

**CHALLENGES OF NEGOTIATED DEMOCRACY AND WOMEN'S'
POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: A CASE STUDY OF MANDERA COUNTY
ASSEMBLY**

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DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this research to Allah for the breath and gift of life. My dedication also goes to my family members, my spouse, children, relatives and everybody who saw the need to walk with me during the research processes. The people behind the successful production and completion of this research work gave their best to make it what it is, a success. I dedicate this achievement to all of you. Those who offered me support, advise, moral and emotional nourishments, may Allah bless you abundantly.

ACCRONYMS

ASAL	-	Arid and Semi-Arid Land
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goals
CoK	-	Constitution of Kenya
GCOE	-	Garre Council of Elders
MCG	-	Mandera County Government
GoK	-	Government of Kenya
NFD	-	Northern Frontier District
MCA	-	Members of County Assembly
MP	-	Member of Parliament
FIDA	-	Federation of Women Lawyers Kenya
GBV	-	Gender Based Violence
NACOSTI	-	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to determine the challenges of negotiated democracy and women's representation using a case study of Mandera County Assembly. The specific objectives of the study were; to discuss the role of the council of elders in women's representation and political ascension, to examine the challenges of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership in Mandera County and to establish the effect of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women in Mandera County. The study was guided by the critical mass and feminist political theories. The study adopted mixed-method process of both quantitative and qualitative procedures. Sixteen nominated women MCAs in Mandera County were interviewed. The findings were presented using tables and themes. The study revealed that the council of elders has played the chief architects of denying women the privileges and chances of contesting for political seats because they expressed open biases, upheld oppressive cultural values and favouritism among others. The council of elders has failed in their roles as far as taking part in political decisions. The council of elders portrayed negatively towards women's progress in political leadership as they evidently indicated a lack of support through their chauvinistic ideas. The study concludes that the council of elders are not appreciated by Mandera County women politicians and the general public because they infiltrate politics with oppressive cultural norms and clanism. Negotiated democracy only favours loyalists of the council of elders and men, especially from the majority clans. The major challenge of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership in the county is that it does not consider the popularity of aspirants, their policies, development records or voter interests. The role of the council of elders in women representation and political ascension is clan-oriented and cultural. The study recommends that the council of elders should not take part in politics, as they promote clanism. Negotiated Democracy should be abolished since it is a hindrance to democracy. The Council of elders should represent the interest of all genders as opposed to favouring men alone.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the introduction and background of the study, with specific focuses on the problem statement, justification, research questions and literature review. Negotiated Democracy is a system that tends to make political posts rotational in a county. The council of elders or sultans select a number of leaders who should step down and those to take over in the next elections. Two-thirds gender principle is a proposal that seeks to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. Mandera County Government (MCG) is the county government number 009 in the former North Eastern province that comprises 6 constituencies and 30 wards.

1.1 Background

The North Eastern council of elders together with some local leaders proposed a mechanism that would see the political leadership in the area rotating among the different ethnic groups and clans. The implication was that some communities were not enjoying the privileges that come with the leadership of the area because of their minority statuses. According to the voting patterns in the region, the clans with majority population have an upper hand during the elections with their leaders ascending to power (Otsialo, 2017).

This trend led to the voting of unqualified leaders who did not implement development programs of the minority areas, leading to the introduction of the negotiated democracy. The purpose of this research is to capture the underlining impacts and challenges of the negotiated democracy on women with a special focus on the Mandera County Assembly.

The chapter discusses the historical background of negotiated democracy, statement of the problem and objectives. The other vital areas under consideration entail the objectives of the study, research questions, literature review, theoretical and conceptual frameworks and the methodology.

The two-thirds gender rule is an absolute provision of the law and part of Article 81 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 which states that the electoral system shall comply with the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. This two-third gender bill was tabled before parliament, but due to lack of quorum, it was never discussed (Otsialo, 2017). This delayed the implementation process of the two-third gender bill and the rule is still in the final stages of law-making. The two-thirds gender is a legislative proposal that requires not more than two-thirds of the members of a house to be of the same gender (Ngetich, 2016). The purpose of the rule was to remove the systematic discrimination faced by women in Kenyan society and to allow the women to enjoy equal social, political and economic privileges as men.

According to Connolly, Marino and Lucio (2014) the members of parliament are deliberately shooting down the bill due to reluctance or laxity that has caused pressure on the courts to interpret the requirements and constitutional thresholds of the bill. A number of mechanisms were projected to make the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule achievable, such as political parties nominating adequate women members to meet the gender quota, reserving women positions in party strongholds and having rotational seats for affirmative action (Jacob, Scherpereel & Adams, 2014).

Negotiated democracy is a leadership rotational concept commonly practiced in the North Eastern region that wanted the leadership in the area to be assumed by different people in every general election (Mosoba, 2012). Before the assumption of the negotiated democracy, leaders from different clans and sub-clans used to fight for the sole tickets of the popular political parties to vie for the elective posts. This would cause trouble and chaos during the nomination process with the voters cheering for the forceful election of their relatives. The domination of certain clans in the political affairs of the region led to the emergence of the negotiated democracy to neutralize everything and give others an equal opportunity.

The practice of negotiated democracy is the same in Counties in Northern part of Kenya (Mosoba, 2012). The research shall be dealing with the different provisions that touch on the gender rule, women representation and fairness in elections. Since independence, the North Eastern region has experienced inter-clan and ethnic rivalries during elections because the clans and sub-clans with the majority numbers dictated the voting patterns. The council of elders came up with a model of negotiated democracy in which the political leadership would rotate among the various clans, sub-clans and ethnic groupings. The other concept was the introduction of the two-thirds gender rule that required all counties to ensure that women representation in the August Houses was in accordance with the constitution.

In Mandera County, the essence of negotiated democracy was to allow more men as compared to women from minority and majority clans to occupy leadership positions in the county. The negotiated democracy works in a unique manner in that a selected council of elders is charged with the duty of selecting those who deserve to vie for the

political seats (Hassan, 2016). They also select those whom they deem fit to take over the political seats during elections by urging their clan members to rally their support behind them.

The Gare clan is the most populous and dominant in the Somali tribe, followed by the Degodia and Murule in that order. These three clans have been dominating the political scene in Mandera County since the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010. The Gare clan currently holds three parliamentary seats, while Murule and Degodia hold two each. The other small tribes known as corner tribes do not have the bargaining power in the county of Mandera during elections. They only serve as swing votes by adding numbers to the candidates from the major tribes fighting for political supremacy.

After several attempts, only Sophia Abdi in the entire North Eastern region was elected as Member of Parliament since independence. Abdi was elected in 2017 as an MP for the Ijara constituency in Garissa County. This shows that the North Eastern voters do not recognize women leadership in the region and would rather fulfil the wishes of the council of elders by voting for men and not women contestants. Since the introduction of the devolved governance, Fathia Mahbub was the first County women representative in 2013, and then Amina Gedow took over in the last election in 2017 (Hassan, 2017). Mandera County has 6 constituencies and 30 wards all dominated by male representatives in the national and county assemblies. To fulfil the requirements of the two-thirds gender rule, 16 women were nominated in the county assembly out of the available slots for nominations. The other two were reserved for a youth and disabled representatives, and the assembly nominated both males according to the constitution. The women do not have a say in the expansive North Eastern region because they are only meant to serve as

homemakers. The men enjoy all the privileges of decision and policy-making in the region.

Under Article 27(3), the Constitution ensures that women and men have the right to equal treatment and opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres without discrimination (The Republic of Kenya 2013). Moreover; Article (97) shows that the National Assembly is made up of 230 elected members at a general election of single-mandate constituencies. In addition, the Constitution provides for 12 members (men and women) nominated by parliamentary political parties according to their proportion of members of the National Assembly to represent special interests including the youth, persons with disabilities and workers.

According to Nzomo (2013), six MPs among them Mohamud Mohammed (MP for Mandera West Constituency), Mohammed Haji (MP for Banisa Constituency), Aden Mohammed Noor (MP for Mandera North Constituency), Abdiaziz Farah (MP for Mandera South Constituency) and Shaaban Ali (MP for Mandera East Constituency), Mohamed Adan (MP for Lafey Constituency) were against the council of elders' negotiated democracy in Mandera. The county governor Ali Roba was also in the forefront declining to heed to the calls of the council of elders to step down in the spirit of negotiated democracy. Among the leaders recommended by the council elders to take over the seats from the sitting members of parliament, none was a female, an indication that the women were still being side-lined even in the negotiated democracy agreement (Mosoba, 2016).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) helped in empowering women in Mandera County to ascend to political leadership positions. This has discouraged many women against contesting in other positions apart from the women representative category where they consider their "slots." Women in Mandera County Assembly face numerous challenges that hinder them from exercising their leadership abilities on political fronts because the council of elders selects them.

Most of the women lack adequate resources like finance or ethnic backing to vie for the other posts apart from the women representative position. The women voters in Mandera County are not willing to participate in electioneering processes for fear of victimization and intimidation. Most political parties in Mandera County are unwilling to give the women direct nominations to vie in the general election against men or they are discriminative against the women.

In Mandera County, the negotiated democracy works in a unique manner in that a selected council of elders is charged with the duty of selecting those who deserve to vie for the political seats (Hassan, 2016). They also select those whom they deem fit to take over the political seats during elections by urging their clan members to rally their support behind them. The study sought to determine the challenges of negotiated democracy and women's representation using a case study of Mandera County Assembly.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

- i) Discuss the role of the council of elders in women's representation and political ascension.
- ii) Examine the challenges of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership in Mander County
- iii) Establish the effect of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women in Mander County

1.4 Research Questions

- i) What is the role of the council of elders in women's representation and political office in Mander County?
- ii) What are the challenges of negotiated democracy in promotion women's leadership in Mander County?
- iii) What is the effect of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women in Mander County?

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

The research on the challenges of negotiated democracy and women representation as an essential contribution to the realization of the two-thirds gender principle will serve various purposes to aspiring women politicians, future researchers, political organizations and students. The important milestone of undertaking this research is that it exposes the elements of negotiated democracy on women, especially in Mander County. It is apparent that politics affects social and economic situations in a country, which elicits interests in the happenings. As a result, this research will be crucial to aspiring women

politicians who would want to make a mark in Mandera County because they shall get to understand the operations of the negotiated democracy and the contributions of the council of elders.

