WOMEN AND GLOBAL POLITICS: ANALYSING CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS IN KENYA

[1]MUTABAI CLARA WANGARI, [2]DR. FATUMA AHMED ALI

Abstract: **This study examined the challenges that women face accessing political leadership positions with particular reference to Kenyan women. The research notes that the various challenges can be linked to the social construction of gender roles in Kenya and around the world. The degree of attention given to women politicians in Kenya has considerably increased in recent years. The research however presents that women are still underrepresented in political leadership positions. It further argues that different societies are less cooperative in ensuring that women take senior leadership positions both in the public and the private sphere. The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between women and global politics addressing the various challenges faced by women in achieving political leadership positions in Kenya. The study also examined the performance of Kenya in gender equality highlighting the two third gender representation rule in the Kenyan parliament. The research further acknowledges that cultural practices and gender stereotyping may have influenced male perceptions on women political leadership in the past, but closely examine that good leadership is not based on gender but qualities a person possesses, regardless of their gender.**

Keywords: women politicians, global politics, political leadership positions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRRONYMS

CEWADA	The Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	MYWO	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation
EAC	East African Community	NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
EU	European Union	NGP	National Gender Policy
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation	OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
GOK	Government of Kenya	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
IOs	International Organizations	UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union	UN	United Nations
IR	International Relations	UNDP	United Nations Development Program
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals	USA	United States of America
MPs	Members of Parliament	WBG	World Bank Group

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION:

Global Politics is generally political interactions, relationships and transactions around the world (Bellamy, 2015). Gender gap on the other hand is defined as the idea that men and women vote differently on different issues (Chanter, 2007). In transitional regimes, women around the world have played significant roles in politics. Some of the contributions made by women in the political systems include policies that influence gender sensitivity at all government levels, drafting of new constitutions that ensure the women and youth are not marginalized, finding solutions to issues like food insecurity, health crisis, and environmental issues among others (Powley, 2003).

Gender and politics are ideas that arise from feminist work in international relations. The two link well with radical feminism as crucially important approaches in providing knowledge about global politics in international relations. Work posed by feminists help us to intellectually, empirically and politically pay attention to women in the international political system focusing on what women are doing in matters of politics. Women have always played an important role in shaping international politics. Some of these women are like Angela Dorothea Merkel of Germany, Dilma Rousseff of Brazil, Hillary Clinton of USA and Park Geun-hye of South Korea. However, less focus has been placed on the roles such women have played in global politics (Weston, 2002).

Brown (2013) suggests that women's role in international politics should be placed at center stage in re-thinking how relevant and significant are the roles played by women in global politics. He states that by doing so, complex images of how international politics is carried out and hence the importance of women in global politics will be highlighted. This is because if the work done by women in politics is left out, the end results are a devastating weak understanding of ways in which gender and global politics work (Brown, 2013).

In his article 'the ties that bind and the shackles that separate: Race, gender, class, and color in a research process', Bailey (2010) notes that global politics appears to be highly populated by men with power being concentrated more on masculinity (Bailey, 2010). This therefore exposes global politics to be highly gendered with the focus being more on men than Women (Bailey, 2010). He states that this is due to the socially constructed gender roles that place the woman in the private sphere and the man in the public sphere.

It is assumed that gender roles are natural. However, study shows that gender roles are socially constructed and classified (Chege & Namusonge, 2013). Women are still disadvantaged when it comes to leadership participation both in the public and private sector despite them being qualified. This can be traced back to the colonial periods when women were discriminated and were not allowed to access leadership positions, education and holding occupations that were believed to be "a man's field" (Afshar, 2012). Today, women are still segregated in various positions through the so called 'glass ceiling' and those who achieve and push for the assumed male dominated positions face serious challenges that jeopardize their performance in these fields. In this case, there is a serious concern raised about existing and reinforcing stereotypes that are greatly affecting women's performance in top level positions (Chege & Namusonge, 2013).

Feminists differ in an attempt to explain gender equality. (Held, 2015) argues that women cannot be equal to men. He states a man is defined by his aggressive and competitive characteristics where as the women are assumed to be calm and less aggressive hence their goals differ. This can arguably be true to some extent. However, gendered habits and behavior are brought about by socialization and should not be used to define characteristics of women and men since they misguide the essence of liberating the goals of gender equality.

In African countries like Kenya, women's participation in public positions has greatly improved over years. However, women still haven't managed to break through the glass ceiling and gender based challenges, hence, this remains a top issue. Kenya has greatly been challenged in regards to women's participation in political leadership positions as it fails to achieve gender equality in parliament representation. This is even after two and a half decades of gender sensitization and activism, lobbying and mobilization of Kenyan women to take up political leadership positions and capacity building. According to statistics done by Inter-Parliamentary Union, countries like Rwanda have already achieved mass threshold of 38.1 percent women representation in decision making with 61.3 percent women representation in parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017).

The Kenyan devolution process was created to shape and enhance women representation in parliament. However, this process has not achieved its objective of equal representation of women in parliament under the nation's constitution. On 27 April and 5 May 2016, a bill was tabled looking to alter the Constitution to take into consideration more women representation in the Parliament (Government of Kenya, 2016). The proposition is likewise intended to guarantee that the nation conforms to Article 27 of the Constitution, which calls for correspondence and flexibility from segregation. On both events, the bill was tossed out because of an absence of majority in the Parliament. The bill expresses that if passed, women should meet the 66% representation and if not, these positions must be filled through nominations (Government of Kenya, 2016). A portion of the MPs boycotted or voted against the bill with some claiming that the circumstance of assigning extra women MPs may debilitate sound aggressiveness among women in the parliament. Advocates of the bill, nonetheless, counter that this would have been a great chance for Kenya to begin satisfying the duties sketched out in the Constitution. In all East African countries, Rwanda takes lead with 61.3% of parliamentary seats being held by women. The circumstance in Kenya contrasts inadequately with its neighboring Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania, where only 33% of women parliamentary representation has been achieved as of May 2016 (Sebastian, 2016).

Globally, women have started to challenge the notion assuming that gender roles are "natural." According to (Cuadrado & Molero) 2015 gender roles are socially constructed and classified by community through the influence of patriarchy rule within the society, families and communities. These classifications make people believe that man is superior and strong whereas woman is inferior and weak hence the man has the power over the woman (Cuadrado & Molero, 2015). Due to this, sexist patriarchal values have been engraved deeply in society. If ignored and not deconstructed, they pose challenges in encouraging women to engage in political leadership positions. It is clear that patriarchal values were designed by males, for their benefits and to support males. For this reason, most top positions in an organization are led by men with women being subordinates in order to keep male leadership in power. This in turn creates serious consequences for women leadership creating barriers for women to be great leaders (Eddy, 2009). The goal of this study to investigate the challenges women in political leadership positions face all around the globe. It will also highlight various contributions made by women political leaders in Kenya and around the world in regards to International Relations.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Vast literature acknowledges that women political leaders face challenges as they attempt to engage in politics. However, scholars focus less on the challenges women politicians face on the road to politics and the complex relationship between women and global politics. The main concern here is that political leadership experiences may not be the same for both men and women all around the world. These may differ due to diverse cultures, gender stereotypes, and power relations among other factors adversely affecting the relationship between women and global politics. Emphasis is placed more on different perceptions, experiences, visions, achievements and the lived experiences that shape women in political leadership positions. Therefore there is great need to scholarly examine the relationship between gender and global politics as well as to understand the challenges women experience in political leadership positions especially in Kenya.

This study will challenge us to think beyond examining the predominant role played by women in the politics.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

This study will be guided by the following research questions:

  I. What is the relationship between women and global politics?

 II. What challenges do women in political leadership positions experience in Kenya?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The general objective of this research is to analyze the relationship between women and global politics by looking at the challenges women in political leadership positions encounter in Kenya.

The following are the specific objectives of this study:

  I. To understand the relationship between women and global politics.

 II. To explore the various challenges that women political leaders experience in Kenya.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

This study contributes to the existing body of knowledge on the impact of women in global politics. In addition, the research findings will be of great use for Kenyan institutions and authorities in understanding the obstacles that women encounter in achieving their dreams of being great political leaders. This is often because of challenges like gender stereotypes, culture, lack of funds, patriarchy rule and the social constructs imposed on women in Kenya and around the globe

1.5 HYPOTHESIS:

The hypothesis of this research is that the relationship between women and global politics is complex which is demonstrated by the challenges women experience in political leadership.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY:

The scope of the study covers the post-colonial period right after Kenya gained independence to date (1963-2017). This is because in the start of the twentieth century, African states were just gaining independence from their colonial masters that comprised mostly of the European countries. The pioneer state oriented various relations in Africa until the country in

question was able to become independent. In the early 60s, colonial masters lead sexual orientation relations in Africa as a requirement by the pilgrim state. They also required a work force that was dependent on male transient work. This kind of gendered structure created gender segregation in society since the men were more in the public and were compensated for their work where as the women took care of domestic work. (Nzomo, 1989).

In the 1980s, the state's capacity to control women started to decay. Women started to question the status quo due to their minimized positions, with the intentions of seeking what it is they could do to see to it that their position had been improved. Both women and men encountered the state with regards to the colonialists' plan to aggregate capital. During the independence period in Africa, European countries left a legacy of gender separation between male creation and female reproduction in post-colonial Africa (Nzomo, 1989). Cultural practices were brought about by the missionaries who taught about the bible and the male's superiority over the woman, and insisted that women were to be submissive to their husbands who were supposed to take on the various positions of leadership. However, most examples will be derived from the independent Kenya; the 20th century.

The reason for choosing this period is because Kenya has not been able to acknowledge the woman as a leader within its society due to various reasons discussed in the literature review. This research will also highlight the twentieth century events that have seen most women fight for equal treatment in leadership. In Rwanda, and other developed countries like the western countries, equal gender representation in parliament has been well implemented as Kenya still struggles with the matter. This can be blamed on poor governance and cultural attitudes and practices that fail to acknowledge women as good leaders as well as the various unfair stereotypes that continue to hold back women as far as their capability as leaders is concerned.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION:

Gender equality in politics is still elusive even in the twenty first century. According to Towns (2012) Women being the majority than the men cast the most ballots during election times worldwide yet they still lag behind as political leaders, elected members and decision makers in parliament. This situation persists even in times when women have equal constitutional rights in the modern democracies. Fundamental questions like why few women are elected to be political leaders yet they make up the majority in population still remain a puzzle.

However, it is important to note that globally, women's representation in political leadership positions is slowly advancing. In Europe for example, women constitute 24.8 per cent in the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) national parliament today unlike 13.8 per cent in 1996 and 16.5 per cent in 2000 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014). This is a clear indication that there is real potential in ensuring that the number of women in political positions has been increased. Moreover, the last two decades have seen women become heads of states and government in states like Canada, Germany, Finland, Denmark, Slovakia, United Kingdom, Liberia, Central African Republic, Sri Lanka among others. Yet despite such progress, very few states have managed to achieve 30 per cent women representation in parliament and decision making positions passed by the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing, China 1995). This therefore means that gender equality especially in politics is an issue that needs to be improved so as to ensure social and political development all over the world.

In agreement with Anzia Berry(2011) women are not fully to be blamed for not participating in political activities. This is because in most cases, Women's representation in politics is dictated by men, a fact that has clearly made it very difficult for women to access political advancement. Political parties in most cases act as "gatekeepers" and hinder women to access public seats in politics through lack of policies that should be aimed at ensuring that women have been represented in a proper manner right from the beginning of their various political party nominations. Nonetheless, political party regulators and part members are coming to the realization that effective democracy can only be achieved through effective representation of genders. Therefore, political parties are now working towards gender equality and equal representation of both women and men among party members. In other cases, political parties discriminate women on the basis of finances where high candidate deposit costs and candidate registration fees are stipulated requirements that most women are unable to afford. Other underlying limits are advanced education requirements and public work experience which hinder potential women to participate in politics due to political and social economic power vis-à-vis men.

Norris and Krook (2011) further suggest that to secure equal rights and opportunities for women and men in decision making positions public life, laws and policies that promote full participation of women in active policies have to be advanced. This will ensure that both of these genders are accorded equal opportunities when it comes to being able to access various political positions. In addition, states and political parties should also comply with the International Human Rights framework as a way of strengthening democracy (Norris & Krook, 2011).Assurance of equal gender representation in leadership positions is one way through which compliance with the International Human Rights framework is met. The government on the other hand should work as an influence in shaping public policies and institutions as a way of facilitating active support for women in politics and those aspiring to venture into politics in a manner that makes gender parity a reality. Accordingly, party leaders should support women's political dreams as a way of promoting gender equality in the society.

