



WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF KENYA

Rose Adhiambo Nyaondo

University of Massachusetts, USA

The achievement of social development remains a big challenge in many nations and communities. Various ways have been suggested in a bid to achieve social development. This paper evaluates the role of women legislators in achieving social development in Kenya.

Keywords: Women, Social development, Legislators, Representation.

Introduction

Social development remains a challenge in many nations across the globe. In many developing nations political leadership has been argued to be pivotal in steering the countries towards underdevelopment. (Awofeso & Odeyemi, 2014; Slimane, 2012). There are many ways to tackle the challenge of social development through political leadership, one of which is proportional representation of women. In Kenya, as most developing nations, political leadership remains a male dominated field with women occupying only 19.7 percent of the total national parliamentary seats. A report released by the United Nations (UN) in fact argues that the two issues, development and equality in political leadership for women, are correlated and must be addressed together.(UN Women, 2014). This study evaluates the role of women legislators in the pursuit of social development in their communities. The study will utilize survey data from Afro-Barometer 2008 and the World Bank to understand the impact of women leaders on their communities, the perceptions of Kenya's of their quality of life in relation to the existing political leadership.

The literature suggests the critical value of women's political representation is the achievement of social development in multiple ways. Most studies on women's political representation address the topic from two angles: How women get into politics and reasons for disparities, or reasons for their limited impact on policies. The measure of impact is mostly western countries centered and widely generalized. There is very little work done on the actual impact of women's political representation on African countries and Kenya particularly.

Scholarship that addresses ways in which women get into politics mainly do so from a feminist political perspective. These suggest that lack of women's proportional representation is a strong indicator that the legislation is skewed in the male-interests (Paxton, 1997). Essentially, "allocation of resources will not be made in the women's interests"(Paxton, 1997, p. 442). Scholarships that address the performance of women in politics address the limitations women face. In seeking to understand the impact of women's political presence on social development policies, Wang (2013), argues that women's impact on social development is not without challenges. In her findings, with reference to Uganda,

Wang (2013), argues that the number of women in parliament and their ability to form coalitions around social policies issues is critical for social development. Viterna, Fallon, & Beckfield, (2008) argue that development has limited impact on women's political representation. In contrast with Paxton, (1997)'s argument, women's political representation alone might therefore have limited impact on social development. In different countries, scholars have asked questions about whether political quotas empower women (Tinker, 2004), and whether women make any different social policy choices (Thomas, 1991; Wang, 2013b), yet others have called to question not the impact of women on the legislative processes, but the kind of leadership they bring onto the legislative process. (Andersen, Bulte, Gneezy, & List, 2008; Park, 2012; Swamy, Knack, Lee, & Azfar, 2001). These scholars argue that due to the different socialization mechanisms, women political leaders tend to be more social welfare driven, more family centered and more likely to stir social development.

It can be argued that social development can be achieved through various mechanism, other than women's political representation. Some scholars suggest that education for all in Kenya would drive social development by moderating cultural biases, increasing the educated labor force, which in turn participate better in nation building (Githitho-Muriithi, 2010; Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware, Ezech, & Epari, 2010; Warrington & Kiragu, 2012). Others suggest that the presence of a strong and efficient non-governmental sector is critical to social development. (Easterly & Williamson, 2011; Kimura, Mori, & Sawada, 2012; Swidler & Watkins, 2009). However, all these other factors are based on political leadership, through political institutions, systems and infrastructure. (Bratton, 2002; Awofeso & Odeyemi, 2014).

It is therefore established that leadership plays a critical role in the achievement of social development. This research seeks to contribute to the existing literature by addressing the impact of women's political leadership on the achievement of social development in Kenya. Given the relatively similar nature of political leadership and women's suffrage in Africa with a few differences that are country specific, perhaps the results of these studies will be applicable to other African countries seeking social development through women's political leadership. To understand the impact of women's political leadership on social development, this study seek to answer the question: Do Kenyans experience better livelihoods as a result of women's political leadership relative to men's political leadership? Will an increase in the number of women's presence in the Kenyan parliament make a difference in the quality of life of Kenyans?

The United Nations (UN) survey report on Gender equality and sustainable development (UNWomen, 2014) suggests that there is a direct relationship between women's representation and social development indicators. This is partly because, women make half the population if not more, and because they bear the biggest burden of underdevelopment. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union survey (IPU, 2008) the political leadership in the Kenya stood at 90.8% male and only 9.2% female. This is an outstanding percentage given that women comprised of 50.2% of the total voting population in Kenya. In 2010, Kenya ratified its constitution and passed a gender quota for political and public representation that was implemented in 2012. This saw an increase of 47 more women enter the legislative house, raising the percentage of women's presence to 19.1%. However, the impact of the additional number of women cannot be evaluated yet because they have only held office for two years and also because meaningful data on their impact is still being collected. Nonetheless, this study is an initial attempt that seeks to find justification, if any, for the full implementation of the gender quotas policy in Kenya.

