Language, gender and power: Lexicalization of women in the national assembly and other top political posts in Kenya (2013-2017)

Review article

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Abstract
This paper examines from a linguistic perspective, the lexicalization of the Kenya National Assembly women politicians and women in other top political posts by newspaper opinion articles. Every instance of language is a reflection of the prevailing discursive and ideological systems in the society in which it is used. The use of language, and specifically, the lexical items, may therefore explain the power and gender inequalities in Kenyan's National Assembly. The number of elected women in the National Assembly of Kenya falls short of the 30 percent 2010 requirement spelled in the 2010 Kenya Constitution. The objective of this paper is to describe how the lexical items used in newspaper opinion articles construct National Assembly women politicians and women in other top political posts in Kenya from 2013 to 2017. The paper uses Furlough's (2001) social-cultural and Van Dijk's (2001) social-cognitive approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis. Being a qualitative research, data was collected through document reviews. The findings reveal that newspaper opinion articles utilize ideologically managed lexical items that construct women in the discourses of gender. The study concludes that the ideological management of language by the newspaper opinion articles is likely to curtail the political ambitions of women politicians in Kenya.

Keywords: gender, ideology, language, lexicon, power

How to Cite:

Public Interest Statement

Language is a highly constructive mediator and is therefore both a medium of communication and a means of social and political control. Language is a key contributor to social inequalities, since it creates, sustains and passes on ideologies that can influence a people's mind. The construction of social identities is an act of power. Identities are the basis for social differences and inequalities. Language aids in exercising and sustaining unequal social orders in various contexts. This is because specific discursive practices privilege the status and positions of some people over others leading to power differences, and hence social inequalities (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001). To understand the underrepresentation of women in the political realm, we cannot ignore language. Language is the main medium used in political campaigns whether in the spoken, written or visual form hence could provide an explanation to the numerical underrepresentation of women in the political process in Kenya.

Introduction

The role of language in the political underrepresentation of women in the political process is worth investigating. Language is a tool that promotes, protects and legitimates power (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001). The number of women in elective politics in most countries of the world has not met the 30 percent global requirement (IPU, 2017; United Nations [UN] Women, 2017). This is despite the fact that the latter part of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century has seen a steady rise in the political participation of women globally (Inter-parliamentary Union [IPU], 2017). The gender equity discourse has attracted extensive research in the representation and participation of women in the political process. Participation in this paper refers to vying for Member of Parliament (MP) at the National Assembly or for any other top political post such as Governor, or President in Kenya. Representation refers to the ratio of elected men to elected women in the Kenya National Assembly and in other top political posts.

Most analyses of the political discourses in Kenya, such as Kasomo (2012), Kivoi (2014), Nasong'o (2007) and Okello (2010), have approached the subject of women underrepresentation in the political process from the prism of political science and sociology but of course, with often salient results. Lakoff (2001) argues that the methods and theories of linguistics can add a new perspective to the question of gender and power. Linguistics can introduce a close analysis of language itself. This entails for instance, a focus on what the specific choices of words, sentences, topics, presuppositions and other implicit devices used by politicians and the media lead people to believe. This is what Fairclough (2001), Van Dijk (2001) and Lakoff (2001), refer to as the use of language to create cohesive public meaning. Fairclough (2001) advocates for an increased focus on language and how it constructs the

social. It is against this backdrop that this paper focuses on the lexical items that are used to refer to women in newspaper opinion articles. This paper not only bridges the gap between linguistics and other disciplines that address the problem of women underrepresentation in electoral politics in Kenya but also introduces a linguistic dimension to the question of inequitable gender participation and representation at the National Assembly and other top political posts Kenya.

The analysis of text and talk of politicians and other opinion makers could be an invaluable source of understanding the discursive practices that underlie the electoral political process in Kenya. Text and talk are the central units of analysis in discourse (Brown & Yule, 1983; Van Dijk, 2001). By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes, and also the specific ideology embedded in them (Van Dijk 2003). This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community.

