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**INSTITUTE OF ANTHROPOLOGY, GENDER AND AFRICAN
STUDIES**

RESEARCH PROJECT

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS:
A CASE STUDY OF KENYA 1990-2002**

BY

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
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STUDIES.**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University.

Signed L Munala Date 1/12/2008

Atambitsa Lois Munala

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Issac Were

Amboseli Issac Were Date 1/12/2008

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my late parents, Mrs. & Mr. Munala, my late sister Ruth Achungo. Also to my daughter, Catherine Ondiso for bearing with my unavailability and to the resilience of the Kenyan women, pace setters of the region in the promotion of gender equality and advancement of women. And to all those women who in God's Divine providence will be saved from political marginalization through this humble effort.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS / ABBREVIATIONS

1. AMWIK Association of Media Women in Kenya
2. ANC African National Congress.
3. AWC African Women and Child Network Feature Services.
4. BFA Beijing Platform for Action
5. CDF Constituency Development fund.
6. CAWAC Center for the Advancement of Women
7. CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women.
8. CIDA Canadian International Development Agency
9. CMD Centre for Multi-Party Democracy
10. CREAM Centre for Education and Rehabilitation of Abused Women
11. DAW Division for the Advancement of Women
12. DAWN Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era.
13. ECK Electoral Commission of Kenya
14. ECWD Education Center for Women in Democracy.
15. EPPP Engendering the Political Processes Programme.
16. FEMNET African Women's Development and Communication Network.
17. FIDA The International Federation of Women Lawyers.
18. GAD Gender and Development
19. GOK Government of Kenya
20. ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
21. IEC Information, Education, Communication
22. IED Institute for Education in Democracy
23. IPPG Inter- Parties Parliamentary Group.
24. IPU Inter-parliamentary Union

25. LATF	Local Authority Tax Funds
26. LKWV	League of Kenya Women Voters.
27. KANU	Kenya African National Union
28. KWPC	Kenya Women Political Caucus
29. MDGS	Millennium Development Goals.
30. MMPR	Mixed Member Proportional Representation
31. MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation
32. MP	Member of Parliament
33. NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
34. NFLS	Nairobi Forward looking strategies
35. PNU	Party of National Unity
36. PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
37. SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
38. SDP	Social Democratic Party.
39. UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
40. UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women.
41. UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
42. UNICEF	United Nations Children's' Fund
43. WAD	Women And Development
44. WID	Women in Development
45. WNC	Women's National Coalition

ABSTRACT

It is clear from the responses that women's leadership in Kenya is still held captive in the patriarchal cauldron in which most Kenya communities find themselves.

A glance at available statistics on women's representation in national legislation around the world points at a dismal picture – America (31%), Europe (18.4%), Sub-Saharan Africa (16.6%), Asia (15.9%), Pacific (13.9%), Arab States (6.8%) – (IPU, 2006)

In women politics, America lags behind, it ranks 68th in the world, despite Senator Hillary Clinton running for presidential nominations. An equally able woman, Senator, Sarah Palin is John McCain's running mate. Sarah is already being ridiculed; her past and family background used to discredit her efforts. Many say she is charismatic but unqualified

The above reality raises a fundamental question as to the impact of the wave of the 1990's democratization in Africa and the world at large. What difference has it made to gender dynamics and women's representation in political processes in the democratizing countries?

National legislatures are the basic institutions within which laws which govern contemporary societies are made as well as the site where national priorities on public revenue, expenditure, development funding and allocation of national resources – both material and symbolic are determined. Accordingly, representation of the various diversities of any given state in this institution is critical to a wholesome policy making process to democratic practice.

My study shows that the limited, almost negligible participation of women in the Kenyan political space/ process is a function of the social division of labour, the rigid dichotomization of the public and private spheres, the social construction of the political realm as a man's domain, and the general perception of politics as 'a dirty' game. The general nature of the political institutions is also a function of the historical events and cultural milieus within which they are located.

This project opens with an introduction and background information to the study. It is followed by an attempt to interpret the perceived subjugation of women in both public and private spheres.

A glimpse is given into the barriers to political space for women and strategies to increase women's representation.

As of now a third of forty cabinet ministers would ideally be 13, that should have been the minimum number of current women ministers instead of the seven in the coalition government. This omission is more acute if you factor in individual partner party pledges. ODM, KADDU, DP and Labour Party for instance, significantly upped the gender agenda by offering to reserve half of available places to women under their administration. For PNU, DP and KANU, the bench mark was 30%. But it must have resulted to strange arithmetic to arrive at three women ministers as constituting 50% of its share of 20 ministerial slots. It gets worse in the judiciary and legislature. Of the 7 Court of Appeal judges, only one is a woman. No woman MP heads a single parliamentary committee.

Furthermore, women are conspicuously missing in essential House Teams, including the Parliamentary Service Commission and the two watchdog committees, The Parliamentary Accounts Committee and the Public Service Committee. The same story obtains in other visible appointments in the public sector. In the last appointments of ambassadors, last September, only 2 of the 12 were women. Of 65 permanent Secretaries and Secretaries of Special Presidential appointed units, a paltry 5 are women.

As indicated earlier the systematic political marginalization of women in the political arena and decision making goes back to the period prior to colonization and therefore has roots in the colonial legacy that is actively perpetuated by the post-colonial political elite. However, all is not lost. Kenyan women are struggling for recognition. Hon. Martha Karua's bid for the presidency in 2012 is a brave

move that should be supported. It is hoped more good women will rise up to this enormous challenge.

The survey tools used for data collection for this project paper have been appended at the end of the paper for cross referencing by interested users.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

The United Nations studies (1991:7) reveal that, long time ago, women in Egypt, Celtic Britain, Japan, Arabia and Babylon enjoyed equality with their partners and each party was guaranteed individual rights, enshrined in social, customary and legal codes. However, this changed when monotheistic religions started. These were interpreted in a manner that devalued and subjugated women, and distortions from the interpretations of the same resulted into discrimination, which has proved difficult to eliminate. Examples of such interpretation are:

- 1) "A woman's heaven is under her husband's feet". (Bengali proverb; African woman 2004:4).
- 2) "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who has not made me a woman" (Hebrew prayer).
- 3) "A necessary object, woman is needed to preserve the Species or to provide food and drink (Thomas Aquinas) - (United Nations 1991:7.).

In view of this, women were stripped of their right to property and inheritance, the right to control their bodies, the right to education and employment, and the right to their individual identities. Therefore, the incorporation of women's objectification within the legal codes and laws legitimized their subordination, a situation which plunged them into a virtual non-status. Consequently, the law became an instrument of control, inhibiting access to economic and social resources and political power while sanctioning social values that upheld discriminatory structures and relations (U.N, 1991:7).

As a result of this, by 1990, only 38% of the 159 United Nations member states were headed by women, and only 3.5% of the world's cabinet ministers were women. Moreover, most women ministers worldwide were in Education/culture/social welfare/women affairs.

Women remain under represented in democratic institutions. Only 15% of the world's parliamentarians are women and, women's organizations often have little opportunity to influence policy dialogue. In some countries, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates, women are still unable to vote or stand for elections. Worldwide, only 14 countries have over 33% women representation (IPU Report:2006).

It has been established that in some countries around the World, movements to establish democratic forms of government are increasingly influencing international affairs and development strategies. Organizations and community groups are continuously finding ways to promote "good governance" that supports and respects the voices and interests of a range of citizens. The full involvement of women in political and economic arenas is also gaining ground as a legitimate goal as well as a litmus test of the degree to which democracy has been attained.

1.2 Background Information to the Study

Gender is a social and cultural construction whose rationale is related to the biological difference between sexes. The distinction between gender and sex was described in a UNICEF Somalia workshop as follows:

Sex is a biological make up of human beings. It is permanent and cannot be changed. On the other hand, Gender is constructed by society. It changes with time and varies according to Communities.

Echoing (Kabeer, 1994:97), "Gender is a key organizing principle in the distribution of labour, property and other valued resources in society. Men and boys have more privileges in access to and

allocation of resources than women and girls. Besides race, sex serves as a principal reference to human beings. In a patriarchal setting, sex fundamentally shapes a person's life. Ochuoga (1997: 3) rightly notes that patriarchy favors men. Throughout the world, cultural norms determining a view of women as subordinate to men are used to provide a rationale for denial of women's economic and political rights (Sweetman, 1996:2).

Understanding the root cause of such gender construction and the institutions cementing it presents an invaluable opportunity for a more comprehensive view of the problem of gender discrimination. Philosophers and theologians have in many ways tried to justify the inequalities between men and women. They depict women as irrational, emotional and accidental creatures both genetically and spiritually. However recent research has indicated that both sexes are far more similar than different. Unfortunately, previous research has tended to focus on the biological differences between males and females.

In 1878, a sociologist, Herbert Spencer argued that because women bear children, they have little energy left for intellectual achievements. He wondered why females should go to school at all. Further, in 1968, a group of scientists argued that hormones affect the cognitive activity of women. Because of this, women can only learn certain things that are easy and simple, but will have difficulties with things that are more complicated (Nangedo's notes; 2004).

In the 70's, it was reported that women's hormones affect their emotional stability which makes them unfit for high office, so when Jean Kirkpatrick was elected as a U.S.A representative to the United Nations, all men in the United States resisted because of her feminine temperament. Genetically, it is said, a woman was created from corrupted sperm meant to result into man. This view is associated

with Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas who saw women as “misbegotten male” or as a result of a physiological failure at the moment of conception (Fortenbough,1975:99).

Celestially, scholars have contended that God created a woman only as an after thought. This is the control notion held by major religious sects. Feminists and gender students argue that such notions about women are in bad faith because they perpetuate discrimination against women by giving men unjustified favors and advantages over women. Scholars now demand that time is up for morality of justice to replace morality of submission and chivalry. Men simply have to be recalled!

In the 1960's there were good reasons for women to collectively rise up and challenge their conditions. At that time, women were relegated to 'pink collar' fields like teaching and nursing. They were not paid at par with men since their income was considered 'pink money' and not necessary to support the family. And in general women were viewed as the 'weaker sex', which had to be protected from brutal realities. In the 1990's all that had changed, except the notion that women had to be protected from society's discourtesies.

As women begin to assert themselves, it is clear that enormous cultural, economic, political and social obstacles are going to make the expansion of women's political role an uphill struggle. If discriminating burdens are removed, the capacity and earning power of women will increase because women tend to re-invest any gains in the welfare of their children and families, multiplying their contribution to national development.

A UNIFEM report titled “Progress 2002” shows that only 11 countries have reached the benchmark of 30% representation in parliament. Tanzania and Uganda are not far behind with 25.5% and 24.7% respectively. Rwanda has already achieved the 50-50-parity representation. Kenya lags behind with a

shameful 8.1% in parliament and 0.005% in the cabinet. In Africa only Nigeria, Swaziland, Egypt and Niger have a smaller number of women in parliament than Kenya.

Countries as diverse as India, Britain, Chile, Liberia, German and Israel have elected women to their highest political offices. In Kenya, the closest a woman has come to the presidency is Hon Charity Kaluki Ngilu's bid in 2002. Although in 1985, a Kenyan newspaper welcomed the "ladies of the world" to the third world conference on women in Nairobi, more than two decades later; only a few women tread the path of politics in Kenya. For over three decades the number of women MPs in Kenya had never exceeded ten. It took a mighty wave of change to push their number to 18 in a parliament of 222 in the 2002 multi-party elections. The fact that the 9th parliament has had a total of 18 women MPs, 10 elected and 8 nominated is itself a disturbing indicator of how far Kenya lags behind.

Prior to the 2007 General Elections, experts had predicted the elections would produce at least fifty elected women MPs, depending on the caliber of candidates. However, out of the 269 women candidates out of a total of 2600 Parliamentary aspirants, only 15 made it to the august house. Of the nine presidential candidates, the only female candidate performed dismally. The number of elected women MPs in the tenth parliament increased by half from 10 to 15. Six more women were nominated by coalition parties, this makes a total of 21, 14% increase but still way below the 30% benchmark.

The important thing is in achieving gender balance, or in the least closing the gap between the two sexes in the country's highest decision-making body. The issue of gender equity has been the subject of empty promises. The achievement of democracy pre-supposes a genuine partnership between men

and women in the conduct of the affairs of the society, in which they work in equality and complimentary, drawing mutual enrichment from these differences.

The Beijing platform for Action, the 4th world conference on women in 1995, resolved without active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision making the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved. These are indicators that women feel left out in the process of democratization. It is against this background and statement problem that this proposed study sets out to address.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

Since Kenya gained independence, women are still languishing in the wretched of the earth category. Their representation in elective positions does not look secure as they are increasingly threatened by invisibility in public affairs. Regardless of making up to 52% of Kenya's population, they only hold 7% of leadership positions, thus pointing to the glaring disparities.

While democracy is a major input of development, the Kenyan women are yet to be adequately represented in Parliament and Civic Authorities. In recent times they have been demanding for participation in policy dialogue, aimed at situating themselves in the process of fighting for greater equality, to militate against patronage politics. The exact nature of what constitutes their dispensation in elective positions compared to men has not been fully investigated. Little is presently understood about steps of reducing the scale of this disparity. In deed women's plight is confounded with the enormous differences, which exist in their economic achievements.

Efforts to focus on individual women leaders in the context of the communities and the culture they come from will be crucial to the emancipation of women for national development. So far, the use of

conventional interventions such as creation of awareness has failed to guarantee women's enhanced participation in power politics. Therefore, within the framework of socialist feminism theory, this calls for rigorous research that focuses on seeking viable solutions to the present status of under-representation. In this regard, it was worthwhile to examine this situation by Case Study method of inquiry and seek answers to the following questions:

1. Does the public's perceptions about women's ability influence women's full participation in the process of democratization?
2. What past initiatives have been put in place to enhance/include or provide political space for women in Kenya?
3. To what extent are women aware of their democratic rights?

1.4 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study was to investigate whether there are man-made socio-cultural inequalities existing between women and men in the Kenyan political space and decision-making processes.

Thus the specific research objectives were as follows:

- 1) To determine the extent to which public perception of women's leadership qualities and cultural practices influence their participation in democratic processes.
- 2) To identify initiatives which enhance women's' inclusivity in the political space.
- 3) To establish indicators of women's awareness of democratization rights.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

The research set to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Cultural practices and people's perceptions have a positive impact on participation of women in the democratization process.

Hypothesis 2: Democratization process is deemed complete regardless of women who form more than 50% of the adult population and 60% of the voting population being involved.

Hypothesis 3: The level of women's awareness of their political rights has directly influenced their limited participation in the democratization process.

1.6 Justification of the Study

In the last decade, the Kenyan history has been characterized by shortage of representation by women in decision-making positions. This study was necessitated by the fact that little has been done on gender relations.

Further, it is disturbing to note that few existing works on political participation/representation of women have been published. Many writers have completely ignored issues pertaining to women yet voices and aspirations of Kenyan women can only be captured by documenting their political experiences. Only then, can we sensibly map out strategies to encourage more women to join politics, (Makotsi, P. ed. 2004:8).

