the senate level with limited power and influence. Despite this barrier, women have come out strong and demonstrated effective leadership by

addressing major issues like health related matters, security, water, education, disability, and nominations and vetting.

Women have in most cases, if not always, found themselves in positions where they have to justify and prove their worth, and this is the case with Kenyan women leaders and especially the WCRs. With so little information available on their performance in leadership, this study will add more knowledge on contributions made by women leaders since the 2010 constitution dispensation. Studies have confirmed that women are invisible from the media and this has been one of the greatest challenges Kenyan women leaders face (Kamau N. , 2010). Hence research cannot be enough on Kenyan women politicians to cover their performance and influence in leadership.

At the National Assembly and Senate, women moved motions and successfully sponsored bills which cut across a number of topics and interests which were not limited to issues related to women. (Mzalendo, 2015).

In the period March 2013 to June 2015, the bills that were sponsored by women in the National Assembly were 9 out of 110 Bills. This represents 8% of the total Bills. This study found that there has been two successful bills which were assented to in 2016 and became law; The Engineering technologists and technicians' bill and the Access to information bill. In the Senate, women sponsored 9 out of 49 Bills between March 2013 and June 2015. This represents approximately 18% of the total Bills with one assented bill sponsored by Martha Wangari on the County Government amendments.

There is an important gap in literature examining contribution by women leaders at the county Assembly and their performance in office. (Yolande Bouka, 2017)

Argued that familiarity with legislative rules and procedures allows them to fulfil their roles with confidence and this only applies to a few women since the majority of them were newly elected and nominated to new positions after the adoption of the 2010 constitution. This may explain the reason why both men and women leaders required some training because majority had no prior political experience.

Prior political experience provides the network of political connections that can be used during negotiations. Women can work at their advantage of soft power to further their agenda through elected legislatures especially where they lack resources to champion development projects. For example a nominated member of the county assembly (MCA) from Nyandarua who had been actively engaged in politics before the 2010 constitution managed to table motions and negotiate projects with her elected counterparts, (Yolande Bouka, 2017). Another nominated woman MCA from Nyeri County, Virginia Waruta said ‘to counter the dominance by the men in the county assembly the women joined causes to rally male support, which led to Waruta being elected as chair of the Finance and Economic Planning Committee (CREAW, 2016). This appointment enabled her influence the passing of three bills in regards to budget, which have now been enacted as acts within Nyeri County.

Elected and nominated women MCAs introduced legislation on a range of issues although their participation varied greatly across the counties. The issues raised were of concern to women and girls, such as the right of underage pregnant girls to return to school, in-vitro fertilization, the care and protection of school girls who get pregnant. The variety of bills demonstrates women’s efforts to engage effectively in the legislative process. Women MCAs have however stated that most

of the bills and motions they have tabled are not limited to sexual and domestic violation, maternal health care and improvement of markets.

The WCR seat being the most questioned seat, this study has extensively looked into the performance by the Women County Representatives and found out that some of them stood out proving the worth of having the positions provided for in the constitution. From the coast three women representatives were noted for their contributions on various issues; Zainab Chidzuga, Mishi Juma and Halima Duri

Joyce Lay from Taita Taveta also stood out on contributions towards the issue of mining and the welfare of miners. Besides that she also tabled a motion for translation of Kenyan laws into Kiswahili considering it's a national language. From Machakos County, Dr. Susan Musyoka contributed on matters related to health.

Sabina Chege from Murang'a County has been very active in leadership and chaired the education committee. Pricilla Nyokabi from Nyeri County contributed significantly by sponsoring the bill on the access to information which passed and assented in 2016 and Wanjiku Muhia from Nyandarua County sponsored the Persons with Disability (Amendment) Bill. Cecilia Ngetich from Bomet County sponsored the Engineering Technicians and Technologists Bill which was also assented in 2016 stood for her contribution. The above mentioned are among the many who made contributions and demonstrated effective performance in the political leadership.

2.4 Importance of women representation in political sphere

Studies on African women political leadership has grown over time though still very sparse (Ngambi, 2009). It highlighted most importantly the need to have African scholars critically examine the mainstream of western research on African women from an African perspective. This study seeks to accumulate more knowledge on African women leadership in appreciation of the important role they play in political leadership representation.

African women have made progress but haven't 'arrived' yet, the journey was too long. Their contribution has been impactful in the society but unfortunately they do not get the credit they deserve. There is a limited body of knowledge on the kind of leadership perspective the Kenyan women has brought forth (Kamau N. , 2010). Having grown up in a culture where male dominates the public sphere, my personal experience whenever I engage in local politics about women leadership confirms that women have to constantly defend their position on their contribution to the public.

Women leaders tend to advocate more strongly not just for women's rights but also for other marginalized group rights, a concept known as the 'double dividend'. (Oxfam, 2014). This could be because they understand better how it is to be sidelined and discriminated against. Women leaders are more likely to advance the rights of minorities, promote family-friendly legislation, and work on issues related to education, health and nutrition. In Kenya's case this can be confirmed from the kind of motions and bills which women fronted in the 11th parliament, both at the National Assembly and the Senate (Miranda, 2005).

The global problems we have today requires diverse an inclusive system with skill set and innovation which can only come from diverse players. Women brings the different skills and perspectives on structural and cultural difference to drive effective solutions. Women leaders changes the way solutions are forged globally. For example women in senior management help drive direct change in structural policies including parental leave, child care and pay. Women leadership will have extra ordinary effects in the on the global economy, Specifically in Sub Saharan Africa, GDP can increase by 27%, or \$0.7 trillion, when the gap is closed (Banda, 2018).

In Kenya, it's estimated that 80% of women live in rural areas playing social and invisible economic roles. (Njeri, 2016). The 2010 constitution brought devolution which has given Kenyan women opportunity access power at the grassroots level, closer to their sphere of operations. With the increased number of women in both elective and nominated positions it's expected they enforce the laws that are meant for gender equality and equity in the Constitution. However more study on this area is required to determine the differences that equity efforts and gender equality are making towards family development, the local community and at the national level.