The cultural, social and political aspects of a community are reflected in its language (Fairclough, 2001). Being sociological aspects, gender and power must be closely tied to language. Fairclough (2001) notes that language is both a cultural and political system into which all past values are stored. Language is thus indispensable in understanding modern society and the relations of power. It is therefore important to increase focus on the language power holders by exploring how gender issues are likely to shape and be shaped by language (Elson, 2002). Power is not so much imposed on individuals, but it is an inevitable effect of the way specific discursive practices privilege the status and positions of some people over others. The kind of language an individual internalizes could influence his or her perception of self and the environment (Fairclough, 2001). This means that meaning is constructed by language.

2.0 Literature Review

Women comprise fifty percent or more of the world's population but they are underrepresented as leaders and as elected officials in most countries of the world (Kariuki, 2015). This is despite the extensive measures and interventions that continue to be put in place in order to close the gap. The increasing divergent levels of political participation and representation both across and within countries have increased interest and resulting research on women's underrepresentation at all levels of government and decision making. For instance, the low number of women in electoral politics and other key sectors of the economy has been noted in global conferences such as The World Summit for Social Development [WSSD] (1995 & 2000), The Fourth World Conference on Women (UN Women, 1995), and the Cairo Conference on Population and Development (United Nations Population Fund, [UNFPA], 1994).

The issue of gender equity further received special attention in the UN Charter (Charter of the UN, 1945) and was also recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] (The UN, 1948), and the Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] of 2000 (UN & UN, 2004). Constitutions of various countries such as the Rwanda Constitution, 2003 (Rwanda, 2015), the Kenya Constitution, 2010 (Republic of Kenya [RoK], 2010) also have various clauses on gender equity. The Sustainable Development Goals of 2015 [SDGs] (UN, 2013), which replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also identify gender equity as a core development factor.

Extensive scholarly work also supports the equal access of men and women to power, decision making and leadership, at all levels as a necessary precondition of democracy. Literature supports that underrepresentation of women in key decision-making areas, especially those pertaining to the legislature, leadership and policy making, prevents women from achieving significant impact on many national and individual outcomes (Ng'ang'a, 2006; Kariuki, 2010; Ndambuki, 2010; Nzomo, 2014).

Kenya has shown its commitment to gender equity by being a signatory to a number of international treaties on women empowerment such as Africa Union's Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (AU, 2003), the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU, 2000), the 1994 Dakar Platform for Action (Hall, 1995) and the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women (United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa [UNECA], 1999). Despite these international and constitutional commitments on women empowerment, Kenya lags behind in terms of women participation and representation in elective politics (Kamau, 2010; Muga, 2007).

To boost the number of women in political participation, the government was the formulated the gender policy (The National Policy on Gender and Development [NPGD]) from 2008 to 2012, which is in charge of advancing the status of women (Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, Nov, 2007). The government also adopted the affirmative action which provides for 33 percent representation of women in political and public sector appointments. The affirmative action was translated into policy by the Kenyan parliament in year 2010 (RoK, 2010; UNIFEM, 2008). However, parliament which is charged with coming up with a mechanism to operationalize the policy has not done so.

The participation of women in elective politics in Kenya since independence (1963) to 2001 has been dismal. From 2002, the number increased slightly. In 2007 there were 21 women out of the 222 members in parliament. This was 9.4 percent representation up from 6.33 percent in September 2002. However, the numbers still fell short of the United Nations target of achieving 30 percent representations of women in electoral politics by 2005 (FIDA, USAID & NDI, 2013). Table 4.1 provides a detailed record of the figures and percentages of

men and women participation and representation in politics in Kenya since independence to 2013.

Table 4.1: Membership of the Kenya National Assembly by Year of Election and Gender from 1963 to 2013