According to Campbell (2013), the universe recognizes equality for all genders. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 preserves the right of equal participation of men and women in the private and public sphere including equal participation in government. The UDHR declaration further paved way for other women's rights interventions like the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. These intervention mandates that all member states ensure equal access of women's participation in decision making processes with the goal of making sure that their interests are not only fought for, but are sustained as well. Similarly, in 2000, states adopted the United Nations Millennium Declaration that contains the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) now known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which promotes gender equality targeting women empowerment as an effective way to do away with poverty, diseases and hunger and stimulate sustainable human development as women are considered the members of the society that are most influential (Norris and Krook, 2011). In 2004, OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality to economic, sustainable, peace and democratic development (Campbell, 2013).

Scholars like Town and Schwindt-Bayer (2012) challenge democracy by claiming that citizens should be left to choose their leaders freely. They add on to say that it is unfair for electoral policies to dictate or intervene equal opportunities that favor a particular group in this case women (Towns & Schwindt-Bayer, 2012). According to them, alternative measures should be taken to address misbalance of women in politics and let the voters enjoy the freedom of choice. They also argue that democracy should not be based on the percentage of women representation in parliament (Towns & Schwindt-Bayer, 2012).

Consequently, I feel that democracy is achieved when human rights are respected in all spheres of life and not just in politics. Based on this, women's political participation is mostly of interest to political parties when the presence of women can bring in more support from the electorate. Therefore, most men will support a woman if she is likely to help draw more attention to the party and its policies. This is because it is believed that the more women a political party has the more electable and justifiable it is to voters (Towns, 2012). One can argue the reason why this is the case is based on the fact that, the electorate considers such a political party more relatable due to the fact that women are considered to be more thorough in the sense that, they are more empathetic when it comes to addressing various social issues amongst any society.

According to a survey done by UNDP in 2015, over 85 per cent respondents concurred that women are more efficient in addressing societal issues by bringing in different viewpoints and capacity to politics and government policies that are always dominated by men. The participants acknowledged the role of women in peace and reconciliation, peace building and conflict prevention in general arguing that women always bring in explicit areas of knowledge and skills to politics and especially in addressing social issues (UNDP, 2015). Studies also indicate that more women in the government and decision making positions helps parties compete more efficiently since they draw awareness to issues that have been ignored before and work towards having effective solutions. This is so because it is said that women are more in touch with social and economic problems facing society. As such, the women are positioned in a unique way as skillful negotiators in marginalized groups where they assist help come up with solid solutions to conflict. For example, in Kenya, the first lady Her Excellency Margaret Kenyatta has played a key role in curbing child mortality rates through her Beyond Zero campaign which aims to bring down both the maternal and child mortality rates by ensuring mothers are able to access mobile maternal health care around the country. Through the help of other women political leaders supporting organizations as well as well-organized public participation through her annual First Lady's Marathon, Her Excellency the first lady has been able to offer a different style of leadership in solving an issue that was ignored for such a long time (UN Women, 2017).

## 2.1 BENEFITS OF HAVING WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS:

There are important roles played by women that are in politics. One of the most common role is that of advocating for gender equality in political offices. It is also argued that over the years, women in politics have worked towards eliminating gender discrimination in the public. Having more women in politics is also an encouragement to other women who would like to pursue politics but are afraid of the various hurdles that are clearly faced by any woman who decides to run for a public office. Therefore, women are able to achieve different agendas and present concerns in parliament that influences policies and laws in a manner that caters for their own interests as well as the public at large (Norris & Mona Lena Krook, 2011).

Studies indicate that women act as role models and as an inspiration to fellow females. Women politicians have been influential in various decision making processes that entails pushing for national reforms and acting as political activists where their voices are not heard. Consequently, women are encouraged to elect their fellow women into political positions by the argument that, the wider the range of women holding political offices, the confident they will be in their quest in expanding democracy and as well as in their engagements in various broad political participations (UNDP, 2015). According to Towns (2012), having many women in elected political seats contribute to reinforcing policies and laws that have direct positive change to social and cultural insights towards women in the society and can help fight gender stereotypes. Therefore, the main conclusive point in this argument is the fact that, there are no better representatives for any course than the people that particular course is about and therefore, having more women in various political positions will go a long way in ensuring that their positions has been clearly marked.

Ambasador Melanne Verveer argues out that increased women representation in politics is an advantage to the society because women ensure women's issues are channeled in parliament for debate raising awareness on gender-based policies that discriminate on women. In addition, she fathoms that women are able to trust fellow women in politics to fight for legitimacy and democracy hence building confidence in the political system (Verveer, 2015). However, I feel that as much as women advocate for gender equality especially in the social structures, some women lack the education to do away with oppressive socio-cultural behaviors. Instead, they uphold and identify themselves with various cultural practices like female genital mutilation (FGM) passing them down to other generations in a manner that continues to hold back women through unprogressive cultural beliefs and practices such as this. Therefore, women in politics should not only work to change oppressive systems but also work towards identifying workable alternatives that can enhance positive social, economic and cultural development as far as their traditional beliefs and cultural practices are concerned in a manner that makes sure that every women, more so those in the grassroots are liberated.

In addition, scholars like Michelle Swers, Sue Thomas, Alison Stennin and Lise Johnson argue that political stability is achieved when equal representation of electorate positions is ensured. They add on to say that women in politics have achieved great milestones in overcoming gender equality in the fields of education, military services, the labor market, social policies among others. Women political leaders are able to prioritize parliamentary debates that pose major challenges like sexual harassment, domestic violence, human trafficking and economic restructuring since these are major issues that directly affect women (Swers, Thomas, Stennin, et.al 2012). Such representation makes sure that the real issues that affect women are addressed in a manner that is both realistic and effective as the people addressing them are people who could be said to relate in one way or the other.

The World Bank and the World Economic Forums are among international actors in agreement with gender equality in politics as an advantage to economic growth. Giving evidence, they suggest that gender equality in public fields like politics promotes 'smart economics' increasing work output from 3 to 25 per cent. The reasoning behind these facts is that, the economic growth experienced though women participation is as a direct result of their capability are political leaders when accorded the opportunities to take such positions. Similarly, the gender gap report suggests that improving women and girls conditions raises productivity and advances development for all. These international actors indicate that educating women and allowing them to engage into active politics is a fundamental thrive for the economic pillar since women are able to build unbiased and sustainable growth (WEP, 2014). For example, a survey done the World Bank reports that women are more likely to invest in their homes than the men. The study found out that for every dollar given to a woman, 90 per cent of it was spend on her family and for community development. On the other hand, is a dollar is given to a man, 20 to 30 percent was spent on his family and community development whereas the rest was spend on himself. This study therefore indicated that women in politics are the best to bring in community development through public allocated funds (World Bank, 2016) as their focuse is clearly on the adavancement of their family. The fact that the family is the basic unit of any society means that any financial development of a family is a direct development of the society at large.

Page | 59
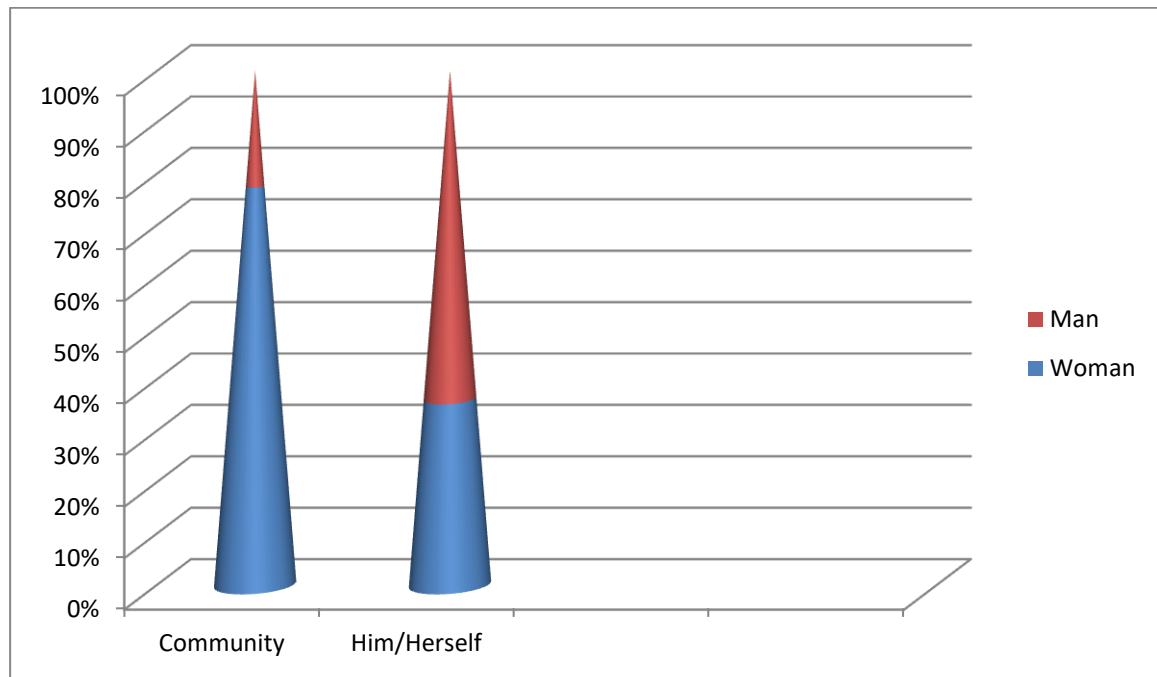
Figure 1.0: How A dollar of development money is spent between a man and a woman.

2.2 KEY CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S ADVANCEMENT IN POLITICS:

Research done on women's political representation bring into play claims that women do not represent fellow women once they hold political office (Gatabaki, 2014). Nyamburi (2016) a political and gender analysts however argues that this happens because women are few than men in the elected assemblies hence they are outnumbered. He also argues that women should not be the only ones highlighting their issues in parliament but a committee that comprises of both men and women should be set up to highlight challenges affecting women and come up with solutions that should be implemented to that effect. However, scholars like Oduor argue that as long as women are few in promoting legislative outcomes, they will be of no major influence as setting up of most policies especially those that are aimed at improving the position of women in leadership depends on numbers so as to drive them in parliament, and in most cases the number of women or those that empathize with their issues do not hold. He therefore advocates for people to vote for people who have leadership qualities rather that focus on gender and identities. Although both scholars act in response to dynamics of women marginalization in political situations, they also have their own speculations on whether having more women in political offices and decision making fields will make any difference.

Yoder (2016) conversely analyzes various social, economic and political works and concludes that experiences will shift where numerical support changes. He argues that the higher the number of people in a particular group the more dominate and controlling they are. Therefore, he supports that gender balancing in the public and private arena should be emphasized because if men dominate women are left with no choice but to oblige with what the dominant majority reinforce which in most cases does not put women issues or policies that are aimed at driving the position of women leadership forward. Reflecting on this, Ghati & Wanga (2017), as much as more women are interested in taking up political ledership roles in Kenya, the ground is still uneven and discouraging. They challenge women to surface out of cultural concoons that hinder them from participating in politics in a a way that promotes the female agenda as far as political representation is concerned. They highlight the many challenges that women face in trying to achieve their political dreams as

- Lack of education for both women and girls

- Lack of finances and financial support for their political campaigns

- Demorolising cultures and stereotypes

- Party regulations that are Gender biased

- Social orientation and cultural believes that are manipulative.

Together, these two are supported by many other scholars who suggest that if women cannot support fellow women by electing them into politics, the culture, performance previous scenarios of politics will not change easily. The reason why they have reached this cnclusion is based on the fact that, it is those that are affected by a certain problem who should work in solidality towards its erradication and thereofre, only women can be able to ensure that they have done away with the problem of poor political representation.

As argued by Duran (2014), Kenya can be used to understand the challenges faced by women in accessing its political leadership positions. By tracking down structures of male dominance, one is able to understand how gender differences are formed and contextualized in the society (Duran, 2014). Mutua (2017) extends Duran analysis of women in politics in response to the growing tendency of Kenyan politicians where politics is considered a males field. He challenges the pressure that women politicians have of proving that they are just as able as their male counterparts in politics. Ngunyi (2017) adopts an unambiguous gendered perception that emhasises on how women's minority in political positions has a direct link to their minority stutus in society. He insights that patriachal societies that emphasise on group status over-accommodate gender stereotypes, sexual harrasment and lack legitimate influence all discourage women to participate in exersicies that are aimed at advancing their political agenda.

Professor Wangari Mathai (2003) a renowned environmentalist and great female political leader in Kenya suggests that a few women in Kenya and other African states have been able to battle against the decision class that is male dominated. Be that as it may, a few women in politics access power upon their relationship to men. However, Kenya has women political leaders who are distinctive, goal oriented and have the capacity to be perceptive in the harsh political world and have been able to rise against all odds to occupy powerful political offices. It is clear that women interests are not a need in most patriarchal states in African, a real reason why women should not sit back but rather, they should put in the work that is required to see to it that, not only have their interests have become a need, but they have been pushed by women within political representations. In this manner, an arrangement of women associations was and keeps on being a route in which women's issues and concerns can be voiced. Such associations in Kenya include Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO) (Maathai, 2003). She encourages women to decline sexist treatment and harassment and feminize political agendas in order to be of influence in the social and economic empowerment. Wangari Maathai focuses solely on opportunities for women and supportive alliances that will ensure the number of women in parliament increases (Maathai, 2003).