In business, companies which leadership is gender diversified performs better than companies which do not have the same leadership diversity. As women influence over 80% of global consumption, having more women involved in decision making helps companies relate to consumers better, leading to financial success (Markham, 2013).

While African women leaders have been hard to have effective leadership, scholars like (Nzomo M. , 2013) noted that African women leaders continue to face major challenges that limits them to unleash their full potential in leadership. Rwanda currently at 64% women representation provide an important lesson on the difference between being in power and having and/or exercising power. The political institutions are patriarchal hence limiting women to lead freely by exercising their full potential. This system barrier is the same that has been experienced by South African and Ugandan female both of which countries have reached 30% women representation. Their impact and experiences have revealed the same patterns in political governance to that of Rwanda (Nzomo M. , 2013). Kenyan experiences is the same as the countries mentioned above. At the counties where the highest representation of women is over 30% the system limiting women to fully participate in decision making and development.

Another concern is that policy processes at the county and national level should be fully transparent to enable the public to understand, get involved and contribute. Due to both poor public relations and biased media coverage in addition to the patriarchal society, female politicians would need their legislative and development achievements widely publicized (Yolande Bouka, 2017). This would publicly unwrap their influence in political leadership.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This study will be guided by Feminist Political Theory and Critical mass theory within the Intrinsic Approach school of thought. Feminism is a controversial topic in Africa due to a misconception of what feminism is and the association of it with the more radical stances as feminists are deemed to be men bashers or radical women who stand against family values. (Kamau D. N., 2014) There is also a belief that it is largely foreign and does not apply to African women (Mekgwe, 2008).

2.5.1 Feminist Theory

The women from other parts of the world theorized feminism from their own experiences and it is critical of western feminism for being ethnocentric and ignorant of the experiences of women from other races, communities and classes.

Feminism as a social theory has the main objective to emancipate women by removal of all legal constraints on the woman's ability to act as free individuals in a society based on economic and social competition as the final step in the creation of a perfect society. Feminist theory aims to understand the power dynamics within society, (DeVault, 1999). The theory thus recognizes avenues such as organizations that enable women to take an active role in the process of change in the society.

The theory recognizes the marginalization of women and therefore seeks to act as a shield against the marginalization. The variance in terms of representation in politics between the two genders is seen as shaped by the social environment as opposed to being natural. In essence feminist theories 'seek to analyse the conditions which shape women's lives and explore cultural understandings of what

it means to be a woman.’ It pursues to explain the conditions under which women lives are lived. (Jones, 1998)

Generally, feminist theory, irrespective of the various strands, posits that: existing relationship between male and female is structured in a manner that women are subordinated to men and this has to change; the paternal status of society that is perceived as normal and in which women have been subordinated has to be challenged; the challenge should be based on the notion that all human beings are equal and have the same potential.

2.5.2 Feminist Political theory

Feminist political theory was born out of the struggles of the feminist movements of the 20th century following marginalization of women in political theory and in particular African women (Tucker, 2011). It focuses on analyzing women’s experiences in political leadership. Firstly, these theorists see women and their situation as central to political analysis; they ask why it is that in virtually all known societies’ men appear to have more power and privilege than women and how this can be changed, (Bryson, 2007). They examine cultural and societal norms to observe what provides the mechanisms for male power within a given society. African social context is that which is male dominated and women are subordinates to men. The social beliefs and sex division of roles regards men’s work highly valued compared to women roles which is deemed to be in the kitchen. This mechanism gives men an automatic advantage when it comes to community leadership and national bodies as well.

The culture and ways of life of society are also a concern for female political theorists. Social norms are informal rules that govern behavior in groups or

societies. (Cristina Bicchieri, 2018) They are usually deeply rooted in the society and the people live by them. For example in certain parts of Africa there are women who believe that wife battering is a sign of love from their husbands and if their husbands does not give them a beating they are of notion that they are not loved, while in reality it is domestic violence. Among other beliefs, the mindset of think leader think male perceives men to be better leaders than women (Kamau N. , 2010) and the public space is male space which denies women access into involvement in leadership matters (Ngwa, 2014). The societal problems are a big challenge to women emancipation. To develop solutions which are relevant, legitimate and sustainable in their contexts, it would therefore be important to understand these societal norms and how they influence women participation.

Feminist political theorist examine political structures such as the nation state to further understand power and gender relations. 'The focus of such feminist political theory often includes an examination of the state and its role in either the reproduction of gender inequality or its potential for redressing such inequality. (Watson, 2013)

Feminist political theory highlights the imbalanced political participation very well because it questions every aspect of power relations between men and women. Disparities in political participation are explained based on gender. It also gives suggestions on how women can improve the situation. In this respect, the theory is relevant in creating awareness and will help to understand why and how men hold power and privilege in society and why women are marginalized from leadership. It will also guide in developing new recommendations on how the state and society should or could incorporate women's leadership.

2.5.3 Critical Mass theory

Critical mass is a central concept on women political representation at a threshold of 30%. It is used to explain why women do not always appear to represent women once they are in political office due to the fact that there are fewer women than men in almost all elected assemblies. The theory has been criticized as a tool for understanding the relationship between the percentage of female legislators and the passage of legislation beneficial to women as a group (Krook, 2008). However, the Scholars in gender and politics as well as researchers like (Kamau N. , 2010) (Kabira, 2012) (Nzomo M. , 2013) (Newton, 2017), (Burkinshaw, 2015), (Ballington, 2009) argue that when women hold fewer seats in political office than critical mass threshold, they do not have the influence to represent women issues.

To increase the women's influence and power in parliament and other political and public decision-making bodies, a critical mass of at least 33 per cent of women's must be achieved. That was the focus of the women movement in Kenya since 1992 and ensured the same was implemented in the 2010 constitution making (Kabira, 2012). Research has shown that according to common knowledge, it takes a certain minimum representation of the minority, in this case women, to be able to make significant difference in politics (Dahlerup, 2006). Attainment of critical mass will secure more gains, including transformative changes in the institutional culture of these institutions (Nzomo M. , 2013).