Aside from the role women play in social development, it is important to note that social development mean different things to different communities. The literature differentiates social development from westernization and modernism. For purpose of this study, development and social development will be used interchangeably. This study will evaluate the literature that exists about what social development means, and contextualize it to Kenya. The study will also evaluate the type of leadership women bring onto the legislative process that perhaps spur development relative to men's leadership.

What Is Development?

The term development remains a value-loaded term with varying definitions and ideologies for different communities and nations. (Paiva, 1977). For this study social development will be defined as improved provisions of the basic human needs depending on the citizens' ideology of development. (Paiva, 1977; Slimane, 2012). This means that for the different countries, development will be different, but what will remain constant are the opinions of the citizens about the quality of their lived experiences relative to the environment. Social development is therefore not an equivalent of westernization or modernization in the context of this study because citizens define their version of social development.

To achieve social development, scholars have proposed different channels at the global level. First, education and innovation has been fronted by scholars to be key to the attainment of social development. (Arocena, Göransson, & Sutz, 2015). This same argument has been proposed by (Githitho-Muriithi, 2010; Oketch et al., 2010; Warrington & Kiragu, 2012) to be central to the social development in Kenya. Scholars arguing for education in the Kenya also argue that emphasis is to be placed in the education of girls and women. This addresses the sensitivities of stereotype and relative position of girls and women in Kenya in relation to development and marginalization. Second, foreign aid and economic stimuli has been fronted to scholars like (Reinsberg, 2014). The same as been argued for the Kenya at a local level by scholars such as (Kimura et al., 2012; Swidler & Watkins, 2009). Third, governance and political leadership (Slimane, 2012). In Kenya, it can be argued that women's minimal presence is perhaps the missing link. (Kasomo, 2012; Swiss, Fallon, & Burgos, 2012).

To measure social development, researchers and world forums have come up with indices to measure development such as Human Development Index, (HDI) Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) and Gross Domestic Product per Capita (GDP). (Amal Kanti, 2008) These indices are an attempt to generalize and standardize the various meanings of social development and essentially define its normative values (Manfred, 1967). The markers for development will be the opinions of the citizens in each of the countries under the study. The opinions of the citizens are important because, as argued by (Manfred, 1967) social development has various degrees, but most importantly is relative to other previous conditions. For the purpose of this research, the development judge will be the citizens, who live the experience of development or lack of thereof. The opinions of the citizens are important and perhaps more critical in this research because, the literature in this study has established that: a) development remains are value loaded term. What development means to Americans, is different from what development means to Kenyans, Britons, or South Africans. b) development is not the same as modernization, westernization or economic capacity. c) the lived experiences of individuals is the most critical aspect of development and not the ascribed values of outsiders.

Women's Political Leadership

There can be "no development without leadership especially on the social, human and cultural dimension". (Slimane, 2012, p. 92). Political leadership is particularly important because it determines both public and private lives of all citizens through laws and policies. (Jacobs, Paxton, Jackson, & Malone, 2013; Paxton, Painter, & Hughes, 2009). In the last two decades the women's demand for inclusion and representation in political leadership has increased. Across the globe women's political presence has moved from 11.7% in 1997 to 22.1% in 2015. (IPU). This has further been propelled by the United Nations Economic and Security Council (UNESCO) endorsement of the thirty percent minimum representation of women in any decision making tables. In Kenya, the percentage increase in women's political representation has made an even bigger leap from 3.0% in 1997 to 19.7% in 2015 (IPU).

The literature suggests that different factors influence the performance of women in parliament that is relevant to Kenya. These are pathways taken into leadership, educational attainment, family wealth, the male presence in their lives, political quotas as well as the general national economic performance as measured by the GDP. On the other hand, there are factors that influence Kenyan's perceptions of their

quality of life. These are factors like the presence or absence of social amenities, trust in the government, engagement with political leaders, religious affiliations, and engagement with current affairs, capacities for people to enjoy basic necessities of life, the presence of NGOs in the communities, age of the citizens, gender and level of education.