As a group, women in Kenya have been discriminated against, marginalized and alienated by the successive regimes. Yet few scholars and liberal thinkers have written serious work on discrimination, domestication and subordination of women. The oldest and most obvious explanation for the subordinate role of women is the biological difference between male and female, which has led to the acceptance of the Freudian notion that 'ontology is destiny'. Using the physical differences as the starting point, lay-thinkers and scholars alike have justified the second place that the female gender is condemned to.

In spite of his enormous contribution to modern understanding of psychoanalysis, even Freud's normal human being was male. (Freud: 1964:193). Women's experiences are left unrecorded, neglected or ignored (Lerner: 1986: 4). Wanjiku, a peasant woman expressed the following sentiments during a KOLA research project in Nyeri, stated

“We (women) do not want equality with men. What we want is recognition of the work we do. We want to be paid for our work, so that we can be able to improve the standard of life for our families (KOLA: 1998; 72).”

Nairobi was the bedrock of the women's movement (1985) after the Mexico world conference of 1975 and the Copenhagen forum of 1980. The Kenya fete was the first of its kind in Africa. Then came the Beijing conference of 1995, renown worldwide for its tough agenda on gender balance, equality and empowerment. It is therefore surprising that women in Kenya have enjoyed political slumber for many years now.

It has been assumed women have either no voice or do not have the gift of language, which in itself is also heavily patriarchal. Women leaders like Charity Ngilu have been widely criticized and attacked for venturing into what has been considered men's domain. However, most people forget that deep down in history, women like Mekatilili and Mary Nyanjiru proved their worth at the battle front against white colonialists (Mugo M, 2001; 7).

Thus when women make effort to talk on their own behalf and for themselves, they seldom get support nor are they listened to by society. This came out clearly during the failed Affirmative Action motion moved by Hon Phoebe Asiyo (1997). Subsequent motions like Hon Beth Mugo's (2002) on the Beijing Platform of Action and Hon Martha Karua's Equity Bill, made little impact. (Hansard Reports 1997:2002)

Research in management and leadership has, for instance shown that feminine model of leadership tends to be more co-operative and competitive, empathetic, collaborative, persuasive and inspiring.

A further significant point, as stated by the first African –American woman US senator and Democratic Party presidential candidate, Carol Moseley-Braun,

"A society that taps the talents of 100% of its people is a stronger society because it can draw from a broad talent pool. It leads to governance that is more reflective and representative."

(Nangendo S: notes 2004)

In recent times, many gender activists have made it a hobby to redress gender imbalance. Most of their work lacks intellectual and a scholarly touch. Some studies are not objective, some are general, and some are based on unconfirmed information.

Although approaches to the overall empowerment of women have begun to integrate tools and strategies designed to promote democratic values, practices and institutions, it has not been enough. The significance of this work will contribute to campaigns towards adopting a gender friendly constitution that will provide a platform for affirmative action to give women greater economic opportunity and stronger representation in elective and appointive bodies.

In addition, there is very little research and information available on what sort of impact women have made. The study makes a contribution to the changing perceptions of the woman as an important institution in development. The study shows that a woman is no longer a mere subscriber to the patriarchal social prescription, but is emerging as a creative force that is capable of self-creation.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This work focused on women's political participation since 1990 to date. It assessed the alleged partial involvement of women in the political sphere with the aim to justify how such a practice imparts negatively to the development process and consequently, the perpetuation of poverty in the society.

The study mainly targeted selected 70 (seventy) key informants from women's organizations, development partners and political parties. To gauge the actual involvement of women in politics, focused group discussions were held with three categories of politicians, former and aspiring members of parliament and councilors, political activists, women leaders and ordinary citizens. These were based in Nairobi and its environs but representing various areas and constituencies within the country. However, this list is not exhaustive. It would have been prudent to involve politicians, activists, civil societies and women leaders from all walks of life, this was not possible due to lack of time and a restrictive budget. To back up primary data, secondary data from books, magazines, Hansard Records, journals, unpublished work and media was used to give credibility to this study. Due to lack of enough funding, the study settled on a sample of 70 respondents.

The coverage of the study was limited for a conventionally objective social scientific research. Needless to mention, that the study was both qualitative and quantitative in terms of the variables and indicators.

There were difficulties in getting access to the legislators therefore conducting personal interviews with parliamentarians was not easy. The precincts of parliament are mostly out of bound for ordinary citizens unless prior arrangements are made. Further, the political environment is currently un-conducive and volatile. Parliament was prorogued until March 2008.

Politicians are busy people, especially with matters pertaining to their constituencies; some chair various house committees and therefore may have limited time to participate in the study. Further my lack of previous experience in the world of research was a limiting factor. There were difficulties in accessing information on past initiatives as a result of staff movements from some of the organizations. There was also be mistrusts by informants. This study was affected by a restrictive budget and limited time. Bureaucracy by bodyguards and personal assistants of politicians delayed/ limited access to parliamentarians. Challenges of bias were also encountered.

This study was also confined to an elitist population because of the nature of questions that required in-depth information. The researcher also encountered problems in retrieving questionnaires. To counter this, more questionnaires were given out through the help of friends and other scholars.

However, this did not compromise the quality of the study in any way. Nevertheless, the study did not cover all areas of spheres of women participation in democratic processes. In addition, it did not thoroughly investigate background characteristics of the respondents. It was assumed that the study sample had normal characteristics in distribution and other socio – cultural factors.

1.8 Definitions of Terms and Concepts

Terms and concepts used in this study are the subject of widespread and continuing debates by researchers and workers in academic and development organisations. Definitions of terms and concepts used in this study are given as follows:

- Access to:** This is defined as the opportunity to make use of a resource.
- Affirmative Action:** Is a temporary strategy of correcting past mistakes of discrimination and marginalization of women, youth, disabled and other vulnerable cadre in the society.

Condition:	Refers to the immediate, material circumstances in which women and men live, related to their present workloads and responsibilities.
Control:	This is the power to decide how a resource is used, and who has access to it
Democratization:	Refers to a strategy that entails the involvement of the governed in the governance process
Discrimination:	Is any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex, which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment as exercised by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.
Disempowerment:	Means lack of choice to make strategic decisions, either by men or women.
Empowerment:	In this context, it means women's increased control over public decisions making.
Feminization:	Advocacy of equal rights and opportunities for women, especially the extension of their activity into the social and political life.
Gender:	Gender is the social, economic and cultural roles and relations between women and men which include their responsibilities in a given culture or location. Being a man or a woman is very different in different cultures.
Gender Analysis:	Aims to formulate development interventions, which are better targeted to meet both women's and men's needs to address their constraints. It is a practical tool for analyzing the nature of gender differentiation

- Gender Equality:** Is defined as that stage of human social development at which the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not be determined by the fact of being born male or female.
- Gender Gap:** Means the observable (and often measurable) gap between women and men on some important socio-economic indicator, which is seen to be unjust, and therefore presents the clear empirical evidence of the existence of a gender issue.
- Equity:** Literally means justice and fair treatment in the distribution of assets, responsibilities and power between individuals and groups in a society or country.
- Liberal Feminism:** Agitates for equal opportunities for both women and men. Liberal feminists see sexism as dysfunctional because it deprives society of one-half of its creative workforce. Oppression exists because of our socialization process. Liberal feminists desire to free women from the oppressive, patriarchal gender roles. From a **Marxist** perspective, it's economics, not love, that makes the world go round. Marxists argue that every aspect of social life is shaped by how material needs are met in society. It shows how economic life in general and in particular shapes gender oppression.
- Mainstreaming:** It is a process used to assess the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes in all areas and at all levels
- Manifesto:** Is a political party's vision of the society it hopes to create if it acquires power. It's a contract with users.

- Participation:** Is the process by which people are involved and contribute to a cause from an informed position. However, the present context of participation means “women’s equal participation in decision making process”
- Patriarchy:** It is a kind of society that is male dominated, male – identified, and male – centered. It is the oppression of women, which takes several forms. In Srilatha Batliwala’s words, patriarchy is a Greek word literally meaning ‘rule of the father’. Patriarchy establishes unequal power relations.
- Poverty:** Denotes a state or condition of material deprivation and distress, coupled with powerlessness and lack of choices in terms of material necessities, health, security and self-confidence.
- Radical Feminism:** Encompasses the theory of the “goodness” of the female and the “evilness” of the male. It is a philosophy emphasizing the patriarchal roots of inequality between men and women, or more specifically, social dominance of women by men. It views patriarchy as dividing rights, privileges and power by gender, as a result, oppressing women and privileging men. Radical feminists tend to be more militant in their approach, opposing existing political and social organizations in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy.
- Relative poverty:** Refers to deprivation compared to most others, such as the bottom 10% income or consumption group in a given community or society
- Sex:** Is the biological difference between men and women. Sexual differences are the same throughout the human race. Sex is fixed and unchangeable.

Status and role: There are a set of concepts, which aim to distinguish between the visible aspects of gender relations between women and men, and invisible power relation, which determine their activities.

Position: This concept describes the place of women in society relative to that of men.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature related to the long struggle by women of Kenya to be fully included in the process of democratization, as well as legal and institutional frameworks that have so far been put in place to address marginalization and how all these influence equitable development.

The universal declaration of Human Rights, states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his or her country. This means the empowerment and autonomy of women and improvement of their social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government and sustainable development in all spheres of life.

CEDAW: Article 2(a) calls on governments to embody the principle of equity of men and women in national constitutions. Article 2(f) calls for the abolition of existing laws, regulation, and practices that discriminate against women. Article three states:

“Parties shall in all fields in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields take appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercising and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.”

The global commitment for women representation is set at 30% and has further been reinforced by the MDGs, which places gender equality centrally as a goal for 2015. CEDAW further gives a legal imperative for countries and people to address discrimination and inequalities in civil and political

The need to promote gender equality through Gender and Development (GAD) was one of the core issues of major UN Conferences and Summits during the 1980's and 1990's including the Millennium Development Goals. The GAD approach recognizes that women and men play different roles in society and therefore have different needs and concerns. These can be either practical needs i.e. improving the efficiency of women's and men's roles or strategic needs i.e. addressing women's subordinate position by challenging stereotypical power relations between women and men. This approach places strong emphasis on gender equality and adopts a gender main streaming strategy.

The functioning of a democracy depends, no doubt, on the well functioning of its institutions. Many times a new democratic renewal means new institutions and new public bodies such as new judiciary, executive, legislative, political parties and even new players in these institutions.

This is circumstantially the scenario Kenya has to grapple with in the legislative, judiciary and civil service and even in political parties. As in many African countries, opposition parties behave like they used to, under the single party regimes. What women have significantly learnt however during this time of Kenya's political transition is that they do not benefit automatically every time the democratic system is recorded by successful transitions. It takes awareness, questioning and organizing by women inside and outside the mainstream to turn transitions into something good for women. (Oyugi, 2003; 3)

To-date, women's rights to vote and legislation on equal pay have not helped to improve women's lives. Hence this writer wonders why Orwell (1945) still applies to people's lives after almost a century, when he suggested in his book (*Animal farm*) that all animals were equal, but some were more equal than others. This metaphor reflects the discrepancy between the equality guaranteed women by the law and their actual status in society.

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As reported in the Daily Nation Newspaper of Wed May 3, 2002, Beth Mugo, then a member of the 9th Parliament observed, "It is a pity that women representation is still largely inadequate in all structures of governance and decision making. It is even pathetic that the situation in Kenya is so bad".

A primary reason for success of women in politics elsewhere is the effort on the part of the women themselves. In a book commissioned by African Leadership Forum in Nigeria, Longwe and Clarke (1991) state that there is absolutely no correlation between women's education, affluence and levels of representation in politics and decision-making. For example Mozambique one of the poorest countries in the world and with the highest illiteracy levels, has the highest representation of women in parliament in Africa. Yet Mauritius, Africa's "little tigers" is 29th on the same level. African countries with the highest percentage of women in politics have either recently undergone social upheaval or had a socialist leaning and have adopted affirmative action measures, or a combination of these. There is generally low participation of women in politics and public service. Of the 44 women who stood for elections in 2002, only 9 were voted in. In the same year, 6625 men vied for civic seats, out of which 2043 were elected and 382 women vied for the same seats out of which only 97 were elected.

Various political parties boosted the number of women councilors through nominations. As a result, there were 377 councilors against 2460 men thus 13.3% of the total number of councilors in the country.

Political parties are vehicles to power; as such they should stand for something by way of beliefs, values and aspirations. When parties mean virtually nothing, their owners cannot be faithful to a single principle. They cannot therefore honor their promise of reserving 1/3 of their nominations to

women. Parties in Kenya have no permanent members and women do not hold high positions, as they are private clubs.

That the status of women in Kenya, and the degree to which they enjoy their freedom and rights, depends a great deal on how well they are represented in senior positions of influence is true. Until 2001, there were no women Provincial Commissioners, and the ratio of women to men District Commissioners was 1:13 as of March 2002.

Since independence, women in Kenya have been visibly involved in political mobilization, not only as candidates, but also as voters. However to make a greater impact, women need to engage themselves more vigorously at the political party level by registering as members of political parties and seeking positions at grass root levels because that is where the real power is. Kenya has remained a patriarchal society where accepting women in leadership has been and is still a big challenge.

There is still not much political will; hence a social transformation is needed. A close look at election trends over the past 44 years shows that this change will need more than vying for a political seat.

Out of the 108 political parties in Kenya, less than five have women at the helm. The most visible of the women are Dr Julia Ojiambo as head of Labour Party of Kenya and Charity Ngilu who is the chair of both National Party of Kenya and National rainbow Coalition. Most women are just members, holding positions that do not allow them to speak on behalf of the party. However, all is not lost because the world over, women only woke up to the idea of forming and heading political parties in the 1990's. Dr Mbikusita (Zambia), Margaret Dongo (Zimbabwe) and Lima Katso (Lesotho) formed their own parties during the same period. Charity Ngilu and Julia Ojiambo headed Social Democratic party and Labour party in Kenya respectively.

Ruth Rolland (Central Africa) and Victoria Pereira (Angola) led parties too. The time is ripe for women to form and head political parties of their own that will articulate women issues.

Although there is need both to increase women's representation and form parties led by women with broad based male and female constituency, women are not a homogeneous constituency. Even where women MPs are committed to broad principles of gender equality, their definition of what this means, their strategies for achieving equality, and the constituencies of women they represent, may vastly be different. Former ANC MP, Manzini (1995) eloquently points out that an attempt to build a common front for women in parliament would not succeed easily (Gisele: Ed. 1995; 94). Further, individual feminists in other parties have found it difficult to overcome the ideological resistance and lack of effective internal structures within their parties.

This notwithstanding, the political gains for women in Kenya in the 2002 elections cannot be understated. They are fruits of relentless campaigns and elaborate advocacy programmes by numerous organizations and individuals.

Legal frameworks have not automatically conferred rights on women as there is a noticeable absence of a conscious constituency, not only among women, and men's groups, but also within government bureaucracies, the media, lawyers and members of the judicial system. A study by Nzomo (1995) shows, Kenya women's mobilization has been channeled through a party wing, an affiliated mass organization or a co-opted organization tied to the ruling party or regime. This relationship serves to marginalize women's leadership and channels women into mobilizing around a narrow set of issues.