There are other researchers, for example (Crowley, 2004), who argued that the number of women in legislative positions does not make a difference in gendered policy debates. (Barasa, 2011) Maintains that beyond the critical numbers it takes critical actors in an enabling structure for political representatives forge gendered

policies in parliament. This approach calls for an empirical study linking between women's descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation is the magnitude to which a representative favours and supports those being represented and their needs; which gender may or may not influence. In contrast, substantive representation is the activity taken in the interest of, as an agent of, and as a proxy for the represented (IRI, 2016).

Kenyan women representation in political positions has been rated the lowest among its Eastern African neighbouring countries. It is therefore crucial to advocate for more women participation and representation in political leadership so as to abolish marginalization of women in the public sphere. In addition to bringing a gender perspective to policy-making, women tend to work in a less hierarchal more collaborative and participatory approach compared to their male colleagues. Their leadership and conflict resolution styles often embody democratic ideals since they are also more likely to work across party lines, even in highly partisan environment (Markham, 2013). For that reason, this study supports critical mass theory for women's representation in politics but also calls for further research of critical actors in women's substantive representation. The critical mass theory is significant to this research as it will help analyse the experiences of women since the new constitutional dispensation and achieve the study goal in establishing the patterns of women representation in political leadership in Kenya.

Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the literature applicable to this study. It started with review of women representation in political leadership. This was followed by analyzing the outcome of Kenyan women representation after the

2013 and 2017 general elections. Much has been discussed on women performance and the rationale of having women representation in the political arena. Women under representation and impact of the interventions deployed is a concern worth investigation and especially the influence of women leaders in the political space.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the study methodology, research design, data collection method, data analysis and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design

A research design maps out how the research will be conducted specifically the procedures necessary to obtain the information needed to structure and solve the research problems (Shindler, 2006). This study focused on secondary data which constituted analysis of the reports on 2013 and 2017 general elections results on Kenyan women political leaders in all elective positions, data review on bills sponsored by Kenyan women leaders from 2013 to 2016 and also review of relevant literature on women representation in politics in Kenya from year 2010 to 2018, in the County and National Assemblies and the Senate. The study criteria was guided by the period which the Kenyan new constitution was promulgated, hence relevant data on women political leadership representation for the period 2010 to 2018.

3.2 Data collection Method

This study used a mixed research design, it allows for the collection and synthesis of both quantitative and qualitative secondary data about research topic in an integrated way such that new frameworks and perspectives on the topic are generated (Dudovskiy, 2018). The method was chosen since it is more precise and

accurate and involves description of events in a carefully planned way (Sekaran, 2003). Data was collected through secondary sources including, document review mainly the NDI and FIDA reports on 2013 and 2017 general elections, Mzalendo report, Bills tracker from National Assembly and the Senate. Other sources were desk research and review of relevant data on African women leadership and their representation on the political sphere.

3.3 Data Analysis

According to (Ngechu, 2004), data analysis procedures include the process of packaging the collected information, putting it in order and structuring its main components in a way that the findings can be easily and effectively communicated. The study was guided by was guided by feminist political theory and critical mass theory to analyse the data and used the specific research objectives to organize the data. Quantitative data was analysed by use of descriptive statistics and presented through frequencies and percentages while Qualitative data was analysed through content analysis by categorizing related themes in line with the study objectives.

3.4 Ethical Consideration

Ethics are the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong i.e. acceptable and nonacceptable behavior. Ethical standards prevent falsification and fabrication of data hence imparting authentic knowledge and truth which is primary objective of the research (Makau, 2016). The researcher adhered to research ethical standards by citing all the sources to ensure validity and reliability of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on data analysis, results presentation and discussion of the findings. The study sought to address the three specific objectives; women representation in national and county assemblies after the 2013 and 2017 general elections, performance of Kenyan women political leaders elected and nominated and rationale of women representation in political leadership. The findings were presented in form of tables, percentages and discussions.

4.1 Women representation in National and County Assemblies after the 2013 and 2017 general elections.

Table 4.1; Total no of women elected and nominated in 2013 general election

	Members of National	County Women	Senators	County Assemblies	Deputy	Governors	Total
	Assembly	representatives		Ward representatives	Governors		
Women elected	16	47	0	82	6	0	151
Total No of positions	290	47	47	1450	47	47	1928
% women representation	6%	100%	0%	6%	13%	0%	8%
Women nominated	5		18	680			703
Total No of nominees	12		20	680			712
Total number elected and nominated (%) women representation	7%	100%	27%	36%	13%	0%	32%
Summary	National Assembly		Senate Assembly	County assembly			All
Total no of women elected and nominated	68		18	768			854
Total No of positions	349		67	2224			2640
	19%		27%	35%			32%

(FIDA, 2013)

The study findings on different elections levels i.e. The Senate, County and National Assemblies confirms that Kenyan women political leaders did not achieve critical mass at any level through elections in 2013. There was 6% of women representation as members of national assembly which increased to 19% after the 47 affirmative positions of WCR are included. At the Senate, there was no single woman elected. However, 18 women were nominated raising the percentage from 0 to 27% women representation at the senate. The study observed the same pattern at the county level where the women acquired only 6% of elective positions, with the proportion increasing to 35% after the nominations, hence achieving critical mass threshold at the county level.

The under-representation of women political leaders has been a culture in Kenyan political space. Women leaders representation by a mere 6% through elections shows that the political leadership is largely dominated by men which has continuously given them power and privilege in the society attributable to culture and societal norms. In reference to Feminist political theory women exclusion and male dominance within the public space enables men to set their terms in public and private power which leads to highly unequal of power relations. The 2010 constitution of Kenya recognizes equal rights of women and men which is essential towards deconstructing unequal power and gender relations which men have always used to dominate the public space and control women access to it.