Previously, Kenyan women have got into political leadership through various pathways. Women have accessed elected political positions through open and direct elections systems and political quotas.(Bauer, 2012; S. Thomas, 1991; Wang, 2013) The open and direction elections systems has worked as a pathway where many factors have come into play for women running for office such as economic independence, educational and professional exposure, family background and personality.(Bauer & Burnet, 2013; Bauer, 2012) As for the quotas, women have gained access to political office through the passing of the quotas policies.(Yoon, 2011) The motivation for the Kenyan government to pass the quotas policy was the revision of the constitution and the reform wave that swept the Moi era. (Kasomo, 2012). These factors have not only remained instrumental in getting women in parliament, but continue to affect their delivery of service to their communities. Scholarship suggests that getting women into decision making organs is not enough to ensure their performance. (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Kasomo, 2012; Lawless, 2004) The hurdles that women have to overcome to gain entrance into parliament continue to haunt their performance. Women leaders, because of the “new-comer effect” in the political scene are held in higher standards by the media (Habermas, 2006), and portrayed differently than their male colleagues. Women have to go above and beyond to prove themselves unlike their male colleagues(Reingold & Harrell, 2010) and because of their relatively small numbers, it becomes even harder to make political achievements.(Yoon, 2011). These factors affect women's political performance which in essence affects the public's perception of their leadership. These factors are salient to the Kenyan women in political leadership, and compounded by the heavy patriarchal nature of communities in Kenya.

Other scholarships argue leadership differs by gender as a result of the genderized socialization processes in communities. Beckwith (2007), argues that women bring different leadership and management perspectives which is in itself a different perspective to achieving social development. Swamy, Knack, Lee, & Azfar,(2001) argue that women bring on board a different kind of leadership and are less corrupt than their male counterparts. This therefore means that that type of political actors that women make are more social development oriented either due to their socialization in the domestic arena, liberal beliefs, or maternal nature (M. Thomas, 2012). Although some scholars would argue that this traits work against women in public and political leadership, there are studies to strongly suggest that these traits work best for communities when many more women are leaders. (Reynolds, 1999; Swiss et al., 2012; Tinker, 2004) Additionally, these “soft” traits, serve to ensure women are more connected to the communities they come from and hence are more socially aware. These are attributes that can be related to Kenyan women in politics and be used to measure their performance in politics.

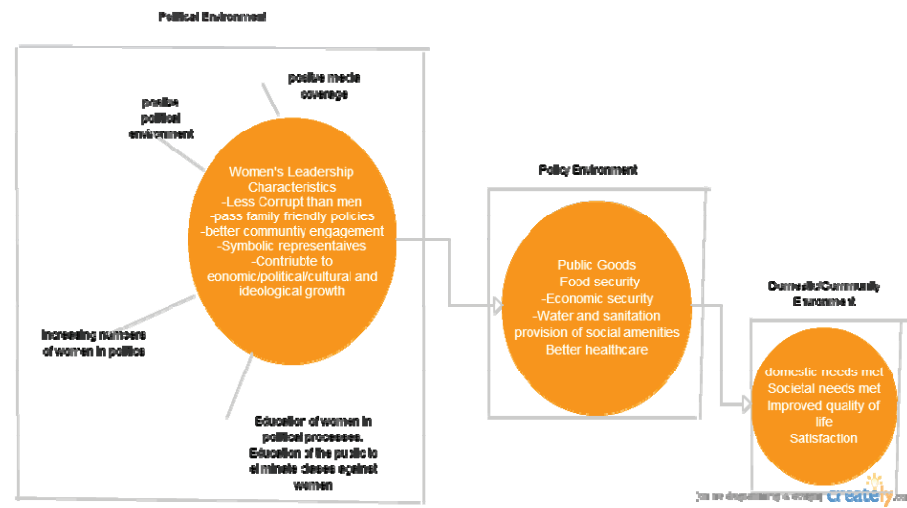
Political science scholars argue that the nature of democratic practices is key in political leadership. This means that different democratic processes affect women's performance in politics. These are transparency in electoral processes, the processes of inclusive democratization how power relations interact between citizens and their leadership. Women's election and nomination into politics or lack of thereof is simple democracy at work. However, Fallon, Swiss, & Viterna, (2012) argue that the level of democracy does not matter much in processes of selecting political leadership. The authors “conceptualize the process as a series of political events in a nation that over time, shape the available opportunities for women to get into the democratic politics” (Fallon et al., 2012, p. 381). For example, society like the U.S can be said to be a very stable democracy, however, it holds only 21% women's political representation, and even then, women's policy issues do not get automatic passes. A country like Rwanda, that has a shaky democratic past and has 64% women's representation. The argument the authors make is that, processes of democratization that is roped with values, inclusion and historic values make the difference in women's political engagement and performance. Culture of respect and position of women in these societies will therefore be very important in the election of women leaders.