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

In International Relations (IR), various theories can be used to explain gender and global politics and address gender and gender inequalities. These theories explain why women in politics do not have an equal chance as their male counterparts hence creating an oppressive environment for women in political leadership positions. Some of the theories used to explain gender inequality in political leadership are feminism theory and radical feminism theory. This study will identify the major features of both feminism and Radical feminism theory in explaining the challenges women in politics face and how they discourages women to access political leadership positions.

2.3.1 FEMINISM THEORY:

Feminism as a theory that looks into empowering the women and advocating for women's rights and equality in the social, political and economic spheres of life. Feminism entails a lot of politics as far as picking out of fundamental relationships in politics that deal with gender and power fighting for women to be given equal privileges as men is concerned. Feminism and feminists came into existence in the nineteenth century through social movements that had emerged as women movements that aimed to ensure that women were able to access equal treatment to their male counterparts in all spheres of life. Majorly, this movement was directed towards fighting for basic civil rights like the right to vote as an important equality for women. Feminists felt that there was need for equal representation of women in the society as it was mainly dominated by men (Cott, 1987). The movement was born in New York, bringing in hundreds of people who focused on the civil, social, religious and economic state of women (Evans, 1995).

It is important to note that the history of feminism has three waves. The earliest feminist movement was known as the 'first-wave' of feminism that began in the nineteenth- century in Europe and North America. This wave of feminism was characterized by advocacy for equal rights between men and women. Such rights involved the right to vote, rights to employment, inheritance of property in marriage and equal opportunities in political power. The first wave of feminism was successful as it saw rights of women being introduced in European countries such as women being allowed to vote. Other countries like china and Japan later followed and achieved equality in social and political agendas due to modernization (Yuan, 2005).

However, due to socio-religious reforms in India, feminism was challenged by the thought that patriarchal customs were a religious context that emerged from the creation period of Adam and Eve. This led to the 'second wave' of feminism which was after changing the social and political behavior in an attempt to liberate women (Tong, 1989). Simone de Beauvoir looked at how women were socially constructed as the 'other' being taking further the quest to liberate the women. The 'second wave' of feminism tackled issues to do with sex discrimination, unequal chances of employment and unequal pay for women (Seth, 2011). It could be argued that is still a wave of feminism that has continued to be implemented in many regions of the world even to date. Feminists continue to fight sexual discrimination against women, lack of equal opportunities when it comes to employment in comparison to their male counterparts as well as when it comes to equal salaries for both genders for equal services rendered.

In countries like the USA, the black movement fought for women's liberation by linking their rights to civil rights. This spread through Britain and other European countries allowing women to participate in politics. In countries like Britain, the results are clear since women have run the monarch as well as having the only female Prime Minister in the country. Other countries have favorably followed in with countries like Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka having being led by female Prime Ministers, not to mention Germany whose Vice Chancellor Angela Markel, continues to put global-women leadership on the map. The 'second-wave' feminism fought for equal rights and equal opportunities for all regardless of class or sex (Thornham, 2006). According to Thornham (2006), it therefore makes sense to observe that, if there is the willingness by global women to stand up and be part of the efforts that are aimed towards achieving equal political representation, then there is indeed a huge possibility for their efforts being achievable just as the civil rights movements were able to liberate the black people, although there is still a long way to go, the fact that these efforts culminated to the election of the first Black-American president in 2008 is a clear indication to that.

Finally, there is the third-wave feminism that mainly associated with politics and movements in the 1980s to-date. This wave was as a result of critics of the second wave where the main concern was that women of color, gay people, lesbians, transgender and the poor were suppressed (Tong, 2013). Therefore, the third-wave of feminism was essential in discussing issues of women focusing on racism, homophobia and Eurocentric behavior as their agenda (Mackinnon, 1982). In this context of feminism theory one can say that this is a theory that concentrates on women having equality through responsible actions and choices (Brookes, 2008). One can confidently observe that the journey towards the achievement of the various rights of these groups is still far from being realized. The fact that women continue to be judged not on their capability but sometimes based on the action of the men in their lives is one way through which this could be seen. A perfect example would be based the just finished American elections where the leading Democratic Party candidate Hillary Robin Clinton lost the election to a documented misogynist despite being clearly the more qualified candidate, a former first lady with political experience spinning decades.

2.3.2 RADICAL FEMINIST THEORY:

Radical feminism was as a result of women discussions about daily lives which involved pregnancies, child bearing, menstruation, housework, service to men and menopause. Radical feminism also was as a result of Liberal feminism and socialist feminism that discussed gender equality beyond the daily lives of women (Daly, 1978). This theory was committed to unveiling the discrimination women faced in social fields like politics, family life and marriage institutions. Radical feminism also exposed the dynamics of power operations in the private and public sphere simply expressing sexism as a social construct and not natural. According to Gandhi (1988) radical feminism argued that the whole traditional social system was outdated and was embedded in society as a means of giving men power over women. Mackinnon (1982) argues that due to the deep rooted believes that men are superior to women, patriarchy was very hard to eradicate. According to Brookes (2008), issues such as the women's sexual health and family planning should be issues that women should be able to make sound choices about without being interfered with by policy makers who unfortunately, are majorly men.

Some assumptions premise around the radical Feminist theory based on ones understanding to gender prejudice. In explaining radical feminism, Tong (2013) suggests that women's oppression is as a result of sexual frameworks in the society. She notes that male control and domination of the public sphere and the private domain leads coherently to different frameworks of human control. Therefore, the male dominate various fields setting laws that hinder women from accessing the public sphere due to the dominating male power (Tong, 2013). Radical feminism explains that patriarchy rule is an underlying foundation of inequality between men and women or rather social predominance of men and women. This in turn gives the men privilege over the women socially, politically and economically. Radical feminism is therefore

used to identify sex war as a basic political struggle of male power and patriarchy giving the researcher an interest in drawing attention to physical and sexual dominance of male's oppression as well as offer solutions in a way that is aimed at making this sort of male dominance a thing of the past (Daly,1978).

The philosophy of radical feminism is also said to be a major contribution to the liberation of women around the world. Women activists were at the forefront fighting for women rights between 1967-1975 with radical feminism being focused on questioning why women and men adopt various roles based on their gender and sexual orientation. This theory attempts to explain that gender roles are socially constructed based on various factors like one's biology or cultural background (Daly,1968). This could be interpreted to mean that, gender roles play no part in dictating a person's capability when it comes to their occupation such as their ability to hold a political office. Therefore, any person regardless of their gender can be able to hold a political office based on other factors such as their qualifications and experience and their quest to ascend to political power should be entirely be based on this factors as opposed to its being pegged on whether they are male or female (Daly,1968).

Radical feminists are said to be more aggressive in their approach in trying to deconstruct social constructs in liberating women. According to Connell (2005), he argues that traditional social systems created a phenomenon of hierarchy through masculinity hence particular groups claimed leadership positions leading to the legitimacy of patriarchy. Radical feminists therefore felt the need to unravel complexities that were as a result of masculinity which included violence, war, rape, sexism and homophobia largely linked with masculinity, which were all euphemisms through which the female gender is perceived as being weak, and lacks neither the vigor nor the capability which is required to be in a position of power. Additionally, masculinity was also linked to leadership as well as an ideology that was connected to power and embedded in all levels of politics (Connell, 2005).

2.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

2.4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN:

This study adopts an explanatory research design that will highlight various challenges that women in politics face globally and across Kenya. The study is based on both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Qualitative techniques will be employed in order to provide contextual and in-depth understanding of the issues under investigation while quantitative approaches will be employed for purposes of obtaining a highly rigorous and empirical study.

The research will also use a descriptive methodology as it is efficient in examining a given situation and presents its result as it is exposing the major elements and characteristics of any phenomenon or attributes. Therefore, descriptive research will make reference to people's attitudes, their actions, behavior or opinions towards various situations that relates to women and politics .The research is qualitative and progresses from a general description to specific and focused analysis of Kenya's leadership styles, the way they are formulated and the way they are implemented, in an attempt to answer the question whether Kenya supports women leadership and if there are effort aimed towards bridging gender gaps.

2.4.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS:

This research study will be based on secondary sources of data collection and will systematically evaluate texts like documents, oral communication, and publications gathered to contribute to this research. Data will be collected from books, journal articles, newspapers and audio-visual material available in the United States University- Africa library as well as online material.

2.4.3 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS:

Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques were used. Qualitative techniques included detailed description of men's attitudes and feelings towards women in politics and their views on gender equality. The data collected will be then analyzed to make sense. Quantitative analysis will be used to measure the extent to which the different sexes have taken up leadership positions in the political environment and the characteristics of both genders in global politics.

2.4.4 THE STUDY POPULATION:

This study will be conducted in Kenya with the population including women in political leadership positions. The study will address gender issues, information and knowledge challenges faced by women in political leadership positions in Kenya. This study will also investigate and compare the gender roles in global politics. It will primarily be restricted to women in political leadership positions.

3.   THE ANALYSIS OF WOMEN AND GLOBAL POLITICS

3.0 INTRODUCTION:

Ever since the 1960's, various actions by women towards the contribution in political development has been recognized. However, very few literature of their participation in politics has been documented. Due to this, feminists and women activists have taken charge in contributing to literature that seeks to address these imbalances. Women political leaders have for long been side-lined both in the west and in the third world countries (Holton, 2015). The contributors of political activism place blame on orthodox academicians who undervalued the contribution of women leaders in political fields. They analyzed women in the fields of domesticity, motherhood and marriage ignoring activities of states that encompassed democracy and women's activities in the context of devotion to development especially in the public arena (Conway, 2007). Therefore, this chapter seeks to acknowledge that women in political leadership positions are of great contribution to development just as the men in politics. It also addresses frameworks of global politics in studying women. This section will also acknowledge the role of women in politics focusing on the debate that events of women and global politics are the same worldwide. In other words, this chapter will seek to explain that politics is the same everywhere as far the manner through which women participation is covered.

According to Scholte (2005), global politics can be associated with the emergence of globalization in which domestic and international politics everywhere are related. Therefore, this creates the orthodox of International Relations to shape world politics and how they are approached. Politically, the world is divided into territories named sovereign states. Hence global politics which can also be called world politics are concepts of the world in pursuit of political power and state interests (Scholte, 2005). It is until recently that scholars felt the need to talk about the nature of changing politics and its significances over time. Kennedy (2015) argues that patterns of power and inequality in the political field are neither natural nor inevitable but are deep-rooted political processes that change over time if the right efforts are undertaken in the attempt to dispel these injustices. He also asserts that political processes in regards to global politics direct attention to interests that seek to influence how global affairs are governed. These processes affect both the private and public sectors that have an impact on human affairs, particularly when it comes to leadership and governance (Kennedy, 2015).

However, scholars like Holton (2015), argue that globally, politicians are facing new major challenges of resolving issues to do with boundaries, security, trade and economics, the environment as well as chemical weapons. These issues are transforming global politics now in that there is always a need to involve non-governmental organizations as a bargaining tool to supreme power and social forces (Holton, 2015). He acknowledges that global politics has altered fundamentally and it seeks to achieve national and international unity by taking actions that affect the welfare of the globe through various entities like NGOs, IOs, and Unions among others (Holton, 2015). As much as inequality, globalization and exclusion are part of global politics in the contemporary world, national politics are no longer a closed system since decisions made have to be global and cover interests to do with the political, economic and social exclusion. Hence, global decisions are a major control of agendas in global politics (Scholte, 2005).

3.1 GENDER AND GLOBAL POLITICS:

Traditionally, the study of international politics has been 'gender-blind' where less priority is given to gender relations and sexual politics due to emphasis being placed more on state and inter-state relations. However, world feminists have helped shape global politics with people accepting the events that are shaping world affairs. Global politics has had a great implication today with women being more visible in the challenging male dominated discipline of politics. Through analyzing global politics in a 'gendered lens', different acts of the world have been understood and hence are of significance to global politics in manner that ensures inclusivity (Holton, 2015).

In the 1980's, feminists theories gained popularity in the study of international relations and global issues therefore becoming a major influence in social sciences and mainstreaming gender issues (Scholte, 2005). Feminism theories have always prevailed in accurately putting a meaning to gender and global politics both analytically and empirically where liberal feminism have challenged the addition of women in influential decision making addressing the issues of misrepresentation of women in male dominated fields (Paupp, 2009). Its approach in global politics is in encapsulating the question of where are the women in international politics. Due to this, women's contribution to the political world whether visible or invisible has gained recognition. Hence, gender mainstreaming is achieved and is adopted by the United Nations and other major organizations like the World Bank (Paupp, 2009).