The aspiring politicians can use the findings of this research to either find new ways of achieving their ambitions or tackle the solutions that affect women politicians. The research is also important to political and legal organizations like NGOs, FIDA and women parliamentary caucus because they can use it to push for reforms. The Mandera council of elders have ignored women for many years, an aspect that FIDA and other setups can use to lodge complaints or challenge the men to empower the women. Students can also apply the findings of the research for studies purposes to improve on certain areas. For instance, political science and African Women Studies students can find this research valuable to them to come up with hypothesis and theories on why elders do not want to consider women leadership in Mandera County.

Researchers can also use the work to improve on certain areas in the future. This implies that researchers can expound on the research to make it inclusive of other disciplines that rely on the work for more studies and theories. A majority of researchers will build upon previous studies to make the scope wider, tailored towards specific purposes and focus. Policymakers can also rely on the findings of the research to make reforms pertaining to women leadership, empowerment and the implementations of the two-thirds gender rule.

Legislators can use the work as a model of identifying and solving the challenges that women in Mandera County face that cripple their ambitions of vying for political seats. The research is valuable to various stakeholders in the political, legal and academic fronts

who are currently doing or planning to investigate similar hypotheses in the future. In this regard, it would be essential for the government and sponsors to aid in funding the project for successful completion of the required objectives.

Financial constraint is a major challenge affecting the successful achievement of the project that a willing sponsor should come on board to assist where necessary. The research is not only for academic and professional ambitions but also for the future implementation of policies that affect women leadership in the country. The Mandera County needs the immediate change of mind-set to give the women the chance to vie for the top political positions apart from the reserved women representative slots. The research aims to unravel the obstacles that hinder women leadership not only in Mandera County but also in the entire former North Eastern province.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

The research was approved and permitted by the department of African women studies University of Nairobi. The researcher was given a letter from AWSC to go to the field and conduct the research. The researcher also applied for research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The research was highly confidential to protect the identity of the participants who fear victimization. The participants volunteered to take part in the research without being forced, coerced or bribed. It was exclusively free and fair without any forms of intimidation to anyone and participants were free to withdraw anytime they felt like quitting. No person received payments to offer information or participate in the entire process. All data collection tools were accessible to the participants. The other ethical consideration was that the researcher

assured the participants that the research was for an academic purpose and any information collected was meant for that purpose only.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the literature review involves revisiting of previous works related to the topic. A number of secondary sources like books, journals and newspapers are consulted to find the best possible information that helps in understanding the challenges of negotiated democracy and women representation in Mandera County. This chapter also highlights the theoretical framework by focusing on two main theories of Critical Mass and Feminist Political Theory.

The chapter illustrates the research study with the view of identifying the extent of the problem affecting women seeking political office and how negotiated democracy influences the transition of the two-thirds gender rule in Mandera County. As a result, the research supports the concerns about the reasons why negotiated democracy does not favour women leadership in Mandera County. The chapter reviews previous researches undertaken by scholars and policymakers. The sub-themes in this chapter are; roles of the council of elders, challenges of negotiated democracy and the effect of negotiated democracy on substantive representation.

The kikuyu elder play the role of making sure that the community achieved unity and harmony and also harmonious co-existence with other communities and races in Kenya and beyond. The Luhya elders have the responsibility of making sure that the Luhya people are actively participating in strengthening the capacity and development of the 5 wider Luhya counties. In Luo community, it is the role of elders to give instructions and guidelines on various issues and also teach the youth on their responsibilities and the

general customs of the community. The Abakusii elder are the custodians of traditions and customs of the community and they preside over the distribution of property (Kariuki, 2015).

2.1 Roles of Council of Elders in Women's Representation and Political Ascension

Controversy erupted when the council of elders told to keep off the Mandera County women representative position in their planned recommendations for negotiated democracy. According to Hughes and Tripp (2015) the aspirants accused elders of being mean and divisive despite disguising as the solution to political impasses that tend to separate the residents.

In the run-up to the 2017 election for the women rep slot, three candidates were up for the position until the elders interfered by meddling into the affairs, pronouncing their preferred candidate (Manase, 2017). However, one of the beneficiaries of the negotiated democracy encouraged the involvement of the elders, stating that they (council of elders) ensured that good leaders are picked to represent the region. Another aspirant had a dissenting opinion, claiming that imposing leaders on residents created unwarranted disharmony (Manase, 2017).

The common agreement among the three aspirants was that women leaders deserve to get financial backing to improve their economic status. A Jubilee Candidate, who stated that politics should be a personal decision, not decided upon by a handful of illiterate old people who have no right to make choices on behalf of the entire community. The news article is suitable for the research because it gives the opinions of aspirants who have experienced the two sides of the elders concerning negotiated democracy. The women

representative aspirants have borne the greatest favours, insults and harassments due to the decisions of the elders. It would be appropriate to use the article for the research to highlight some of the decisions made by the elders that go against the wishes of the leaders and the choices of the residents.

Mandera County governor Ali Roba was quoted saying that Somali community beliefs and traditions were preventing women from embracing senior positions in the county government. In his article, Mukhongo (2014) digests the story in which Roba says he wants more women in his cabinet to achieve two third gender rule. The governor says more qualified women are bogged down by the community's patriarchal ideals. The majority of governors do not allocate enough slots for the women in their executive committee setups, which has hindered the realization of the two-thirds gender rule. However, Roba insists that his county will look for qualified women to fill up the committee dockets as a way of empowering and supporting the women.

The high number of men seeking job opportunities in the county prompted this decision since the women were afraid of trying out the same prospects. In this regard, the Mandera County advertised the job opportunities targeting the women to apply including board members of the Mandera Water and Sewerage Company. This article is suitable for the research because it shows the lack of commitment of the county government in empowering and promoting women in Mandera County. The author highlights the ways in which the governor has tried to attract women to step up and compete for positions with their male counterparts since they have an upper hand of consideration.

The positive aspect about the article entails the gender parity and two-thirds gender rule elements that form the basis of this research study. However, the author fails to give a comprehensive situation of the County and the follow-up activities to confirm if the governor hired more women than men as he promised. The article is also short, leaving vital elements of discussion from the picture. It would be prudent if the article incorporated more policies fronted by the county government that tends to empower, attracts and support women.

According to Choge (2015) it is a new dawn for women representation in the Northern Frontier Districts (NFD) consisting of Mandera, Wajir, Marsabit and Isiolo Counties. The article was done in relation to the 2010 constitution that created the women representative positions and advocated for the two-thirds gender rule. This was good news to the NFD regions known for side-lining women in political spheres, as they were now able to seek the seats through the newly created positions.

It is apparent that in some areas, women were already assuming top positions, unlike the NFD that curtailed the efforts through parochial customs and traditions. Only Sofia Abdi vied in Garissa County for the MP position and won, but none tried in Mandera and Wajir Counties. However, the new dawn ushered in rejuvenation with women, such as Fathia Mahbub and Shukran Hussein being the first women representatives for Mandera and Garissa Counties. Mahbub is remembered for her monumental campaigns that crisscrossed clan conflict zones to search for votes from Kenyans of all backgrounds irrespective of their tribe or clan affiliations.

The article shows the achievements of women politicians in the NFD regions and their contributions in uplifting the girl child. Both Mahbub and Hussein are role models to the girls in the region because of their gallant fight against undermining the role of women. However, they could not survive the tale of their success because of the negotiated democracies that faded them away from the limelight. Their advocacy for the girl child and Somalis was phenomenal in the parliament as they fought for the welfare of their people to enjoy similar privileges as others.

The article is very educating since it tackles aspects concerning the new constitution that brought about the women representative seat and the two-thirds gender principle. The women in the expansive NFD found a reason to seek political seats and advocate for their fellow women in the region. The first legislators were role models to the girls across the country because of their debating prowess and articulation of issues in the tenth parliament. The article shall be instrumental in giving examples of the first women representatives in Mandera County and their professional qualifications and defiling clan politics.

According to a Human Rights Report by O'Reilly, Súilleabháin and Paffenholz (2015), the Supreme Court upon the interpretation of the constitution realized that the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule was to be progressive. It was apparent that the implementation of the said principle was marred with discrimination and national values issues. As a result, the chief justice noted that the disenfranchisement of Kenyan women in the political divide was a form of discrimination. Such provisions call for the urgent expulsion of the discriminative elements through the empowerment of women's representation in political forums.

The Chief Justice further urged that one-third should be the minimum and that progressive realization of must be within the developments that move the country towards a 50/50 threshold in gender equity and equality. The Kenyan constitution provides for a clear evidence of the submission for the urgent realization of the two-thirds gender principle that needs to put on hold the progressive efforts. Additionally, the constitution cannot discriminate against her citizens who have the right to vie for any political seat.

Patriotism, equity, social justice and human rights among other values reinforce the principle of two-thirds gender rule within the country. The article helps in informing the audience about the constitutional provisions that will help in the realization of the two-thirds gender rule in the country. The Supreme Court interpretation indicates the steps that human rights activists' groups should follow to enable the rule take its course within the required timeframe.

2.2 Challenges of Negotiated Democracy in Promoting Women Leadership

According to Okafor and Akokuwebe (2015) negotiated democracy in Mandera County has faced various challenges even before its commencement. The concept was to promote unity among the different clans residing within the region, but it seems it brought bad blood between the sub-clans. The ethnic polarization and negative political rivalry have enhanced disenfranchisement and conflict in the entire county. The author states that the idea of negotiated democracy has contributed to divisions and hatred among the politicians because some are not ready to relinquish power to the new breed of leaders.

Mandera County has faced issues with women also complaining about the concept of negotiated democracy that seems to side-line them whenever the elders make up the line up to take up positions in the future. A section of women politicians are crying foul at the manner in which the elders think they cannot make good leaders steer the county to greater heights.

On the same rejoinder Steyn and Parsaloi (2014) echoes that the elders' negotiated democracy has created controversy and debates as the leaders told to step aside are resisting the directives. Leaders have taken different positions to drum up support for their relatives to continue ruling the region. The same problem spread to the nearby Garissa County where leaders disagreed over the negotiations, sparking debates whether it would achieve its intended ambitions of bringing peace and harmony among the clans. For instance, Ogaden Somali community dominates the county with other clans, such as Abdulwak, Auliyani and Samawathal forming part of the tribe.