Political economists and feminists suggest that the short supply of capable women running for office, limits the voters pool of leaders from which to select from. (Esteve-Volart & Bagues, 2012) On the other hand, some sociologists argue that there are many women who would seek to run for political office, but for the genderized nature of political institution. These are restrictive nature of political parties (Caul, 1997; Esteve-Volart & Bagues, 2012; Jacobs et al., 2013) The media being an institution that serves as both a public sphere of expression of what is public, casts women in a more domestic light than a professional light (Marshall, 1994). This further ingrains the public’s biases as to the rightful place of women. The education system is equality genderized by failing to address issues of pre-existing gender inequality and socializations enough to ensure women achieve an educational experience that sets them on the path to positions of political leadership. (Marshall, 1994)

In there experimental study, (Andersen et al., 2008) find that indeed matrilineal societies receive more public goods than patriarchal societies. Again, these factors could be attributed to the fact that women are socialized around maternal issues, are less prone to be corrupt, and more socially conscious of the needs of their communities. (Swamy et al., 2001) In this sense, women’s political leadership is more likely to lead to the provision of policies that lead to social development.

Conceptual Framework

The diagram represents a conceptual framework on the role of women’s political leadership in the quest for social development in Kenya. The diagram reflects three different levels of in the provision of social goods. Women in political leadership in Kenya today posses different qualities that make the suitable to lead communities into development. However, the environment in which they operate needs to reinforce their effort and qualities, in order to successfully pass policies suitable for social development. When Kenyans’ social needs are met, then the quality of life of their lives will be satisfactory. Conversely, the continuous flow of feedback between leadership and communities ensures that more women than men are in-tune with their communities needs.



Theoretical Framework

This study seeks to explore relationship between women in political leadership and the social development of citizens in Kenya. The data on the social development opinions are drawn from the survey data conducted by Afro-barometer (<http://www.afrobarometer.org/data/data-rounds-merged.>) and access through the International Consortium of Public and Social Research (ICPSR).

In this study, I explore the perception of the citizens about the quality of their lives relative to environment is a strong signal about the political leadership. This assumption is based on the literature is that citizens who come from communities led by women legislators report good quality of life compared to their male colleagues. (Andersen et al., 2008) Markers of good quality of life are experienced are lived experiences of the citizens. Makers of good life in Kenya are provision of water and good sanitation, provision of electricity, food and housing. There remains a cultural bias in the meanings of good life. Some citizens have more of it while some have none, yet some need even more of it to achieve good life. Other aspects of good life include economic security, safety from robbery and tribal clashes, provision of educational facilities, infrastructure and availability of members of parliament to communities. Again, these measures are inherently biased and differ among individuals. The assumption is that citizens who enjoy the above provisions have a good life, and that women led communities enjoy these more relative to men led communities.

Other factors that contribute to the differing perceptions of the quality of life include communities' level of political engagement through media and political demonstrations. Based on the literature, more men than women are politically engaged and might have stronger opinions about political leadership than women. The assumption is that citizens who are heavily involved in politics have poor quality of life and engage in politics to improve it. Based on the literature, this study also puts into consideration other factors that affect the performance of women parliaments. These are factors like Gross Domestic Product, number of elections, foreign aid, Foreign Direct investment, labor force participation, political party affiliation, religious affiliation and education. These are external factors that influence the opinions of citizens' perceptions of their lives.

The study will control for factors like colonial and historical upheavals prior to independence. It will also control for cultural differences and the strength of women's suffrage in each community in Kenya.

Working Hypothesis

H_0 : Kenyan women holding legislative positions at the national level does not lead to provision of social amenities at the community level.

H_1 : Kenyan women holding legislative positions at the national level leads to provision of social amenities at the community level.

In examining this hypothesis, this study will be extending the feminist theory on women's political leadership to the African context.

Model Description, Data and Methods

To examine the hypothesis exhaustively, the study will use exploratory lenses to understand the causal relationships of variables in the study. I will utilize data from Afro-Barometer, an non-partisan research project funded by the World Bank among other international NGOs. This is a historic primary dataset, based on opinion survey taken in Kenya in 2008, taken before the passing of the gender quotas for political representation. I am using a 2008 dataset is because this is the latest data I have. Additionally, the results of this research could be used to argue for the full implementation of the political quotas policy. Results will also be used to further research on communities/individual characteristics of voters who elect women into parliament.