During election time, nominations, are more often than not, seen to be thoroughly flawed. Popular female candidates are cheated out of victory as women have little experience in public speaking.

Therefore, women in Kenya need to perceive their role differently, by strengthening their activities and visibility in political parties. Further, those who have made the decision to stand for elections should take all these circumstances into consideration and be able to resist.

Historically, support for political leadership for Kenyan females has been little. The relatively high illiteracy rates and thinner wallets have also compounded this. Few women are in a position, either in the cabinet or judiciary, to influence major changes to the current situation.

It is the prerogative of the government to remove legal barriers for fair and equal treatment of women in all fields of society and empower them to participate in these fields with equal powers to that of men and to receive equal support.

Women were not elected to parliament before 1966. In 1991, there were only two woman MPs. In 1997, there were 9, including five nominated by the then President, Daniel Arap Moi-most in a position of tokenism (Makotsi P, ed 2004; 14) This indicates that the political transition from one - party state to multi- partyism in 1991 changed the situation of women little. Six were elected and one nominated in the first multiparty elections of 1992. In the run up to 1997, second multiparty elections, the constitution was amended under the IPPG reforms to make it mandatory for political parties to give at least a half of their nominations slots to women. Consequently, there were four elected MPs and four nominated ones. A UNDP Report (2002) shows in 1998 there were no female ministers and women occupied only 8.8% of sub-ministerial posts.

In her analysis of democracy, Asiyo (2007) notes there is no magic wand and that women must join political parties in masses and compete for seats from local to national levels. This will enable women develop as politicians and encourage them to aspire to take bigger offices. When women

struggle to win the right to vote, they expect that right inevitably leads to greater women representation, which may not be the case.

In their quest for political voice and space, women leaders need to re-examine their strategy by having a self-critique. Various studies have shown that adequate proportion of females and males in decision-making portfolios can only be achieved through an even playing field right from the grassroots through to the voting mechanisms and the structures of government.

Policy frameworks for the promotion of gender equality in Kenya are still weak. An attempt to pass legislation that protects and promotes the status of women including Affirmative Action for women in political process have not been clearly understood and is seen more as a favor to women. Women attribute their inability to compete with men in electoral politics to many factors including electoral violence, embarrassing and demeaning language used in campaigns that often go on into the night, in bars and other social places that women evade. Affirmative Action process in Kenya, which has been characterized with a lot of bottlenecks, started with the Hon Phoebe Asiyo on (1997), who moved a motion for government to move its legislation, but with no success. Subsequently Hon Beth Mugo (2000) moved a motion in parliament for leave to introduce an Affirmative Action Bill.

Though allowed, the bill was never published. Affirmative Action is necessary to empower women, to give their best to National Development.

Affirmative Action is also a significant tool to attain gender parity and social justice for all Kenyans. It will provide a legal framework for seeking redress to past discrimination and under representation of women in parliament and local authorities. The adoption of Affirmative Action and Gender Equality Laws will reflect Kenya's commitment to the domestication and implementation of international instruments such as the African Platform of Action, Nairobi Forward looking strategies

being the platform for action and the Convention of the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. Parliament, political parties and local authorities besides making laws have the responsibility of allocating national and local resources, which affects the lives of men and women. Starting with political parties and local governance structures will in turn influence the adoption of Affirmative Action and accessibility of governance in the society.

Through Affirmative Action a critical mass of women will engage in debates and policies that affect their lot directly or indirectly such as those that relate to their reproductive rights and other female gender specific interests.

However some have argued against Affirmative action saying that it will make women become tokens and used for window dress and that it is against open democratic competition and creates conflict. While others argue that women have equal opportunities to compete and enter every profession or position and there is no need to favor them.

It should be noted that the advantages for the adoption of affirmative action and gender equality laws are more significant than the few disadvantages which are a result of patriarchal ideology, chauvinism and stereotypes that are the antithesis of compensatory justice and democratic governance.

1990's witnessed the emergence of organizations that lobbied for women's political leadership, pressed for legislative and constitutional changes and education. However, it became clear that the 'vote' does not ensure women's full access to the public sphere. Women from all domains, experience what has become known as the 'glass ceiling' an invisible barrier that prevents them from advancing beyond a certain point on the professional or political ladder.

There were critical lessons to be learnt from the 1997 elections. Charity Ngilu's candidacy proved that there was considerable goodwill towards women politicians. Hon Beth Mugo and Martha Karua observe different approaches to politics by men and women. Whereas men focused on the external image, the flashy convoys and dramatic show of strength, women consistently chose to work with small groups at the community level, negotiating with the people.

Although political parties are important institutions of democracy, they are yet to be institutionalized and to operationalize their gender politics.

The high rate of formation and breaking of coalitions has further complicated the political game. It therefore becomes difficult to develop long term strategies for women candidates to ensure success because the voters keep shifting their loyalties to parties. This means that candidates are not able to decide on which party they will use as a vehicle to parliament.

The improved pay package for members of parliament and the management of devolved funds by MPs within their constituencies through the CDF and LATF has also made it more difficult for aspiring candidates to remove the incumbents. Some incumbents have capitalized on and taken the glory for the development projects implemented using devolved funds. Incumbents are more aggressive to ensure they retain their seats in the 2007 elections. This has led to more electoral violence during campaigns, pre and post nomination periods.

Political parties need to develop a friendly culture towards women candidates, they must be allowed to participate in the wheeling and dealing that characterizes success in politics. This foregoing revelation shows that parties have been a major barrier to women's aspirations for elective political

leadership especially during nominations. Parties are still funded and controlled by individual members who are yet to nurture internal democracy in terms of management.

Oyugi (2003) attributes the reason for women's under-representation to party structures, how they are managed and organized. Further, many political parties who recognize the need for women's representation have failed to reserve seats for women's participation and those who have reserved quotas have failed to fill these quotas because 'strong women' have not turned up to vie for these vacancies. As of now, the constitution of Kenya has no clause or law demanding a high representation of women.

The Affirmative Bill, which sought to do so was removed from parliament in 2002 Nzomo (1993) points out, women need to raise their level of political socialization. No one is going to be given power on a silver platter. However, Mbogo (2005) notes that women need to grow with the party in order to understand it and to also articulate issues. She further cautions women candidates that they must maintain consistency and a good track record within their parties and the voting public. She points out that thorough understanding of party policy, ideology, mission and vision is an asset to women candidates.

Women face many barriers on their way up the political ladder. Their access to the democratic process is threatened further in the current climate of economic rationalism, which favors the notion of customer over citizens. Kenyan women earn less than Kenyan men therefore their experiences must be very challenging. Resources are necessary to boost them into political leadership. This factor is closely related to culture. It is due to various cultural situations that women have less access to resources than men.

Even though results of public opinion surveys, suggest that the Kenyan population is generally becoming gender sensitive, the majority of the population refuses the concrete mechanism of Affirmative action. The support is low, both among politicians and the electorate.

Thenjiwa Mtintso, formerly, Deputy Secretary General of the ANC notes that access only delivers numbers, still to be addressed are the institutional barriers to women's effective participation, which is critical to transforming legislation and policy from a gender perspective. (Mtintso, 1999:p 53,56,57)

This researcher concurs with Mbogo that nothing can change much unless parties embrace mixed proportional representation model, which gives opportunities to both women and men. A proper strategy is the only way for women seeking elective posts in future. Mbogo points out, political fields are not hostile to women; rather women must lead by example and take their political career seriously (G M and G issue No. 004 2005).

The Government of Kenya highlighted the need to strengthen women's participation in national decision making processes by improving Kenya's social framework and creating an enabling environment in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2001 – 2004). This caught the eye of the donors who deemed it important to support the values identified by the GOK. As part of the lessons learned during the run up to the 1997 elections, DFID – Kenya, CIM, GESP, CIDA – CSDDP and The Royal Embassies of the Netherlands and Denmark and therefore Embassy of Sweden and UNIFEM, agreed to harmonize strategic support in form of engendering the political processes programme (EPPP). The constitution review process has remained key in the political arena in Kenya for the last fifteen years. Within the draft constitution, there were many provisions to protect and promote women's rights. After the rejection of the draft constitution in the national constitutional referendum, women have to position themselves in the process that will be put in place to ensure the

realization of a new constitution. Further, they will have to ensure that the provisions that protect and promote women's rights are retained.

However, unless systematic and individual barriers that limit women's influence in decision-making structure in most walks of life are removed, women do not stand much chance.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theory can be defined as a set of interrelated propositions or statement of relationships. In a theory, the relationships between concepts has been tested under various situations and found to hold true. Theories permit formulation of hypotheses with a high rate of positive affirmation (NYC, Felix and Berardo 1981) Theories also help educationists and researchers to distinguish between true and false, to explain phenomena and to interpret meanings rather than to improve preconceived meanings.

Therefore to be able to critique and explore hidden values in the world of educators, researchers and practitioners, theoretical backing is necessary. As Kenyan women think of reconceptualizing their position in power politics and coming up with relevant theories, one theory that needs attention to determine it's place in elective politics is the feminist theory.

Feminism is a movement whose goal is recognition of the place of women in society. Yet as Evans (1995) notes, there is a problem of terminology in the equality-difference debate: the dichotomy seems incorrect. Only when sameness is linked to equality does it begin to make sense since feminism is divided by the sex equality-sex difference debate. As stated in Mwanje (2001a, Chapter 2), feminism means that we seek for women the same opportunities and privileges the society gives to men, or... that we assert the distinctive value of womanhood against patriarchal denigration. While these

positions need not be mutually exclusive, there is a strong tendency ... to make them so. According to Mackinnon (1987), the values of society are geared to men. To grasp this view is to see how great the stakes in the argument are.

The feminist school of thought has had its share of debilitating criticism. This is mainly focused on what is perceived as it being; *-a random mixture of complaints pointing out, but scarcely analyzing the subordination of women (Tong 1989 :1)'*.

This school of thought has also been discussed by some as merely a political tool that has little or no bearing on the world of development. However, Tong (1989:1) describes feminism theory as:

“Not one, but many theories or perspectives and that each feminist theory or perspective attempts to describe women's oppression, its causes and consequences, and to prescribe strategies for women's liberation”.

Feminist theory is an umbrella that covers many approaches to gender and patriarchy. Overhold, *et. al.* (1985), argued that feminism is any view, which states and believes that all women in the world in one way or another have suffered oppression, virtually in all spheres of life. While Moore (1988) defines feminism as awareness of women's exploitation and oppression; the exploitation taking place: in the home; in the work place; and in the society. Thus feminism is a way of thinking critically about gender and its place in social life (Johnson 1997; 102).

It is no wonder that Wollstonecraft (1772) one of the earliest liberal feminists denied that women's emotional disposition was due to nature, instead, she believed, the manner in which women are treated by society is the direct cause of their personality traits. In this regard, feminism is basically the understanding of issues from the women's perspective. This is underpinned by Shin (1986), who

argues that the woman's perspective is essential because, they are the "aliens within" patriarchal society. As such, they can offer new ways of thinking about self, society, power and powerlessness.

Contemporary feminist historians have attempted to categorize some of the women's movements of the 19th century, including Marxist, Liberal, Radical and Socialist Feminism. These movements analyze the core causes of the woman's oppressive subordination in the society.

Showalter (Ed: 1986) contends that the various perspectives on feminist thoughts that draw from cultural anthropology, psychology, Marxism and Discourse Theory; for its theoretical tools are unified by their political commitments. In presenting the role played by society in the woman's disempowerment and general victimization, feminist theories enable the viewing of these in the light of societal prejudices. This is because it acknowledges that male egocentrism is the driving force behind societal values and expectations, which victimize the woman.

This then legitimizes the attempts at subverting the "long-held truths" to re-define social relations as dictated by gender (Kaplan, 1986:516).

Fredrick Engels (1972) argues that social inequality originated in the family and that historically, women were the first oppressed group. Critics of Marxism see it to be single minded and focuses rather too much on economics. It overlooks the essentially patriarchal nature of systems. It tells little about how the interests and dynamics of patriarchy and capitalism overlap and support each other.

Criticism of Marxian feminism produced socialist feminism, which broadens and deepens the Marxian approach by focusing on the complex connection between patriarchy and economic systems such as capitalism especially as it operates through the family. Therefore the question of women empowerment and their participation in the political sphere is best interrogated within the socialist feminism theoretical perspective.

If one thinker can be so said to stand as metaphor for socialist feminism's journey from the early years, it is Young K; 1993:188. From the context of social feminism, she argues that feminists who propose a politics of care maintain the distinction between public roles, which ideals of impartiality and reason are, held key and private relationship, which require a different moral approach. She believes women should extend the argument greatly, querying impartiality wherever it occurs. She assails also, the liberal public-private split, and the relegation of women, (but others too), to the private realm. Young declares impartiality impossible. A problem for supporters of participation is that participatory democratic theory tends towards a unified public; for Young, that can exclude or silence certain groups. Certainly this is a major concern in this study.

The basic insight of socialist feminism is that patriarchy and gender oppression are not simply about gender but are bound up with the most fundamental aspects of social life. It links women's oppression to the class structure. Sexism is a way of rewarding the working class male: to give them control over women. An analysis of these perspectives is given in (Foucault 1981; vol). As Hartman (1981) rightly points out, oppression involves more than psychology and social roles for it is always rooted in the material realities of production and reproduction.

Ironically feminism has contributed to the exclusion of women from democratic processes. Feminism despite its claims never fought for the rights of all women. It is a largely middle class pursuit led by well-educated women, excluded from the political and professional organizations run by middle class men.

In retrospect, many women from lower socio-economic backgrounds have been excluded from active participation in Kenyan democracy. The effect of domestic responsibilities on the participation of women in politics is yet another global phenomenon. Further the political changes of the 1990's may

have lead to even severe marginalization of women as citizens, with paid work and domestic responsibilities becoming a priority over active citizenship.

Feminists' challenges to representative democracy in Africa were aptly summed up by Irene Ginwala, who stated:

"Lets us.....say: I am woman; my concerns, my problems, my difficulties, my achievements are an integral part of our new society. No one will succeed in marginalizing them or me. I go to parliament but I am woman." (Geotz & Hassim 2003:8)

Although rarely mentioned in studies of democratization in Kenya, women's movement actively sort to participate in the political movement of the 90's and in many cases, found themselves the only group defying repression by authorities. They were also at the forefront of protests defending imprisoned human rights activists and once again found themselves in violent clashes with police.

The foregoing analysis confirms the sociological grounding of feminist theory as a framework that encapsulates multiple facets of social relations of the woman. If feminism is invisible, then patriarchy is invisible. And if feminism is distorted then patriarchy is safe from scrutiny. Therefore feminism is the only critical perspective of patriarchy that we have got. Without feminism we are left to understand gender oppression in the patriarchal forms that invariably ignore it or justify it by turning reality upside down and calling it something else. Without feminism it is very easy not to see male dominance at all, or if we do, to explain it a way as human nature. Without feminism, it is easy to jump into the band wagon of those who mythically believe inequality in legislation is no longer a problem for real women. But once we accept the reality that patriarchy exists, we open a door that swings just one way, and once we pass through it to the other side feminism is our best hope for figuring out where we are and what to do next.