The sub-clans were fighting over the representation in the constituencies with no mention of women forming part of the proposed line-ups. It is apparent that women representation is not considered significant in the expansive North Eastern region since the elders always ignore and overlook. The question is how the county assemblies are planning to fulfil the two-thirds gender quota if they continue side-lining the women.

Interestingly, in Mandera County, the then Senator Billow Kerrow promised to step down to abide by the wishes of the elders concerning negotiated democracy. However, the then Governor Ali Roba shot down the counsel saying that the negotiated democracy is not sustainable in a modern democracy. His sentiments further affected the whole idea of

leaders rotating slots in every electioneering season. This prompted a section of the leaders to defy the calls of a negotiated democracy. The gap with this article is that the author fails to highlight the implications of the council of elders as far as women representation in the county is concerned. The gap with this article is that the author does not give recommendations of how negotiated democracy should assist women to ascend to power in Mandera County.

Bauer and Burnet (2013) believes that negotiated democracy failed to live to its billing after a majority of the sitting MPs and county government officials were re-elected despite the rallying calls of them relinquishing power to the other leaders. For instance, Ali Roba was re-elected as the governor of Mandera County against the counsel of the Gare council of elders. Roba was among the leaders chosen not to defend their seats, but he defied the orders, eventually winning the re-election.

Roba's arguments were that leaders were elected based on their political agendas and development records instead of their clans or tribe. The reality on the ground is that tribes and clans play a part in the election bids of aspirants in Mandera County. It is rather sad that the aspect of tribe or clan or policies does not come into play concerning women's ambition to vie. The author states that the chosen leaders for the negotiations vied against the incumbents, but the results favoured the latter. This indicates that the elders' opinions were still unpopular among the masse that had their reservations concerning their choices of leaders.

Bauer and Burnet (2013) fails to capture the challenges that women face as they seek political leadership positions in Mandera County Assembly. It is apparent that women do

not have a direct hand in vying for other positions apart from the reserve of the women representation because of the interference of the council of elders. This article does not touch on the sensitive issues like the major roles of the council of elders in promoting negotiated democracy.

Kareithi, (2013) tackles the complexity of how negotiated democracy was defeated after the 2017 general elections. He notes that Mandera County had dropped all the incumbents heading to the 2017 polls after the Banisa Declaration. The indication is that the negotiated democracy made some leaders famous and kingpins in the county that they garnered more votes against the wishes of the elders. The article tackles cases of failed negotiated democracy in all the Somali-dominated counties with the limited mention about women leadership.

The article also fails to highlight how the counties could foster the two-thirds gender and empower more women to participate in the political affairs of their counties. The positive thing about the article is that the author gives examples of cases that took place during the 2017 polls and on how the negotiated democracy played a factor in all of them. However, the article does not talk about how negotiated democracy can help in solving clan conflicts during elections and how the women can contribute to averting such cases should they be part of the decision makers.

2.3 Influence of Negotiated Democracy on Substantive Representation of Women

Nkomo and Ngambi, H. (2013) takes a different route to talk about the two-thirds gender rule in the country and on how the parliament has stalled the implementation and adoption of the same. According to the article, women presently make up 19% of MPS,

which is a 30% less than the constitutional requirement. In this regard, the two-thirds gender principle was meant to offer women an improved representation. However, the parliament has not been able to come up with a workable principle on how to implement the principle.

The lack of a proper implementation mechanism seems to be the reason why women in Mandera County are still unable to try out at the national politics because men use the constitutional loopholes concerning the principle. A better part of the women's struggle to clinch political leadership is because of the socio-cultural settings that shape the gender roles. The major challenge that exposes the crisis is that the constitution fails to specify how the parliament and the Senate should achieve the two-thirds gender principle.

The court offered an option of progressive implementation in which the parliament was to come up with guidelines of achieving the principle of two-thirds using legislation. The article has indicated the measures that cripple and might help in the implementation of the gender principle. Elections normally arouse and elicit heated debates and controversies around the country whenever the time approaches.

Mandera County and the surrounding areas came up with a transitional idea of rotating leadership among the different clans and tribes called the negotiated democracy that would enhance unity and peace among them. Several studies have and new bytes have been prepared concerning the state of negotiated democracy and on how it has affected the transition of the two-thirds gender rule. For instance, Cheeseman, Onditi and D'Alessandro (2017) talks about how negotiated democracy has gained ground in counties considered hotspots.

In Mandera County, The Garre Council of Elders came up with the concept of negotiated democracy in 2010. They came up with a charter that they used to select leaders to vie for elective positions in the 2013 general elections. This process gained momentum in the 2017 polls in which the elders started grooming whomever they thought deserved to take over leadership two years before the lapse of the office bearers. Constitutional Commission heads like Mzalendo Kibunjia of National Cohesion and Integration Commission and Kinuthia Wamwangi of County Transition joined the bandwagon by calling for the North Eastern to embrace negotiated democracy (Cheeseman, Onditi & D'Alessandro, 2017).

Although the article has been overtaken by various political events, it gives an overview of how the deal of transition gained ground. At first, political leaders were in agreement with the implementation of the negotiated democracy without knowing that the council of elders had hidden objectives behind the scenes. Several leaders called for guided democracy as a way of bringing unity among the different communities and clans. The article is important for this research because it gives the historical background of the negotiated democracy in Mandera County and other neighbouring jurisdictions. However, the author failed to foretell the future happenings concerning the division and unity that the negotiated democracy could cause to the people.

On a different reaction, Castillejo (2016) thinks that negotiated democracy is an avenue that breeds theft. This is because it impedes peace, trade and business integration that has emerged due to the intensified narrow politics and compromised entrepreneurship skills. It is also apparent that the council of elder's aka sultans has turned into entrepreneurs who solicit for funds from aspirants in order to slot them into political posts. The council

of elders engages in tendering processes of companies that should receive contracts within the counties, shortlist county CEOs and engage in other issues against the doctrines of the governors.

If the leaders go against their recommendations, the elders incite the residents to protest against poor leadership displayed by the leaders. The problem with this trend of elders determining almost everything in the counties has led to control of resources that sideline women and youth. The chance of youths and women engaging in non-political affairs has contributed to cases of managerial inept within the counties. The elders, at the expense of the corrupt leaders who bribe them, overlook those who possess the managerial and leadership skills to steer the counties. The article has exposed the other side of the elders as far as negotiated democracy goes. This is important for the research because it shall help in identifying ways in which the negotiated democracy has curtailed women's ambitions of gaining power in Mandera County.

Henquinet (2013) highlights the actualization and implementation of the two-thirds gender principle in the country. The article notes that women representation in Kenya's parliament is still below the required minimum with only a mere 9.8% comprising of women and about 20.7% sitting in the current House. As a result, the government created seats to accommodate women to attain the constitutional threshold.

The breakdown was that 47 were elected through the women rep posts, 16 nominated at the Senate, in the national assembly, 12 persons are nominated by parliamentary political parties and one representing the youth and people living with disabilities. The affirmative action measures have been pushed to enable more women representation into the

different levels of decision-making. Kenya being a signatory of different regional, international and continental bodies must work towards achieving the women representation as provisions of the bodies. The article is very educating and essential for research works in various fields like legal and human rights. It shall be applicable for this study because of the legal explanations it offers pertaining to the two-thirds gender principle in the country.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

2.4.1 Feminist Political Theory

The theory was formulated by Bryson (2016) to critically examine and analyze the experiences of women in political leadership. The Feminist Political Theory assumes that African women need to enjoy privileges across the continent regardless of their social positions and statuses. This theory motivates the African women to come together for a common cause of empowerment and inspiring of the girl-child and African women (Carole & Kim, 2016). The believers of the theory suppose that it is time for the African women to rise up and assume key leadership positions in society.

It is apparent that the African women have been taking a back seat to avoid competing against the men because of the stereotypical perceptions that deny them equal chances. The ideologies of the African Feminist political theory underline equality, respect and inclusivity in the community in which men and women access the same privileges (Squires, 2013). The theory advocated for the independence of the African women through mediation and the push for reforms in the political and social spheres (Bryson (2016). Regarding the negotiated democracy in Mandera County, the need for the theory

arises because of the importance of solidarity among the women in participating in the political affairs of their country. The main principle of the theory tackles the challenges faced by women across the county, such as domestic violence, sexual abuse and discrimination in social places (Bryson, 2016).

The theory addresses the requirements and welfare of women in the African continent. The main issues under this theory entail equality in social, political and economic affairs, reduction of discrimination and societal evils among others. For instance, in Rwanda, women fully utilize the 30% gender rule in the national assembly where they serve as people's representatives. According to Hirschmann (1992) Rwanda leads the world with the percentage of women in the national legislature. The research shows that women hold 64% of seats in the lower house of the country's national legislature.

Countries like Bolivia, Cuba, and Seychelles are also doing well in giving more women the power to take political seats. The African feminism theory supports women being in the front line, shaping decisions at the national level. In many instances, women are not just policymakers, but also good decision makers who can easily solve hard challenges. The theory is essential in this research because it highlights how countries can embrace equality in the elections of officials (Staeheli, Kofman & Peake, 2004). Rwanda has set a perfect example of how women should be leading in national matters in order to help in rebuilding the nation. Social, political and economic affairs should always be given an inclusive approach to help in pooling ideas that can help in the development and creation of more people-oriented leadership (Harding, 2004).

This theory was relevant to the study as it can be used to contextualize and expound the role of women plays in strengthening democracy in Mandera County through its programmatic work. The theory also relevant to study as it highlights the socio-economic challenges to women's representation in public spheres that was be a basis for addressing in the study.

2.4.2 Critical Mass Theory

This theory was advanced by Markus, 1987 to offer a collective political action that enhances the critical number of people required to influence a policy and effect changes as an influential organ. The number is 33% that would enable women to have a substantial difference in politics of their countries. The theory has been a tool for negotiating the connection between the percentage of women legislators and the implementation of legislation beneficial to women as a group. Female activist and feminist groups have been using the theory as an indication that they represent a large group that can influence social changes in society (Markus, 1987).

Although the 33% women representation rule is still not enough to push matters affecting the people, it has helped in contributing to the legislation. This is because the few women are sponsoring a number of bills that are essential for the development and change of the ways other matters are done (Staeheli, Kofman & Peake, 2004).