The goal of the opinion survey data was to give Kenyans an equal chance at the survey sample selection to reflect the population. This objective was achieved by sampling with (i) probability proportionate to the population (ii) using random selection. A randomly selected sample of 1,104 cases allows inferences to national voting adult populations with a margin of sampling error of not more than plus or minus 2.8 percent with a confidence level of 95 percent. The data is collected in both descriptive and nominal form, and in English language. I will re-code all the variables in the data set into categorical and ordinal forms. The unit of analysis in this study is the individual citizen.

The dependent variable is the quality of life. The public’s perception of the quality of life is measured as an aggregate of their perception of their direct living conditions at the domestic and community level. I will score this categorically on three levels: good, fair and very bad living conditions. Scores that report differently for both domestic and community measures will score fair in this model.

Independent variables: The variable of interest in this study is the gender of political leader in the constituency. As argued in the literature, women in political leadership bring different leadership values and perspectives relative to their male counterparts. (Beckwith, 2007; Swamy et al., 2001; Wang, 2013b). The study will evaluate the extent to which communities led by women politicians report satisfaction with the quality of life. Other variables that are likely to affect the perceptions of the citizens are the factors in the immediate environment like the presence of social amenities such as schools, markets, police station, market places, political engagement through news, and engagement with their MP. Below is a chart highlighting the variable description and measures.

Variable Specification

I will use logit linear regression model to examine the relationship between the quality of life of citizens and the other variables in the model. The study will first establish the soundness of the model using statistical tests for individual variables as well as provide the goodness of fit statistics. To test whether Kenyan women holding legislative positions leaders to the provision of social amenities on the local level, the model will test for the association between the availability of social amenities in areas associated with women leaders while controlling for factors or rural and urban standards. Then the model will test for the levels of satisfaction of the citizens against those of communities led by male legislators.

<u>Variable Description</u>	<u>Scale</u> <i>. =missing, I don't know, blank</i>	<u>Assumptions</u>
<p><u>Dependent Variable</u> <u>Quality of Life Perception: (QL)</u> <i>A total of the Respondents perception of their personal lives and that of the country</i> <i>Do you have a good life</i></p>	<p>1=good=Yes 0=poor=No .=missing</p>	<p>There will be as strong relationship between Good quality of life and women lead communities</p>
<p><u>Independent Variables</u> <u>Gender of Political leader (GPL)</u> <i>This is scored as male or female.</i></p>	<p>Male=0 Female=1</p>	<p>Strongly correlates with: -Provision of social emenities -Engagement in politics -Basic needs provision -Community engagement -MPs Listen</p>
<p><u>Presence of social amenities (PSA)</u> Presence of social amenities in the locality Domestic stuff Provision for piped water, electricity, sewage</p>	<p>On a scale of 1-5 5=Very good 4=good 3=fair 2=poor 1=very poor</p> <p>Good=3 Poor=0,1,2</p>	<p>There will be better provision for social amenities in women lead communities. There will be a strong relationship between good provision of domestic sanitation and a measure of good quality living</p>

<u>Gone without basic Needs (GWBS)</u> <i>(The variable is a collection of questions whether respondents have gone without food, medicine, fuel to cook, water)</i>	Always 0-5 Sometimes=6-10 Never-11-15	Women led communities should report always going without food hence the need to elect women(This assumption is far-fetched and unsupported in the literature.)
<u>Feared for Security</u>	0=Yes, 1=No	
<u>Politically engaged (PolE)</u> <i>This question is a collection of questions asking respondents engagement with politics through newspaper, tv, radio and group discussions.</i>	Always=7-10 Sometimes=4-6 Rarely=0-3	<i>Women led communities should be better politically engaged because women leaders are more in touch with their communities.</i>
<u>Community Engagement (ComE)</u> <i>This is a collection of questions about respondents community engagement such as membership in religious organizations, CBOs, self, help groups,</i>	Always=7-10 Sometimes=4-6 Rarely=0-3	<i>Women led communities should report more community engagement to bring out social welfare and programs</i>
<u>Corruption in Community (CORR)</u> <i>This is an aggregate of those who have given bribes to a police, government official, MP even once</i>	Yes=2,3 No=0,1	<i>Women led communities should report less corruption than men lead</i>
<u>Religious affiliation (RELa)</u> <i>Any forms of religious affiliation</i>	Yes=1 No=0	<i>Religious citizens are expected to report good life quality</i>
<u>Age of Citizen</u>	Over 30 years=1, Below 30 years=0	<i>Citizens who are older are expected to report good life quality as opposed to younger citizens</i>
<u>MpsListen</u>	Yes: 1 No=0	

The working equation for the model is as follows:

$$Y = \sigma x_1 + \sigma x_2 + \sigma x_3 \dots \text{£}_1$$

Where σ_1 is the gender of the political leader, Y is the citizens perception of quality of life, σ_2 presence of social amenities, σ_3 is other social factors and other variables in the model as specified in the table above. £_1 is the error of measurement.