Nonetheless, the inclusion of women in national and international political activities has always had its limitations as we shall be able to observe throughout this analysis. Awareness of the global process was recognized and then created but less attention was put on how to solve issues to do with gender imbalances in global political activities. The global processes taking place in order to include more women in public leadership was not well understood hence the behavior of global actors was affected and still remained to be gender biased (Pierre & Peters, 2013).

Secondly, Kennedy (2015) argues that highlighting women under-representation in the public sphere contrast with issues to do with gender biases and not to mainstream gender issues in global politics. Therefore, male dominance is assumed to be okay whether socially within the family or politically within the public sphere and especially in politics. This then shows that power gives privilege to masculinity and excludes women's issues and contributions (Pierre & Peters, 2013). In her book 'Women in Resistance' Leon, (2005) argues that media content, sexual orientation and ethnic teachings should make it a priority to fight discrimination against women and address diversity and recognition of women's issues. She emphasizes on a system that proposes gender equality as a key subject in as a communication platform for gender equality in decision-making bodies. This will not only mobilize a model for democracy but will also contribute to diversity in gender participation socially and politically (Leon, 2005).

Thirdly, despite evidence that demonstrate practical policy changes in addressing structures of global systems, male power still dominates in most societies. Patriarchal systems dictate most states aggressively scaring away women who wish to take part in politics given these positions have already been preconceived to belong to men. For instance, the aspect of a gendered nationalism still motivates the male to be self-reliant, independent and autonomous in operating public agendas. The women on the other hand are entangled with motherhood and taking care of the family in the domestic space and taking on other responsibilities especially in a male dominated sector such as politics is naturally frowned upon. Such images are seen to reflect world masculinity and they accustom the male to see themselves as more powerful, and ultimately making women appear to come I second place. As such, gendered tendencies are seen to be common in depicting national differences with nationalism being heavily sexualized and gendered (Conway, 2007).

The fourth point is observed in Walker (2014), where the struggles faced by women under the domination of men are explored. She states that traditionally, women were made to think that their place was in the domestic sphere. In her book 'The Colour Purple', Walker criticizes the relation between men and women where men are seen as rulers and women are seen to be helpless and weak hence they are dominated by the male until they realize their potential and work towards becoming powerful women in society. She criticizes feminism as a concept that seeks to marginalize women placing them in secondary positions. Therefore, she challenges women to explore their potential other realms besides being good wives and mothers and confidently fight for power so as to advocate for their own issues as they are the only ones who can perfectly understand their current position as well as where it is that they want to end up as far as empowerment is concerned (Walker, 2015) .

Additionally, according to Tickner, (1992) despite feminists advocating for policy reforms in gender marginalization, global politics has always been gendered with policies being conducted by men. Political leadership has always been masculine hence to introduce topics of gender discrimination and gender biasness, gendered analysis have to start with discussing masculinity. She states that masculinity and politics have a co-relation explaining why there are more men than women in the political and social order. In addition, Tickner indicates that global politics have and are still associated with masculinity where women are forced to comply with males' superiority in terms of power (Tickner, Gender in International Relations, 1992). Therefore, it befalls women to ensure that they have fully participated in the deconstruction of this ideologies that associates politics to masculinity in a manner that ensures that they are part of various policy reforms especially those that touch on women interests.

The six issue is brought about by Scott (2012) who on the other hand challenges the field of international Relations whereby, he argues that gender differences are social constructs based on cultural believes and behaviors therefore, they can be deconstructed. He argues that power relations are unjustified and result to perceive believes that shape societies creating inequality between sexes (Scott J. , 2012). Scott argues that women should not be perceived as 'the other' but should be central in assuming leadership positions. She states that there is no much difference between men and women and therefore women make great political leaders just like men. She also suggests that gender differences are not natural but are fixed by societies to construct and sustain selfish interests in the public and private realm henceforth characterizing international politics as gender biased (Scott J. , 2012). The obvious point that is brought about by this scholar is the fact that, when it comes to being able to get into political leadership position, an individual's gender should not in any way be a dictating factor. A woman can and should be accorded the same consideration as their male counterparts when it comes to political leadership.

Furthermore, judging by the various events that have political marginalization based on gender, class and ethnicity still exists. Even the most democratic states like the western countries still fail to observe gender equality in their parliaments. As argued by Rai, (2016) political change especially in third world countries must take place to address political marginalization in order to enhance democracy and address the existence of gender inequality and challenges that women in politics face. I agree with Hensma's, (2017) argument where she says that women's activities are the very important components in shaping global politics especially in authoritarian regimes (Hensman, 2017). She also illustrates that women must work towards promoting equality amongst themselves and prove that they are capable of doing a great job regardless of their gender like in the case of South Asia and Latin America where women structures informal activities to fight authoritarian regimes (Hensman, 2017).

Owing to such events, it is possible that women political leaders can overcome the challenges of segregation and marginalization achieving their goals particularly in opposing male dominance in political leadership positions and women's rights of equality (Vargas, 2014). In addition, as argued by Joyce Laboso the deputy speaker in the eleventh Kenyan parliament, women should not shy away from venturing into political leadership. Laboso states that challenges faced by women in trying to achieve political leadership positions should be a better platform in fighting for political seats so as to maneuver through elected positions and not just wait to be nominated candidates. She also encourages women as well as men to support each other so as to ensure that the field of politics is level based on good competence and merit (Laboso,2017). Being one of the few female political leaders in Kenya, Laboso attests that in 2013, all governor seats were taken by men. She therefore encourages women to challenge such male dominance stating that even the former women politicians faced challenges just like the present women politicians. Therefore, challenges will always be there and it is unfortunate that Kenyan women allow this to put them down (Laboso,2017). Elachi, (2017) a nominated senator adds on to say that cultural believes act as setbacks for women who want to venture into politics. She also argues that outdated assumptions are concepts that should be wiped off in society to allow women the chance to engage into active politics just like they are encouraged to be pilots or doctors.

3.2 SERIES OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS:

Given the dynamics of global politics, women political leaders have faced a number of challenges especially for those in presidential or Prime Minister Positions. Tension and contradiction in those working in such positions has often been highlighted. Institutional sexism within the public domain has seen many women lose their political seats as they struggle with accusations that seem to crucify the women in politics today especially in authoritarian and patriarchal systems (Afshar, 2012). As women politicians fight to defend the welfare of the society, repressive totalitarian regimes fight back to maintain the maternal role of women. However, women politicians have fought back with great courage and affirmation prioritise suggests regardless of their gender. For example, women have chosen to come out powerfully in advocating for social changes that are oppressive to them (Paupp, 2009). Women are seen to advocate for practical and progressive measures that ensure women are not discriminated in parliament with the aim of ensuring that they have defended the gains that they have been able to achieve within the 21st century, as far as leadership and governance by women is concerned.

In countries like Nicaragua, China, Palestine and Iran, women sought to endorse a radical ardor that sought to do away with policies that were oppressive to them. They proposed policies that would ensure that women were able to fetch for themselves economically making them as resourceful as their male counterparts. It is such women's political participation that illustrate that women are as capable as men in whatever they do (Afshar, 2012). The processes of global politics and political reforms have seen women negotiating formal processes that promote equality and reflect on solving the challenges that women face. For instance, women are now able to attend school, hold public and managerial positions as well as take part in the military unlike before. These reforms are made possible by women activists and feminists who see the need to promote gender equality not just for their own sake but for the sake of future generations (Monbiot, 2004).

All too often, women have become victims of political processes like impeachment in the political domain. Despite their contribution in the public sphere, women in political leadership positions face challenges that oppress them forcing them to step down against their will. Globally, gender imbalance persistence in key decision making plays a major when it comes to denying women equal participation in political representation. The reason why this is the case is based on the lack of women representatives who could be playing the vital role of ensuring that the sort of impactful decisions that are being made are the kind of decisions that caters for women's interests. Therefore, challenges are still faced in advocating for women political participation. However, despite global commitments to address women issues in politics, direct

measures need to be implemented in achieving gender equality in politics. Social, economic and cultural issues are barriers that significantly affect women's participation in politics and other public domains like parliament, the judiciary and other private sectors (Bellamy, 2015).

The Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) has been of great importance in advocating for increased participation of women in public fields. The United Nations Chatter prohibits discrimination on gender basis and promotes gender equality. In addition, the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) dictate that both women and men should be provided with equal rights actively promoting women's participation in political and public life without fear or discrimination. The assurance by these global human rights players when it comes to women being accorded equal opportunities as far as political leadership positions go to equal those of their male counterparts in a manner that is non-discriminative is one of the ways that gender equity in both the local and international political arena could be achieved.

Analysis establishes that laws and various national constitution should articulate gender equality and women political empowerment. In addition, women should enjoy equal opportunities as their male counterparts without being discriminated regardless of their social, political, economic and cultural status (Lundborg, 2013). Through such conscious decisions by various nations to ensure that they have indeed put mechanisms such as these in place in relation to advancing the course for women leadership ensures that women are able to achieve equal representations in an easier manner (Lundborg, 2013). Ensuring that women have been accorded opportunities that are aimed at ensuring that they have been able to "catch up" with their male counterpart who have been always been favored by the various social perception through affirmative action is another clear way through which gender imbalance in the field of politics could be done with.

There is an emerging political trend in the world of politics Vis-a-Vis women impeachment. While women struggle to take up political leadership positions all over the world, political analyst like Gray (2016) indicate that female head of states barely rule for more than four years. Grey suggests that 17% of women state leaders have led for less than one year losing their seats to claims of corruption. Surprisingly, people find it easy to endure corruption when men are in power unlike when women are in power (Grey, 2016). Ghitis (2017) further explains that legislators are poisoning democracy. She remarks that women are struggling to access power or stay in power. Taking in account the recent events in Brazil and South Korea ties between impeachment of women leaders and political democracy is something to question. Two countries have in the past launched petitions to impeach male presidents but in both countries, only female presidents have been removed from power. These two presidents are President Park Geun-hye of South Korea and Dilma Rousseff of Brazil who face the same accusations of being corrupt (Ghitis, 2017). In addition, she also questions how Donald trump was able to beat his rival Hillary Clinton in the recent 2016 U.S elections despite having cases of ethical issues. It is evident that Clinton was scrutinized for allegedly being corrupt whereas accusations made against Trump over multiple scandals like the 'Trump University' and sexual harassment of a considerable number of women did not seem to be taken seriously (Grey, 2016). Therefore, according to Grey (2016), it can be observed that societies, even in countries that are considered to be more advanced, still hold retrogressive perspectives as far as women leadership is concerned, not mention the blatant misogynistic views by huge parts of these population as evidenced by the recently concluded elections in the United States.

Just like South Korea and Brazil, Kenya has also had its fair share of gender discrimination in the political world. The devolution process is meant to create equal representation of women in political leadership positions improving the role of women in parliament. However, historical injustices against women in politics still thrive. Entrenched patriarchal views have directly or indirectly frustrated women's political careers in Kenya with a number of women having lost their political seats or fighting for their positions in parliament. For example, Kenya's first woman Deputy Chief Justice Nancy Baraza was forced to step down in January 2012 as a member of Kenya's Supreme Court due to her disagreement with security personnel in Village market (Gitumu, 2017). In other incidents, Raychelle Omamo the cabinet secretary of Defence, Monica Juma Foreign Affairs Principal Secretary and Sara Serem the chairperson of salaries and Remuneration Commission have all fought to stay in their respective positions under threats of impeachments due to alleged accusations of corruption. None the less, Former devolution cabinet secretary Ann Waiguru and Gladys Shollei have had to leave office on allegations of corruption (Gitumu, 2017). This begs the question why such events are more rampant on women leaders than male leaders. Also, such attacks on women in leadership positions continue to raise eyebrows blaming these events on patriarchy rule and gender stereotypes. Therefore, the media is being challenged to campaign on promoting gender equality and protection changing the status - quo (Laboso, Women's rights and gender equality:Kenya's women

struggle to end male stranglehold on power, 2017). This way, the issue of women that have been able to beat all odds and hold political positions will be able to have a fair chance at defending their positions without being victimized for just being women leaders.

According to Meeks (2012), over time in history, no matter how qualified a female candidate is when it comes to vying for political office, the question of how fit in terms of both her physical and character traits has always been an issue, an element of politic that is never an issue when it comes to the male candidates vying for political offices. There is enough proof that female candidates do in fact receive a lot of media coverage on the areas that are more concentrated to their novelty, their temperament, their look as opposed to the sort of manifestos that covers the issue that they would intend to deal with if they are able to clinch the desired political positions (Meeks, 2012). Additionally, there is an ever evolving gender dynamic that provides an obvious insight into the various gender dynamics as far as women run for political office that entails the question on whether they are "men enough" when it comes to getting the job done. The concern here then becomes, why should it take a woman who "is man enough" to be able to run and win a political contest. According to Meeks (2012), there should be concerted efforts that are aimed at ensuring that this perspective within the electorate have been dealt with in a way that shows that women can be able to run for political office, emerge successful and execute their duties in a manner that is both professional and result oriented without being considered to bear masculine traits.