Table 4.2; Total no of women elected and nominated in 2017 general election

	Members of National Assembly	County Women representatives	Senators	County Assemblies Ward representatives	Deputy Governors	Governors	Total
	Women elected	23	47	3	96	7	3
Total No of positions	290	47	47	1450	47	47	1928
% women representation	8%	100%	6%	7%	15%	6%	9%
Women nominated	5		18	650			673
Total No of nominees	12		20	747			779
Total number elected and nominated (%) women representation	9%	100%	31%	34%	15%	6%	31%
Summary	National Assembly		Senate Assembly	County assembly			All
Total no of women elected and nominated	75		21	756			852
Total No of positions	349		67	2291			2707
	21%		31%	33%			31%

(NDI, 2018)

A slight improvement in women representation in 2017 compared with 2013 elections was noted. At the National assembly, there was an increase from 19% to 21%, which was a result of an increase in number of elected women constituency members of the national assembly which increased from 16 to 23 in addition to the 47 county women representatives. 5 more women were elected to the position of members of the National Assembly. The 2013 general elections was one of its kind after the adoption of the 2010 constitution. It created more awareness on the constitution rights in regards to leadership and governance positions which consequently had an impact in changing the societal norms that restrained women in the private space. Increased visibility of women leadership and experience led to more women seeking political positions in 2017.

Table 4.3; elected women Members of National Assembly in 2017 in comparison to their status in 2013

Elected Women Member of the National Assembly				
No	Name	Constituency	%	Status in 2013
2	Aisha Jumwa Karisa Katan Mishi Juma Khamisi Mboko	Malindi Likoni	9%	Women Representatives
3	Naomi Namsi Shaban Grace Jelagat Kipchoim Millie Akoth Odhiambo	Taveta Baringo South Suba North	13%	Re-elected MP
4	Peris Pesi Tobiko Rachel Kaki Nyamai Jessica Nduku Kiko Mbalu Alice Muthoni Wahome	Kajiado East Kitui South Kibwezi East Kandara	17%	MP- First time Elected
2	Sophia Abdi Noor Sarah Paulata Kokere	Ijara Laikipia North	9%	Nominated MP
2	Annie Wanjiku Kibe Mary Wamaua	Gatundu North Maragwa	9%	Nominated MCA
2	Martha Wangari Naisula Lesuuda	Gilgil Samburu West	9%	Nominated Senator
4	Beatrice Pauline Cherono Jayne Wanjiru Charity Kathambi Janet Sitienei	Bomet East Naivasha Njoro Turbo	17%	Prior 2013- Ass. Minister and MP Lost the Paliamentary seat Vied in 2013 but but not elected Vied in 2013 but but not elected
4	Ruth Mwaniki Eve Akinyi Obara Lilian Achieng Gogo Mercy Wanjiku Gakuya	Kigumo Kabondo Rangwe Kasarani	17%	CEO - Export Promotion Council MD Kenya Literature Bureau Egerton University No previous political positions
23				

(Anyuoro, 2017)

The findings confirmed that out of the 23 elected women MNA's, 17% were new entrants who had not vied for any political positions before and had no prior experience in national politics. These women were however leaders from corporate backgrounds. 26% who were nominated in various positions vied for the MNA and got elected; (nominated 2 MCA, 2 MNA and 2 Senators) this

demonstrates that nominations can be a stepping stone for those women who seek to grow their political careers.

It was also impressive that a total of 30% women MNA retained their elected positions with 4 of them having been elected in 2013 for their first time and 3 re-elected in 2013. There was also 2 elected WCR in 2013 that vied for MNA positions in 2017 and succeeded. The last category of 4 elected women MNA displayed their resilience and strength having vied for the same position in 2013 and lost, one of them eventually won through an independent candidacy having lost during the primaries (Anyuoro, 2017).

4.1.1 Comparison of candidates and Elected in 2013 and 2017 elections

The constitutional provision of women representative's positions at the National assembly greatly contributed to the increase in percentage of women at the national assembly. Without the 47 positions of women representatives, Kenyan women lagged behind with only 7% and 9% in 2013 and 2017 respectively. An improvement in Senate assembly was noted with 3 women elected to the senate raising the percentage representation to 31% including the 18 nominated members. Considering there was no woman elected in the Senate during the 2013 elections, this was a great achievement, however the number of senate nominees remained the same. At the county level, the number of women elected as the members of County assembly improved by 14 members. Another achievement was having 3 women elected to the governor positions and 7 deputy governors. The overall improved position of women representation noted in 2017 was attributed

by the increase in women representation in political leadership after the 2013 general elections. Critical mass theory argues that with more women holding political office, their influence increases on addressing women issues, this includes the transformative changes in the institutional culture and political environment. The systems and leadership institutions in a patriarchal society are biased against women. Having more women represented in leadership would redress the injustices of a patriarchal system since women are involved in decision-making which are gender sensitive which will consequently change the culture of subjugating women.

The study findings also demonstrate that despite the increased women in political leadership, their representation did not reach 33% as provided for by the constitution. It is therefore paramount the critical mass threshold is achieved to accelerate the influence and power of women political leaders. To promote women friendly policy change and influence, the women political leaders' representation must reach at least 30% critical mass threshold in all political levels. The mere tokenism of women representation denotes men having more power in Kenya but the constitution provisions on women rights, affirmative action and 2/3 gender principle has the ability to redress women marginalization in the political sphere.

Table 4.4; women representation comparison between 2013 and 2017 elections

	2013						2017						Increase in Total women rep, 2013 vs 2017	
	Vied Positions			Elected			Vied Positions			Elected			Contestants	Elected
	Total	Women	%	Total	Female	%	Total	Female	%	Total	Female	%		
President	8	1	13%	1	-	0%	19	1	5%	1	-	0%	-	-
Governor	237	6	3%	47	-	0%	246	10	4%	47	3	6%	4	3
Senator	244	17	7%	47	-	0%	349	21	6%	47	3	6%	4	3
MP	2,098	129	6%	290	16	6%	2,078	134	6%	290	23	8%	5	7
MCA	9,886	623	6%	1,450	82	6%	12,060	796	7%	1,450	96	7%	173	14
Women Rep	303	303	100%	47	47	100%	330	330	100%	47	47	100%	27	-
	12,776	1,079	8%	1,882	145	8%	15,082	1,292	9%	1,882	172	9%	213	27
													20%	19%

(NDI, 2018)

The various contested seats increased by 213 (from 1079 in 2013 to 1292 in 2017) which was a 20% increase. There was notable progress with the elected women too. It was impressive for the first time compared to 2013 elections where 6 women were elected to the positions of governors and senators; 3 governors and 3 senators. The three governors includes Anne Waiguru from Kirinyaga (Jubilee Party) and Charity Ngilu from Kitui (Narc), who were former cabinet secretaries and Joyce Cheronno Laboso from Bomet (Jubilee Party) who was a former MP for Sotik Constituency and Deputy Speaker of the national assembly. The common factor among the 3 governors is that they all had experience in politics. Political experience is a key catalyst enabling women access to political offices. (Yolande Bouka, 2017). In the past these positions were occupied by men consequently giving them more experience than women. With increased number of women represented in political space more women are gaining political experience which

increases their visibility and confidence to vie for strong and influential political offices.