Limitations of the Study

The study faces a time constraint. Measuring levels of development requires a progressive evaluation of life at different periods of time. (Paiva, 1977). This study attempts to moderate such effects by taking the age of the respondents into account. However, this might not provide a complete and exhaustive assessment.

Levels of development in urban and rural areas differ significantly. This aspect is being controlled for in various variable relationships. However, again, this cannot be considered exhaustive. To be able to

mitigate such aspects of social life, the model might have used urban poverty statistics. These are not available at the moment.

While the lived experiences of citizens are valid and therefore their opinions of their lives valid, some researchers might argue that citizens might not know better about what good life quality is. (Paiva, 1977). This therefore implies that when making policy recommendations with this study, the findings in this research should serve as a trigger for further research. Perhaps further evaluations should be considered before policies are implemented based on this study.

The study anticipates finding strong causal relationships between women’s political leadership and citizens’ perception of good quality of life.

Results Discussion

Having done a simple logistic regression the study has the following on the table below:

```
logistic QL GPL PSA0 PSA2 PSA5 DomePoor GWBNnever GWBNalways Securityfear
PolErarely PolEAlways ComEAlways ComERarely Corruption Corruption
> yes religion age1 MpListen
```

```
Logistic regression      Number of obs =    649
LR chi2(17) =    58.38
Prob > chi2 =    0.0000
```

```
Log likelihood = -282.99085    Pseudo R2 =    0.0935
```

QL	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
GPL	1.086062	.3078933	0.29	0.771	.6230793	1.893068
PSA0	1.696428	.5302058	1.69	0.091	.9193876	3.1302
PSA2	1.757293	.5135844	1.93	0.054	.9909983	3.116128
PSA5	.6792602	.2111282	-1.24	0.213	.3693728	1.249129
DomePoor	.6679993	.1757042	-1.53	0.125	.3989183	1.118582
GWBNnever	1.839014	.4411041	2.54	0.011	1.149256	2.942751
GWBNalways	.8452711	.273347	-0.52	0.603	.4484677	1.593165
Securityfear	1.269989	.2973886	1.02	0.307	.8025599	2.00966
PolErarely	.4128175	.1330322	-2.75	0.006	.2195103	.776357
PolEAlways	1.337056	.323531	1.20	0.230	.8321125	2.14841
ComEAlways	1.392417	.3674838	1.25	0.210	.8300836	2.335697

ComERarely	1.604124	.4589799	1.65	0.099	.9155625	2.810528
Corruption	910158.4	4.44e+08	0.03	0.978	0	.
Corruptionyes	825684	4.03e+08	0.03	0.978	0	.
religion	.8178496	.1951544	-0.84	0.399	.5123428	1.305528
age1	1.849106	.4007603	2.84	0.005	1.209148	2.827772
MpListen	1.302875	.2980169	1.16	0.247	.8321486	2.039881
_cons	1.34e-07	.0000652	-0.03	0.974	0	.

The model has a final N =649. The model has a good fit because it has a pseudo R2 of 0.09%. From the logistic regression, three variables report significance at 95% error level, these are age, GWBNnever and PolEnrarely, at 0.011, 0.006 and 0.005 Z statistics.

The Correlation test between the four variables show that there is a small correlation between Good quality of life and Kenyans who have never gone without basic needs at 0.17, and age at 0.13, Female leadership at 0.03, and parliamentarians listening to constituents at 0.07. T-test for significance of the three variables in addition to our variable of interest shows no significance. To test the model fit, the study performs a link test on the variables that show significance. The results show that the `_hatsq` is significant at 0.016. This shows that the model has chosen meaningful predictors for model. However, the significance also shows that there is a possibility of specification errors.

Discussion

The model correctly reflects what the literature argues about different levels of judgment and biases on Quality of life. It has been argued that opinions on life quality are highly value laden and therefore highly subjective (Paiva, 1977). The model correctly reflects this argument. For instance, it is contrary to expectation that the poorest people should be the ones reflecting good quality of life as opposed to those people who already have social amenities. On the other hand, the strong significance of age for people who are 30 years and perhaps counters the limitation of time. Arguably people who have lived long enough to experience life differently can report good quality of life relative to the past times/errors politically, sociologically etc. It also runs counter to expectation that people who are rarely politically engaged would report high Quality of life. This means that people who engage politically, report dissatisfaction and therefore engage to create change.