3.3 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SHAPING GLOBAL POLITICS:

Over time, though limited, women participation in both local and global politics have clearly led to some of the most distinguished contributions when it comes to setting of political agendas, policy alignment as well as other political milestones as far as leadership is concerned. The following are general highlighted contributions of women in political leadership positions in Kenya and the world at large:

3.3.1 WOMEN AS A TOOL FOR COMMUNICATION AND DECISION MAKING ON DEVOLVING LEVELS OF DEMOCRACY AND GENDER ISSUES:

The fact that women have been the ones subjected to gender inequality over the years means that they are the people who can perfectly understand exactly how these injustices could be addressed (Kabira, 2016). It therefore befalls them to full participate in the conversations that are aimed at communicating their issues, as well as suggest the way forward as far as dealing with gender issues are concerned. Through various workshops as well as programs that are aimed to advance their course not only a global platform, but on the grassroots level as well.

3.3.2 WOMEN AS AMBASSADORS FOR PEACE, MEDIATORS AND NEGOTIATORS IN WAR TORN COUNTRIES:

In many countries that have found themselves in civil wars whether based on bad policies or even as a result of bad governance when it comes to the distribution of resources in these particular societies as it has been in most warring Middle East nations, there have been very clear instances of women being seen to act as mediators as well as peace ambassadors (Noor Sanauddin, 2015). A perfect example would be the young woman Malala Yousafzai who is a global advocate for the girl-child education having been a victim herself, and whose efforts have been recognized all over the world, to an extent that she is now a peace noble laureate (Khoja-Moolji & Shenila, 2017).

3.3.3 WOMEN AS ADVOCATES OF EQUALITY IN POSITIONS OF POWER SUCH AS PARLIAMENTS:

Clear efforts by those women who have been to beat all odds and clinch powerful positions in political spaces can be observed through their efforts in trying to advance their course in having increased women representation in politics. Some of these women leaders have tabled bills in parliament that are aimed to fight gender inequality, gender based violence, sexual harassment among other bills that prioritize the fight for women's rights. In addition, women have worked as human rights watch and fought for gender based violence victims in seeking justice to end such impunities (Thongo, 2016). According to Thongo (2016), a perfect example would be Sexual Offences Bill 2006 that was tabled in the Kenyan Parliament through the championing by the former nominated Member of Parliament Njoki Ndung'u who has now gone on to be the only female senior judge who sits at the bench on Supreme Court of Kenya.

3.3.4 WOMEN AS CONTRIBUTORD TO THE SHAPING THE LAWS AND POLICIES OF THEIR NATIONS IN COUNTRIES LIKE MALI, BOTSWANA, BRAZIL AND SOUTH KOREA:

The argument brought forward by the World Bank (2016) report that indicates the focus of women is normally directed towards advancement of their people in comparison to their male counterparts and therefore, having a woman in a position of power is most likely to lead to development. Based on the above four nations, there are various instances of development that could be deduced based on the fact that they have a woman as their head of state.

3.4 CONCLUSION:

Across the world, there is vast indication that politics is the same worldwide. However, there are facts that women in political leadership positions have been faced with various challenges with their contribution remaining invisible or unknown. Women in politics unlike their male counterparts struggle to make their effort known as well as be seen in the fight for democracy and gender equality. Therefore, women have challenged the media, fellow women and men to combine forces in supporting gender equality especially for those women who occupy political leadership positions in a manner that work towards increasing the number of women in political positions.

In the case of Kenya, women status and role in politics is a field that should be looked into in a more diverse manner so as to show the various positive contributions that have been made as a result of women being in positions of political leadership. This will not only encourage women to participate fully in politics, but it will as well change gender stereotypes that hinder women to participate in the public sphere, leading to the ultimate achievement of gender equity that is very much needed in political leadership.

4.   CHALLENGES WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS FACE

4.0 INTRODUCTION:

Globally, Women's involvement in politics is being acknowledged as an imperative measure. As a result, significant attention has been given to women in politics and decision making. Nonetheless, women still linger behind in politics and decision making positions all around the world particularly in Africa. The main objective of this chapter is to explore opportunities and challenges faced by women in political participation in Kenya. The findings of this study shows that, the various challenges that women in politics face can be associated to social, cultural, economic and religious factors. The study further exposes that women who participate in politics are key in addressing basic issues in the community as well as ensure political leadership, responsiveness, and commitment takes place (Kivoi, 2014). According to World Bank (2017), women make up more than fifty five percent worldwide (World Bank, 2017). Despite this fact, women are still underrepresented when it comes to both politics as well as decision making levels that influence various policies even those that touches on issues that might solely concern women. It is therefore important for women to fight for democracy and justice in their quest for gender equality and gender mainstreaming (Kivoi, 2014).

In 1954, the United Nations Charter declared gender equality a global concern. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) addressed gender equality as a development agenda for human rights and Millennium Development Goals (MDG'S) in 2000. In Article 2 and 21 of UDHR, one has the right for equal employment and political participation regardless of their sex or any other ground. Kenya being a signatory to various international treaties for women empowerment and gender equality realized the need for gender mainstreaming in solving issues of gender marginalization and underrepresentation of women in key decision- making bodies. In Article 27(3) of the Kenyan constitution, a framework to tackle women marginalization is presented. However, Kenya has not achieved her constitutional goals due to poor mechanisms of identifying and implementing practical policies so as to accomplish gender equality (Wanjala & Odongo, 2012). This is a perfect example of the various challenges that women continue to face as far as their efforts towards gender equal gender representation is in political offices is concerned.

Like many other countries, Kenyan women strain in achieving their social, economic and political rights without facing discrimination (Chowdhury, 2014). Politically speaking, women are still underrepresented in the Kenyan parliament due to various factors encroached in the Kenyan society. According to Chowdhury (2014), one such factor would be the ill-informed chauvinistic view by most Kenyans just like most of the other African nations, especially those from the older rural generations, women cannot be able to hold positions of power as they are generally considered the weaker sex.

4.1 FACTORS THAT HINDERS WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA:

4.1.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS:

Kenyan women actively participate in every aspect of their society but division of labor varies from different places and cultures. With Kenya being a highly patriarchal society like most African countries, men have more power over the women and especially in decision making and political fields. Patriarchy upholds men being superior to women and women submitting to their male counterparts bringing about disparities between the two genders. Over being expected to be subordinates to men, women are also less privileged in political development since they are made to believe right from very early ages that they do not belong to the public sphere but rather to the private sphere that entail producing and

reproducing (Kassa, 2015). Both the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Kenyan Constitution calls for equal representation of both women and men in political, social, public sphere as measures that ensure equal participation for all (Kivoi, 2014). Likewise, the Kenyan government has been working towards reconstructing and implementing frameworks that emancipate all forms of discrimination and oppression of women creating radical changes that empower women in order to close gender gaps in the nation (Wanjala & Odongo, 2012).

In reference to Marx Weber, Vandhana connects exploiting of women for production gain in capitalist societies as well as class exploitation where the man was in a higher position than the woman. Such cases are evident in Kenya and most African states (Vandhana, 2014). Further analysis of the above data suggests that women live longer and represent a large proportion of the population. However, they are disadvantaged when it comes to education and career opportunities. The representation of women in formal employment and political leadership positions is as low as 30 percent (World Bank, 2017). Most women are concentrated in what is defined as 'pink collar' jobs. This is consistent with the literature that African women have less opportunities and access to education and career advancement which in turn contributes to the underrepresentation of women in political leadership positions due to lack of finances (Zuo, Shifting the breadwinning boundary: the role of men's breadwinner status and their gender, 2014). According to Zuo (2014), what this essentially means is that, women are disadvantaged right from birth as they, in most cases, lack the importance that is attached with being a male child, where efforts are made to ensure that they have been able to access education, hence career advancement in a manner that definitely gives them a head start over women.

The fact that politics is a very gender oriented discipline and therefore being a woman means that you are automatically disadvantaged as far as your participation in political leadership is concerned (Byron, 2016). Seen above, the fact that many societies globally attribute certain roles and responsibilities to belong to women and others to men is the main issue that ails the idea of women being political leaders. The fact that politics as a discipline has over time been a responsibility that has been associated with men means that there have been substantial communicative expectation for men and not women to be the ones that are strong enough to lead. According to Byron (2016), this is a clearly a stereotypical symbol of power that is manifested in the manner women are perceived to be weaklings whom are expected to occupy the lower cadres within the social hierarchies and therefore, should not be actively be involved in leading their societies. The only solution to this reality would be the willingness of the society as a whole to work together towards dispelling in this stereotypes in a manner that creates gender parity.

4.1.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS:

According to Komath (2015), traditional roles still emphasize on primary gender roles of women being mothers and house wives and men being breadwinners. Patriarchal rule favor gender roles that sexually segregate women from participating in political processes with societies globally dominated by the 'woman's place' ideology. This ideology dictates that women should play their domestic duties of mothers and wives; roles that are apolitical and majorly are supposed to concentrate on being the supporting shadow of the man. Other cultures have men tell women how to vote and who to vote for denying the women their rights of freedom. It is in such men dominated environments that women continue to take up traditional roles that are apolitical leaving the men to dominate the 'world of politics' in a manner that denies women chances to represent themselves in positions of leadership (Komath, 2015). Politics in most African societies is assumed to be a masculine trait, and most of the women who consistently fight to have their seat at the political table are labeled as rebels. Due to such ideas, women shy away from political process in fear of prejudice affecting the level of women's representation in the Kenyan parliament (Kassa, 2015).

In some cases, traditional believes and cultures act as a great hindrance to women's participation in politics. Some cultural believes dictate that women are to be led and not to lead, which are societal perceptions that women are less aggressive, competitive and assertive and therefore lack the ability to be leaders. Such notions especially in egalitarian societies socialize people to believe that men are meant for the public arena due to it'd demanding participation whereas women are meant for the private arena. Efforts to empower the woman and the girl child are sometimes challenged by lack of education for the girl child in some communities due to cultural practices that do not favor having the girl child receive formal education. This in return has unclear information being passed down generations and hence shape women's perceptions and believes about political leadership that results in a vicious circle of ignorance that leads to absolute female representation on political leadership levels. (World Bank, 2013).

Therefore, women who emphasize on participating in the politics may not attract enough supporters as their male counterparts would be able to (Kimmel, 2014). Scholars like Reardon (2015) suggest that traditional gender roles are taught and acquired at an early age with sex roles being taught at home, by family members and the local community. Oduor & Kuria (2001) add on to say that gender roles are also taught in schools and practiced in work places where school going children and workers are assigned duties based on their sex. Odour says:

"We are arguing here that fighting oppression does not begin with our generation. Let it be clear that this has been going on for a long time and we are following on our mother's footsteps. We are standing on their shoulders so we can articulate issues a little better".

When such perspectives are left unchanged, children and particularly girls grow up believing that their ability is only confined within the gender roles that were assigned to them, and therefore, venturing in roles that are considered to be more masculine would be wrong (Kabira, 2016). As a result, most women chose to confine themselves in roles that are feminine, and politics is not an occupation that is considered as such and hence the mere representation of women in political spaces over the years.

The anthology of African feminists' like Professor Busia (2016) argues that women are considered to be subordinates especially in the rural area where education to women and girls is limited. The lack of exposure that comes with being educated is the major contributing factor that leaves rural woman literally at the mercy of their educated male counterparts as they lack the knowhow as far as improving their own lives is concerned. Therefore, if there mechanisms in place that aimed at ensuring that all women are able to receive a substantial levels of education would be able to not only make informed political leadership decisions, but they might as well be equipped in a way that makes them aspire to want to hold these leading positions themselves.

4.1.3 RELIGIOUS FACTORS:

Similarly, it is with the same consideration that we should understand religion as a source of cultural values and believes. Most dominating religions argue that men are superior to women excluding women from political, social, and religious aspects of life. Most conservative religions globally are patriarchal in that, the woman belongs in the second position whether in the church hierarchy or even in the society. For example, the Roman Catholic, Orthodox Church and Islam law constrains women from being religious leaders compared to protestant churches who promote non-hierarchical religious practices (Negash, 2012). I agree with Negash because exclusion of women from religious leadership position creates a negative attitude on women's status in the society which in turn limits their participation in politics and other public spheres of life. This clearly is an example of how power and authority is believed to be a position reserved for men, while women are left to feel subjugated. Women are also to be blamed for holding on to anachronistic assumptions that politics are dirty games meant for their male counterparts (Endale, 2012). Additionally, as much as religion plays a vital role within society in maintaining belief orders, certain ascriptions such as the fact that women are supposed to sit back and always let men take on all the roles when it comes to leadership are outdated notions that should be done away with as it is a clear fact that being male does not automatically make a person a good leader. The same should also apply to the fact that, being a woman does not automatically mean that one cannot be able to hold a political leadership position.