This study appreciates the presence and relevance of the many facets of feminist theories, such as liberalist, postmodernist, culturalist, and socialist. It is recognized that empowerment presents various possibilities that can turn the woman's oppressed situation around which can best be looked at in the light of radical, liberal, and socialist feminist perspectives. Nevertheless, the socialist feminism framework is selected to enable this study make a contribution to the growing focus on the woman question(s) and provide some answers to the same.

Therefore this study is situated within the context of the socialist feminism paradigm that explores some of the limits of new institutional approaches that frequently carry with them implicit assumptions that decentralization and devolution of power will be of benefit to all. This is because most contemporary accounts of citizenship fail to acknowledge that men and women's experiences of citizenship are different.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This is a Case Study of women in power politics. It involves an investigation supported with collection and analysis of both primary and secondary data. The study encompassed components of theoretical and analytical analyses, based on variables of interest, with a view to establishing patterns, trends, relationships and contrasts under both the qualitative and quantitative paradigms (Kothari, 1990; and Mwanje, 2001b & c). The sources, procedures and techniques for data collection and analysis are presented below.

3.2 Sources of Data

Sources of primary data included: responses from individuals; key informants drawn from women leaders, scholars, development partners and leaders of CBOs, NGOs, political parties and other relevant institutions such as National Democratic Institute and Center for Multi-party Democracy. Additional sources included groups, which participated in Focus Group Discussions. These sources yielded information regarding the state of participation of women in the political sphere and the changes that would be desired to encourage women to seek political office.

Secondary data was sourced from published statistics, public speeches by women leaders; Hansard records; published newspapers; books; journals; registers, media; unpublished works such as thesis, conference and seminar papers; and magazine articles. Other data was generated through a desk review of relevant and appropriate materials including documents and other publications on past and current initiatives within Kenya and elsewhere. Among documents reviewed were, Legal identities of

different organizations such as trust companies, NGO's, foundations, documents from individual women-led organizations, development partners and Political Parties.

3.3 . Population Structure and Sample Size

The study population structure incorporated various levels. These constituted women leaders, political parties, CBOs, NGOs, and development partner institutions in Kenya. The study sampling structure was as follows:

- a) A sample of $n= 70$ individuals in leadership positions within the country, to get their views, opinions and experiences on women and political participation.
- b) A sample of $n= 6$ representatives of registered political parties in Kenya.
- c) A sample of $n=10$ leaders/managers drawn from the following groups: Women's organizations, development partners, and other relevant institutions (such as The Gender Commission, National Democratic Institute, human rights organizations and Center for Multi-party Democracy).
- d) A sample of $n= 2$ focus group discussions drawn from members of Kenyan Women Parliamentarian Association; women aspirants for Parliamentary and Civic aspirants in past general and by-elections; These groups, where applicable included legally elected leaders.
- e) Case History sample of $n=2$, consisting of one very successful woman politician and one less successful (or failed) woman politician.

The sample in each category was defined by area of representation, age, gender, socio-economic profile and political dynamics.

3.4 Data Collection Procedures

(a) Interviewing Schedule: The 70 respondents for the individual interviewing schedule were randomly sampled from a sample frame for ordinary citizens, scholars, women parliamentarians, women civic leaders, women political aspirants in past elections, and other leaders. The aim was to ensure that samples are representatively drawn from the study population. The data collected was both qualitative and quantitative. The work plan for this study is outlined in Appendix I while the study instruments are given in Appendix II.

(b) Political Parties: A sampling frame of all registered political parties in Kenya that sponsored women parliamentarians and civic aspirants in the general election of 1990 - 2002, as a case study, were drawn. Giving priority to parties that successfully sponsored women candidates to parliament and/or civic authorities, a sample of 6 parties were drawn, representing about 20% of all registered parties. The study instrument is given in Appendix III.

(c) Focus Group Discussion: Each of the 3 FGD had membership of between 8 and 12 participants, selected from the categories outlined above. The discussions were based on a protocol (Appendix IV) and lasted for a period of not more than one hour.

(d) Key informant/In-depth Interviewing: A sample frame for each type of organization was prepared, from which a stratified random sample of selected representative (of leaders/managers of Institutions) was drawn. The purpose being to ensure that all stakeholders at all levels were represented. The instrument used is given in Appendix V.

(e) *Case Histories*: One very successful and one failed politician (n=2) were requested to give life history (in brief) covering participation in the democratic processes. The protocol applied is given in Appendix VI.

3.5 Data Analysis Procedure

Data analysis is “The search for patterns in data and for ideas that help to explain the experience of those patterns (Bernard 1994:360)”. Two paradigms were applied namely, qualitative and quantitative.

Qualitative Data: This data was processed using logical, conceptual content and documentary analysis, within the framework of socialist feminism theory. In the case histories, exact recording of quotes was important as they were powerful elements of the study with regard to self-expression.

Quantitative Data: This data was subjected to statistical analysis. The SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) was used to generate basic statistics and to test hypotheses. For example, summarizing the various opinions and synthesizing themes or patterns that emerged signified analysis of data drawn from the key informant/in-depth interviews.

3.6 Data Presentation

The method of data presentation and representation in this study is the use of tables, pie charts and bar graphs to show:-

- i. Extent to which public perception of women’s leadership qualities influences their participation in democratic processes.
- ii. Past initiatives that have been in place to enhance / include or provide political space for women in Kenya.

- iii. indicators of women's awareness of their democratic rights and ways of removing barriers that shut them out of this process.

Descriptive qualitative analysis has also been used to show political marginalization of women and common barriers that reinforce the same.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

This research adhered to appropriate research procedure has acknowledged all sources of information as far as possible. No harm was done to any of the respondents or institutions. The study did not infringe on the privacy of informant. In addition, consent was sort from each respondents or participant (at the focus group discussions).

The results from data analysis and various findings are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.0. Introduction

This research adopted a multi faceted data analysis approach. This ranged from simple collation and tabulations to synthesis of the information from different instruments.

The information was organized as per the thematic issues raised in the Terms of Reference and presented in a logical sequence under chapters for convenience.

The rationale for the survey/study in broad terms was to systematically investigate the issues and challenges that have contributed to the alleged dismal levels of representation of women in elective positions, both at national and local levels, parliamentary and civic bodies; and thereby, evolve strategies for reversing this trend.

The Terms of Reference specifically involved determining the extent to which public perceptions of women's leadership qualities influence their participation in democratic processes, initiatives which enhance women's inclusivity in political space and establishing indicators of women's awareness of their democratization rights with a view of finding new ways.

The first task was to design the research instruments and conduct preliminary literature search. The instruments used were:- Key Informants, Focus group discussions, Questionnaires, case studies and political party instrument. The details of the instruments can be found in the annexes and Research Methodology. As stated earlier, this study relied on stratified random sampling method for data

collection. Out of a sample of 70 selected respondents, questionnaires were administered to 40 respondents and six political parties. About eight in-depth interviews were held with key informants. Two case studies were also carried out. The data generated from the field survey was obtained through a standard instrument and a key informant checklist, both administered by this researcher.

Information from the standard instrument was analyzed using the SPSS and the information presented in this study is partly the result of that analysis. Disaggregated data has been developed separately using both data set from the standard instruments and excerpts from the key informant responses and the case studies.

There was a return rate of over 80%.

4.1 Questionnaires

4.1.1. Sample Characteristics

For the survey results to be credible, it was important that the sample approximate as close as possible to the demographic characteristics of the population which indicates the number of men and women are nearly equal.

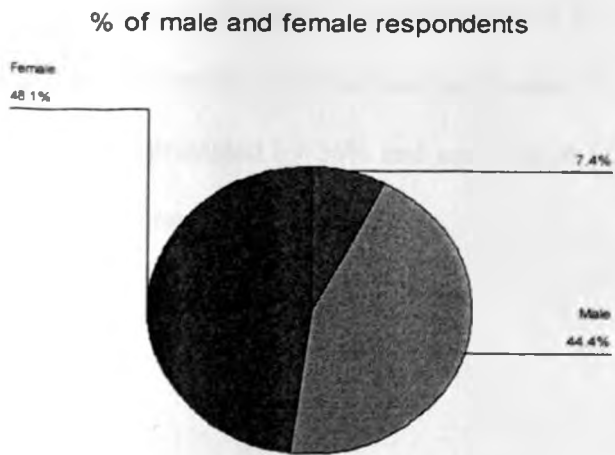


Fig. 4.1

The study therefore sought to achieve, as a conscious target, the equal representation in the sample of men and women. Eventually the sample consisted of 48% female and 44.4% male. Hence whereas the absolute equality of representation would ideally have been 50% for each sex, the survey managed to capture the closest possible proportional representation of the sexes.

4.1.2. Age Group of Respondents

The other characteristic of the general population that was consciously factored in the sampling was age. On this account too, considerable effort was made into capturing respondent base roughly approximating voter's characteristics. Kenyan citizens become eligible to vote when they reach 18 years of age, even though 21 years is the lower limit in terms of age for a candidate contesting elections. Similar to the practice in functional democracies elsewhere, there is universal adult suffrage in Kenya. There are neither proper qualifications for voting, nor an upper limit on the age at which Kenyans can stop casting their ballots.

For this study almost 100% of respondents were of ages 18 and 55, see table fig 4.2. This is the most politically active demographic cluster, and accordingly, forms the bulk of the voting population. Broken down further however, the age bracket of 18-25years was represented by 8% of respondents, while the bracket of 26 – 34years was represented by 14% of respondent. The age bracket of 35 – 44years was represented by 36% and age bracket of 45 – 54years by 14% while those aged over 55years were represented by 7%.

Age group of respondents



Fig. 4.2

4.1.3. Level of Education of Respondents

Almost 50% of the respondents had acquired post graduate education, 33% university graduates, 8% tertiary education and 8% secondary education.

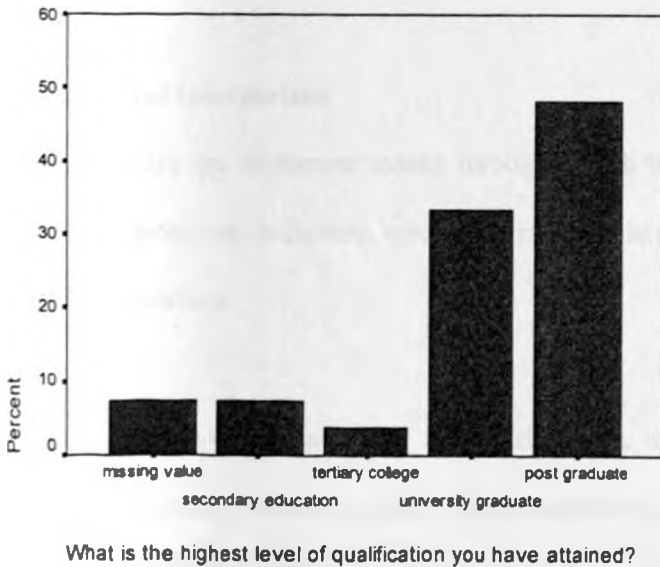


Fig. 4.3

Voting Patterns

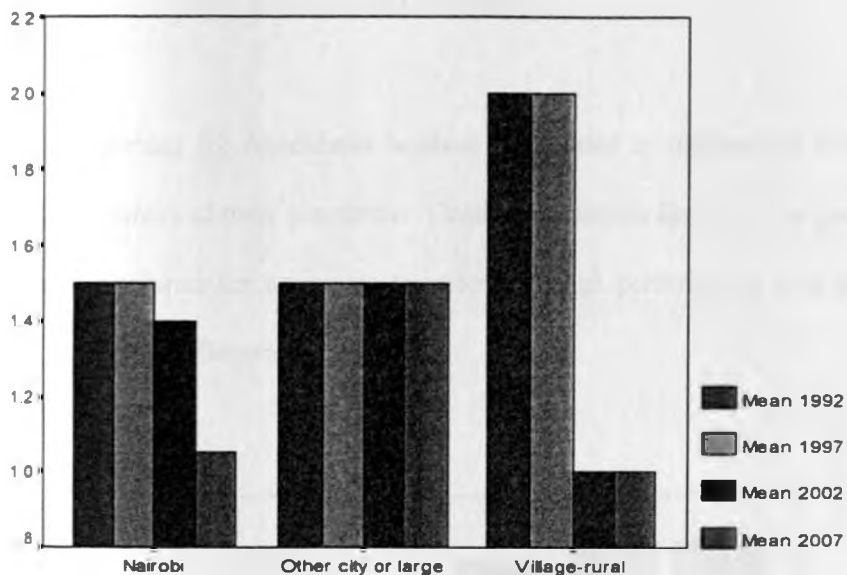


Fig. 4.4

The bar graph above shows the voting patterns from the year 1997-2002 clustered in the various resident categories. The findings show that the voter turnout in the rural areas drastically dropped in the years 2002 and 2007 whereas the turnout in other cities has been constant in all the years. In Nairobi there is a drop in voter turnout showing voter apathy.

4.1.4. Electoral Information

Asked to indicate the important means through which they received information on elections and candidates, respondents indicated; women's groups, relatives or friends as most important, followed by radio and television.

The results indicate that respondents are middle class, who are able to receive information from a combination of radio, women groups, friends/ relatives amongst others. This implies the continued relevance of word of mouth in campaigning in Kenya. Television and newspapers are not such important means of getting election information, indicating the large size of middle class and the

formally employed. See fig 4.5. Other methods of receiving information that ranked high, included, church and work place, seminars and workshops.

This is important for candidates because they need to understand how best to reach the largest possible members of their electorate. Candidates should find ways to make public meetings/ Barazas important platforms for appealing to voters through performance and demonstration of knowledge, composure and confidence.

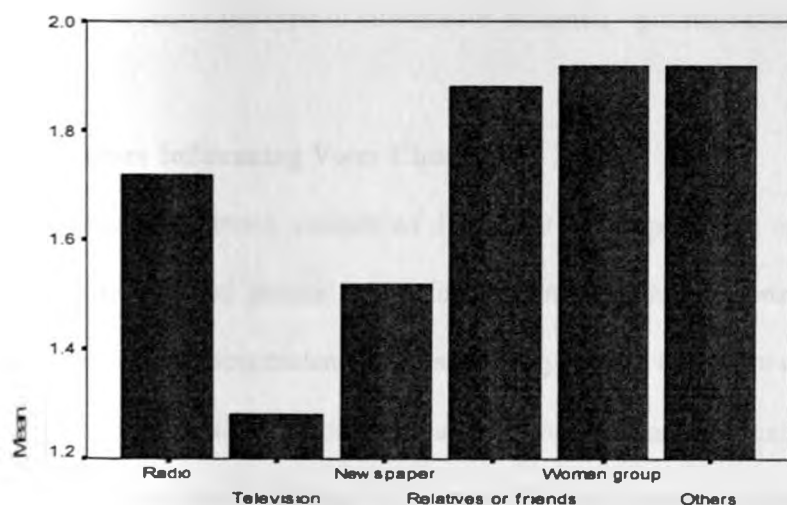


Fig. 4.5

The bar graph above shows on average where people obtain information.