Gender and politics have been causing societal issues, especially in communities that residents have not embraced women as favourable bearers of political offices. The theory is applicable to the fact that there are fewer women than men are in nearly all the elected assemblies. The argument that women are incapable of having considerable impacts on

legislative outcomes until they develop from a few gesture persons to a significant minority of all parliamentarians will depend on their number in the assemblies (Markus, 1987).

This is because an increase in the number of women representatives will effectively promote women-friendly policy changes that will likely influence the male counterparts to accept and endorse legislation supporting women's concerns (Sarah & Mona, 2008). The critical mass theory concept has gained momentum over the years among mainstream policymakers, the media and international communities as proof to influence women participation in political affairs. However, concerns are raised concerning the passage of legislation favouring women against the elected numbers in the parliaments (Bratton, 2005).

Opponents of the critical mass theory suggest that women perform better as a minority group, raising debates about the push for more representation if the required outcomes are not achieved. This is because the mass concept tends to spoil the party as it derails decision-making strategies that would have to be approved by a majority of the women. The opponents further claim that the emphasis should be on the passage of legislation that favour the concerns of women instead of the representation number that might cause disharmony and infighting among the majority members (Sarah & Mona, 2008).

The critical mass theory also deals with the required number of people to implement a policy and make changes that affect the entire society. In politics, the critical mass theory has been a subject used to determine the percentage of women legislators and the enactment of policies beneficial to the female gender group (Bratton, 2005). The 30%

threshold of the two-thirds gender principle is because of the critical mass theory that advocates for the greater representation of all genders in the August houses (Bratton, 2005).

The 33% is a considerable number that can actively challenge for the recognition and incorporation of the female gender issues in the national domain. The theory is applicable to the Mandera County politics where women are side-lined and their number does not allow them to push for their agendas effectively. It would be suitable to make it a mandatory requirement that some seats, not just the women rep one, are reserved for women. This would be the best and easiest way to attain the 30% gender balance required in the constitution pertaining to the two-thirds gender rule (Bratton, 2005).

The theory was necessary for the study particularly in examining the substantive representation of women at the county because they have already met the threshold. It outlines the women's role in the leadership of a country and on why they should take the initiative seriously strives to make the 33% gender quota implementation worthwhile. In this regard, the theory will support the research in that legislators can borrow vital concepts surrounding women leadership and the significances of the gender rule towards advocating for their affirmative action and active involvements (Studlar & McAllister, 2002).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter tackles the methodology aspect that deal with data collection methods, study area, population, sampling techniques and analysis criteria. The data collection method conforms to the research questions to make it easy for the researchers to come up with valid and substantive findings. The main subjects to be consulted were the women nominated members of Mandera county assembly.

This chapter mainly emphasizes the research methodological techniques and the strategies adopted to collect and present the data under investigation. The chapter identifies the scope and limitations of the research design, areas of study, population, sample population, data gathering techniques and instruments plus validation of questionnaires and analyses methods.

3.1 Research Design

The research design entails the systematic inquiry that illustrates, predicts or controls the observed occurrences. The investigation employed a mixed-method process of both quantitative and qualitative procedures. This ensured that the study captured different angles that helped in the realization of the objectives (Creswell, 2014). Quantitative design ensured that the study collected data that could be analysed in numerical terms. Qualitative design on the other hand ensured that the researcher collects data that could be analysed in themes.

3.2 Study Area

Mandera County is one of the 47 counties in Kenya. located in the North Eastern part of Kenya and borders Ethiopia to the North, Somalia Republic to the East and Wajir County to the South. It is about 1,100km from the capital city of Nairobi by road. The county has an approximate population of 1,025,756 and covers an area of 25,991.5km². The County is administratively subdivided into six Sub Counties namely Mandera West, Mandera South, Banisa, Mandera North, Mandera East and Lafey and further to 30 administrative wards. The County has a total of 1,884.5km of the road network. There are 175 public primary schools, 32 public secondary schools and ten private secondary schools and three youth polytechnics and one mid-level college. Land is the most important resource in agricultural production. Mandera County has an area of 25,991.5 km². Most of the land is rangeland supporting livestock production. In the context of agricultural production land suitability for crop production is limited to availability of waters hence the concentration of crop production activities along river Daua. The areas practice rain-fed agriculture and livestock keeping as the main economic activities.

The study area is in Mandera east part of Mandera County where women leaders were engaged in various aspects of women in leadership within the region. The focus was on nominated members of the county assembly who represent the different clan and tribal affiliations. It is essential to collect views of the different segments in order to understand their take on women leadership within the areas and the influence of the council of elders in determining the suitability of the recommended candidates for the negotiated democracy. The study took place in different wards and constituencies that make up the Mandera County jurisdiction.

3.3 Target Population

The target population of the research comprises of the nominated women leaders within the county assembly (MCAs). The populations herein were chosen to collect varied views ranging from political, cultural, legal and societal aspects that hinder the election of women in legislative positions within Mandera County.

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Sixteen nominated women MCAs which comprised of eight members from Gureh community, three members from the Degodia, three representatives from Murule and two from corner tribes were interviewed. These nominated women leaders were purposively selected by the researcher for participation in the interview.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments

Accurate and systematic data collection is critical in conducting the study. Data collection instruments allowed the researcher to collect information that was important to the study. Depending on the study type, the methods of data collection included questionnaires, interviews and observations. The questionnaires were the main data collection instrument, which consisted of a series of questions and other prompts for gathering information from the respondents.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

Validity is the extent which an instruments measures what it is supposed to measure. An instrument is said to be reliable when it gives consistent results in its measurement. The validation process was employed on the questionnaires to instil the face and content authority and reduce biases and subjectivity. This is because the intention of the

questionnaires is to achieve the intended objectives according to the study objectives. The content validity assumes that the test is a sample that analyses the behaviours characterized by the academic concepts under the study (Zohrabi, 2013).

3.7 Data Collection Methods and Procedures

Questionnaires were administered with the female members of Mandera County assembly. This gave the first-hand impressions of the happenings and the respondents filled more genuine information without sugar coating or otherwise. Questionnaires were appropriate in this research. They were used to collect views of those people who were far away or in inaccessible areas. The methods selected helped in establishing the role of the council of elders in promoting women leadership in Mandera County. It was also instrumental in determining challenges of the negotiated democracy towards promoting and empowering women to leadership prospects. The information was acquired from the women leaders in the respective Mandera County Assembly because they were vital stakeholders who understand the happenings and details of the elections. The methodology sought to fulfil the objectives of the research by establishing the influence of negotiated democracy on women's leadership.

3.8 Data Analysis

The research adopted various analyses techniques to come up with a comprehensive outlook of the negotiated democracy in Mandera County. The analysis technique was descriptive to ensure that all features are clearly explained for future purposes. Data preparation that comprised of checking the information collected for clarity and accuracy. Analysis of data was a significant procedure because it enabled the audience and the researcher to understand the different outcomes encountered during the entire process. It

also prepared the researcher to sieve the required information suitable for public consumption and future references.

3.9 Data Presentation

The presentation of the data was done in an easy and basic manner to come up with conclusive findings and conclusion that summarize the research project. Data for this study was presented qualitatively by focusing on various themes. The data was also presented qualitatively through tables and frequency tables. However, the presentation of the findings might vary because of the various research designs and statistical methodologies adopted. A total of 16 questionnaires were analysed, and all were usable for this study and fulfilled the inclusion mode as indicated in the previous chapter. This represented approximately 100% of the expected population. Analysis of any project is an important step that reveals the actual and accurate situations on the ground for future examination and improvement on the faults encountered.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The entire research work considered a number of ethical issues to make it professional and free of conflicts. For instance, the participants were chosen purposively and had the privilege to either accept or deny being part of the study. Nobody was forced or coerced to take part in the research against his or her wish. In addition, the participants were requested to sign non-disclosure and confidentiality agreements forms that they had agreed to take part in the study and that the information they gave was for academic purposes only. The participants were assured that their identities will be discussed for confidentiality and hence they were advised not to write their names on the questionnaires.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on the data analysis, presentation and interpretation of the information collected from the field. The chapter presents the main point of the research that builds on the previous chapters on the objectives, literature review and the hypotheses presented among others. It is worthy to note that the bulk of this chapter comprises of the presentation of findings for the research objectives and questions for this study. A total of 16 questionnaires were distributed and collected. This represented approximately 100% of the sample size. All the questionnaires were completed and returned. However, the reaction rate was overwhelming and the corporation of the respondents was encouraging to come up with a credible finding on the ground.

The questionnaire had 4 sections tackling different aspects of the research objectives. Section 1 deals with the data concerning the feeling and observations of the respondents in regards to the role of the council of elders in promoting women leadership, how the introduction of negotiated democracy has benefited women vying for political posts and the influence of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women in Mandera County. Section 2 data was the opinions and reasons of the respondents concerning the research objectives are given in the first section. Section 3 asks about the general thoughts of the respondents if they think that Mandera County is doing enough to encourage women leadership, if the county can succeed politically without the involvement and intervention of the Council of elders and if the gender rule has helped in improving women leadership in the county.

4.1 Respondents Background Characteristics

This section discussed the background characteristic of the respondents. This includes the gender, age and educational qualification of the respondents. The sample population comprised of sixteen nominated women members of county assembly. The Sixteen respondents were between age 20 years and 54 years. 6% were between ages 20 and below. 38% of the respondents are in the age bracket of twenty one to Thirty years. 44% are between 31- 40, 6% were ages 41-50 and 6% are between 51 – 60 years. While there was only one respondent who was below between age bracket of 20 years and below. The majority (15) of the respondents were in the age bracket of 21- 40 years. It showed that all the nominated female members of Mandera county assembly were youth as demonstrated in table 1 below.

Table 1: Respondents' Age

Age Group	Frequency	Percent
20 and below	1	6.3
21-30	6	37.5
31-40	7	43.8
41-50	1	6.3
51-60	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

The overall observation from table1 is that over 80% of the nominated women in Mandera county assembly are less than 40 years. This is a youthful age which contradicts the normal practice where most of women venture into politics beyond this youthful age. Normally, women venture into politics after completion of their family responsibilities of giving birth. This therefore does not portray the true picture of Mandera County.