Their counterparts' senatorial contestants, Ms. Susan Kihika (Nakuru), Prof Margaret Kamar (Uasin Gishu), and Isiolo's Fatuma Dullo were elected to the Senate and made history too. In 2013 there was no woman who was elected to the Senate. Sen. Susan Kihika had vied in 2013 for a parliamentary position which she did not win but was appointed as the County Assembly Speaker defeating 12 men. Sen. Margaret Kamar had also vied in 2013 for gubernatorial seat and came second. She had served as an Assistant minister and minister between 2010 and 2013. Sen. Fatuma Dullo from Isiolo in 2013 was nominated by United Republican Party (URP) to the Senate and she was noted to be among the active leaders having participated in most debates in the Senate. Just like the women governors, the three Senators had political experience prior 2017 elections.

The women Members of National Assembly (MNA) who were elected in 2017 increased by 7 members, bringing the number up to 23 from 16 elected in 2013, whereas the number of contestants had only increased by 5.

The study finding presents a better position on Kenyan women leaders' political representation in 2017 compared to 2013. The 2010 constitutional gains for women started bearing fruits. While 2013 outcome saw a number of increased women representation in national and county government their descriptive representation in office significantly influenced the increased number of women political leaders in 2017. It shows women's perception about their status in the society has improved. They have gained much confidence in themselves and taking on leadership in the perceived male territory. The 6 women (senators and

governors) faced their male counterparts in a “messy” and tough political environment and emerged victorious calls for celebration and brings hope that more and more women will go political offices including the powerful and most influential ones. Increase in women representation will not only achieve the critical mass but also it will destruct gendered power relations.

Table 4.5; 2017 WCR elected and their positions in 2013

2017 WCR elected status in 2013 elections			
WCR	Nominated Senator	MCA N/E	Vied but not elected
9	2	2-Elected 1-Nominated	2

(Anyuoro, 2017)

The number of women candidates who contested in 2017 for Women County Representative positions increased by 9% from 303 in 2013 to 330. This was very competitive with only 47 elective positions which means that only 14% of women would be elected in 2017 and 15% in 2013. It could be one of the reason why 31 women elected were new.

Only 9 women out of the 47 that were elected in 2013 managed to defend their elected positions in 2017. Considering the magnitude of competition, these women did a commendable job to retain their positions in these counties, Busia, Homabay, Makueni, Muranga, Narok, Samburu, Tharaka Nithi, Transzoia and Turkana. There were also 3 2013 MCAs (1 elected and 2 nominated) and 2 nominated Senators who vied and got elected in 2017 for WCR positions.

The women candidates who contested for Members of the County Assembly increased by 28% in 2017 and the women who got elected increased by 17% i.e. 82 elected in 2013 vs 96 elected in 2017.

The general overview on 2017 elections compared to 2013 elections on both women candidates' contestants and elected for various position indicates a great progress with 20% increase in candidates who competed for elective positions and 19% increase in women who got elected to office for various elective positions.

4.1.2 Affirmative action principle; women nominated in 2017 compared to 2013

Affirmative action measures to increase the number of women in political office across the world (Nzomo M. , 2013). During the constitutional making, women focused on Affirmative Action for women's representation in political and elective bodies such as political parties, County and National assemblies, in addition to appointive bodies and public service employment to ensure the critical mass of 30% representation to enable them make any significant impact in any decision making bodies. (Kabira, 2012)

From the previous section findings the numbers indicates that women elected were far below the critical mass hence the constitutional provision of Affirmative Action was effected to ensure women representation increased to at least 33% gender principle.

Achievement of at least 30% representation is very important. Critical mass theory holds that, women are not likely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes when the numbers are low until they grow from a few token individuals into a considerable minority of all legislators. When their numbers increase that is when women will be able to work more effectively together (Krook, 2008). Women works across party lines by supporting each other especially on critical issues, therefore having more women legislators will increase their influence in passing of the bills.

Table 4.6; Women representation through Affirmative Action on nominations in 2017 compared to 2013 elections

	Women representation in 2013 vs 2017							
	2013				2017			
	Senators	MNA	WCR	MCA	Senators	MNA	WCR	MCA
Elected	0	16	47	82	3	23	47	96
Nominated	18	5	0	680	18	6	0	650
Total No of electected and Nominated women	18	21	47	762	21	29	47	746
Total No of Elective and Nominated positions	67	302	47	2197	67	302	47	2197
% Women Representation	27%	7%	100%	35%	31%	10%	100%	34%
% Women representation	National Assembly(Both lower and upper house)			County Assembly	National Assembly(Both lower and upper house)			County Assembly
	21%			35%	23%			34%

(FIDA, 2013) (NDI, 2018)

Much progress was noted with increased affirmative number of positions that is the 47 women county representatives and nominated members both in the national and county assemblies. In 2013 and 2017 the county assembly achieved critical mass threshold. The 2/3 gender rule as provided for in the constitution was met through the nominated number of women at the county assembly significantly increasing the women representation to 35% in 2013 and 34% in 2017. The elected women MCA increased in 2017 to 96 from 82 in 2013. However the number of nominees reduced hence the total reduction in percentage representation.

The total number of women nominated for various positions also decreased as a result of decrease in women MCA nominated. This is because the women nominated at the Senate remained constant but the nominated MNA increased by one more nominee. Without the WCR and the Senate, the % percentage women representation in 2013 was 7% and in 2017 was 10%. 7 more women MNA candidates were elected hence the increase in percentage in 2017.