The bar graph (fig 4.6) indicates politics ranked high followed by marketing, education and training, employment and entertainment

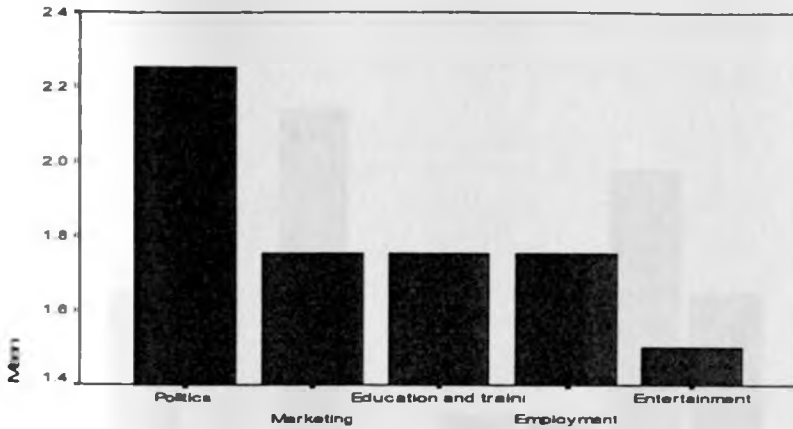


Fig. 4.6

The bar graph shows the type of information obtained – politics ranked high

4.1.5. Factors Influencing Voter Choices

The leadership attributes considered important by respondents could be broadly categorized as personal acquired and general. The findings indicate that personal leadership attributes that were most appreciated by respondents were sociability, ability to initiate community development projects and easy communication. Courageous and democratic were the next most valued attributes, followed by patience, good role modeling and honesty. The implications of these findings is that it is important that women candidates demonstrate high personal integrity and possess good interpersonal skills. They should demonstrate a commitment to addressing pressing development issues. Figure 4.7 below shows 41% of public thinks women candidates would make a good president, while 15% think it would be challenging. 23% think the impact of a woman president would be limited while, 4% think it would make no difference. 8% think the impact would be negative.

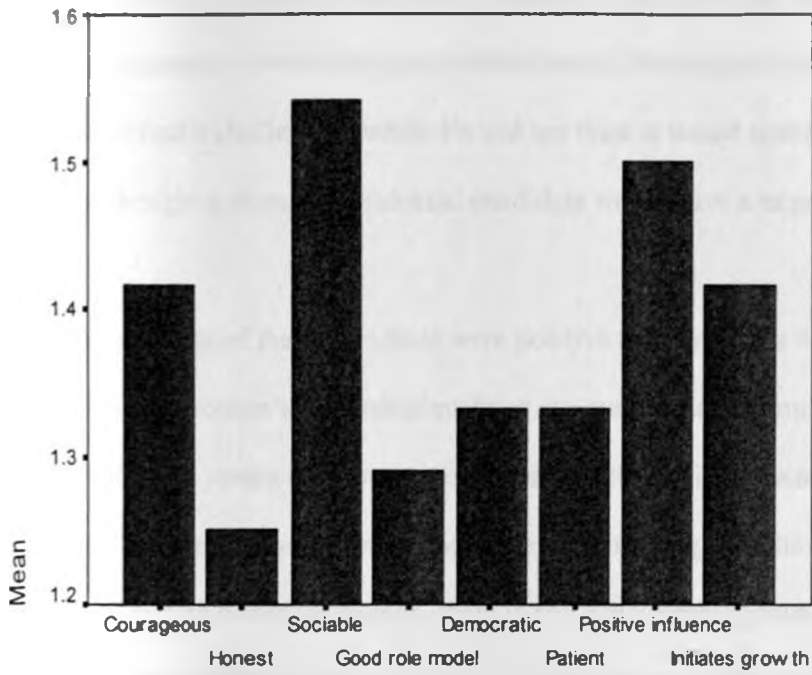


Fig. 4.7

The bar graph shows the admirable qualities of a good leader.

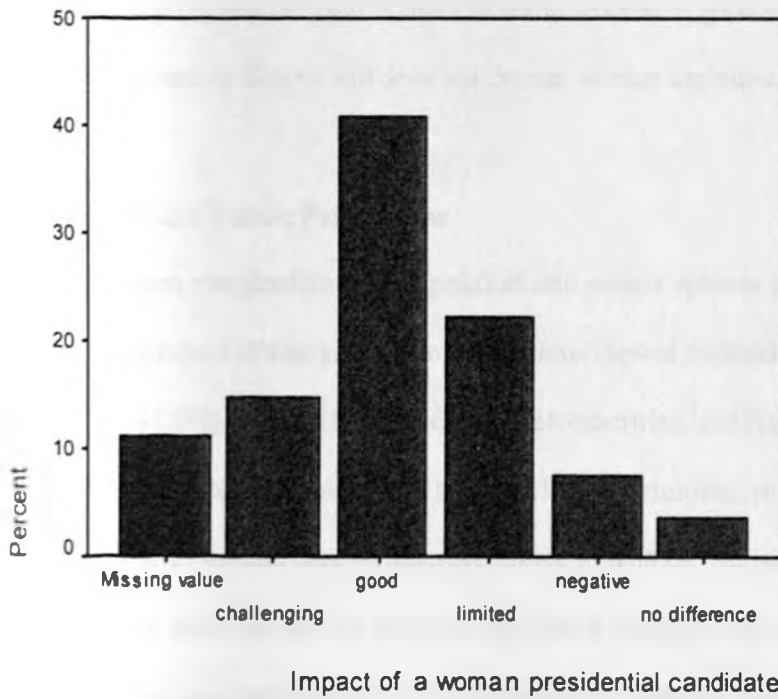


Fig. 4.8

Asked on the impact a woman presidential candidate would have on the Kenyan political front, 41% of respondents thought it would be good, while about 23% thought it would be limited. 14% said women would find it challenging while 4% did not think it would make any difference. 8% of the respondents thought a woman presidential candidate would have a negative impact.

Whereas the majority of the respondents were positive to voting for a woman candidate, and most of them actually saw women's leadership qualities as equal to those of men, they nevertheless generally believe that Kenyan voters still do not see women politicians in the same light as male politicians. The findings imply that whereas perceptions may be changing, and the electoral environment is progressively getting better for women, there is still considerable ground to be covered in terms of painting a non-problematic, positive image of women leaders in the minds of the electorate. As already suggested, a mixed bag of boldness, assertive speech and demeanor, demonstrated capacity to perform, preference for conciliation over confrontations in the problem solving, and disciplined, focused campaigning are the factors that can stand women in good stead to win elections. The political atmosphere in Kenya still does not favour women aspirants.

4.1.6. Gender and Public Perceptions

Have women been marginalized in the political and private spheres as far as leadership positions are concerned? In respect of marginalization, most interviewed respondents thought, yes women were marginalized (81.5%) while (18.5%) thought / felt otherwise. See fig 4.9. Reasons given for marginalization included; women have been denied opportunities, men keep appointing men to positions of power, women receive negative image in politics, women leaders are regional rather than national, cabinet positions are lop sided and existence of patriarchal biases in election funding. Kenyans perceive men as being superior to women, men already have the stage set for them and that women lack resources.

Further, for a woman to be appointed to a top leadership position, she has to be a 'super woman' while those respondents who thought women were not marginalized said that women needed to convince the populace of their abilities. They also said women expected special treatment.

Do you think women have marginalized

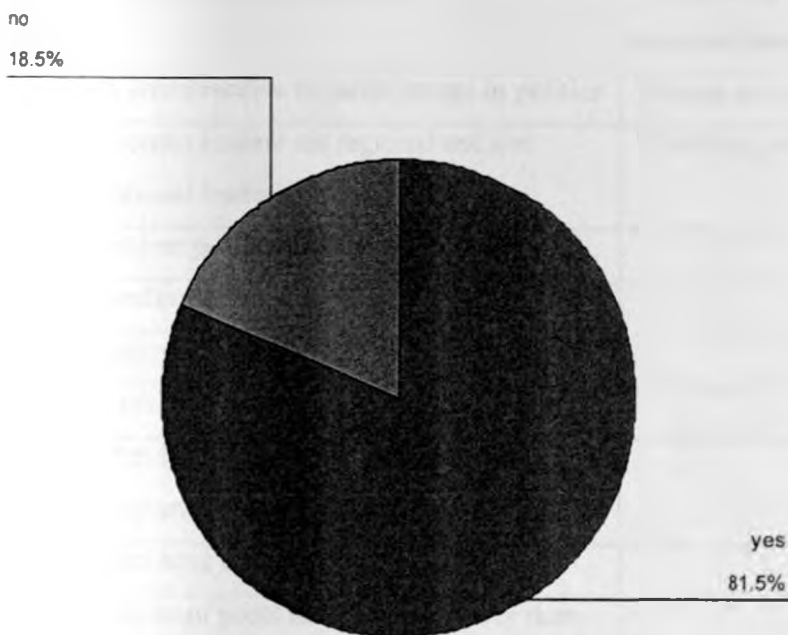


Fig. 4.9

There was concern that women had not taken active participation in leadership positions. These respondents also observed that women are slowly but surely going up the political ladder.

Interestingly almost ¼ of the respondents did not think women candidates were marginalized attributed the failure of women to win political seats to lack of active participation. They also thought women took a back seat and expected favors and special treatment from the electorate. (See table 4.1)

Do you think women have been marginalized in the political and private spheres as far as leadership positions are involved		
Please explain	Yes	No
	Denied opportunities	Women have not taken active participation in leadership positions
	Going by the number of women in parliament	Women must be able to convince the populace of their abilities
	Men keep appointing men	Parliamentarians have been elected by both men and women
	Women receive negative image in politics	Women are slowly going up the political ladder
	Women leaders are regional and not national leaders	Women expect special treatment
	cabinet positions are top sided	
	funding, patriarchal biases	
	Kenyans perceive men as being superior	
	Lack of resources	
	Men have dominating character and think they are the best in leadership	
	Men have the stage set for them	
	The no of posts they hold are fewer than the men	
	Women are not given same opportunities, they have to be excellent to be appointed	
Total	25	5

Table 4.1

The table above answers the question on marginalization. Those who answered yes, think women are generally marginalized they gave their reasons. Those who answered no also gave their reasons.

4.1.7 Religious Practices

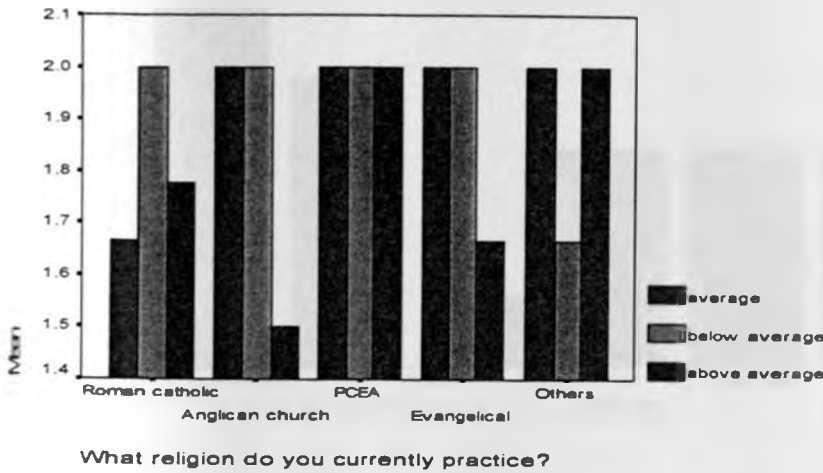


Fig. 4.10

The bar graph above shows the religion practiced vis-à-vis how they rate women candidates against male candidates. 1.65 mean averages of Roman Catholics interviewed think women rate average against male candidates, 2.0 rate women below average and 1.75 consider women to be above average against male candidates. This means a high percentage of Roman Catholics rate women below average compared to male candidates.

4.1.8. Challenges/ Barriers

Of the challenges to women politicians, respondents indicated that the most important ones included lack of interest, fear of publicity, lack of resources, lack of confidence, men have formed a men's club, cultural and patriarchal biases. Others included violence and lack of support from family. Respondents also mentioned, denied opportunities, negative publicity and that women leaders are regional rather than national. Limited opportunity for women candidates also rated high. See fig 4.11.

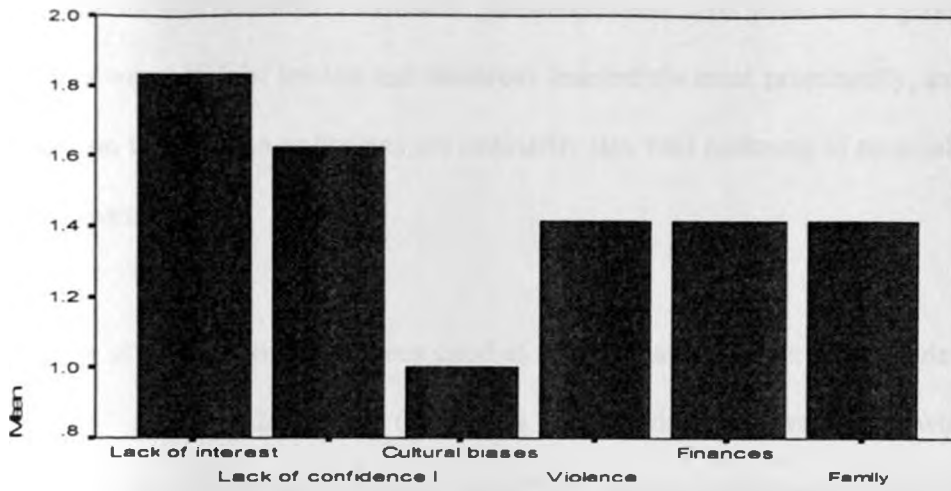


Fig. 4.11

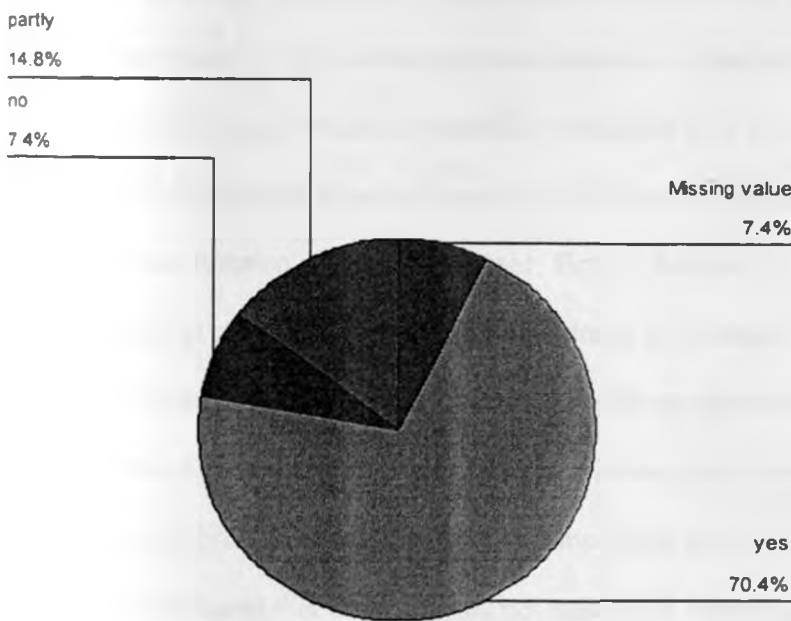


Fig. 4.12

The pie chart above answers the question “Is women’s low economic power a factor in the struggle to increase their representation and participation in politics”?