Level of Education

The level of education represented the respondents' academic qualification. 6% (1) out of the total respondent had no education. The participant filled the questionnaire with the help of a translator. 13% (2) had a secondary level of education, 6% (1) had college certificate, while 25% (4) had a college diploma and 50% (8) had college degree. This is shown in table 2 below. This data shows that education qualification was not a requirement for acquiring a leadership position at that moment. However, it is necessary for a leader to have some education to enable them to understand the bills and proceedings of the house. The researcher further investigated whether the respondents were satisfied with the roles of the council of elders in relation to the women's representation and leadership in the county.

Table 2: Respondents' Level of Education

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
None	1	6.3
Secondary	2	12.5
Certificate	1	6.3
Diploma	4	25.0
Degree	8	50.0
Total	16	100.0

From Table 2, it can generally be observed that most of the nominated women in Mandera County were graduates. This observation is however contrary to the general expectation of people in Mandera given the conditions. Relating this observation to the earlier one in Table 1, it can be inferred that most of the nominated women in Mandera county are from well off families that able to support them financially to clear education in their youthful age. It can further be deduced that the findings in Table s 1 and 2 do not portray the actual expectations of Mandera County. In other words, the council of elders

may have played a significant role probably by buying these nominated women to Mandera County.

4.2 The Role of the Council of Elders in Women's representation

The study sought to establish more on respondents' satisfaction and dissatisfaction on the role of council of elders. To achieve this objective, the respondents were asked for their opinions. Out of the sixteen respondents, 75% (12) disagreed that the council of elders are important in enhancing women's leadership and promoting their representations in political office. While 25% (4) of the respondents agreed the council of elders are playing an important role in promoting and enhancing women's representation (See below table 3). Majority of the respondents disagreed that council of elder's roles in acquiring women's leadership is not favourable to many women.

Table 3: Roles of Council of Elders

Are the council of elders doing a good job in promoting women leadership?	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly agree	2	12.5
Agree	2	12.5
Disagree	7	43.8
Strongly disagree	5	31.3
Total	16	100.0

Hence, the council of elders is doing more harm than good as far as promotion of women leadership in Mandera County is concerned. The subsequent section details the level of satisfaction of interviewees with the role of the council of elders.

4.2.1 Respondent's satisfaction with the Role of Council of Elders

During the research process, the respondents were further asked whether they were satisfied with the role of council of elders in women representation. Majority 94% (15)

said that they were dissatisfied with the role the council of elder play. Another 6% (1) are happy with the role played by the council of elders. Majority of the respondents believed that women were hindered from seeking political posts (see below table 4). In this community, it is believed that women should not hold a leadership position as mentioned by one of the respondents. She lamented that due to cultural believes that women are house makers and their roles in the society is limited to the household level, the council of elders still subscribe to such old ideology of patriarchy.

The council of elders seems to be encouraging men into leadership positions as opposed to the women, which have forced women to only vie for the women representative position which is provided for in the constitution 2010 (article 27(8)). Hence women seeking to vie for positions in Mandera County Assembly are not given room to air their opinions and the council of elders are not supportive of their inclusion in the political races. Council of elders in the County does not give women the opportunity to vie for elective posts and the elders did not care about women issues but only concerned with male leadership in the community. According to their views, the elders' role generally is to encourage men and not women for a leadership position. It is obvious that this encourages male dominance in every decision making and hence there is no space for women. The Council of elders has restricted women from voicing their opinions politically and vying for more political positions in the county. The elders' ideology suppresses real democracy and promotes clanism, nepotism and discrimination. Women are generally not given adequate opportunity to give their views. Moreover, they are not treated the same as men, which makes women lose out representation on the roundtable. Those who support the elders stated that the council of elders approved the 10 women

MCA's for nomination to the County Assembly. They believed that were it not for the council of elders, then the nominated women MCA's would not have been in the County Assembly. However, this is a provision of the Kenya 2010 constitution (article 27(8)), Thus preventing equal sharing of seats or positions in the political arena. The study will elaborate further on the role of a council of elders in political representation and leadership.

Table 4: Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the role of the council of elders

Are you satisfied with the role of Council of Elders in women's representation and political leadership in Mandera County?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1	6.3
No	15	93.8
Total	16	100.0

Hence, most of the interviewees are not satisfied with the role played by the council of elder as far as women representation and political leadership in Mandera County is concerned. The next section elaborates on the role played by the council of elders in political representation and leadership.

4.2.2 Roles of Elders in Political Representation and Leadership

This question was whether Mandera County could operate successfully without the involvement of the council of elders. In order to bring out more information on the role of elders in the society, the respondents were asked to give their views on whether the County can succeed politically without the involvement of the elders in the political process. 69% (11) think the county can succeed without the elders, 19% (3) believed they cannot do away with the elders and 12% (2) were neutral. Reasons for or against their decision varies accordingly. Majority 69% believe the council of elders are discriminative

to certain groups and only give elective positions to persons of their choice and hence manipulate the community as shown in Table 5 below.

According to their opinions, the council of elders is the source of the conflicts and their system of selection leaves out very competent individuals out of leadership, demonstrates poor leadership in the county. If there is a level playing ground, the county will definitely succeed and the best candidate will win. 'True democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people' claimed one of the respondents as she quoted the book of Abraham Lincoln. They think no one individual clan elder should decide who should lead them but that important right to choose their leaders should ideally belong to the large populous of Mandera County.

During the study, majority of the respondents said that the Council of elders has no constitution or charter to guide them, yet they are heavily involved in the administration of the county affairs hence making inefficient decisions. They further pointed out that the council of elders always wants leaders whom they can dictate. One of the respondents argued that leaders should not take instruction from the council of elders because they are not fair towards women. She added that women are better off vying without the influence of elders who have no value for women. According to some of them, the council of elders are barriers to democracy moreover, they said the governor and the senator succeeded after going against elders and thus thinks that women should try to do that.

However, the few who supported the council of elders give felt that the elders enhance the unity of the community. They also thought that Mandera community was not ready to let go the Council of elders because they believed elders come with blessings and also

argued they enhance peaceful coexistence between different clans in Mandera. They also felt that for them to succeed in any political process, the elders must intervene and give guidance. Elders are respected people and they influence the decision in every community. Additionally, they supported the elders' decisions because they argued clan balancing is important and they make sure smaller clans get representation and elders can solve such issues at clan level. Mandera consist of three major ethnic communities and elders can distribute the political positions to various ethnic groups without disputes or clan conflict. However, the researcher sought to understand what really prevent Mandera women from seeking political leadership.

Table 5: Council of Elders Success in involvement in Mandera County

Can Mandera County succeed politically without the involvement and intervention of the Council of Elders? Why or why not?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	11	68.75
No	3	18.75
Yes and No	2	12.50
Total	16	100.00

Thus, Mandera County can succeed politically even without involving the intervention of the Council of Elders. The subsequent section details the findings on challenges that hinder women from seeking for leadership positions.

4.2.3 Challenges preventing women from Seeking Political Leadership

To establish the challenges facing women seeking political leadership in the County, the respondents were asked to give information on what is affecting them. According to majority of the respondents, they agreed that negotiated democracy has been a challenge

in promoting and supporting women's leadership due to clan politics, patriarchy, cultural backwardness and lack of resources to compete with the men.

It is evident that negotiated democracy has killed the spirit of women against contesting for elective positions as the odds are not favouring them. The participants listed various challenges negotiated democracy as follows; Women are afraid to vie, because of the intimidation, fear of going against the culture, victimization, fear of trying and loosing, women are not represented in the council of elders, corruption and lack of goodwill from the party leaders, the council of elders interference with the party's nominations and lack of access to information. However, the researcher further investigates whether women are still facing challenges even with the introduction of negotiated democracy in the next section.

4.3 Challenges of Negotiated Democracy in Promoting Women's Leadership

The participants were asked whether they were still experiencing challenges with the introduction of negotiated democracy. Their responses are demonstrated in table 6 below. To achieve the above objective, the respondents gave the following responses.

63 % (10) strongly agree, 13 % (2) agree, 6% (1) was neutral, 13% (2) disagree and 6% (1) strongly disagree with the statement. According to the majority of the respondents, about 75 % (12) of the respondents said that women still face challenges with the introduction of negotiated democracy while 19 % (3) of the respondents felt that women are not facing challenges and 6% (1) were neutral.

However, when the participants were further asked whether or not women still face challenges with negotiated democracy, all the sixteen unanimously agreed in affirmation.

The following reasons commonly featured; the introduction of negotiated democracy has contributed to the numerous challenges and obstacles towards the promotion of women's leadership in Mandera County; reasons Women still have no voice in the society. Negotiated democracy promotes non-consideration of women in political leadership and elders believed women belong to their houses and cannot make leaders. Negotiated democracy has no place for women and it is, in fact, a monster to women seeking leadership position because it denies them the chance to vie and represent their interest.

One interviewee stated that;

'Negotiated democracy in some counties is a curse, particularly when it involves ethnic groups forming an alliance with the intentions to lock out other communities. This has resulted in a conflict that has destabilized some counties and mostly women and youth are the ones who suffer the most because no clan wants to be represented by a woman and it is as if the clan reputation is affected.'

Some argued that they are not allowed to vie for any political seat and they are only given nominated slots and the women representative position. Negotiated democracy does not represent women's' interest but it is like adding insult to injury. Women are more marginalized than ever before with the introduction of negotiated democracy. However, the researcher sought to establish whether the introduction of the two third gender rule has increased women's access to political leadership.

Table 6: Challenges with the Introduction of Negotiated Democracy

Do you still face challenges with the Introduction of Negotiated Democracy?	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	10	62.5
Agree	2	12.5
Neither agree nor disagree	1	6.3
Disagree	2	12.5
Strongly disagree	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

Thus, the introduction of negotiated democracy had faced challenges as far as women representation in leadership in Mandera County is concerned. The next section discusses the benefits realized by the two third gender rule in Mandera County.

4.4 Benefits of Two Third Gender Rule in Mandera

The gender rule debate has been rocking the Kenyan News airwaves for some time now. The notion is that women should participate in the national decision-making organs through appointments and legislation. The 2015 Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill introduced the two-thirds gender rule in which not exceeding two-thirds of the members of elective public institutions shall be of the similar gender. This implies that the composition of the members of public bodies must have representatives from both genders to qualify this rule. However, the Bill faced numerous shortcomings in its timely passing, implementation and voters apathy in electing women representatives. The affirmative action in Kenya has been on the rise in the recent past with women leaders advocating for the inclusion of more women into leadership positions in various public bodies.