4.1.4 ECONOMIC FACTORS:

Historically, the woman's domestic role was not considered as work that deserves pay. This meant that when their men worked for money, they worked for no pay. This kind of discrimination put women at a disadvantage since they were financially unstable. Therefore, it can be argued that lack of economic resources directly affects women's participation in politics since they lack funds to enlarge their participation and representation in politics directly affecting them. A study done by Kunovich L, Paxton P, Hughes M (2013) reveals that most women depend on their husbands or relatives for financial support. Therefore, it becomes a challenge for them to campaign for political seats making it a challenge for women to compete with men in vieing for political seats. Additoonally, According to Muiruri (2013), the fact that men are empowered right from the beginning by not only being taken to school consitently unlike women who is not a must that they go to school means that they are exposed to more opportunities.

According to Naomi Shaban, a member of Parliament in Kenya, the lack of economic resrurses to support oneself financilly is a great obstacle to women's patricipation in politics. She argues out that women move from their parents house to their husband's and lack an opportunity to interact with people or gain experience in issues around them. To top it all off, material and financial independent through employment is not common for women therefore patricipation in

politics is largely inaccessible for them. Shaban alludes that one tends to be selfconfident when he or she is socially and economically stable and can support his/herself (Muiruri, 2017). The governemt of Kenya has created awareness about the impact of economic reforms to favour women. Women are now allowed to own and inherit property wich has greately improved the status of women in Kenya. Kenyan women are encouraged to depend less on men economically and get better strategies to participate in political leadership positions (Muiruri, 2017). It is important to know that accesing a means of production and finances is directly linked to participation of women in politics. Economic development and stability improves one's living standards especially the women who are part of the vulnerable people in society (Chowdhury, 2014).

4.1.5 PATRIACHY RULE AND GENDER ROLES:

All around the world, the man has been seen to dominate over the woman. According to Walby (1990, 20) he defines the concept of Patriarchy as a *"A system of social structures and practices in which the male dominate, oppress and exploit Woman making the woman subordinate to the man"*

In most African countries, patriachy rule begins in the home/family setting and is an important concept in explaining gender disparities. The manner through which this takes place is dictated by the fact that, boys in a family are considered to be the ones that stands the best chance to make in the world and therefore, there is a significant concentration in their well being especially in education in comparison to the girl child. In the attempt to understand Patriarchy, there as six structures in place. These six structures of patriarchy include: patriarchy in relation to paid work, patriarchal mode of production, male violence, patriarchal relations in sexuality, patriarchal relations in the state as well as patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. To further understand the six levels of patriarchy, Walby (1990) explains that these forms of patriarchy in the following manner:

4.1.5.1 PATRIARCHY IN RELATION TO PAID WORK:

This form of patriarchy refers to the fact that women have been granted worse jobs than men in the past, their qualification not withstanding (Walby 1990). The sole reason that an individual is a female makes them not to be considered for an opportunity for promotion or even not be offered an opportunity to work. Additionally, the fact that women within many industries and sectors continue to earn only a fraction of what their male colleagues earn is another aspect through which patriarchy in relation to paid work is seen at play (Walby 1990).

4.1.5.2 PATRIARCHY AS A MODE OF PRODUCTION:

Patriarchy as a mode of production refers to the undervalued work that is performed by woman. A perfect example would be the fact that women, particularly housewives work the entire day and night in the house taking care of their families but unfortunately, household work is not regarded as work (Kabira, 2016). Based on this misinformed ideology, these women are not able to access any form of compensation for their esteemed services despite the high level of productivity that is clearly required to be able to run a homestead in a successful manner.

4.1.5.3 MALE VIOLENCE AS A FORM OF PATRIARCHY:

Male violence as a form of patriarchy is explained through the observation of the fact that men's violence against women especially in a marriage in most African societies is tolerated and endured over time with the state refusing to intervene against it (Chege & Namusonge, 2015). The fact that the society seemed to be okay with the fact that a woman can be constantly be abused in a marriage clearly shows how the society continues to veer off further away from issues that should promote women interests.

4.1.5.4 PATRIARCHY IN RELATION TO SEXUALITY:

Patriarchy in relation to sexuality is where heterosexuality is decided as the norm in the society where as patriarchal in relations to culture explain the importance of a male in the cultural institution with the females being exhibited as the mass (Chege & Namusonge, 2015). The fact that women who are single, either by choice or through circumstances are looked down upon by society as lesser beings is a clear indication of patriarchy at play. According to Kabira (2016), there are in fact cultures within African societies whereby being a woman of a certain age without being marriage leads to excommunication.

Additonally, according to Cuadrado & Molero (2015), there are cultures that dictates that, a woman should be subjective to the man at all times. Therefore, since birth, a girl is socialized to be inferior to the man, as tis what passes as the norm within the social structure she grows up in. This means that a woman cannot challenge what the man does or say and in

Page | 72

this case, the woman cannot question what culture dictates. In most cases, it is believed that the woman's place is the home. Therefore, she cannot take up other positions beyond the home setting. Hence, the work of the woman is to take care of children at home, cook, clean and take care of her husband. The man, on the other hand, is supposed to take care of his family by being the provider. He is allowed to participate in the both the public sphere unlike the woman who is limited to the private sphere. This is argued that women therefore have less power even in representing themselves (Cuadrado & Molero, 2015). On a larger scale, it is these sort of socialization that has led to women being in most African societies not be willing to rise up to the occasion and actively participate in various political engagements.

A report done by World Bank (2012) suggests that gender equality is a great hindrance to development. Due to the socially constructed gender roles that depicts women as incapable, behavior as well as the expectations that are associated with being female be viewed as a weak gender, it becomes hard to have women be willing participants in various development agendas. The report further indicates that policy dialogue and decision makers have failed to address the issues regarding gender equality hence affecting national and international arenas. The report further shows that gender disparities are mainly in resource and economic opportunities, human rights advocacy and in the political arenas and not just in the developing countries but also in the developed countries that are said to be more democratic (World Bank, 2012). For example, society is shaped in such a way that women's duties are primarily to do with domestic work like taking care of children whereas the male participate in military services and nation building. These expectations cut across all societies with the argument that women and men are biologically different hence the gender asymmetries (World Bank, 2012). Furthermore, the report however asserts that, it should be understood that these are views and perspectives that have over time been debunked through real life experiences where women who have been able to fight their way into these "male" defined roles have gone on to perform at times even way better than their male counterparts.

Therefore, women and girls are essentially disadvantaged since their participation in various arenas is limited and controlled. On other grounds, the report suggest that gender inequalities have taken a toll on girls and women's participation in promoting policy reforms since they are overpowered by the large numbers of male policy makers in the public arena. Hence, there is need to promote gender equality since development can only be enhanced by both women and men with gender issues being an integral part of any policy analysis and implementation (World Bank, 2012). Ensuring that both men and women are accorded equal opportunities when it comes to laying policy that affects each gender means that the kind of policies that would be laid where there is equal representation entails having the development interests of both men and women been catered for equally.

Globally, women have started to challenge the notion that assumes that gender roles are "natural." The fact that there is enough evidence that points to the fact that gender roles are indeed socially constructed and classified by community through the influence of patriarchy rule within the society, families and communities is one way through which women continue to fight for equal representation (Busia, 2016). These classifications make people believe that the man is superior and strong whereas the woman is inferior and weak hence the man has the power over the woman. Due to this notion, sexist patriarchal values have been engraved deeply in society in a manner that has clearly made it very difficult to dispel. If ignored and not deconstructed, they pose challenges in encouraging women to engage in political leadership positions. It is clear that patriarchal values were designed by males, for their benefits and to support interests that are significantly male serving. For this reason, most top positions in most organizations are led by men with women being subordinates in order to keep those of the male gender in leadership and on power. This in turn creates serious consequences for women leadership creating barriers for women to be great leaders as they are never offered opportunities whereby they could be actively involved in leadership (Grossman & McClain, 2012).

4.1.6 FAMILY DUTIES AND TIME HOLD BACK:

Since most women's activities are confined to the informal sector like the homes, most of their time is spent doing domestic chores and taking care of their families and children. Family duties are jot evenly distributed; women are not invited to take part in public forums unlike the men. Women are deeply involved with child care and upbringing, maternal responsibilities like pregnancies, child birth and breastfeeding that they are unable to navigate between domestic responsibilities and political leadership positions that are a constrain to them (Endale, 2012). Chege & Namusonge,(2006) elaborate further and say that, like it is the case with most cultures in Kenya, women are traditionally in charge of domestic work whereas the men take care of public businesses like politics with most of their time being used on social activities outside the homes. Gino & Brooks, (2015) research indicates that gender gaps are a contribution to men holding higher leadership and political positions than the women. They found out that men were driven by power where as women were driven by affiliation meaning they preferred having warm relationships with each other.

Negative attitudes embedded in society towards aggressive women who take up political positions act as a great hindrance to the women who have the potential to be political leaders. As much as women's participation in Kenya has increased over the years, women still rely on men especially their husbands and community elders for endorsement otherwise they will lack support from both the men and fellow women (Busia, 2016). The burden of taking care of the family has also seen women lack opportunities to go to school and get education or even enjoy equal work opportunities like men have been able to. This is clearly an aspect that leads to a negative attribute when it comes to equal footing in politics (Busia, 2016). Hanninen & Valkonen, (2012) argue that men are responsible for setting political rules and hence they evaluate and define the standard of political games which women find dirty and would cause negative reputations. Therefore, women will either reject politics or reject the 'male-style' kind of politics since they fear to be discriminated as people with no character and morals. Such occurrences mean that women are disadvantaged as far as being able to compete in a manner that is fair in politics is impossible.

Murunga (2012) argues that in Africa, women are placed outside the political realm and are perceived to be unable to make good leaders. This therefore brings about the debate of whether leaders are born or made. Researchers over the years have therefore debated over these sentiments with some claiming that leaders are born while others claim that a leader can be natured (Kaka & Abidin, 2013). With such arguments especially mostly within African societies that are yet to fully grasp the essence of inclusivity makes women be unable to withstand the immense pressure that comes with seeking political leadership positions. The lack of solidarity that is experienced with female political candidates in such patriarchy society not leads to women lack the inspiration to want to participate in political contests, but it as well instill fears in them as they are well aware of the potential victimization that entails being a female candidate in a political race that is mainly dominated by male chauvinism.

4.1.7 LEGAL STRUCTURE:

Locally and globally, women have been restricted in political and leadership participation (Kibet, 2017). Discriminatory laws limit women to take part in both the public and private sector; obstacles that create gaps in representation of women in politics. According to a report done by the UN Women in 2016 General Assembly, Zebib Kavuma, the UN Women Country Director notes that women globally are discriminated by law, gender stereotypes, lack of education, finances and cultural believes (Kavuma, 2016). She advocated for constitutional and Legislative reforms that ensure women are able to access political seats with ease just like their male counterparts (Kavuma, 2016). In Kenya, women participation in politics remains low due to the Gender-Based violence witnessed by female candidates, legislate affirmative action and policies as well as patriarchal cultures that are deep rooted and intimidate women from participating in politics and public affairs (Kariuki, 2017). During the political part nominations held in May 2017, it was noted that few women sought to run for gubernatorial positions. Dr. Joyce Laboso attributes this to male chauvinism and the various barriers that women face especially violence and lack of support by men. Laboso also challenges women to rise above these fears and support each other as a path to national development (Laboso, Women and Leadership, 2017). When women are subjected to these sort of social vices, they resolve to veer off running for public office as it might at times be the easier thing to do. However, Laboso asserts that it should therefore befall those that are tasked with policy registration to come up with laws that are specifically aimed at ensuring that women vying for political offices are well protected, by ensuring that those that are found victimizing them are prosecuted in accordance to the law.

4.2 CONCLUSION:

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that women's participation in politics are either due to women's personal issues or the various barriers that have been created by society. However, it can be said that many of them are traditional stereotypes that act as barriers for women to get through the glass ceiling that holds them back and access public positions. Chin, (2016) states that women have to deal with these challenges and support each other as tactics to overcome gender stereotypes and discrimination. He also states that women need to feel secure in fighting for equality as well as opportunities presented to them through women empowerment programs. Mascia (2015) further argues that women should resist creating their own barrier where they building personal walls and eliminating chances of gender inequality. According to Amina Abdallah, constitutional support and training women to become great politicians has increased the number of Kenyan women participation in politics. She explains that Kenya is headed towards the right direction in ensuring women are fully represented in parliament through constitutional requirements. She states that there is a long way to go but as long as the constitutional promises are conducted swiftly and fairly, then Kenya will meet its development goals of Equality and Empowerment to women (Abdalla, 2017) .