Year of Election	Number of Candidates				Elected Members				Nominated members			
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%
1963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969	602	99.34	4	0.66	154	99.35	1	0.65	11	91.67	1	8.33
1974	728	98.51	11	1.49	152	97.44	4	2.56	10	83.33	2	16.67
1979	734	98.66	10	1.34	155	96.88	5	3.13	11	91.67	1	8.33
1983	720	99.04	7	0.96	157	98.74	2	1.36	9	81.82	2	18.18
1988	784	99.24	6	0.76	186	98.94	2	1.06	11	100.00	0	0.00
1992	698	97.49	18	2.51	182	96.81	6	3.19	11	91.67	1	8.33
1997	833	94.66	47	5.34	206	98.10	4	1.90	8	66.67	4	33.33
2002	991	88.16	133	11.83	201	95.26	10	4.74	6	60.00	4	40.00
2007	2278	89.44	269	10.56	195	92.86	15	7.14	8	57.14	6	42.86
2013	1969	82.01	432	17.99	274	81.31	63	18.69	7	58.33	5	41.67
Total	10337		848		1862		112		92		26	

Source: IEBC: 4th March 2013 General Election Data Report

The 2013-2017 National Assembly of Kenya had a total of 349 members consisting of 281 (81 percent) men and 68 (19 percent) women. 47 women came in as Woman Representatives. These are special seats created through affirmative actions in each county to boost the

number of women in the national assembly. Sixteen (5.5 percent) women were elected out of the 290 constituency members of the national assembly, while another 5 were nominated out of the 12 seats set aside for nomination (USAID, FIDA &NDI, 2013). Despite the nominations, the 2013-2017 parliament still lacked a significant number of women who might cause positive change in public policy and influence the allocation of resources in a gender equitable manner (Ndambuki, 2010). The national assembly of Kenya is the highest organ charged with legislation and decision making in Kenya. The 2013-2017 period is important because it constituted the first parliament after the 2010 constitution which advocated for a two third gender rule in representation at all levels of governance and leadership.

The Critical Mass Theory in gender and politics, and collective political action is defined as the critical number of personnel needed to affect policy and make a change, not as the token but as an influential body. This number has been placed at 30 percent, before women are able to make a substantial difference in politics. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (RoK, 2010) puts the critical mass at 33 percent. Women are not likely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes until they grow from a few token individuals into a considerable minority of all legislators (Childs, &Krook, 2008; Krauth, 2011).

Various researchers and political analysts such as Neuman, (1998), Wanjohi, (2003), Clinton-Rodham, (2003), Thomas and Wilcox, (2005) and Maathai, (2006) have noted that women leaders can add new dimensions to political leadership. These researchers and analysts further observe that if more women enter into political leadership, they would help tackle the issue of perpetual poverty as it mostly affects women. Literature further supports the view that when women get into leadership, they could help in building nations and balancing up the processes of decision making (Epstein, Niemi, & Powell, 2005).

This paper focuses on the role of language in this whole issue of women underrepresentation. The term language has been used in a number of different senses by various scholars. This study conceptualizes language from the point of view of Fairclough (2001). He advocates for an approach he calls Critical Language Study [CLS] which conceptualizes language as discourse, that is, language as a form of social practice determined by social structures. In this sense, language is part of society and not external to it; language constitutes society and society constitutes language.

In talking about newspaper and television discourse on women politicians, one cannot ignore the concept of power and ideology. Power is seen as one of the concepts that organizes many relationships in society. According to Wodak (2001), power entails relations of difference and specially the effects of the differences in social structures. The inseparable relation between language and social issues makes language to enter into a complex relationship with social power. King'ei (2001) argues that language is often used with the aim of shaping, directing, controlling and manipulating the audience in politically desired ways.

In this paper, power is used in Van Dijk's (1997) sense to refer to mental power exercised through text, talk and the non-verbal in subtle ways. This kind of power often produces hegemonic discourses taken as naturalized common sense. The exercise of power basically involves focusing on the kinds of interaction in which participants are positioned asymmetrically, through discourse, in terms of who controls the production of discourse and who consumes the discourse.