A significant increase in women representation at the National assembly both lower and upper house was recorded. This increase was influenced by the affirmative seats of the Women County Representatives, WCR. Though they did not meet 1/3 gender principle the number increased from 21% in 2013 to 23% in 2017.

The County assembly and National Assembly women representation is counted separately and cannot be combined since the decision making is at different levels. To promote women-friendly policy change and influence male colleagues to accept and approve legislation promoting women's concerns, the women representation must reach the critical mass threshold in all political levels.

4.2 Performance of Kenyan women political leaders elected and nominated.

4.2.1 Women appointed to National and Senate committees

Table 4.7; Women leadership in the National Assembly committees’ 11th and 12th parliament.

2013	
Women Chairpersons 7 women (out of a total 27 committees)	Women Vice-Chairpersons 8 women (out of a total 27 committees)
Liaison Committee	Committee on Appointments
Committee on implementation	Public Accounts Committee
Committee on regional integration	Budget and Appropriations Committee
Environment and Natural resources Committee	Justice and Legal Affairs Committee
Lands Committee	Labour and Social Welfare Committee
Education, research and technology Committee	Committee on Constituency Development Fund
Catering and health Club (house Keeping) Committee	Constitution implementation oversight
	Committee procedure and house rules Committee
2017	
Women Chairpersons 3 women (out of a total 27 committees)	Women Vice-Chairpersons 7 women (out of a total 27 committees)
Health	Justice and Legal Affairs
Delegated legislation	Labour and Social Welfare
Regional Integration	Lands
	Public Account Committees
	Delegated legislation
	Parliamentary Broadcasting and Library
	Members Service and Facilities

(FIDA, 2013) (NDI, 2018)

Women political leaders not only struggle to access political leadership, they are also subjected to subordination when they enter into the political space. Feminist political theory maintains that the division of public and private space serves the

interest of men masking their interrelated nature of their public and private power. Women duties in the private space usually prevents them from accessing the public sphere under the same terms as men (Bryson, 2007). This was confirmed in the finding of this study, in the 11th and 12th parliament women were appointed for subordinate positions.

Out the 10 leaders of the National Assembly only two were women, Hon. Dr. Joyce Laboso and Hon. Dr. Naomi Shabaan who held subordinate positions i.e. the Deputy Speaker and Deputy majority leader positions respectively. In the 12th parliament only one woman, Hon. Cecily Mbarire was appointed to the deputy chief whip. This subordination of women indicates highly unequal set of power relations which has a great influence in decision making.

Table 4.8; Women members of the National Assembly committees in 11th and 12th parliament.

Women representation in National Assembly committees					
2013			2017		
National Assembly Committees	Women	Percentage	National Assembly Committees	Women	Percentage
5 House Keeping Committees	37	31.4%	15 Departmental Committees	66	23.4%
7 Standing Committees	32	15%	4 Financial Audit and Money related Committees	14	16.75%
12 Departmental Committees	67	19%	5 Select Committees	20	22.25%
3 Other Committees	8	11%	3 Other Committees	26	45%
27 Total	144	20%	27	126	27%

(FIDA, 2013) (NDI, 2018)

On the membership of the same committees there was an increase in women representation in various committees from 20% in the 11th parliament to 27% in the 12th parliament. This can be explained by increase in number of women represented in 2017. However it clearly indicates that there is a challenge in breaking through to influential positions.

The same trend was noted for the Senate committees' leadership though slightly better where at least one woman, Hon. Beatrice Elachi held the Majority chief whip. The other woman Hon Janet Ongera held Minority Deputy Chief Whip. In 2017 the number increased to 3 women, (Majority whip – Senator Susan Kihika; minority deputy whip – Senator Petronila Were and deputy majority leader – Senator Fatuma Dallo). In Senate overall women representation in 2013 was 28% of membership in all committee while in 2017 there was a drop to 24%. Much progress has been noted since the 2010 constitutional dispensation however the journey is still long with so many hurdles limiting realization of critical mass theory.

4.2.2 No of bills sponsored at the National and County assemblies and the Senate

The study by (Mzalendo, 2015) confirmed that some of the issues addressed by women are common in all levels. The outstanding matters of concerns which women political leaders contributed to were; Health, Food security, Security, Water, Education Agriculture, Family and Disability. These topics do not benefit women alone but the public at large though some maybe more related to women issues like matters of family on marriage bill/protection against domestic violence/children's bill/matrimonial property bill/motions on gender based violence. The only reason they tend to benefit women more is due historical

injustices brought by societal norms that treated women like second class citizens. The 2010 constitutions provisions gain for women abolished marginalization of women granting them equal human rights enabling them to achieve gender equality.

Table 4.9; Bills sponsored by women at the National Assembly

The National Assembly bills			
BILL	Sponsor	Status as at 17th March 2017	
1 THE VICTIM PROTECTION BILL 2013	MILLIE ODHIAMBO	Passed; forwarded to the Senate for consideration	
2 THE PERSONS WITH DISABILITY (AMENDMENT) 2013	WANJIKU MUHIA	1st READING	
3 THE DIABETES MANAGEMENT BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	1st READING	
4 THE TRADITIONAL HEALTH PRACTITIONERS BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	MATURITY 25/04/2014	
5 THE KENYA AIDS CONTROL AUTHORITY 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	1st READING	
6 THE PHARMACY PRACTITIONERS BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	Passed; title of Bill amended as shown; Referred back on 26/10/2016 & forwarded to a Mediation Committee	
7 THE IN-VITRO FERTILIZATION BILL 2014	MILLIE ODHIAMBO	Passed; Presidential Reservations considered and PASSED on 28/6/2016;	
8 THE ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGISTS AND TECHNICIANS BILL 2015	CECILIA NGETICH	Assented in August 2016	
9 THE ACCESS TO INFORMATION BILL 2015	PRISCILLA NYOKABI	Passed; Senate Amendments PASSED on 16/8/2016 and Assented in August 2016	
10 The Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill, 2016	Florence Mutua	Bill lost at Second Reading on 15/2/2017	

(Paliament, 2017)