A number of issues mentioned by respondents as challenges to do with women candidates were also mentioned when respondents were asked to comment on the important attributes that a leader should

posses. These include education / exposure, resourcefulness, civil status and a good personality. As challenges, however lack of interest and resources featured the most prominently, and this tie up with the observation that women politicians are ordinarily less well endowed in material terms than their male counterparts.

Women's low economic power has been cited as an important factor in the struggle to increase their representation. As fig 4.12 indicates that 70.4% of respondents believe women would fair better in elections if they were endowed materially, while 7.4% dismiss the notion as untrue while 14.8% said it was somehow true. This is an important indicator for women candidates because poverty interacts intimately with unemployment, most women are poor. Women candidates are usually less equipped financially than their male counterparts. Although respondents do not attach too much significance to the wealth of candidates, women candidates need resources to finance their election campaigns. Male candidates have faired better because of massive bribes they give to prospective voters. When asked to mention ways of overcoming barriers, majority indicated civic education, economic empowerment and improved sensitization. Others important factors included Affirmative Action, education, assertiveness, careful selection of political party, donor involvement and lobbying for an equality policy. Proper planning, training and pressure from women groups were also considered important.

Respondents were also apparently concerned that women politicians tended to address women's issues more than the broader developmental problems facing the entire electorate. Due to this, it was argued: some voters feared that women would not make good representatives.

Much as respondents would support a woman candidate, many said a woman presidential candidate would be challenged, limited or otherwise not up to the task. Over 40% of respondents however said women would make good presidents.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	4	14.8	14.8	14.8
Affirmative action	1	3.7	3.7	18.5
Being assertive and reconcile people's thinking	1	3.7	3.7	22.2
Careful selection of political party	1	3.7	3.7	25.9
Civic education	7	25.9	25.9	51.9
Donor involvement	1	3.7	3.7	55.6
Empower the women economically	1	3.7	3.7	59.3
Empowerment	4	14.8	14.8	74.1
Have an equality policy	1	3.7	3.7	77.8
Improve their economic power	1	3.7	3.7	81.5
Improved sensitization and education	3	11.1	11.1	92.6
Positive attitude	1	3.7	3.7	96.3
Proper planning	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.2

4.1.9. Enhancing Performance of Women Candidates

Table 4.3 – shows case summaries on strategies that can be applied to increase the number of women in top leadership and decision making structures within political parties and other institutions of governance. Rated in the order of importance, these included, Education, removal of sex stereotypes, Affirmative Action, lobby groups, political support for women, policy change, free scholarships and repackaged programmes to attract women participation. Others included forming a women's party and ensuring party manifestos are clear on women nomination and representations, law to govern women elections, change perceptions of people through advocacy, reserve quotas for women, nominate more women, political parties be held accountable and introduction of women friendly laws.

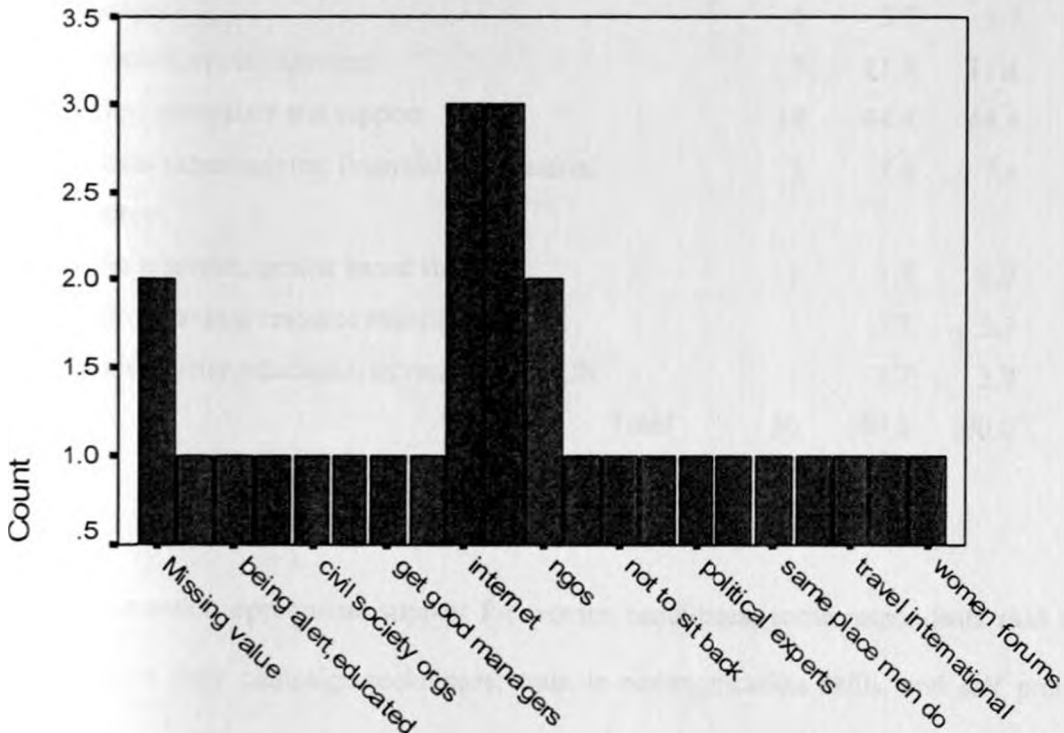
Others felt, the only way to counter barriers is a constitutional amendment to the laws of Kenya for women to have basic rights.

Case Summaries

	What strategies can be applied to increase the number of women in top leadership and decision making structures within political parties and other institutions of governance in Kenya?
1	Education
2	Removal of sex stereotype
3	Affirmative action
4	Form lobby groups
5	Encourage support of women
6	Policy change
7	Free scholarships, repackage programs to attract women participation
8	Enroll as members of political parties
9	Adopting affirmative action
10	Adopt affirmative action, then on merit appoint the women leaders
11	Form a woman party, manifestos should be clear on woman elections
12	Law to govern women election
13	Change the perception of people
14	Reserve seats for women
15	Nominate them
16	Political parties to be held accountable, adopt affirmative action
17	Affirmative action, gender based policies
18	Social transformation education
19	Policies should be drawn up
20	Involvement with the general populace in every day activities that improve economic/social status
21	Create laws that favor women, civic education on the right of women should be done
22	Education, affirmative action
23	Constitutional amendment and affirmative action

Table 4.3

The bar graph below fig 4.13 shows how women can access relevant and appropriate information about existing technical, financial and material support within and outside the country. These include the internet, NGOs, civil society organizations, women forums. Respondents also suggested good management skills, political experts exposure would enable women candidates to access financial and technical support. This is important information for women candidates because as cited earlier women candidates lack adequate finances and sometimes they do not know where to go for help.



How can women candidates access relevant information

Fig. 4.13

Technical, material and financial resources women candidates require for winning elections.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Campaign techniques	1	3.7	3.7	11.1
Communication skills, self protection, enhanced mobility to Reach electorate	1	3.7	3.7	14.8
Community networking.	1	3.7	3.7	18.5
Computer knowledge and website ads	1	3.7	3.7	22.2
Courage	1	3.7	3.7	25.9
Education, encouragement	3	11.1	11.1	37.0
Money, strategists and support	12	44.4	44.4	81.5
Political expert advice, financial and material resources	2	7.4	7.4	88.9
Public relations, gender based statistics	1	3.7	3.7	92.6
Public speaking, resource mobilization	1	3.7	3.7	96.3
Training, voter education, advocacy from UN	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.4

When asked to mention appropriate support for women candidates, some respondents said women needed to improve their campaign techniques, train in communication skills, and self protection. Women also need education and exposure to computer knowledge and website information. Community networking is important, coupled with courage, finances and refining public speaking skills. Training in resource mobilization, advocacy, and voter education are critical. Women candidates further need political strategists and advisors to survive.

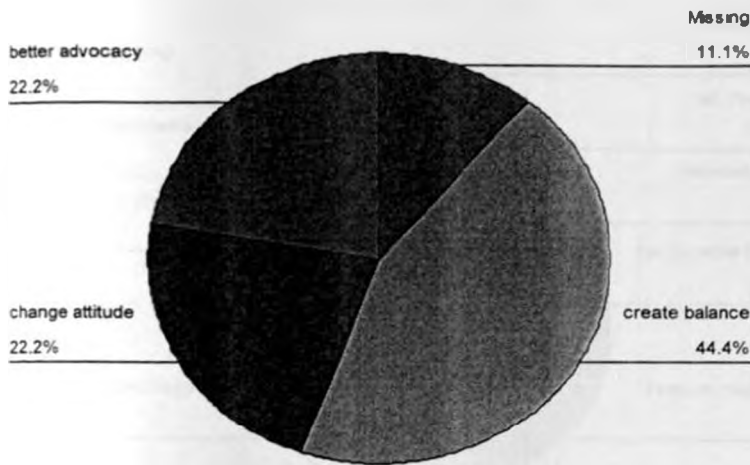


Fig. 4.13

Respondents were of the view that, increasing representation and participation in political party leadership will have the following benefits – 22.2% better advocacy, 44.4% create balance and 22.25 change people’s attitudes.

Media-Support for Women Candidates

The role of media in promoting women candidates and their plight can not be overstated. The media, both print and electronic play an integral role in product promotion, which the candidates and their ideas are. Media houses usually have the choice to build or destroy the candidate.

Despite having received initial training on media lobbying and positioning, majority of women candidates (both parliamentary and civic) still complain of the media giving them a blackout. The findings indicate that the best way to support women candidates in party and general elections is by giving equal coverage to both female and male candidates (37%), favorable reporting (14.9%) feature female role models (14.8%), educate the public (3.7%), televise interviews (3.7%) and show case women activities. (see fig 4.14)

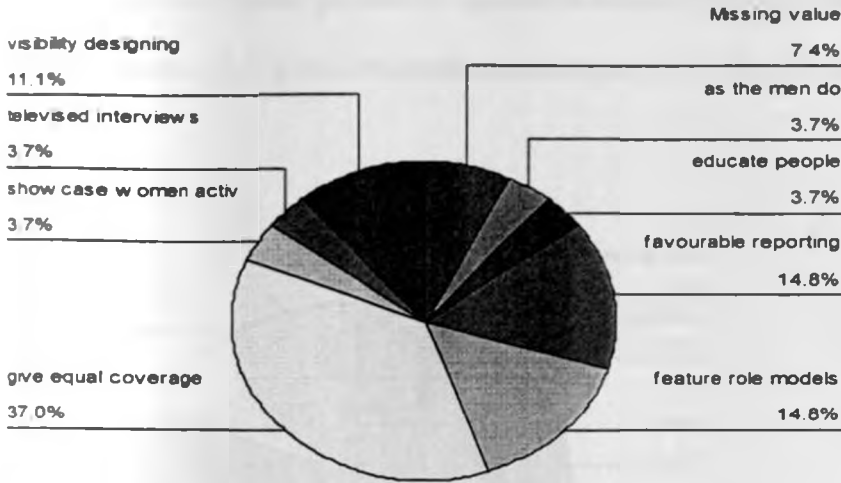
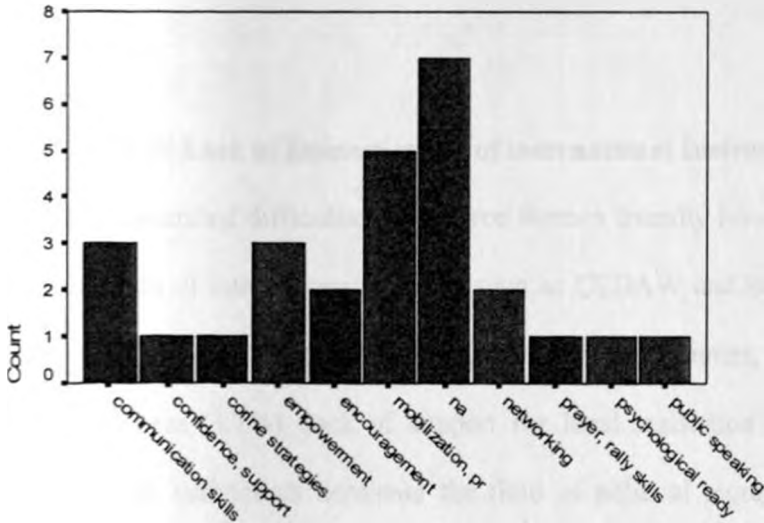


Fig. 4.14

Capacity Building Needs



What specific capacity building needs and skills do women require

Fig. 4.15

When respondents were asked to mention capacity building skills that women require to do win elections: most said women needed to improve their communication and public speaking skills and acquire mobilization techniques. Others included building confidence, networking, prayers and encouragement from the public.

Who Should Provide the Resource Support?

Asked to specify who should provide the support to women, 33% mentioned self 18.5% government, compared to another 18.5% who indicated sponsoring party, 11.1% community and 11.1 donors.

(see fig 4.16)

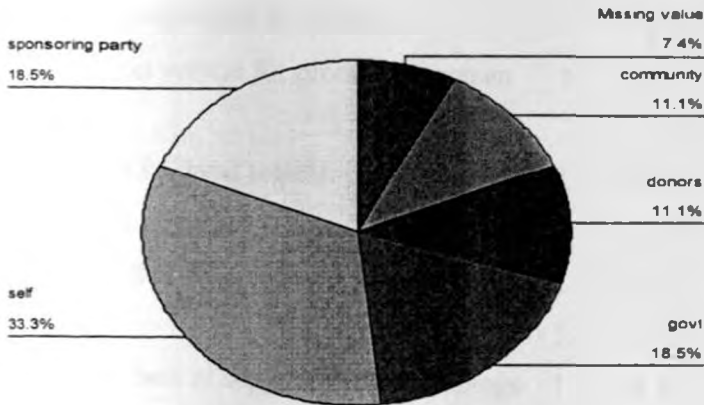


Fig. 4.16

4.1.10. Impact of Lack of Domestication of international Instruments

Respondents identified difficulties to enforce women friendly laws (11.1%) as a direct result of lack of domestication of international systems such as CEDAW and Beijing platform for action. Others included, poor or lack of support (3.1%) for women programmes, marginalization of women (3.7%) lack of awareness (3.7%), lack of support for local legislation (6.7%) creates gender imbalance (3.7%) and few individuals dominate the field of political representation (3.7%). These findings indicate that lack of domestication of international systems still exerts a negative impact on women candidates. (See table 4.5)

How does the domestication or lack of international instruments such as CEDAW and Beijing platform for action in Kenya affect the technical and other support for women programmes?