Wundsam (2016) notes that political discourse is a device to carry power. He says that stylistic features are important means of peppering rhetoric. Such stylistic features in political discourse, always work to emphasize what is considered thematically important at a particular moment in time as well as point out areas of controversy. Reisigl (2008) says that a political rhetoric refers to a practical science and art of the use and effects of linguistic (including non-verbal) and other semiotic means of persuasion relating to political matters, typical of the effective or efficient speaking and writing by professional politicians and opinion makers. Fowler (1991) explains that language in the media may not be facts about the world, but, in a very general sense; ideas, beliefs, values and ideology. Butegwa (1995) and Ogusanya (2006) posit that the mass media has great influence in formulation of public opinion. They further add that the capacity to create, spread and perpetuate stereotypes as well as to alter them is undeniable. Ideology in this context is defined as a set of ideas or beliefs, which are held to be acceptable by the creators of media text. These ideologies are based on a set of beliefs and attitudes to groups in society (Pajunen, 2008). Such ideologies can be projected in the media through the lexical items used in the opinion articles. Newspaper opinion articles therefore express these power relations through their choice of linguistic resources. One major linguistic strategy expressed through newspaper is the use of persuasion through lexicalization.

3.0 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework used in this paper is Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis [CDA]. The two models are main leads in critical research. CDA focuses on the way social and political domination are reproduced by discourse. CDA is an amalgamation of various views which postulate that social reality is constructed in and through discourse and that language is a form of social practice and a means of control and communication. The main argument of CDA, according to Fairclough, (2001) and Van Dijk, (2001) is that discourse is coloured by and is productive of ideology. Locke (2004) argues that CDA sees a prevailing social order and social process as constituted and sustained by the recurrence of particular constructions of or versions of reality often referred to as discourses. These recurrent versions of reality or discourses form ideologies. Fairclough (1995) adds that in common sense, ideologies become naturalized or

automatized. Gramci (1971) calls this hegemony. In CDA therefore, it is very rare for a text to be the work of any one person.

Designs and Methods

The paper adopts a descriptive design and uses the qualitative procedures in sampling, data collection and analysis. First, a purposive sampling design for the newspaper groups is used as the paper was interested in those newspaper groups with nationwide readership. The accessible population consists of 280 newspapers randomly sampled based on Lacy *et al's* (2001) method of sampling documents in a multi-year study in this case from 2013 to 2017. The study data comprised thirteen opinion articles from the newspapers. This sample size was deemed representative since it covered all the parameters of the study according to Gay and Airasian, (2003).

Data was collected by photocopying, scanning, downloading and printing. The paper used document review as the research instrument. Document analysis is a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. It is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating both printed and electronic material (Corbin & Srauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). The newspaper articles were obtained both digitally and manually. The process of finding newspaper documents involved skimming and was guided by key words and phrases that usually characterize political debates in the area of gender such as 'women and politics', 'women in power' and so on. The process of selecting and appraising involved close reading of the opinion articles and television talk shows.

The paper was analysed qualitatively through thematic content analysis. The two theories that is Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001), were applied in the interpretation of the data. Data presentation entailed the use of codes and written descriptions. The coding included numbering the article and indicating its source. For instance, a text from the Standard newspaper was coded as TEXT 1 STD NSP ART (text one Standard newspaper article). Consequently, for ethical considerations, the names of women politicians in the texts are abbreviated while the names places are referred to as P1, P2 (place 1, place 2) and so on.

4.0 Results and Discussion

This paper identified thirteen opinion articles from the sampled newspapers from which the linguistic items and expressions that were used to refer to the National Assembly women politicians and women in other top political posts in Kenya derived were. Eleven of these were in the written form (verbal) while two were visual images. Through a thematic content analysis based on Van Dijk's (2006) levels of analysis, the opinion articles were analysed for lexical items that intentionally or inadvertently expressed gender imbalance since they tended to portray women politicians in the negative light.

Lexicalisation is the careful choice of words based on discourse genre or personal context for ideological expression and persuasion (Van Dijk, 2006). The newspapers that were sampled used carefully chosen verbs, adjectives and titles to construct the Kenya National Assembly women politicians and women in other top political posts. Lakoff (2001) says that the choice of words by the media can create cohesive public meaning by influencing people's believe system. The kind of words that are used to refer to men and women can shape the people's worldview (Ghim-Lian, 2001; Angela and mean, 2000) and show how language reveals, embodies and sustains attitudes to gender (Moore, 2002).

For example, the verb 'shocked' was used in one text to show how the news of GW's (a woman politician) victory was received by the public. The verb 'shocked' in the sentence "P13 woman Rep GW, for instance, shocked many when she beat men to be elected the county's Orange Democratic Movement chairperson" implies that the public did not expect a woman to win. The woman politician is seen to have done the unexpected. Her victory is viewed as the non-norm, strange or unnatural.