As heavily discussed in the foregoing chapter, article 27(3) of Kenya constitution, 2010 provides women with the opportunity to access political position. Part of this study was

to establish the benefits of this policy on Mandera women. The respondents were asked whether the two third gender rule has improved or increased women representation. 94% (15) Of the respondents affirmed that the gender rule has influenced women representation positively while 6% (1) said it had not influenced (see table 7 below). According to the majority (15) of participants, it was a constitutional mandate which forced leaders and the elders to comply. It is a constitutional right which has to be met. Through affirmative action, more women are in a leadership position both at the county assembly and county government. Women formed a third of the 48 members of the county Assembly, held a crucial docket even at the executive side which was only granted to them through the two third gender rule.

In Mandera County, if it were not the Kenya Constitution of 2010, no opportunity would have been given to women completely. This has helped women to understand their roles in society and realize the importance of engaging in decision making. Only the position of woman representative which was constitutionally mandated office was available for the women to battle for. In almost all the committees in Mandera County assembly 2/3 gender rule has been observed but in general Mandera County political leaders has not because the six-member of parliament are men, the governor and deputy are men and all the 30 wards men. From the above discussion, it is evident that the two third gender rule has improved women's access to political leadership. The researcher further establishes whether the County is doing enough to encourage women leadership.

Table 7: Whether Gender Rule improved more Women Leadership in Mandera

Has the gender rule improved more women leadership in Mandera County? Why or why not?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	15	93.8
No	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

Therefore, gender rule has played an important role as far as representation of women leadership in Mandera County is concerned. The role played by the county in promotion of women leadership is discussed in the next section.

4.4.1 Role of County in promoting Women Leadership

This question establishes whether the county is doing enough to encourage women in leadership. 50% (8) said the county is doing enough, 44% (7) said the county is not doing enough and 6% (1) said it is doing fairly enough (see table 8 below). According to the views of the majority, women are represented in the positions of the county cabinet and chief officer's position. This is because county leadership believes in the rule of law and as such considering the gender rule as it is in the constitution. Women are restricted to what is allowed in the constitution but they are not given the first priority like men. This is also influenced by the elders by nominating their daughters and relatives. There is still the stigma towards women leadership and thus women are underrepresented and those who are in leadership lack support from their colleagues. Instead of providing leadership, they are busy fighting each to be recognized. It was, therefore, important to investigate whether negotiated democracy has also influenced the substantive representation of women.

Table 8: Whether the County is doing enough to Encourage Women Leadership

Do you think Mandera County is doing enough to encourage women leadership? Give your reasons.	Frequency	Percent
Yes	8	50.0
No	7	43.8
Fairly	1	6.3
Total	16	100.0

Therefore, there was a balance in those who opposed and those who agreed on the role played by Mandera County in encouraging women leadership. The findings on the concept of negotiated democracy are presented in the next section.

4.5 Negotiated Democracy and Representation of Women

In order to expound on the objective, the participants were requested to give their views on whether negotiated democracy has influenced the representation of women. 25% (4) of them strongly agreed, 19% (3) agreed, 13% (2) neutral while 6% (1)disagreed with the statement and 37% (6) strongly disagreed(see below table 9).

About 44% of the respondents agreed that negotiated democracy influenced the representation of women in Mandera County. Another 44% per cent felt that negotiated democracy did not influence women representation. 12% were neutral.

Further, the response on the questionnaires concerning the effects of negotiated democracy on the representation of women in Mandera County produced mixed reactions. The positive responses recorded were that the two-thirds gender rule has enhanced the practical representation of women in Mandera County. This has seen more women gaining nomination slots in the County Assembly. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has the provision that legislative chambers should not comprise of $\frac{3}{4}$ from the same

gender. The fact that the women rep position was created to fulfil the constitutional requirement of the gender rule, made the women in Mandera County to vie against each other for that slot since the other elective positions are reserves of the men. A small section of the respondents has contrary opinions stating that negotiated democracy does not have a substantive influence on women representation in Mandera County because it has "denied" women space to air their views and be competitive to take on the men. Women need to be empowered through various legislations and legal elements to enable them to take on their men counterparts instead of relying on negotiated democracy and the gender rule. From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that despite the challenges that Mandera women face in access to political leadership positions, their political status and representation has positively improved. Thus through the 2/3 gender rule more women have had a place in the political arena. A further question was asked about whether they were satisfied with their own performance in the assembly.

Table 9: Effects of Negotiated Democracy on Substantive Representation of Women

Has Negotiated Democracy influenced substantive representation of women in Mandera County?		Frequency	Percent
	Strongly agree	4	25.0
	Agree	3	18.8
	Neither agree nor disagree	2	12.5
	Disagree	1	6.3
	Strongly disagree	6	37.5
	Total	16	100.0

It can be concluded from Table 9 that interviewees had mixed opinions on effect of negotiated democracy on women representation. The next section details the performance of nominated MCAs.

4.5.1 Performance of the Nominated women MCAs

The nominated women members of county assembly were asked whether they were performing satisfactorily in the county assembly. According to their responses, 75% (12) of them said that they were performing well while 25% (4) said they did not perform satisfactorily. (See table 10 below).

Reasons for satisfaction are that they were steadfast in effectively discharging their mandate in the assembly and contributing to the house debates. There were also women chairpersons of committees who were doing good work in lobbying and advocating for women interests. Umulkheyr Kassim is the chairperson for Gender and social services while Halima Billow is the chairperson for lands and physical planning. Some were sponsoring bills which can really change the social interest as a whole. According to her response, Sokorey Maalim Issak was sponsoring the bill on the provision of breastfeeding centers for mothers at the workplace. Each one has a role to help the vulnerable in the society and agitate for their rights in the assembly. According to the majority, they were performing and participating like elected member and have the same vote and voice in the assembly house and even outside.

One interviewee stated that;

'The nature of the people who are nominated to the assembly needs to be based on merit rather than the clan. Some women who are nominated are very shy and afraid to speak in public and lack exposure thus limiting their performance. The role of the legislature is new to them, the majority of them are still in the learning process and at times they are overpowered by men in airing their views.'

It was further established whether the nominated MCAs had contributed to the debates and legislation making.

Table 10: Whether the MCAs are satisfied with their own Performance

Are you satisfied with the performance of the nominated members of the County Assembly?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	12	75.0
No	4	25.0
Total	16	100.0

Thus, most of the MCAs are satisfied with their own performance. The next section looks at the contribution of these MCAs to house debates and legislations.

4.5.2 Contribution to the house debate and of legislation

The members were asked whether they have contributed to the house debate or not. This question address how they have contributed to the debates and making of laws at the county level. 75% (12) said they have contributed to the debates and motions while 25% (4) said they have not 9 see table 11 below). Majority of the respondents said they have actively participated and contributed to the debate and made sure women's needs are voiced. Some have traveled to listen to the people during public participation forums, has sponsored a motion on provision and recovery centers for GBV victims. They also lobby with male counterparts to support them in advocating for women issues.

Table 11: Whether the Respondent Has Contributed to the Debates and Making of Legislation

How have you contributed to the debates and making of legislation(s)?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	12	75.0
No	4	25.0
Total	16	100.0

Therefore, most of the nominated MCAs have contributed to debates and legislations. The next section presents the findings on representation of women in various committee in the assembly.

4.5.3 Women Representation in the Leadership of Various Committees of the Assembly

During the study, 63% (10) of the participants said they were satisfied with women representation in the leadership of various committees in the assembly while 37% (6) said they were not satisfied (see table 12 below). Reasons for satisfaction are that they form a third of every committee composition. They have two chairpersons and they also have vice chairpersons in all other committees. At least all committees have the threshold needed and they take part in committee discussions and participation.

Those who were dissatisfied think that only two committees are chaired by women hence they are underrepresented. The patriarchal aspect of the society is still alive everywhere and the male domination in all decision making bodies of the society. Still, women were facing challenges in terms of the House committee leadership. According to the respondents,

‘Women should be voted for or given more leadership roles at the assembly including chairpersons of the committee which handle the most important portfolio. A lot needs to be done to improve the capacity of the women in leadership. Despite the presence of affirmative action, women are still marginalized and discriminated in accessing leadership.’

Hence the study seeks to allow the respondents to air out more views of the topic of research in order to allow the respondents to exhaust their suggestions and contributions.

Table 12: Respondent Satisfaction with Women Representation in the Leadership of Various Committees of the Assembly

Are you satisfied with women representation in the leadership of various committees of the Assembly?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	10	62.5
No	6	37.5
Total	16	100.0

Thus, most of the interviewees were satisfied with the role played by women representation in leadership in various committee of Mandera County Assembly.

4.6 Participants General Observations

In the last section of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to give any additional views and observations on the research topic. According to their responses, the society is male-dominated and nobody cares about women since they are treated as second-class citizens. Most of them are not supporting negotiated democracy at all because it is the one locking women out of leadership positions, most of the women in Mandera are not educated, they are kept at home and never involved in decision making.

Kenya as a country should help women to gain more political positions by passing laws that will help women to get political leadership. The parliament should pass the 2/3 gender rule so that women can benefit from it especially the Northern Kenya. The only way that women can progress in leadership is bypassing the 2/3 gender rule so that it becomes compulsory for communities to change their mindset.

Political parties should nominate more women to political position and fund them so that they are able to compete like others. Political parties can play a very huge role in ensuring support for women to vie for positions other than the one reserved for them.