	Frequ ency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Creates gender imbalance	1	3.7	3.7	40.7
Few individuals dominate the forums	1	3.7	3.7	44.4
Lack of common vehicle for promoting women progs	1	3.7	3.7	48.1
Lack of support for local legislation	1	3.7	3.7	51.9
Led to inclusive advocacy	1	3.7	3.7	55.6
makes it difficult to enforce laws	1	3.7	3.7	59.3
Na	3	11.1	11.1	70.4
Poor support or lack of support for women progs	1	3.7	3.7	74.1
Provide information	1	3.7	3.7	77.8
they help women know their rights	1	3.7	3.7	81.5
We need to understand these platforms first	1	3.7	3.7	85.2
Will help put into law rights for women	1	3.7	3.7	88.9
Women continue to lag behind	1	3.7	3.7	92.6
Women empowerment	1	3.7	3.7	96.3
Women lack awareness	1	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.5

4.1.11. Role of government of Kenya in Protecting and promoting the Civil and Political Rights of Women. See figure 4.17

Asked to comment on the role of Government of Kenya in protecting and promoting the civil and political rights of women – a majority of respondents indicated that Government should be held accountable for protecting rights of women, educating the public, implementing gender friendly laws, providing security to women candidates and steering Affirmative Action Bill. Other respondents

thought the Government should create awareness and institute stringent election rules in order to protect women.

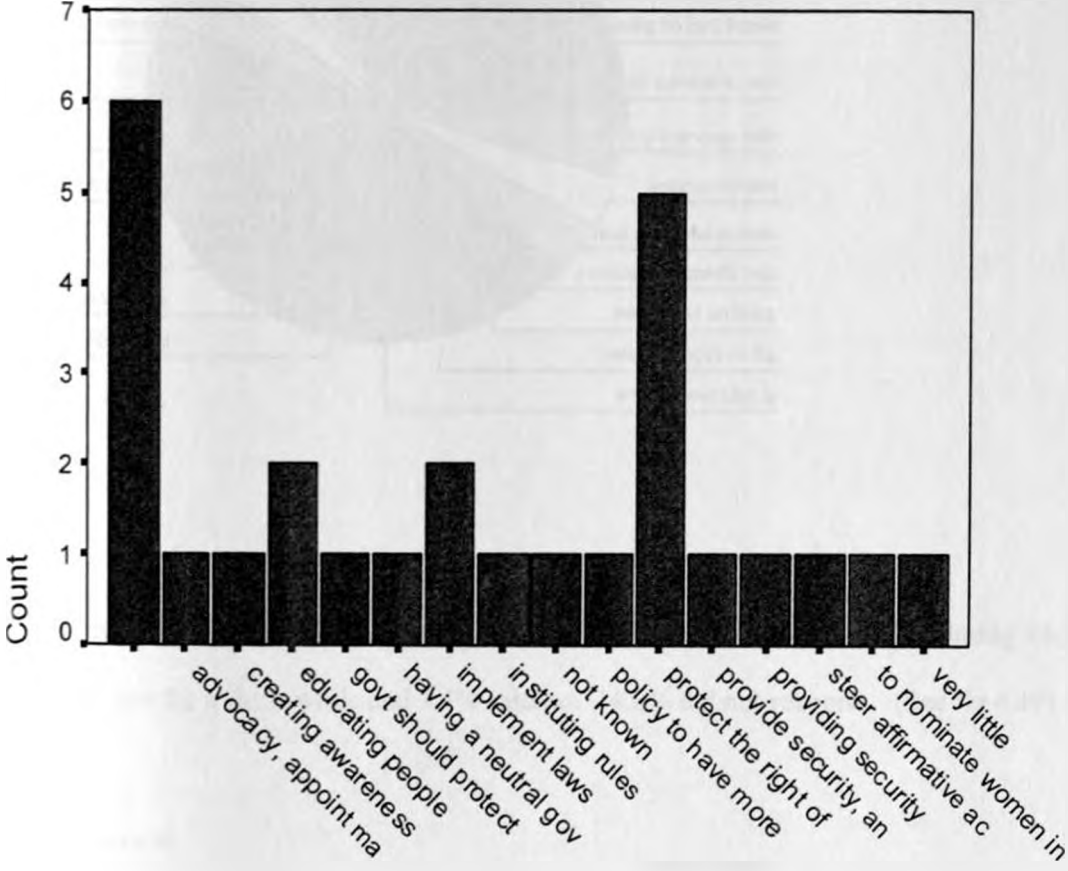


Fig 4.17

4.1.12. Holding the GOK accountable

Respondents gave a variety of measures including conducting seminars, holding peaceful demonstrations, keeping government on its toes, lobbying for policy change and enactment of women friendly laws. Other respondents suggested pushing for constitutional changes. However an overwhelming percentage indicated the way forward is to use relevant lobby groups. (See figure 4.18)

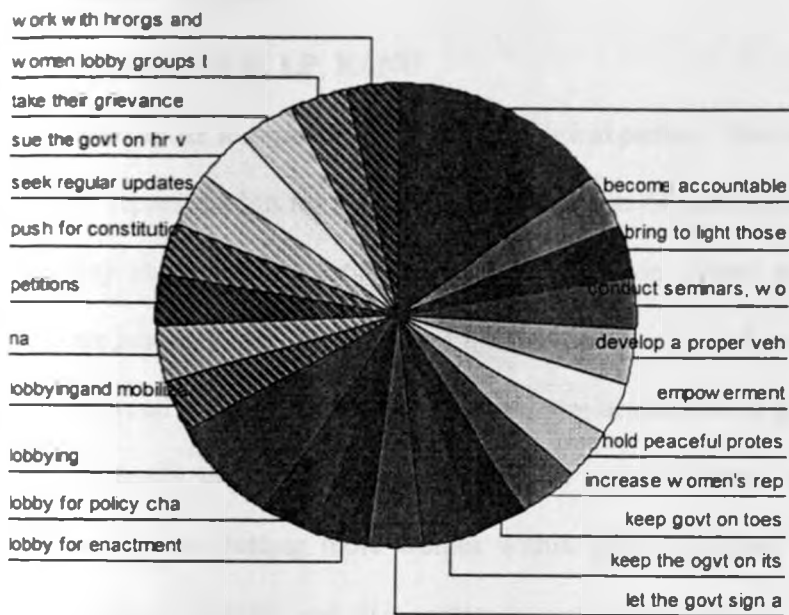


Fig 4.18

When asked whether the GOK should adopt Affirmative Action or not, an overwhelming 74.1% said yes. 3.7% said yes for a short while and 7.4% said no. 14.8% did not respond. (See fig 4.19)

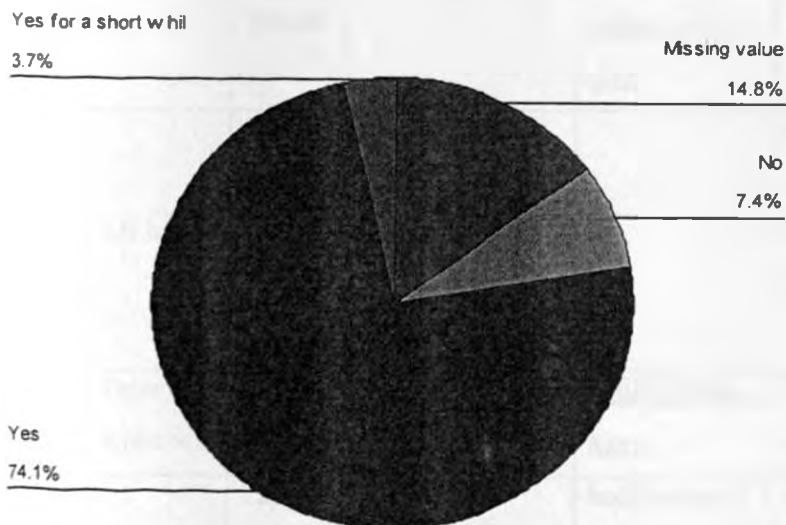


Fig 4.19

4.2.0. Political Parties

KADDU, PNU, DP, DLP, LP, KANU

This researcher spoke to representatives of six political parties. The findings indicate that women are inadequately represented in top party structures. In spite of parties possessing impressive manifestos on what they have in store for women should they win power, nothing works this way. These proposals are just on paper and are never translated into action. Kenyan political parties are by and large, male owned and dominated with most of them determined to guard their turf against women's invasion. Currently there is growing pressure for political parties to deliver on what they have promised women by putting more women within party structures and nominating more women candidates for parliamentary and civic seats to ensure gender parity.

Name of political party	Official contact	Postal addresses	Telephone	Email address	Physical location of the HQ	Legal status	Year of registration
Kaddu	Aly Khan	20154-00200	020-3866663/4	info@kaddu-kenya.com	Mugumo Rd, Lavington	Registered	23. Feb 2001
PNU	Mr.Kamau	8304-00100	0722465157	www.partvofnationalunity.co.ke	Lenana Rd	Registered	23Aug 2007
DP		56395-00200	020-3873595		Gitanga Rd	Registered	1992
Democratic Labour Party	Mr.Mbae	7502-00100	0722429916		NACICO Plaza	Registered	2007
Labour Party	Peter Kubebea	52725-00100	020-577629	mail@lpkenya.org	Ardams Arcade	Registered	1998
KANU		72394-00200	0727421421	hq@kanuonline.com	Chania Ave off Ring Road	Registered	1962

Table 4.6 above shows the political parties that were visited and their personal information

Case summaries

Name of party	How many women are in the top management position in your party	Do you have a women's wing or congress	Does the above influence decision making in the top organs of your party
Kaddu	6	yes	yes
PNU	5	yes	yes
DP	7	yes	yes
Democratic Labour Party	10	yes	yes
Labour Party	15	yes	yes
KANU	5	yes	yes

Table 4.7

Table 4.7 shows the political parties and the number of women in the top management positions, presence of a women's wing and finally whether this wing influences decision making in the top organ of the party. Labour Party of Kenya has the highest no (15), followed by Democratic Labour Party (10) DP (7) KADDU (6) and (5) each for KANU and PNU

4.2.1 Gender Policy

All the parties this researcher visited except the Democratic Labour Party have a gender policy. For KADDU (50%) of all decision making positions must be occupied by women while for PNU 30% of all the committee members or any party organ should be women. DP has reserved 30% of the decision making body for women. The Democratic Labour Party has no policy. LDP's constitution states that 50% of either gender should be included in the party organ. KANU's policy indicates that 30% of all positions in any party organ should be women. (See table 4.8)

Political party	Gender policies
Kaddu	50% of all decision making positions must be occupied by women
PNU	1/3 of the committee/of any party organ should be women
DP	1/3 of all decision making body should be women
Democratic LP	
Labour Party	50% of either gender to be in the party organ
KANU	1/3 of all positions in any organ should be women

Table 4.8

4.2.2. Programmes for Young Women

Figure 4.20 shows that 57% of political parties have specific programmes for young women leaders whereas 28.6% do not. Asked how comprehensive these programmes were, there was not much detail. Some party leaders were not aware that such programmes existed hence the missing value of 14.3%

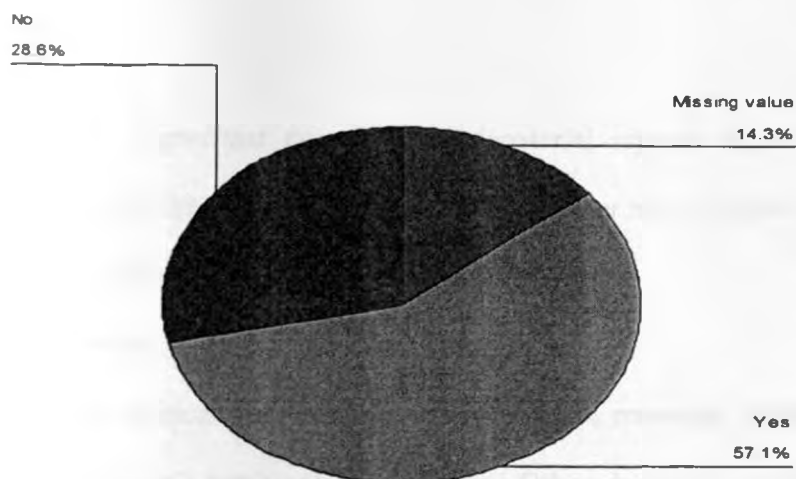


Fig. 4.20

4.2.3. Impact of Financial Support

The fig 4.21 shows that due to financial / material support offered to women has positively contributed to a number of things: 14.3% high party profile, 14.3% greater number of female leaders in the party, 14.3% party constitutions protect women leaders in the party 14.3 of parties have no female leaders. However for the majority of the debutants sources of campaign are quite limited. Men win elections because they have 'deep' pockets.

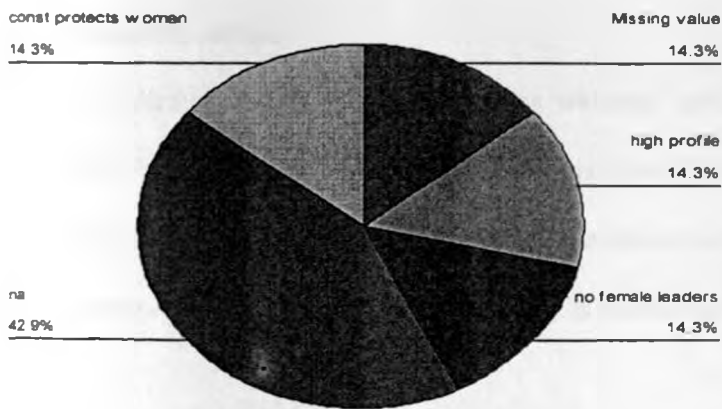


Fig. 4.21

The fig 4.21 shows that due to financial/material support offered to women, it has positively contributed to 14.3% high party profile, 14.3% greater no of female leaders in the party and 14.3% constitution protects women leaders in the party.

4.2.4. Barriers

According to political party leaders; lack of adequate resources, cultural bias, violence rank high as barriers to women's participation in politics. Others include lack of civic education, low levels of education and public's perceptions of women candidates. African cultures expect women to be seen, not heard. Further, most women are not 'wired' to think of violence as one of the paths to the top.

Key Barriers
Finance, cultural bias
Cultural bias, security
Cultural bias, perception
Finance, security, lack of civic education
Cultural bias, violence, finance, low level of education

Table 4.9

The table 4.9 above shows the key barriers/difficulties that women candidates face.

4.2.5. Affirmative Action

Figure 4.22 indicates 71.4% of political parties welcome the idea of adopting Affirmative Action while 14.4% of parties do not find it necessary. This shows that despite frequent rhetoric from major political parties that they would entrench affirmative action in the nomination process and ensure at least 30% representation of women, no such policy is pursued in the nominations.