The lack of significance on the women's political leadership can be seen as a result of many confounding factors that affect perceptions of good life. One being that it is difficult for people to attribute the good quality of life with high ranking leadership even though that is the level at which policy budgeting and implementation happens. Unless there is a survey question that particularly asks survey takers if they think their life quality is relatable to the political leadership.

Additionally, from a political angle, it can be argued that communities that have undergone abduct poverty might have the need to elect women into parliament. From a global perspective, IPU 2014 data on women parliamentarians suggests that countries with the lowest GDP report the highest representation of women in national legislative bodies. However, changing outcomes in poor communities and the relative starting position of women elected in very marginalized areas takes a long time to bear fruits. (Kasomo, 2012)

Findings in this study can be used by political psychologists, development studies and political science scholarship to understand what factors are important in development and what the psychological

rationales are that citizens use to judge their life quality. On the other hand, while the data in use might not have yielded required results to confirm the alternative hypothesis, the model is still strong enough to reflect some of the interesting findings.

Policy Implication

Literature suggests that women make different and strong leaders. However for their impact to be felt in governance three things are required from these findings: Numbers, time and accurate objective measures of life quality. Depending on opinion surveys can yield inconclusive results. For this reason, it would be enriching for countries, communities and societies to develop some standardized mechanism by which to measure development. Leadership needs to identify and estimate the parameters of what good life/values are within which to measure good life. Studies across the globe have shown evidence of the impact of women in political leadership. It is in Kenya's interest to examine factors that make these impacts possible.

Conclusion

This study was based on Andersen et al., (2008) that argued that women led communities lead better quality lives in India than male led communities. I evaluated ways that Kenya can achieve social development based on the literature and leadership stood out to be promising factor, and particularly women's political leadership. Using opinion survey data from IPU, on Kenya's opinion of the quality of life, it turned out that leadership did not have a significant impact on the quality of life. However, this opens up room for further studies to be conducted and better data collected in the same field.

Acknowledgements

Special recognition and appreciation for Professor Michael Johnson, University of Massachusetts Boston for his support in this study.

References

1. Amal Kanti, R. (2008). Measurement of Social Development : An International Comparison. *Social Indicators Research*, 86(1), 1–46.
2. Andersen, S., Bulte, E., Gneezy, U., & List, J. A. (2008). Do Women Supply More Public Goods than Men? Preliminary Experimental Evidence from Matrilineal and Patriarchal Societies. *The American Economic Review*, 98(2), 376–381. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29730050>
3. Arocena, R., Göransson, B., & Sutz, J. (2015). Knowledge policies and universities in developing countries: Inclusive development and the “developmental university.” *Technology in Society*, 41, 10–20. doi:10.1016/j.techsoc.2014.10.004
4. Awofeso, O., & Odeyemi, T. I. (2014). The Impact of Political Leadership and Corruption on Nigeria's Development since Independence. *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 7(5), 240–253. doi:10.5539/jsd.v7n5p240
5. Bauer, G. (2012). “Let there be a Balance”: Women in African Parliaments. *Political Studies Review*. doi:10.1111/j.1478-9302.2012.00272.x
6. Bauer, G., & Burnet, J. E. (2013). Gender quotas, democracy, and women's representation in Africa: Some insights from democratic Botswana and autocratic Rwanda. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 103–112. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.012