They strongly believe that women and the youth are the main decision-makers in elections and yet they are underrepresented. Their prayer is that one day the two groups can come together despite all the barriers. The women (Voters) should be sensitized on the need to vote from their fellow women and not follow blindly the decision of their men /council of elders, Women should be included in decision making and given access to information. They should be supported in terms of resources and training

4.7 Summary

Due to clan politics, patriarchy, cultural backwardness and lack of resources, women are unable to wrestle positions from the men. This has restricted women from vying for elective political positions. It is evident that negotiated democracy has killed the spirit of women against contesting for elective positions as the odds are not favouring them. This finding contradicts the Feminist Political Theory which assumes that African women need to enjoy privileges across the continent regardless of their social positions and statuses. According to Carole and Kim (2016), the Feminist Political Theory motivates

the African women to come together for a common cause of empowerment and inspiring of the girl-child and African women. Those that say the council of elders are doing good work; their reason is that elders approved ten women MCAs for nomination to IEBC. The women seem not to be aware of the constitutional provision of Chapter 11 Article 177 sub-article 1(b) which states the number of special seat members necessary to ensure that no more than two-thirds of the memberships of the assembly are of the same gender. There is a need to put in place criteria for the nomination which should include educational qualification and work experience in public administration. Need for advocacy and public sensitization on the bill of rights.

There are not enough women in the elective positions including MCAs and MPs due to the influence of elders at clan level. The finding is in line with Hassan (2016) who indicated that the essence of negotiated democracy was to allow more men as compared to women from minority and majority clans to occupy leadership positions in the county. There are only three women in the county executive committee members and few other chief officers. The county can do better by sensitizing the community on the need to have women is given space to vie for elective position and other senior position in the county.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

Although the introductions of the two-thirds gender rule and negotiated democracy have enabled more women to assume political leadership positions both in the National and County Assemblies, Mandera women are still facing numerous challenges and obstacles towards realizing their political ambitions. This chapter summarizes the analysed findings with conclusions and recommendation in line with the research objectives. The findings will help in coming up with conclusive and favourable recommendation and conclusions towards solving the challenges of negotiated democracy in Mandera County as far as women leadership and representation goes.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

On the role of the council of elders in women's representation and political ascension, most respondents 99% were of the opinion that the council of elders has failed in their roles as far as taking part in political decisions goes. In the first place, they should not take centre stage in political decisions since they seem to favour one section of the majority clans against the others. They also favour the men to the women by undermining and demeaning their (women) qualities. The fact that the council of elders' roles is not well defined in the Somali community and the expansive Mandera County, they take advantage of the people to impose leaders on them. The majority of the leaders who benefit from negotiated democracy are those who seem to be loyal to them and come from the majority clans.

In view of the challenges of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership, the negotiated democracy has exposed several loopholes that hinder women in Mandera County from ascending to power. The women are limited to nomination slots from where they must be approved and recommended by the council of elders. Those who are not on good terms with them or come to the minority clans are not considered for the nomination slots to the County Assembly. The other challenge of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership in Mandera County is that it has contributed to bribery allegations against the council of elders. The council of elders depends on hand-outs and gifts from the politicians and aspirates before approving and recommending them "as fit" to vie.

With regard to the effect of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women, the study revealed that despite the numerous challenges of negotiated democracy, its effects on the substantive representation of women in Mandera County cannot be overlooked. The negotiated democracy (notwithstanding the hindrances it has created) has been a key factor in nominating women to the Mandera County Assembly. They are still below the required number but at least they are more than they used to be before the enactment of the two-thirds gender rule. The negative effect is that no women have been elected to both the National and the County Assemblies in Mandera County because of the negotiated democracy that tends to favour the men over the women.

5.2 Conclusion

This conclusion informed by the objectives of the study. The council of elders are not appreciated by Mandera County women politicians and the general public because they infiltrate politics with oppressive cultural norms and clanism. The women want the

council of elders not to take part in the selection process of election candidates through the pretence of negotiated democracy. The other finding is that the majority of the respondents think that the 2/3 gender rule has enabled women to ascend to power at the expense of the negotiated democracy that only favours the men. This implies that were it not for the gender rule, then the majority of the women in Mandera County could not have made it to the parliament and county assembly. This conclusion is supported by the critical Mass Theory which is a collective political action that enhances the critical number of people required to influence a policy and effect changes as an influential organ.

The role of the council of elders in women representation and political ascension is clan-oriented and cultural. The main role of the council of elders as indicated in the findings is that they manipulate the voters by deciding on which politicians to vie for respective posts. They do not care about the leadership qualities, educational credentials or development policies of the other politicians who do not enjoy closeness with them. In this regard, the women feel that the council of elders should be abolished altogether or women appointed to be part of that body. The other limiting factor of the council of elders in women representation and political ascension is that they use repressive cultural norms and traditional beliefs to make their decisions. For instance, they still believe that women belong to the kitchen and should not be on the forefront representing the people in political matters. This is a backward thinking inspired by the old cultural norms practiced in the expansive North Eastern region.

The major challenge of negotiated democracy in promoting women's leadership in the county is that it does not consider the popularity of aspirants, their policies, development

records or voter interests. The negotiated democracy is just a tool of the council of elders to extend their selfish interests by appointing people close to them, their clans or wealthy who can fund them at will. The voters and other "small" politicians have been denied the chance to exercise their democratic rights as provided for in the Constitution of Kenya. Negotiated democracy is democracy negotiated, implying that people depend on leadership auctioned to them, as they do not have a choice to elect their preferred candidates.

Concerning the effects of negotiated democracy on the substantive representation of women in Mandera County, it is evident that it has revealed both positive and negative aspects. This is because negotiated democracy only favours loyalists of the council of elders and men, especially from the majority clans. As a result, no women have ever been elected to represent Mandera Constituencies or the county representations because of the negative and partial application of negotiated democracy. However, the introduction of the 2/3 gender rule has been the reprieve of the women as they are capable of having women leaders in the assembly either through nominations or the women rep positions.

5.3 Recommendations

The recommendations provided here are useful to policymakers, politicians, legislators, women aspirants, voters and NGOs that work closely with the Mandera County government and/or have interests in the affairs of that county.

It is recommended that the council of elders should not take part in politics, as they promote clanism. They can only offer advisory roles, but should not be the final decision makers of leaders they deem fit to vie for the political slots. The council of elders are not

part of the solution towards promoting women leadership in Mandera County and they need to be far from electioneering decisions that affect the people.

The other recommendation is that Negotiated Democracy should be abolished since it is a hindrance to democracy. The negotiated democracy process locks out women instead of encouraging them to seek political positions. Since it was a “special mechanism by the council of elders and a section of politicians” it should be done away because it denies the women the chance to air their interests and take part in decision making. Let the constitutional provisions guide people in vying for posts and election of leaders and not a group of a chosen people sitting somewhere to handpick leaders.

The Council of elders should represent the interest of all genders as opposed to favouring the men alone. In this regard, it is recommended that the council of elders should also have women representatives among the members who can push for women affairs. As it is currently constituted, the council of elders comprises of only men, who do not care about the interests of women as they rely on the oppressive cultural norms and traditional values that do not recognize and appreciate women leadership.

One of the ways of empowering the women in Mandera County is through the education of the girl child. This is because they lack the necessary exposure that might enable them to agitate for their rights of political participation without the dependence on the council of elders’ decisions. The women should understand their roles and rights in society, which can only be achievable through education. The aspect of girls being denied access to education when they reach puberty because of early marriages should stop in the North Eastern Region and Mandera County in particular.

The nominated women in the County Assembly of Mandera County are part of the parliamentary committees, but only as members. It is high time women should take up core committee representations by being chairpersons of the respective committees like the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) and the Public Investments Committee (PIC) where they can take active roles in decision making and have a stronger voice.

It is important to conduct civic education to the entire community to enable them to appreciate that women deserve a chance in the various assemblies. The lack of civic education awareness has been a hindrance to democracy because the majority of the voters and some aspirants do not understand their roles and rights. Maybe the women politicians in Mandera County think that the council of elders are the people mandated to choose leaders who should contest for elective posts. Civic education is the only way that will expose the women politicians and voters in Mandera County to shun the council of elders and the negotiated democracy shortcomings.

The parliament to fast-track the implementation of 2/3 gender rule by enacting legislations/clauses that will see the rule take effect. The laxity with which the legislators have tackled the gender rule debates have derailed the implementation and passage of the rule to force the house to admit more women. Most counties are only reserving the women rep posts to women but denying them the chance to compete for other elective posts. The implementation of the 2/3 gender rule will force the voters to consider women to take up the challenge of contesting for the various available slots.

The political parties should also be on the forefront of supporting women leadership by reserving other seats for women, especially during the party primaries. For instance, the

core parties like ODM and Jubilee should reserve a certain number of constituencies where they only field women to compete against themselves to enhance competition and empowerment of the women politicians. The notion is that they can decide that either Mandera West, East or Banissa Constituencies are reserved for women aspirants and all parties should field only women candidates.

Women should be empowered to access vital resources for political contests. In some instances, women cannot contest for other elective posts because they lack sufficient resources and support to outmuscle their male counterparts. The women should have access to financial resources and personnel to help them go about their campaigns against the men without feeling inferior. The harassment and insults that they go through during campaigns should be condemned and perpetrators brought to book because they are using intimidation to sway away women aspirants.

It is evident that the Youths and vulnerable committees and appointments are always extended to the young men alone, ignoring the women who fall into the same categories. The youth leaders in Mandera County Assembly are men and they run core projects that focus on young boys more than on the girl child. In this regard, the only way to empower and groom upcoming women leaders in Mandera County is by appointing young girls to the youth committees and similar appointments that suit their qualifications.

The transformations of cultural norms and traditional practices that demoralize women as well as women trusting in themselves and not allowing themselves swayed by anyone, including their male relatives should be encouraged. The days of observing oppressive cultural norms are long gone and women should have equal privileges and access to

resources just like the men. The repressive culture that favoured the boys more than the girls needs to be abolished to encourage more girls believing in themselves and their decisions about the governance of the county.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
AFRICAN WOMEN STUDIES CENTRE
P.O Box 30197-00100
Tel: (+254-20)3318262/28075; 725 740 025
Email: awsckenya@uonbi.ac.ke
Website: <http://awsc.uonbi.ac.ke>
Nairobi, Kenya

Date: September 21, 2018

Ref: UON/CHSS/AWSC/8/6

From: Director,
African Women Studies Centre
University of Nairobi

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

SUBJECT: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR ETHILA MOHAMUD ISSAK

This is to confirm that Ethila Mohamud Issak (M10/88626/2016) is a registered Master of Arts (MA) student at the African Women Studies Centre, University of Nairobi. She is currently working on her research project entitled, *“The challenges of negotiated democracy and women’s representation in Mandera County: A case study in Mandera County Assembly, Kenya”*.