Table 10; Bills sponsored by women at the Senate

The Senate bills			
BILL		Sponsor	Status as at 17th March 2017
1	THE PUBLIC FINANCE MANAGEMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	BEATRICE ELACHI & OTHERS	3RD READING PASSED Message conveyed from the
2	THE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTHCARE BILL 2014	JUDITH SIJENNY	Senate on 1/12/2016
3	THE FOOD SECURITY BILL 2014	BEATRICE ELACHI	2ND READING PASSED
4	THE UNIVERSITIES (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	HALIMA ABDILLE	1ST READING
5	THE NATURAL RESOURCES (BENEFITS AND SHARING) (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	AGNES ZANI	3RD READING PASSED
6	THE EMPLOYMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL 2015	MARTHA WANGARI	1ST READING
7	THE SELF HELP ASSOCIATIONS BILL 2015	MARTHA WANGARI	1ST READING
8	THE COUNTY LIBRARY SERVICES BILL 2015	JOY GWENDO	1st READING
9	THE NATIONAL HOSPITAL INSURANCE FUND (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	MARTHA WANGARI	1ST READING
10	THE NATIONAL YOUTH SERVICE BILL 2014	BEATRICE ELACHI	1st READING
11	The County Governments (Amendment)(No. 2) Bill, 2014	MARTHA WANGARI	PASSED AND ASSENTED IN JUNE 2016

(Paliament, 2017)

The number of bills sponsored by women in 2013 to 2017 in the National Assembly were 10 while the Senate bills were 11. In addition to that they also contributed in discussions and moved motions in parliament. Under the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), the women political leaders also realized successes through contribution towards realization of key Acts i.e. Protection against Domestic Violence, Marriage Act and the Matrimonial Properties Act. They have also been in the front line spearheading the legislative framework drive for the realization 2/3 gender rule (KEWOPA, 2018).

At the County level women leadership and performance has little documented evidence and the available data is not comprehensive. In 2013 women constituted only 3 County Assembly speakers and the number increased to 5 in 2017. Considering the County assemblies are constituted well in terms of membership

representation of 2/3 gender principle, the top leadership domination by men gives them more influence over women. It confirms the situation is not better at the County Assembly compared with National Assembly. The AA is necessary to push the critical mass in representation of women in top political leadership. Transformation will be achieved once the 2/3 gender rule is implemented (Nzomo, 2014).

The study finding confirmed that women parliamentarians, county representatives and the senate also contributed significantly to major issues which are crucial and affect many Kenyans at the national level though some have had more impact on women. (Mzalendo, 2015), (KEWOPA, 2018). Among others, some the issues are highlighted below;

- i. **The Food Security Bill 2014** – Beatrice Elachi sponsored this bill. Kenya has suffered constant drought and severe food shortage. This bill is very critical that, food security is part of the Kenya big four agenda by the government being championed by the president himself. Women and children suffers the most when there is famine and this Bill was championed by a woman reflecting the same.
- ii. **In the Mining Bill**, sponsored Agnes Zani, the Natural Resources (Benefits and Sharing) Amendment Bill that regulated how mining/exploration benefits would be shared. The bill was also supported by other women parliamentarians (WP).
- iii. **Older Person Cash Transfer System**. Women understands the financial burden that comes with taking care of the elderly people in the society since they are forced to take care of them. Therefore the

WP were passionate in pushing for creation of nursing homes for older people, structuring of the National Security Social Fund to cater for old people and management of funds from this program.

- iv. **Reproductive health care bill**- sponsored by Sen. Judith Sijeny, sought to eliminate the issues of facilities inadequacy at the county government hospitals also the neglected issues of reproductive health for the adolescent and mentally unstable persons.

The above bills illustrates that women leaders not only represent women but the society as a whole. The only reason they tend to be more beneficial to women is because of historical injustices instituted by societal norms which treated women as second class citizens.

Women leaders deliver absolutely as much value as their male counterparts. They covered prominent topics which are critical to the state progress and sustainability such as security, water, health related concerns, education, disability, family, nomination and vetting and public procurement and Asset disposal bill. Adherence to critical mass threshold will increase women's influence in the political space and use their numbers to leverage on critical matters.

4.3 Impact of women representation in political leadership

4.3.1 Bills sponsored by women passed and assented

This study findings confirmed that Kenyan women political leaders have made impactful contributions in the society which they don't get the deserved credit for it. This section will highlight a number of bills which were sponsored by women and became law. The bills tracker most updated status as at 17 March 2017 indicates that, in the National Assembly 4 of the bills out of 10 had been passed. 2 of them were assented in 2016 while the other two, one was forwarded to the Senate for consideration and the other to the mediation committee. In the Senate, only one bill had passed and assented out of 11 bills sponsored by women. Hence a total of three bills have been enacted. (Paliament, 2017)

The County Governments (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill, 2014 - Under the membership of the County Assembly political parties shall ensure there is adequate representation to protect minorities within the county in accordance with Article 197 of the Constitution.

The Access to Information Bill 2015 recognizes access to information as a Kenyan citizen's right and seeks to promote proactive publication, dissemination and access to information by the Kenyan public.

The Engineering Technologists and Technicians Bill 2015, the objective of the Bill is to provide a legal framework on the regulation, practice and standards of engineering technologists and technicians. The above three bills confirms that women leaders not only advocates just the women's rights but also for the whole society.

4.3.2 Governance and inclusive leadership

The study findings recognized that the global problems we have today demands a system that is inclusive from diverse players (Banda, 2018). The critical understanding of individual experience recognize the value in testing one's views against the lived experiences. Innovative solutions are best created by a situated knower. In a system where women are included it improves the power relations between male and female.

Women's leadership promotes gender transformation by taking women perspectives into account. Gender equality is not just a human right it is also essential to state progress and prosperity. The study argued that women not only represent women rights but also the rights of the marginalized groups and the minorities (Oxfam, 2014). Women understands how it is to be marginalized through experience. They are therefore able to relate with issues affecting disabled and other minorities that are present in society.

Including women leaders in decision making in political leadership also ensure making of policies which are gender sensitive. Women leaders also tend to work across party lines when it comes to critical issues for example lobbying for the gender bill in order to adhere to Article 27 of the constitution on the 2/3 gender rule. This can also be attested through the constitutional making process where women worked together and collectively which enabled them to negotiate for their rights and ensured that they were constituted.