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION

5.0 CONCLUSION:

The trends of Global politics in the contemporary world are quite similar in the sense that, politics is the same everywhere. However, women issues especially in accessing political leadership positions tend to be complex. Globally, legitimacy and democracy will always be questioned if women are still marginalized and segregated in participating in politics whereas they make over 50% of the entire global population. The importance of women's participation in the government, public arena and decision making positions should be highly encouraged as a clear way through which both democracy and equity are achieved. As a result, women focus on addressing basic issues and needs in the society ensuring that accountability, transparency, Integrity and political commitment is observed in the government. Occupation of various political spaces of leadership should be based entirely on the meritocracy of the potential candidates as opposed to whether they are male or female.

In search for new methods of promoting gender equality in Kenya, the government and political institutions must promote democratic development by observing the constitutional two thirds gender rule. Such measures not only ensure transparency and accountability in the government but also economic, cultural, social and political goals in the globe are met, as women makes up the given part of the population and therefore, ensuring that their needs have been met through equal political representation is tantamount to meeting the needs of the bigger part of the electorate. As a result, it could be argued that equal women representation in the wider society is an ideal platform for gender equality. Additionally, it can be said that since women are more familiar with agendas and challenges that they face, it is then best that they are actively engaged in decision making processes especially when it comes to dealing with these kind of problems, all that is required is ensuring that they have been accorded the opportunities that they need. Globally, women should show more interest in supporting fellow women in order to achieve goals of equality, social, political and economic development as well as peace. The reason why this should be the case is based on the argument that, if indeed women makes up the bigger party of the population, then why should it be that getting women in power has been such a huge challenge. What this simply means is that women have not been actively working towards meeting gender equity in political representation as they should be.

Although Kenya has a National Action Plan of ensuring gender equality in political participation, women still feel that they continue to occupy subordinate positions which are ultimately associated with lower status in the society. This has also been characterized by less involvement and participation in policy formulating processes and decision making processes. Additionally, it challenges the elusiveness of democracy all over the world since social, political and economic marginalization remains an issue that puts democracy into jeopardy in achieving sustainable development. Democracy is manifested when equal participation of both men and women in politics is achieved. Therefore, without equal participation of both genders in politics, democracy remains elusive. Having one particular gender legislature issues that are supposed to cater for the other gender would particularly not lead to real reforms as this will definitely not be a real representation of what the unrepresented gender would be able. Therefore, women should be the ones at the forefront when it comes to legislating issues that directly affect women. Additionally, when both women and men are given equal democratic rights and encouraged to exercise their rights, equality, development, peace and democracy is well achieved.

On a global scale, women should be empowered in a manner that makes them certain of their potential in the society. Gender stereotypes like women are weaker than men and hence are not fit to vie for political seats should not only be ignored, but they should be done away with completely by ensuring that people have been sensitized right from the grassroots. Most importantly, when women are familiar with their constitutional rights just as well as the men are, then they will be at the fore-front promoting gender equality as well as eliminate discrimination. While conducting the study, I was struck by the harsh conditions and situations women in politics have to face. In particular, the Kenyan media is quite harsh on women parliamentarians where they are often accused of promiscuity and incompetent work. Negative traditions and cultural believes have to an extent affected even their most open-minded peers in believing that women have the potential of being great political leaders. The fact that credibility of potential good female leaders is questioned by sensational journalism has leads to the electorate questioning the morality of the said leader. As a result, most women do not vote or support their fellow women leaving them to hold nomination seats rather than elected seats.

However, despite all the hurdles that women who aspire to be political leaders go through, there is hope in that, those women who have already been able to clinch political leadership act as a great encouragement. They work toward being of influence to the society and achieving effective goals that ensure development. This can be attributed to women being

less corrupt, as well as the fact that women are not afraid to apply creative mechanisms when it comes to empower their electorate. Despite the obstacles faced by women in political leadership positions in Kenya, there tangible results in terms of development that have been achieved by these women.

Finally, it becomes clear based on the entire research paper that, when it comes to women being able to access political power, this is not an issue that should be taken up and followed though by women alone. Every part of the any given society, whether local or on an international scale, both male and female must work consciously together with the aim of ensuring that women are accorded both the opportunities as well as the empowerment that they require in order to see to it that, they have been able to match the male gender when it comes to political representation as well as leadership. Ensuring that the doctrine that perceives women to not be capable based on the fact that they are women should be one that has been done away with as both history as well as experience as clearly indicated others. As observed throughout this report, there have been various female political leaders around the world whom have done impeccable jobs when it comes to taking on various political offices and leading them to success. Additionally, ensuring that the girl child has been right from birth been socialized in a manner that makes her understand that she can indeed be able to compete with her male counterpart when it comes to politics is another way through which women leadership particularly in politics could be made a reality across the board.

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS:

Women's participation in politics and decision making processes is a gap that needs to be addressed. To promote sustainable development, gender equality has to be achieved. Policies and guidelines should be implemented bringing to attention the following recommendations:

I. Kenya should learn from its neighboring countries like Rwanda by giving priority to gender equality. As indicated in this study, democracy fails to be democracy if gender equality especially in political participation is not emphasized. Therefore, it is upon the government and those that have been tasked with policy making to ensure that gender responsive measures are a priority in encouraging women participation in politics. Ensuring that the few women who are willing to vie for various political offices are well protected especially when it comes to their campaign efforts is one way through which this could be achieved.

II. There is need to push for economic empowerment for women. This is because when politics is dominated by those with the money, women tend to be the ones on the losing end since women have persistently had lower income than their male counterparts. The government should also advocate for better working conditions for women or even be able to fund women's campaigns. Consistently ensuring that women are given opportunities that are able to have them play on the same filed level with their male counterparts is one such way through which female economic empowerment could be achieved. For example a follow through to the constitutional demands for the various women funds.

III. Family work and responsibilities should be shared equally. Child care should not be entirely a responsibility that must be carried out by women. Women face tough constrains especially when it comes to child bearing and maternal care. As a result, their time is mostly limited to domestic duties whereas the men take time participate in public duties like political campaigns. The local and international community should facilitate the involvement of women in more public duties emphasizing on gender equality mechanism and equal distribution of work between family responsibilities and political participation (Shirin, 2015). Ensuring that men in the family are able to understand that bringing up ma child is a duty that befalls both the man as well as the woman ensure that women are able to spare some time and be able to participate actively in political leadership. This is one this an issue that should be instilled in both boys and girls as they grow up so as to understand that a woman's place in the society is not limited to housekeeping.

IV. The government and policy makers need to ensure that there are strict laws that have been put in place to promote gender equality. For instance, some cultures in Africa do not believe in educating the girl child. Many girls in Kenya go through difficult cultural practices such as Female Genital Mutilation as well as mistreatments and are silenced to believe that they are not to be heard but seen. When such social ills are made the obvious way of life of such girls, there is no way they could be able to see their potential and therefore, they are forever condemned to being second fiddle. Similarly, the government and policy makers should work towards empowering women as well as educating them of their rights as well as finding alternatives to some of the destructive cultural believes and practices that are clearly a real problem to gender equality.

V. Political parties should be held accountable to enforce women participation in politics. Respective parties should be structured in a way that they meet up a targeted number of women politicians. Both the women and party leaders should take initiative to make gender equality a priority. Ensuring that all the available posts have a specific number of posts that have been spared to be taken up by female candidates will work perfectly as a manner through which these parties are able to take part in the affirmative action that is aimed at ensuring that women have been able to achieve equal gender representation in political offices.

VI. Women in politics should create time to mentor fellow women. They should be able to facilitate collaboration between them and those aspiring to become politicians. Ensuring that they have combined their efforts towards a common purpose, which is making sure that they have increased the number of female political leaders to match the number of men, will go a long way in increasing the ae at which this happens. The government on the other hand should promote such initiatives by allocating funding to gender sensitive programs as well as ensuring that there are mechanisms that ensure that these funding has indeed gone to these efforts and not into corrupt leaders.

VII. Educational institutions should strengthen the education of women, men as well as the youth in promoting gender equality. Positive attitudes and cultures should be discussed in schools and reinforced in society so as to challenge the notion that gender roles are natural. The young generation should be at the fore front in advocating for gender reforms and creating awareness about gender inequality. The reason why this should be the case is based on the observation that, most people have grown up having certain roles dictated to be what men should demand others being what should be women. Education is the only way through which these preconceived notions as a result of socialization could be deconstructed. The fact that as time goes by, the population continues to being more young as opposed to the past years when the older generations made the bigger part means that it is the youth that could be assisted to understand that gender lacks any interrelation which an individual's capability to lead.

VIII. Coherence of the UN action and National Action on gender equality and democracy should be strengthened by ensuring that best practices and processes for gender equality and democracy are taking place globally. Having a precedence set up in the manner that focuses on ensuring that all the participating nations are compliant with the demands for them to promote gender equity as well as encourage female political leadership participation in their countries will go a long way in seeing to it that the female political leadership has indeed been achieved.

IX. The other way through which the position of women in political leadership both locally and on and an international level could be improved is by ensuring that women particularly those in the grassroots are well aware of the power that they possess when it comes to the establishment as well as the realization of the needed change. The fact that the population of women all over is larger than that of men means that they do indeed possess the ability to get the political leaders of their choice to power. The only thing that hinders this from happening is their lack of enlightenment as far as this fact is concerned. Therefore, if they are offered the means in terms of acquisition of knowledge on how their collective efforts would lead them to having better political representation, they most definitely would be able to effect the very much needed political change.

X. Ensuring that voters have been educated through civic education programs around the issue of according women equal opportunities as those that have over time been accorded to men. Ensuring that the electorate understands the various disadvantages that women vying political leadership positions have to contend with will ultimately go a long way in having them be considered by the electorate when it comes to their decision that eventually gets women in power.

XI. The other recommendation when it comes to getting more women in political leadership would be through partnership with global entities that are interested in ensuring that women are well represented across the board. A perfect of this sort of organization would be the USAID which runs a "Women in Power" Program (USAID, 2016). This program focuses not only in seeing to it that women are represented in the political arena, but they are as well represented in other areas as well. They also empower women to seek executive cabinet positions, high judicial positions such as judicial judges, high security commanders, and most importantly legislative political position.

REFERENCES

[1] Abdalla, A. (2017, March 28). UN Women. Retrieved from UN Women Web site: http://www.unwomen.org/ ru/news/stories/2013/3/women-elected-to-one-fifth-of-seats-in-kenya

[2] Afshar, H. (2012). Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. New York: Knopf.

[3]   Akao, S. (2008). Seen but not heard: Ending Impunity for Gender Crimes . London.

[4]   AMWIK. (2017, 02 15). 86 and Counting: Women Leaders in Kenya's 11th Parliament. Retrieved from Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK) Website: https://ke.boell.org/2015/03/31/86-and-counting-women-leaders-kenya%E2%80%99s-11th-parliament

[5]   Andah, B., & Bolarinwa, K. (1994). A Celebration of Africa's Roots and. Ibadan: Fayee publishers Ltd.

[6]   Andersen, M. L. (2006). Thinking About Women- Sociological Perspective on Sex and Gender Seventh edition. Pearson and AB: University of Delaware.

[7]   Bailey, J. (2010). The ties that bind and the shackles that separate: Race, gender, class, and color in a research process. International Politics, 659-670.

[8]   Bellamy, A. (2015). Global Politics and the Responsibility to Protect. London: Routledge.

[9]   Benhabib, S. a. (1987). Feminism as Critique:Essays on the Politics of Gender in Late-Capitalist Societies. Oxford: Polity Press.

[10]   Brine, J. (1999). Under Educating Women : Globalizing Inequality. Buckingham: Open University Press.

[11]   Brookes, L. (2008, Augast 19). What is Liberal Feminism. Retrieved December 22, 2016, from What is Liberal Feminism web site: http://ezinearticles,com/?expert=Lucy_Brookes

[12]   Brown, C. (2013). 'Human nature', science and international political theory. Journal of International Relations and Development, 16 (4), 435-454.

[13]   Busia, A. (2016). Women's and Gender Studies: cultural legacy and "cultural production" of African women. New York: Feminist Press.

[14]   Byron, J. P. (2016). Kenyan Women: Milestones and Challenges. African Histories and Modernities.

[15]   Campbell, R. (2013). Women at the Top: Changing Numbers, Changing Politics? London: Hansard Society.

[16]   Chanter, T. (2007). Gender: Key Concepts in Philosophy. London: Continuum.

[17]   Chege, F., & Namusonge, D. (2006). Girl's and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends. Nairobi: UNESCO.

[18]   Chege, F., & Namusonge, D. (2015). Girl's and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends. Nairobi: UNESCO.

[19]   Chowdhury, N. (. (2014). "Women in Politics," Empowerment: A Journal of Women For Women . International Political Science Review, 1: 21-42.

[20]   Connell, R. W. (2005). Masculinities (2nd edn ed.). Cambridge: Polity.

[21]   Conway, J. (2007). Transnational Feminisms and the World Social Forum: Encounters and Transformations in Anti-globalization. Journal of International Women's Studies, VIII(3), 49-70. Retrieved from http://vc.bridgew. edu/jiws/vol8/iss3/5

[22]   Cott, N. F. (1987). The Grounding of Modern Feminism. New Haven. CT: Yale University Press.