Various adjectives are used to describe politicians. In one text for instance, the author describes two women Kenyan politicians MK and CN. The text describes the dress code of MK as "severe", and the colour of her dress code, which is always red or black, as "tough" and "serious". She is sometimes adorned with the green apparel of her party. Colours are gendered; women are usually associated with red or pink flowered dresses while men are associated with blue and black. Men's colours are usually associated with seriousness. Therefore, when MK wears such colours, it is seen as a mark of seriousness or formality while the soft colours show lack of seriousness. But it is also important to recognise the fact that MK is also a lawyer and their dress code is also black. On the other hand, the writer describes CN as politically "coy" and "seductive".

Text 3 STD NSP Art

 What Flower Girls in Kenyan Politics Can Learn from MK, CN

Closer home, it's unfortunate we have nothing but **flower girls**, who just can't stop clutching on their male party leaders' coat tails for political survival or election, even for the smallest post like Member of County Assembly. First off, unlike some male politicians, MK and CN are not your average 'yes-pushovers' or 'sissy followers'.

Iron ladies

These two iron ladies have a **rebellious** streak - a very important quality for an ambitious politician. For instance, who among our ever-nominated **flower girls** can walk out on a sitting president, like MK Did on *Mzee* DM? When was the last time you heard MK play the 'woman card'? You can only catch her dead, for instance, saying sissy stuff like, *'Sisi kama wamama'*

(us women). Her dress code is severe and unless she is adorned in the green apparel of her flower party, she is always in red or black - tough and serious colours. CN, on the other hand, is not only politically **coy**, but also **seductive**.' (*The Standard,*August 8th 2016).

While the text is a direct attack on women politicians who depend on men politicians for political goodwill and also applauds, MK and CN the choice of the adjectives used evokes the idea of sexual objectification of women politicians and the association of some successful women politicians with masculinity. Salter (2000) notes that when women hold power, their treatment is curious, often including a peculiar attention to sexuality or lack of it, their private lives and their external appearance. The adjective "seductive" has sexual connotations. Although both women politicians are constructed as tough in politics, MK comes out more as masculine or a "man". CN, on the other hand, is portrayed as tough and feminine but she is also sexualised. The author of this article is not producing his own ideas but socially constructed ideas.

Locke (2004) observes that it is very rare for a text to be the work of one person. A text is produced through the day to day discourses in society. Therefore, the above text points to the societal expectation of a woman politician. She has to be either masculine or sexually appealing. The two women politicians being members of society seem to have picked the cue from society in order to excel in politics. However, there are other women who may not be tough or seductive, yet they possess leadership qualities. The creation of such standards for women may prevent some women from participating in politics because they feel they do not meet the requirements. Furthermore, even when some women go ahead and vie, the standards could be used by the electorate to make judgment on whom to vote. In another text, a woman politician (AM) is described using the adjectives "brilliant", "beautiful", "stylish", "articulate", "unassuming" and "classy". She is further described as a "sharp dresser" and as having a "dimpled smile".

Text 4 STD NSP Art

AM: Acting like a Lady but Thinking Like a Man

Brilliant, beautiful, stylish, articulate and yet **unassuming,** she breathes remarkable freshness and class into the boring business of government. A **sharp dresser,** often with a scarf loosely tied around her neck and **dimpled smile**, she brought to the Cabinet the rare combination of **beauty and brains** (*The Standard*, Aug 8th 2016).

The woman politician is described using the adjectives 'brilliant', 'articulate' and 'unassuming' which are some of the pertinent qualities in good leadership for both men and women leaders. These qualities therefore portray the woman politician as a good leader. However, the author goes ahead to sexualise the woman politician by using the adjectives 'beautiful' and the expression 'dimpled smile'. The title of the article **"**AM: Acting like a Lady

but Thinking Like a Man" points out that the good leadership qualities above are for men while the qualities that touch on the woman's sexuality are the ones that belong to women. When a woman politician has good leadership qualities, she is equated to be a man. Therefore, good leadership qualities are a given for men. The author constructs a woman politician who is physically a woman but politically a man. She acts like a lady but behaves like a man. For a woman to succeed in politics, she has to possess masculine traits or typical feminine qualities (seductive and coy), or yet again balance both qualities.