This chapter detailed review and analysis of the collected data and interpretation using the feminist political theory and critical mass theory.

CHAPTER FIVE

5 Summary of the Findings, Conclusions and recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations for further investigation on the problem. The goal of this study was to establish the patterns of women representation in political leadership in Kenya within the 2010 constitutional dispensation. Specifically on women political leaders' representation in 2013 and 2017 general elections, their performance in political office and lastly impact on political leadership representation.

5.1 Summary of the findings

The study noted progress in Kenyan women leadership representation in all political levels with increased number of women elected and nominated to political office. However the women under-representation gap was not closed in both 2013 and 2017 elections at the National Assembly and the Senate although the County Assembly achieved critical mass threshold having nominated women MCA's to adhere to the 2/3 gender principle. Women were also highly underrepresented in top leadership of the County and National Assembly and the Senate. The persistent domination of male in top leadership despite the constitutional provisions is of great concern. A society which excludes women in the public sphere enables men to set terms of their public and private power hence making it difficult for women to penetrate into the public space. It therefore limits women political leaders' an opportunity to share equal power relations hence reducing their influence in decision making.

The pattern of women representation at the county level differs from the national level. The number of women elected and appointed is relatively very high at the county Assembly compared to the National Assembly and the Senate. At the County Assembly the 33% gender rule has been achieved by having high number of women nominated and despite a lot of emphasis being placed on women political representation at the national level, their representation is still lagging below critical mass threshold. There have been many attempts to have the 2/3 gender rule implemented but there are also major challenges experienced in push for this agenda which affirms the state failure in redressing the gender inequality hence prolonging women marginalization in political leadership.

Kenyan women leaders have made great progress on their performance while in the political office. They have represented the public on issues not limited to women only. They presented motions and contributed to discussions on society critical matters in addition to sponsoring bills which 3 of them were enacted. The study confirmed that there are certain areas which women outshined their male counterparts through their skills and experience specifically issue of concern to the public, for example Food security, Health, Family and Security.

The study findings noted the many bills which has been sponsored by women and are still lagging behind in approvals compared to their male counterparts which are passed in record time. The low number women parliamentarians below the 33% constitutional gender principle clearly indicates that women don't have enough support and influence required to pass the legislations. Increasing the number of women at the National Assembly to attain critical mass is very crucial in enabling passing of motion and bills. The higher the number of women leaders

representations in political positions the higher the political influence. Literature on women leadership style on being more collaborative could be strengthened by critical mass representation and would extensively collaborate men into supporting them.

The deputy positions are subordinate positions and traditionally in a patriarchal society like Kenya the sexual relations between male and female is that in leadership men are considered first and women second despite women having the same or even superior qualifications than men. These values are assumed to be normal but they are detrimental to women and their interests hence such should be deconstructed.

Women representation in political leadership creates an impact in the society which changes the perception of think leader think male. Holding political offices becomes a learning ground hence gaining political experience. The study found that most women who vied and were elected in specific political elective positions had prior political experience. For example the Governor, Senate and Members of National Assembly. Majority experience was for more than two terms. Many nominated women in 2013 vied for elective positions and won. This is an encouragement to the other female political aspirants giving them morale to get into political leadership. This was confirmed through an increase in the number of women candidates in 2017.

The findings also confirms that having women in political leadership significantly represents not only the issues affecting the women but the marginalized and minority groups. Women leaders also tend to relate with some issues more than

men do for example the matters concerning health, food security and peace building.

5.2 Conclusion

Women participation in competitive elective politics in Kenya seems to have marginally increased since dispensation of the constitution 2010. Nevertheless, they constitute less than 9% of total competitive 'seats' available to contest which is significantly low. Whilst affirmative action thresholds have been achieved at the county assembly level, they have not been replicated at the national assembly level despite concerted efforts at advocacy and remains an issue of concern. From a performance and impact perspective, their contribution remains low, albeit the fact that their focus is on issues significantly affecting the socio-economic wellbeing of Kenyan's. Nevertheless, there is positive progress towards their access to, and experience in, political leadership which could improve performance levels in future.

Data relating to women performance and impact at the county level has proved difficult to access. This is in addition to party primaries data in relation to the party nominations elective process. Areas of further research could focus on challenges affecting achievement of constitutional thresholds in relation to political representation of women, factors affecting performance levels of women in political leadership as well as focused studies on women representation, performance and impact at the county level.

This study has contributed to understudied area in research. Literature on African women political leaders has concentrated on South and West Africa while studies on East African are few and particularly Kenya. (Ngambi, 2009). This study has added to existing knowledge on women political leaders' representation in Kenya, their performance and influence within the 2010 constitutional dispensation.

5.3 Recommendations

This study has found pertinent issues that continue to affect women representation in political leadership in Kenya as well as gaps that require further attention. This section seeks to give recommendations for future research and considerations.

The legal framework presents a solid ground for gender equality and equity in the country's politics and government. Implementation of the constitutional 2/3rd gender rule is an urgent issue which is long overdue. The government should ensure this provision is soon implemented to address the issue of women leaders under presentation. Now more than ever the Kenyan women should work together as the leaders and women movements in push for legislation enactment of the 2/3 gender rule and actualize critical mass in all political levels.

Further research on all attempts made since 2010 to have the 2/3 gender principle implemented should be done and the reasons why these efforts are unsuccessful should be elaborated.

There is need for extensive civic education to all women up to the grass root levels in understanding their constitutional rights. To female leaders' aspirants more training should be conducted to give them more confidence in running for political positions and how to deal with politics in the political parties. Mentorship programs would be a great deal, the study confirmed that some of the successful women politicians who have managed to stay relevant in politics like Hon Naomi Shaaban owe to the mentorship they received from the experienced politicians both men and women.

On the issue of women political leaders visibility on their performance and lack of positive media coverage, more study needs to be conducted and published to increase public knowledge on gains for women representation in the political arena. The media too has sidelined women leaders coverage compared to their male counterparts. The women should also learn how to work with media and use it in a more aggressive manner to highlight on the relevant issues which they want publicized.

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