[23]   Country meters. (2016, June 07). Retrieved from Country meters website: http://countrymeters.info/

[24]   Cuadrado, & Molero, F. (2015). Gender-typing of leadership: Evaluations of real and ideal managers. Journal of Psychology, 56(2), 236-244.

[25]   Daly, M. (1968). The Church and the Second Sex: Towards a Philosophy of Women's Liberation. Boston: Beacon Press.

[26]   Daly, M. (1978). Gyn/Ecology: The Mathematics of Radical Feminism. Boston: Beacon Press.

[27]   Duran, J. (2014). Women in Political Theory. London: LSE Publishers.

[28]   Eagly, A., & Johnson, B. (1990). A meta-analysis. Psychological Bulletin. Gender and Leadership Styles, 108, 233-256.

[29] Eddy, P. (2009). Views of gender in the community college presidency. Education across the continents: Sharing the spirit, fanning the flame , pp. 67-72.

[30] Elshtain, J. B. (2008). Public Man, Private Women: Women in Social and Political Thought. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

[31] Endale, A. (2012). Factors that AffectWomen Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Position. Asian Journalof Humanity, Art and Literature, 11: 3-22.

[32] Enloe, C. (2004). The Curious Feminist: Searching for Women in a New Age of Empire. Berekley: University of California Press.

[33] et.al, H. (1987). Control Theories of crime and Delinquency. Carlifonia: Oxford.

[34] Evans, J. (1995). Feminist Theory Today: An Introduction to Second-Wave Feminism. Newbury Park: Sage.

[35] Fatton, P., & Staudt. (2010). Gender, the Ruling Class, and the State: Women and the State in Africa. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

[36] Gandhi, L. (1988). Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

[37] Gatabaki, P. (2014). Kenyan women march towards political equality. Political Journal, 3-7.

[38] Ghitis, F. (2017, March 11). Women leaders get boot for corruption while men skate. Retrieved from CNN Web site: http://edition.cnn.com

[39] Giddens, A. (2001). Sociology: Intoduction to Gender Studies. Oxford: Polity Press.

[40] Gitumu, S. (2017, April 10). Where are all the women in Kenyan politics? Retrieved from ISS Today: http://firstthing.dailymaverick.co.za

[41] Grey, M. (2016, December 07). The Analysis: Women Rise in Global Politics and Their Failures to Reach the Political "Promise Land". Retrieved from Global News Network: http://gnnliberia.com

[42] Grossman, J., & McClain, L. (2012). Gender Equality: Dimensions of Women's Equal Citizenship. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[43] Haralambos, M., & Holborn, M. (2008). Sociology: Themes and Perspectives, 7th Ed. London: Collins Education.

[44] Hensman, K. H. (2017, March 28). Power,Inequality, and Violence in the Domains of Gender, Sexuality, and Race. Retrieved from Power,Inequality, and Violence in the Domains of Gender, Sexuality, and Race Web site: https://www.huffingtonpost.com

[45] Holton, R. (2015). Making Globalization: An overview of globalization and its implications for the study of the social sciences. A comprehensive from a sociological perspective., 18-19.

[46] Inter-Parliamentary, U. (2017, January 01). Regional Parliamentary Assemblies. Retrieved from Regional Parliamentary Assemblies Website: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm

[47] Jayasuriya, L. (1990). 'Multiculturalism, citizenship and welfare: new directions for the1990s, a paper presented at the 50th Anniversary Lecture Series, Dept. of Social Work and Social Policy. Sydney: University of Sydney.

[48] Kabira, W. M. (2016). Women's Experiences as Sources of Public and Legitimate Knowledge: Constitution Making in Kenya. Journal of African Women's Studies Centre.

[49] Kaka, E., & Abidin, F. (2013). Poverty is a woman issue in Africa. IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science I, 18(6), 77-82.

[50] Kandiyoti, D. (2011). Bargaining with Patriarchy: The Social Construction of Gende. USA: Sage Publications.

[51] Kariuki, S. (2017). competitive politics. Nairobi: NP.

[52] Kassa, S. (2015). Challenges and Opportunities of Women Political Participation in Kenya. Journal of Global Economics , 12-23.

[53] Kavuma, Z. (2016). Women Leadership and Political Participation. Nairobi: UN Women.

[54] Kehler, J. (2001). Women and poverty: the Kenyan experience. Journal of International Women's Studies, 3(1), 41-53.

[55] Kennedy, P. e. (2015). A good introduction to how globalization is reshaping world politics and the nature of global governance. Global Trends and Global Governance, 15-18.

[56] Kenya, G. o. (2016). Progress Report on the Implementation of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, Kampala Declaration 2011. GOK: Nairobi.

[57] Khoja-Moolji, & Shenila. (2017). The Making of Humans and Their Others in and through Transnational Human Rights Advocacy: Exploring the Cases of Mukhtar Mai and Malala Yousafzai. The Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 89-121.

[58] Khoja-Moolji, S. S. (2017). The Making of Humans and Their Others in and through Transnational Human Rights Advocacy: Exploring the Cases of Mukhtar Mai and Malala Yousafzai. The Journal of Women in Culture and Society.

[59] Kibet, L. (2017, May 09). State moves to woo more women into politics. Retrieved from Standard Media Web site: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke

[60] Kimmel, M. (2014). The Gendered Society Reader (5th ed.). (Aronson, & M. Kimmel, Eds.) New York: Oxford University Press.

[61] Kivoi, D. L. (2014). Factors impeding political participation and representation of women in Kenya. Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 2, No. 6,, 173-181. Retrieved from http://article.sciencepublishinggroup.com/pdf/10.11648.j.hss.20140206.15.pdf

[62] Komath, A. (2015, December 17). The Patriarchal Barrier to Women in Politics. Retrieved from I Know Politics: http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/opinion-pieces/patriarchal-barrier-women-politics

[63] Laboso, J. (2017, May 20). Women and Leadership. (L. Muli, Interviewer)

[64] Laboso, J. (2017, March 29). Women's rights and gender equality:Kenya's women struggle to end male stranglehold on power. Retrieved from Global Development Web site: https://www.theguardian.com

[65] Leithwood, K. (1990). Transforming Leadership. Toronto: Lexington Book.

[66] Leon, I. (2005). Women in Resistance: Experiences, Vision and Proposals. Agencia Latino: American Information.

[67] Lundborg, T. (2013). What Lies Beyond Lies Within: Global Information Flows and the Politics of the State/Inter-state System Alternatives: Global, Local Political. Time, Temporality and Global Politics, 36(2)103-117.

[68] Maathai, W. (2003). The Green Belt Movement: Sharing the Approach and the Experience. New York: Lantern Books.

[69] Mackay., F. (2015). Radical Feminism: Feminist Activism in Movement. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[70] Mackinnon, C. (1982). " Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State : An Agenda for Theory". Feminist Theory 7(3), 515-544.

[71] Meeks, L. (2012). Is She "Man Enough"? Women Candidates, Executive Political Offices, and News Coverage. Journal of Communication.

[72] Monbiot, G. (2004). The Age of Consent: A Manifesto for a New World Order. London: Harper Perennial.

[73] Muiruri, M. (2017, January 31). Intimidation used to keep women from elective posts. Retrieved from Daily Nation Website: http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle

[74] Mutua, M. (2017). Kenya 's Quest for Democracy Taming Leviathan. Boulder, CO: Rienner Publishers.

[75] Myers, L. B. (1982). Understanding and Afrocentric World View: Introduction to Optimal Psychology. Dabuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

[76] Negash, K. (2012). Advancement of Women. 67th United Nations General Assembly. New York.

[77] Noor Sanauddin, Z. K. (2015). Women and armed conflict: Cultural obstacles to Pashtun women's participation in peacebuilding. Pakistan Journal of Criminology.

[78] Norris, P., & Mona Lena Krook. (2011, May 12). Gender Equality in Elected Office: A Six-Step Action Plan. Retrieved from OSCE Web site: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/78432

[79] Nzomo, M. (2015). " Rethinking Global Peace and Security: Gendered structures and Women's Agency in Conflict and Peace Building Processes.". (M. Munene, & Ojielo, Eds.) Nairobi: UNDP.

[80] Offen, K. (1988). Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach. Chicago Journals 14 (1), 119-157.

[81] Pateman, C. (1988). The Sexual Contract. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

[82] Paupp, T. (2009). The Future of Global Relations: Crumbling Walls, Rising Regions. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

[83] Pierre, J., & Peters, B. G. (2013). Governance, Politics and the State. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

[84] Powley, E. (2003). Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition. 2-3.

[85] Reardon, B. (1985). Sexism and the War System. New York: Syracuse University Press.

[86] Rutherford, S. (2001). Organisational cultures, women managers and exclusion. New Zealand: Hamilton.

[87] Scholte, J. A. (2005). An excellent introduction to the globalization debate from its causes to its consequences for the global political economy from within a critical political-economy perspective. (2nd ed.). oxford: oxford. Retrieved March 24, 2017, from http://www.good-governance-debates.de

[88] Scott, J. (2012). Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis? Journal of Gender and Politics, 57-60.

[89] Scott, J. W. (1986). The American Historical Review . Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, 91, 1053-1075.

[90] Sebastian, G. (2016, May 14). Kenyan Politics: Where have all the women gone? Nairobi Kenya: Institute for Sucurity Studies. Retrieved from https://issafrica.org

[91] Seth, S. (2011). 'Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations'. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 40(1): 167–83.

[92] Shirin, R. M. (2015). International Perspective on Gender and Governance. Great Britain: Macmillan Press.

[93] Strachan, J. A., Kilavanwa, B., & Warsal, D. (2010). You have to be a servant of all: Melanesian women's educational leadership experience. sSchool Leadership & Management, 30(1), 65-76.

[94] Sylvester, C. (2002). Feminist International Relations: An Unfinished Journey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[95] Thongo, M. N. (2016). Gender And Children On Liberation Movement: The Role Of Women In Liberation Movements. Academy of Social Science Journal.

[96] Thornham, S. (2006). 'Second Wave Feminism', in Sarah Gamble (ed.), The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postmodernism. London: Routledge. Thucydides (1972) History of the Peloponnesian War, trans. Rex Warner. London: Penguin.

[97] Tickner, A. (1992). Gender in International Relations. New York: Columbia University Press.

[98] Tickner, A. (1992). Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspective. New York: Columbia University Press.

[99] Tong. (1989). Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction. Boulder: Westview Press.

[100] Tong, R. (2013). Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction (4th Revised edition ed.). London, United Kingdom: Westview Press.

[101] Towns, A., & Schwindt-Bayer, E. (2012). An Integrated Model of Women's Representation. Journal of Politics, 67(2), 407-428.

[102] TURSHEN, M., & (eds.), C. T. (1998). Women's War Stories. New York: Zeds Books Ltd.

[103] UNDP. (2015, June 18). Empowering Women for Stronger Political Parties. A Good Practices Guide to Promote Women's Political Participation. Retrieved from UNDP/NDP Web site: http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/womens-empowerment/empower-women-political-parties.

[104] USAID. (2016). STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. Women in Power Overview Video.

[105] Vandhana, S. (2014). Staying Alive. India.

[106] Vargas, V. (2014). Feminism, Globalization and the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement. Journal of Cultural Studies, 17(6):905-20.

[107] Verveer, A. M. (2015). Women as Agents of Change: Advancing the Role of Women in Politics and Civil Society. United States: Department of State.

[108] Walby, S. (1990). Theorizing Patriachy. Oxford: Blackwell.

[109] Walker, A. (2015, September 09). The Colour Purple. Washington , United States of America.

[110] Wanjala, & Odongo. (2012). Gender and Kenya vision 2030: An audit of the economic pillar. International Development, 41-62.

[111] Watson, M. (2008). 'The Historical Roots of Theoretical Traditions in Global Political Economy', in John Ravenhill (ed.), Global Political Economy (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[112] Weber, M. (1993). The theory of social and economic organization. University of California: Oxford University Press.

[113] Werlhof, E. (1995). Women: The Last Colony. London: Zed Books.

[114] Weston, K. (2002). Gender in Real Time: Power and Transcience in a Visual Age. London: Routledge.

[115] World, B. (2013). The little data book on Gender in Africa. Washington, DC: The World.

[116] Wyn, J. S., & Richards, E. (2000). Gender and Education. Making a Difference: Women in Management in Australian and Canadian Faculties of Education, 12-15.

[117] Yuan, L. (2005). Reconceiving Women's Equality in China: A Critical Examination of Models of Sex Equality. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

[118] Zuo, H. (2004). Shifting the breadwinning boundary: the role of men's breadwinner status and their gender. New Brunswick: Univ. Press.

[119] Zuo, H. (2014). Shifting the breadwinning boundary: the role of men's breadwinner status and their gender. New Brunswick: Univ. Press.