People share an understanding about how men and women are supposed to behave and the characteristics they are meant to possess (Angela and Mean, 2000). This leads to the creation of masculine and feminine stereotypes such as the ones used to describe the women politicians above. Because men have had power and have dominated social institutions for so long, masculine traits and occupations have been more valued and masculinity is seen as a collection of traits that lead to success (Richmond, 1992). Stereotyping is however an enactment of power as it reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes differences and facilitates the "Us"- "Them" dichotomy (Hall 1997:258). This is meant to diminish the image of others while that of theirs increases. Stereotypes play an important part in hegemonic struggle or control by consent (Hall 1997). While masculinity appears to be taken as the yardstick for political leadership some current studies in masculinity show that men have started to contest masculinity as it is harmful to them (Njoya, 2008).

In another article, there is a contradictory use of titles. Titles are a type of honorifics. Honorific forms express the speaker's social attitude to others and also indicate the social ranks of the participants in the discourse and the intimacy (Nariyama *et al.,* 2005). Although honorifics are used for the purpose of politeness (Levinson, 2004), they have the potential of being manipulated for ideological reasons. Barke (2010) says that honorifics can lead to the creation of social identities. For instance, the author of TEXT 5 STD NSP ART uses the titles "Miss/Mrs." to refer to the same woman politician.

The text uses the titles "Miss" and "Mrs." to refer to the same woman politician at the same time. These two titles are gender insensitive in the modern linguistic context and have been replaced with the more gender-neutral title 'Ms.' The author is aware of the gender neutral title 'Ms.' but chooses to use "Miss./Mrs.". The author seems to intentionally bring in the issue of marital status which appears to be of concern when it comes to women leadership in Kenya. The use of both titles implies that the author does not know whether the woman politician is married or not. The author casts the woman politician's marital status in doubt. The author seems to persuade the reader that a woman, whose marital status is unclear, is unsuitable for the high political office. The author constructs the political career of the woman politician as determined by her marital status but does not put similar standards for men politicians. This echoes Lakoff's (2001) views that women in politics are usually judged using

different standards and more harshly than men. However, there is no proof that marital status is a prerequisite for political leadership.

4.8 Conclusion

This paper, from a linguistic perspective, has discussed the portrayal of National Assembly women politicians and women in other top political posts in Kenya by newspaper opinion articles. This paper reveals that most of the discourses on the women politicians have sexist attitudes and ideologies. The vehicle for these attitudes and ideologies is language; various lexical items and expressions used are laden with gendered ideology. These gendered discourses to a large extent construct the women politicians negatively in the political realm. The discourses feature propositions that inferiorate, objectify and position them as lacking in seriousness and independence. They are also portrayed as dependent on men or as objects of male attention. The women are also associated more with family, marriage and children. To a large extent politics is seen as the "boys' league" and women are viewed as trespassers or intruders. A few women politicians who are thought to "think like men" or have masculine qualities like toughness, are lauded as successful politicians, while the rest pass for flower girls. The qualities that are believed to be masculine stand out as the norm in the political scene.

Conflicts of Interest:

The authors declare no conflict of interest. The funders had no role in the design of the study; in the collection, analyses or interpretation of data; in the writing of the manuscript or in the decision to publish the results.

Disclaimer Statement:

This work is about 20 percent of a thesis submitted to Kenyatta University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Literature, Linguistics and Foreign Languages. The title of the thesis is "Language, Gender and Power: The Discursive Construction of the Kenya National Assembly Politicians (2013-2017)". The work was supervised by Dr. Emily Ogutu and Dr. Gatitu Kiguru.

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Authorship and Level of Contribution

This work is co-authored. Dr. Norah Atambo played a key role in the conception of the design, analysis and writing. Dr. Emily Ogutu and Dr. Gatitu Kiguru refined the analysis and did a critical revision of the work for important intellectual content.

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