Any assistance accorded to her during her research period is highly appreciated.

Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira

Prof. Wanjiku Mukabi Kabira
Director, African Women Studies Centre
University of Nairobi

Appendix II: Informed Consent

You are being asked to participate as a volunteer in a research study conducted by Ethila Mohamud Issak, a Master of Arts student at the University of Nairobi, African Women Studies Centre (AWSC).

This study is designed to gather information about the **Challenges of negotiated democracy and women's political representation in Mandera County: A case study in Mandera County Assembly, Kenya**. The researcher will not identify you by name in any report using information obtained from your questionnaire; your confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

Keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the *Researcher*.

1. Keep all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.
2. Return all research information in any form or format (e.g., disks, tapes, transcripts) to the *Researcher* when I have completed the research tasks.
3. After consulting with the *Researcher*, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the *Researcher* (e.g., information stored on computer hard drive)

(Researcher)

(Signature)

(Date)

Appendix IV: Questionnaire

General Information

What is your gender? Male Female

How old are you?

What is your highest educational qualification?

SECTION 1

Using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means strongly agree and 5 means strongly disagree, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	1 Strongly agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Strongly disagree
The council of elders are doing a good job In promoting women leadership					
Even with the introduction of negotiated democracy, women are still facing challenges when vying for political posts					
Negotiated Democracy has influenced substantive representation of women in Mandera County					

SECTION 2

Please answer with a YES OR NO AND WHY

1. Are you satisfied with the role of Council of Elders in women's representation and political leadership in Mandera County?

2. Do you think women face challenges with negotiated democracy?

3. Has negotiated democracy influenced substantive/practical representation of women in Mandera County?

4. Are you satisfied with the performance of the nominated members of the County Assembly?

5. How have you contributed to the debates and making of legislation(s)?

6. Are you satisfied with women representation in the leadership of various committees of the Assembly?

SECTION 3

1. Do you think Mandera County is doing enough to encourage women leadership?

Give your reasons.

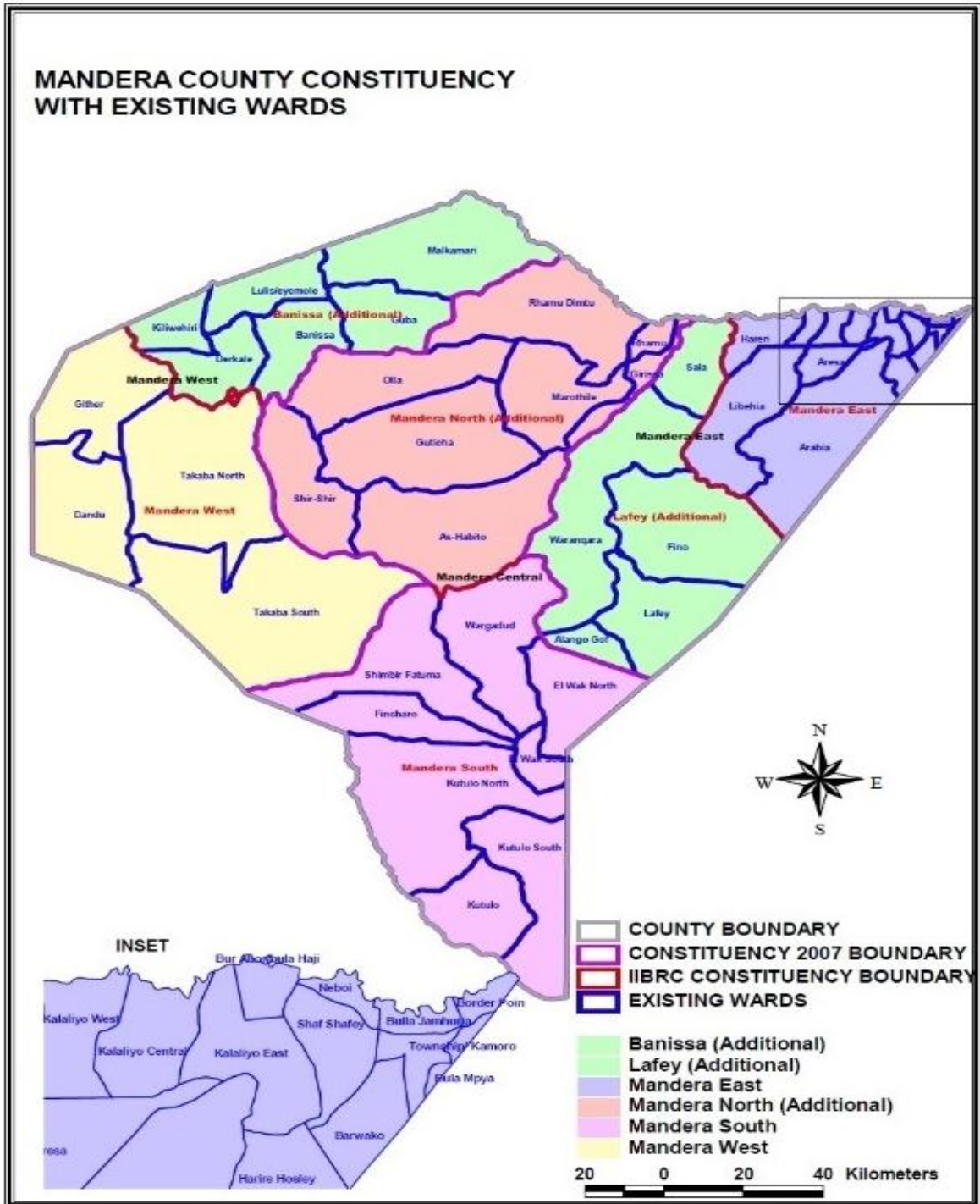
2. Can Mandera County succeed politically without the involvement and intervention of the Council of Elders? Why or why not?

3. Has the gender rule improved more women leadership in Mandera County? Why or why not? _____

4. What do you think is affecting women in Mandera County from seeking political leadership that no woman was elected apart from the woman rep position holder?

5. Is there anything else you need to mention that you feel has not been captured in the other section?

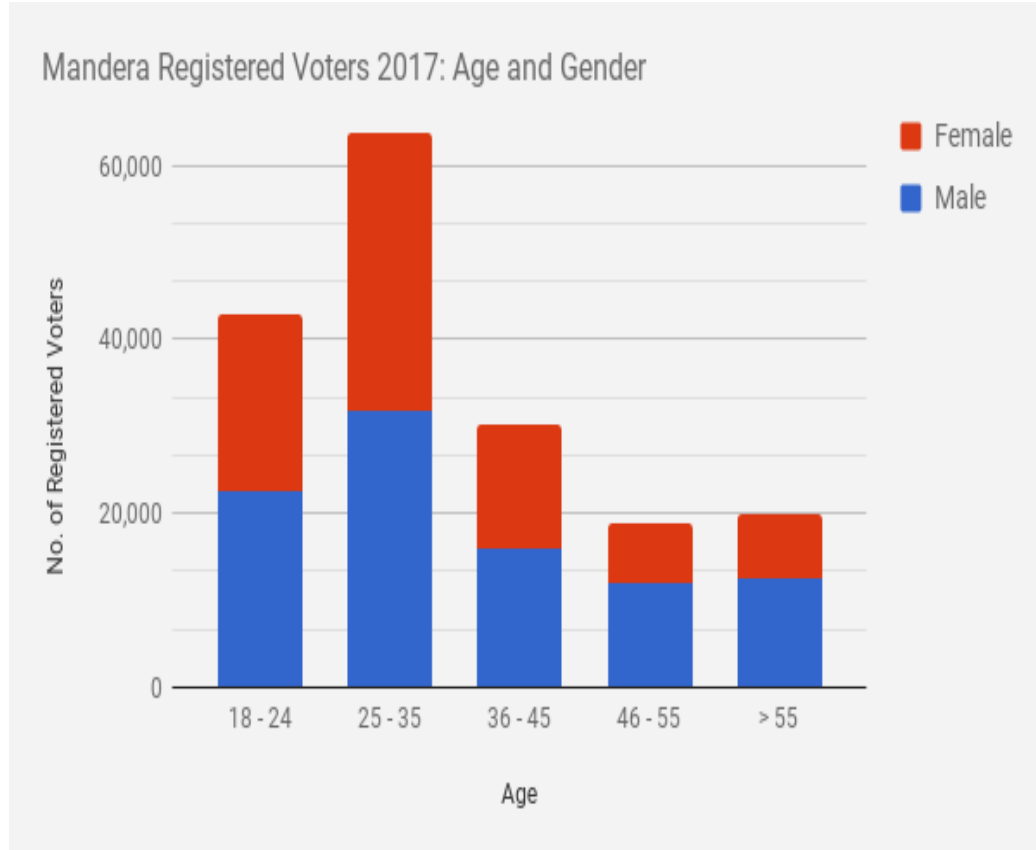
Appendix V: Location of Mandera County



Web Retrieved from on 13th December 2018

<http://info.mzalendo.com/media_root/file_archive/Preliminary-Report>

Appendix V: Mandera County Registered Voters in the last election



Source : <http://idadihalisi.blogspot.com/2017/07/mandera-2017-election-registered-voters.html> Retrieved on 13th November 2018

Appendix VII: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. ETHILA MOHAMUD ISSAK
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 66556-800
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct
research in Mandera County

on the topic: CHALLENGES OF
NEGOTIATED DEMOCRACY AND
WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION: A CASE
STUDY OF MANDERA COUNTY
ASSEMBLY

for the period ending:
27th November, 2019

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/26091/26980
Date Of Issue : 28th, November, 2018
Fee Received :Ksh 1000




Applicant's
Signature


Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation


THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND
INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.


CONDITIONS

- 1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.**
- 2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.**
- 3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.**
- 5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.**
- 6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.**
- 7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.**
- 8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.**

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NACOSTI
National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 22106

CONDITIONS: see back page

Appendix VIII: Research Authorization Letter



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/26091/26980**

Date: **28th November, 2018**

Ethila Mohamud Issak
University of Nairobi
P.O Box 30197-00100
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “*Challenges of negotiated democracy and women’s representation: A case study of Mandera County Assembly*” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Mandera County** for the period ending **26th November, 2019**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Mandera County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Mandera County.

The County Director of Education
Mandera County.