7. Beckwith, K. (2007). Numbers and Newness: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Science Politique*, 40(01), 27–49. doi:10.1017/S0008423907070059
8. Caul, M. (1997). *Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties*. Irvine.
9. Easterly, W., & Williamson, C. R. (2011). Rhetoric versus Reality: The Best and Worst of Aid Agency Practices. *World Development*, 39(11), 1930–1949. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2011.07.027
10. Esteve-Volart, B., & Bagues, M. (2012). Are women pawns in the political game? Evidence from elections to the Spanish Senate. *Journal of Public Economics*, 96(3-4), 387–399. doi:10.1016/j.jpubeco.2011.12.004
11. Fallon, K. M., Swiss, L., & Viterna, J. (2012). Resolving the Democracy Paradox: Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in Developing Nations, 1975 to 2009. *American Sociological Review*. doi:10.1177/0003122412443365
12. Githitho-Muriithi, A. (2010). Education for all and child labour in Kenya: A conflict of capabilities? *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(2), 4613–4621. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.03.739
13. Habermas, J. (2006). Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. *Communication Theory*, 16(4), 411–426. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x
14. Huddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. (1993). Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(1), 119–147. doi:10.2307/2111526
15. Jacobs, D., Paxton, P. M., Jackson, A. L., & Malone, C. a. (2013). Murder, political resources, and women's political success. *Social Science Research*, 42(2), 513–26. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.09.005
16. Kasomo, D. (2012). Factors Affecting Women Participation in Electoral Politics in Africa. *International Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(3), 57–63. doi:10.5923/j.ijpbs.20120203.01
17. Kimura, H., Mori, Y., & Sawada, Y. (2012). Aid Proliferation and Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Analysis. *World Development*, 40(1), 1–10. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2011.05.010
18. Lawless, J. L. (2004). Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11th Era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(3), 479–490. doi:10.1177/106591290405700312
19. Manfred, S. (1967). Social Development as a Normative Concept. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 1(3), 301–316.
20. Oketch, M., Mutisya, M., Ngware, M., Ezeh, A. C., & Epari, C. (2010). Free primary education policy and pupil school mobility in urban Kenya. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 49(6), 173–183. doi:10.1016/j.ijer.2011.01.002
21. Paiva, J. F. X. (1977). A Conception of Social Development. *Social Service Review*. doi:10.1086/643500
22. Park, S. (2012). Does Gender Matter? The Effect of Gender Representation of Public Bureaucracy on Governmental Performance. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 43(2), 221–242. doi:10.1177/0275074012439933
23. Paxton, P. (1997). Women in National Legislatures: A Cross-National Analysis. *Social Science Research*, 26(4), 442–464. doi:10.1006/ssre.1997.0603
24. Paxton, P., Painter, M. a., & Hughes, M. M. (2009). Year of the Woman, Decade of the Man: Trajectories of growth in women's state legislative representation. *Social Science Research*, 38(1), 86–102. doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.08.003
25. Reingold, B., & Harrell, J. (2010). The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement, 63(2), 280–294.
26. Reinsberg, B. (2014). Foreign Aid Responses to Political Liberalization. *World Development*. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2014.11.006
27. Reynolds, A. (1999). Women in the Legislative and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling., 51(4), 547–572.
28. Slimane, M. (2012). Role and relationship between leadership and sustainable development to release social, human, and cultural dimension. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 41, 92–99. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2012.04.013
29. Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y., & Azfar, O. (2001). Gender and corruption. *Journal of Development Economics*, 64(1), 25–55. doi:10.1016/S0304-3878(00)00123-1

30. Swidler, A., & Watkins, S. C. (2009). "Teach a Man to Fish": The Doctrine of Sustainability and Its Effects on Three Strata of Malawian Society. *World Development*, 37(7), 1182–1196. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2008.11.002
31. Swiss, L., Fallon, K. M., & Burgos, G. (2012). Does Critical Mass Matter? Women's Political Representation and Child Health in Developing Countries. *Social Forces*, 91(2), 531–558. doi:10.1093/sf/sos169
32. Thomas, M. (2012). The Complexity Conundrum: Why Hasn't the Gender Gap in Subjective Political Competence Closed? *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2, 337–358.
33. Thomas, S. (1991). The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies. *The Journal of Politics*, 53(4), 958. doi:10.2307/2131862
34. Tinker, I. (2004). Quotas for women in elected legislatures: Do they really empower women? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27(5-6), 531–546. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2004.09.008
35. UN Women. (2014). *WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT 2014 GENDER EQUALITY AND SUSTAINABLE*.
36. Viterna, J., Fallon, K. M., & Beckfield, J. (2008). How Development Matters: A Research Note on the Relationship between Development, Democracy and Women's Political Representation. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 49(6), 455–477. doi:10.1177/0020715208097789
37. Wang, V. (2013a). Women changing policy outcomes: Learning from pro-women legislation in the Ugandan Parliament. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 113–121. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.008
38. Wang, V. (2013b). Women changing policy outcomes: Learning from pro-women legislation in the Ugandan Parliament. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41, 113–121. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.008
39. Warrington, M., & Kiragu, S. (2012). "It makes more sense to educate a boy": Girls "against the odds" in Kajiado, Kenya. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32(2), 301–309. doi:10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.05.004
40. Yoon, M. Y. (2011). More women in the Tanzanian legislature: Do numbers matter? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29(1), 83–98. doi:10.1080/02589001.2011.539011