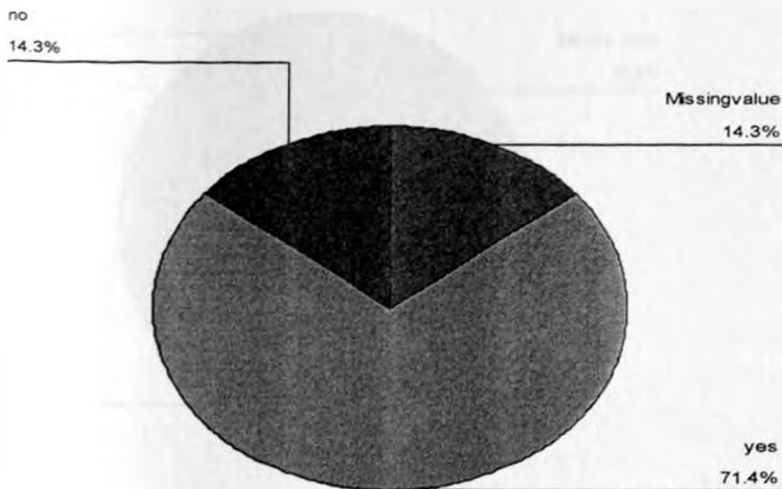


Fig. 4.22

4.2.6. Commitment to the Implementation of CEDAW and Beijing Platform for Action

Figure 4.2.4 indicates 57% of political parties say they are committed to the implementation of CEDAW and Beijing Platform, whereas 14.3% are partly committed. This may paint a bright picture but in Kenya, the decision making organs of many political parties are male dominated. This is worsened by the fact that independent candidates are not catered for. KANU as a party was the most organized with gender commitment manifesto – that the party will enhance gender equity by ensuring increased education and training opportunities for women and that KANU will continue to promote women to senior positions in Government. The party will consolidate and harmonise laws and customary practices to secure the rights of women to land ownership and inheritance and that KANU will continue to take affirmative action aimed at increasing the number of women in active employment. The campaign messages and appeal to both women and men was “vote for the youth and stability”

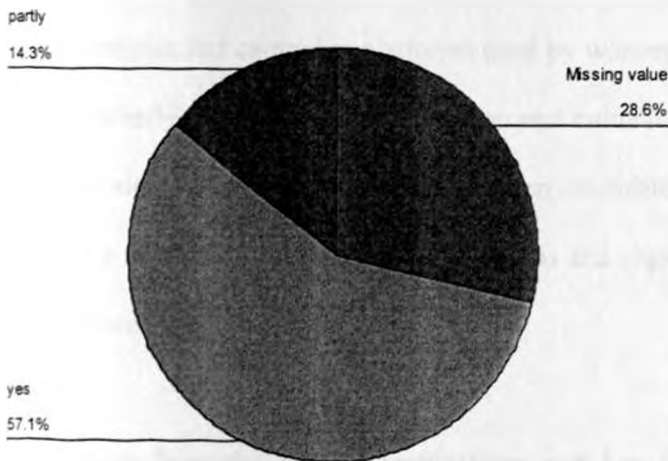


Fig 4.23

4.3.0. Overview of findings from Key Informants, scheduled interviews, case histories and focused group discussions.

Organizations Consulted included:- Catholic Secretariat, World Congress on Religion and Peace, FAWE, UNDP, IED, The Kenya Women's Political Caucus, The Youth Agenda and FIDA, Vital Voices and Heinrich Boll Foundation

A growing body of evidence suggests that women's entry into the leadership arena (political or otherwise) is often predicted on extraneous and environmental factors, many of which are beyond their immediate control. Quite often women's ambition to venture into politics remains a pipe dream, since several factors militate against such ventures.

During the researchers' survey, the researcher sought to establish if indeed women are politically marginalized. And what motivated the few women who come out to join the male dominated elective politics. And what gender barriers, if any locked women out of the process. The researcher sought to establish strategies and campaign platforms used by women candidates further, the researcher needed to establish whether or not publics' perception and cultural barriers and sexism have played a role in the noted previous dismal performance of women candidates. Therefore the researcher talked to and interviewed a number of professionals, politicians and organizations that support women candidates using the above variables.

Representatives from the above organizations and key informants were interviewed. They all concurred that women in Kenya still lagged behind in matters of political leadership and that the government needed to recognize the importance of mainstreaming gender in the development process and take more serious steps towards this. Although Kenya has ratified various international instruments that advocate for deliberate interventions by governments to improve the status of

women, it has not domesticated them. These include the Beijing Declaration and platform for Action, Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women and Millennium Development Goals among others.

4.3.1 Support for Women

They proposed promotion of gender equity, recruitment and building the capacity for women aspirants, strengthening women's role in political parties to enhance visibility in the parties as well as in politics in general. Mentoring of young women and strengthening women's performance in parliament so as to influence government policies was also cited as important. Women definitely require financial support in organizing transport during campaigns, training and paying campaign agents and mobilizers, paying for meeting expenses including venues, refreshments and equipment i.e. public address systems, paying party agents, nomination fee, organizing security and generally enhancing their visibility through the media. Women candidates also require capacity building in certain areas such as presentation skills, lobbying and advocacy more so for the debutants.

Therefore women badly need a trust fund to support their candidature. This would work well if there was a criteria for beneficiaries such as demonstrated commitment to the women's agenda through involvement in women's organizations or community development programmes, membership to and participation in political parties, fulfillment of ECK rules and willingness to contribute to the fund that is, by paying a subscription fee, evidence of agenda, popularity on the ground, women integrity and a good education that will enable the women articulate issues.

4.3.2 Private Sector Partnerships

Opportunities for partnerships with the Private Sector are likely to grow as Private Sector Investment is becoming more significant in development. There are opportunities for stake holders to mobilize substantial financial resources within the Private Sector for training of women candidates and other related programmes. However, this is a relatively new type of collaboration with the potential for conflict of interest. Stake holders will need to develop a framework and guiding principles for engaging in this type of partnerships.

4.3.3 Young Women in Leadership

Organizations such as the Youth Agenda have been involved in supporting women organizations in politics through various programs. Some of the areas identified where women candidates require support include party nominations, recruiting and maintaining campaign teams, producing campaign materials, logistical support in terms of transport, enhancing their visibility, helping them to come up with campaign strategies and civic education on women's leadership and gender mainstreaming in socio-economic and political spheres, and support to successful women to remain relevant to the women's course and be effective in parliament.

4.3.4 Barriers to Women's Advancement in Politics

Various factors were identified as contributing to the dismal performance by women candidates in both civic and parliamentary positions in the past elections. Coming out strongly were; lack of adequate financial resources, oppressive cultures, male dominated political party structures that are almost impossible for women to penetrate and inadequacies in previous support initiatives for women candidates. Cultural biases were top on the list of challenges to women's advancement in politics.

It is popularly believed that oppressive cultures discourage women from vying for political offices. A case is cited of Luo Nyanza which has fared poorly. Luo women are expected to be submissive and as a result, have become dependant on their men for support. Luo men are known to be patriarchal and do not support their women politically. As expected, Luo women are not as aggressive as the Kamba and Kalenjin women. In Ukambani, women from time immemorial tend to fend for themselves. The harsh conditions of life has motivated these women to fight for their rights and hence for power. However, culture still plays a major role in the scheme of things as two women who sought to inherit seats left behind by their departed husbands did not succeed. Mrs. Mary Ngoyoni's attempt to replace her husband, Titus, in Laisamis came a cropper as did the attempts by Mrs. Sarah Godana to take over the North Horr seat left vacant by her husband, then the Deputy KANU Chief Whip, Dr. Bonaya Godana. This happened in the North, and Eastern parts of the country where social pecking order is overwhelmingly almost irrevocably patriarchal.

Respondents lament the state of affairs of Nyanza women, the province has little to show for leading in gender sensitivity. Nyanza has proved to be extremely backward in recognizing the leadership capacity of women. However it is argued that culture still existed in the 60's when Mrs. Grace Onyango and Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo and others were voted to parliament.

Some respondents think the answer lies in poverty; women from Nyanza are not rich, yet Kenya's politics are inclined towards have's and therefore no poor man or woman can make it to parliament. To circumvent this obstacle, therefore, women from Nyanza must first be empowered materially. An overview of the situation shows that, cultural and religious issues run deep, they prohibit women from taking part in competitive politics and other spheres of leadership. Further, it has been established that male candidates know how to 'cheat', women are shy and honest in the political sphere so they easily loose out, men 'steal' the victory from them.

There is a paradox in the Rift Valley where women MPs shattered cultural myths to emerge tops in several constituencies in the vast Rift Valley Province. Women have taken over from the old gurards due to the 1990's wave of change. Moreover, the former president of Kenya Daniel Arap Moi, invested in his people, including women, hence the impressive number of women politicians elected from this region. These women MPs promise to change the face of Kalenjin politics. They represent virtually every Kalenjin sub-tribe except for Sabaot and Pokot. The variety is such that the Kipsigis, Tugen, Marakwet and Nandi are represented in the scheme of things. They include:- Prof. Hellen Sambili, (Mogotio), Dr. Sally Kosgey (Aldai), Prof. Margaret Kamar, Linda Jebii Kilimo (Marakwet East), Peris Siwan (Eldoret South), Beatrice Kones (Bomet) and Dr.Joyce Laboso (Sotik).

However, culture is dynamic and if it outlives its usefulness, then people have to let go. The world is undergoing change and so is culture, positive change could be rendered impotent if we allow people with fanatical views to hold sway.

There is no question that women candidates encounter more barriers compared to male candidates. According to a respondent who vied for the 2007 general elections, the media was biased against women candidates. Further, women candidates were depicted as activists as opposed to their male counterparts whose profile were positively highlighted.

In some constituencies such as Dagoretti, tribal politics took centre stage, discouraging a good number of voters from coming to cast their votes. For some contestants, 'their wallets' were a challenge. Many women could not afford to organize and finance political party rallies and for some women candidates, husbands and boyfriends feared for their safety. Therefore discouraging them from vying for elective posts and positions, whether civic or parliamentary. Again some male spouses felt threatened by their 'wives' intentions to enter politics – patriarchy took centre stage. For

this reason, some respondents and informants were of the opinion that unmarried women often make better candidates as compared to their married counterparts. Moreover, women candidates stand slim chances of being nominated in the big and established parties unless they have grown with the party.

Women candidates are known to bring in better leadership as they are more committed. They take care of social needs as well as improve quality of life. However, culture dictates that a good wife should not compete with men and so a woman who goes into politics is seen to be violating the gender stereotype. Society keeps wondering where such women will get time to do domestic chores and care for their families. It is not surprising that society puts pressure on women contestants to declare their marital status as a sign of good management.

In the 1992 multi-party General Elections and while vying for a presidential seat, honourable Charity Ngilu had the profile of her family carried out in the media to show that she is a good wife. The same was done for Professor Wangari Mathai to discredit her. The media did not raise the same issue with former president Moi or any other male presidential candidates.

The question of violence against women candidates is particularly disturbing. Women are more prone to violence than men who stand for political office. Some forms of violence that women face include indecent assault, rape, battery and defamation.

During the 1988 single party elections, the late Hon. Okiki Amayo, while sharing the same campaign platform with Hon. Phoebe Asiyo showed the public a tattered pant which he claimed Hon. Asiyo left in his cottage in their hey days. This was very damaging but needed only a die hard like Hon. Asiyo to dismiss the deceased opponent as an incompetent leader who could not buy his girlfriend a new pant. Other incidence of violence were witnessed by the late Mrs. Philegona Okundi (Rangwe

Constituency) when Hon. Shem Ochuodho sent his campaign agents to burn her car. A suit filed by the deceased against him did not go very far. Westlands constituency is a typical example where, if there are attempts to ensure that a woman is in a winnable seat or placed sufficiently high on the list resistance can be fierce, particularly from Hon. Fred Gumo. The list is endless.

It is important to note that barriers that face women entering public and political life do not exist in a vacuum. They are closely connected with the overall economic, social and cultural status of women.

4.3.5 Recognition of women interests in government policy and Legislation

Kenya's vision 2030 and the MDG's agree on the fundamental principles of gender equality among Kenyans. These goals may remain elusive and beyond the reach of anyone of us if a key section comprising the majority of the Kenyan population is left out. Many gender/political experts concur with the above statement-that laws of Kenya are patriarchal, therefore not women friendly. In fact, some are out rightly against women.

Yes, Kenyan women have issues, and have been struggling for recognition since 1975 and continuing into the 1990's when the activity heightened. To date, the government of Kenya has not done enough to address the women's plight although equality is an important aspect of democracy; democratization has been pursued by different categories of women who claim to have been marginalized under an authoritarian system. Each group believes, and rightly so that their respective interests can only be attained through increased democratization and therefore representation. Each category defined democratization in their own understanding and steered the struggle of the same in the direction of their respective interests.

4.3.6 Women's Parties

On formation of women parties, scholars are of the opinion that this would not work because women are not a mobilized group neither are they a homogeneous constituency. Further, the new political party act 2007 states that, to qualify as a political party, and hence funding, each party must include both genders. The party Act is also explicit in its requirements of parties to provide disciplinary measures against errant members in their constitution. This is good news for women candidates. Party chiefs interviewed confirmed that some women mismanaged funds, and that the best way forward is to educate the rural women so that they can have an open mind on change.

4.3.7 Awareness

On awareness, respondents contend that women have stepped up awareness campaigns and women struggles have resulted into appropriate adjustments to Kenyan laws and policies. A good example is the Hon. Njoki Ndung'u Sexual Offences Bill 2006 that prohibits sexual harassment. Hon. Njoki pushed the Bill through parliament to become a law. Other women MPs, the Hon. Julia Ojiambo and Mbarire say they lobbied collectively and individually to ensure that the Bill sailed through in parliament.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND

RECCOMENDATIONS

This study has attempted to establish the role of Kenyan women in the democratization process between 1990 – 2002. The focus of the study was on women in elective politics. An attempt was made to interpret the perceived subjugation of women in both public and private spheres. Obstacles to their political advancement were scrutinized and attempts made on how best to address them. Efforts were also made to establish whether women and men, have equal access to the political process and the extent to which public perceptions of women's leadership qualities have influenced their participation in democratic processes. Some schools of thought believe that the only difference between men and women is biological; distinction is only anatomical. Is the problem therefore the inherent characteristics of women being anti-politics? However, majority of respondents attributed the under representation of women in elective politics to enormous barriers facing them. These have been discussed exhaustively in this chapter.

As explained in chapters three and four; questionnaires, political party instrument, key informants, case histories and focused group discussion methods were used, together with interviews, thus providing primary data. Secondary data was obtained from related books, journals, scholarly papers and newspapers. The results of the data analysis have been outlined in chapter four.

The following section summarizes the findings, conclusions and subsequently, relevant recommendations related to this study.

In this study, unequal participation by women and men in electoral politics is evident in the predominance of men among parliamentarians, cabinet ministers and heads of government.

Although women and men in Kenya have equal rights to vote and to stand for electoral office, women are few among elected representatives. According to this study, the main obstacles stem from political structure processes, poverty, cultural biases and political parties.

Despite the heady progress, the rest of the world and Kenya's neighbors have made and the fact that a slim majority of the country's 34 million people are women, Kenyan politics remain controlled by men.

As of 2002, only 18 women of the 210 elected seats in parliament – about 8% were occupied by women. There is now a 14% increase after the 2007 general elections.

A bill to create 50 additional seats for women was defeated when parliamentarians could not muster the required 2/3 majority to pass it. Though Kenya leads much of Africa in openness to global ideas and boasts a relatively peaceful history following its independence, it gropes in the dark on gender parity.

5.1. The first study objective stated in chapter one is to determine the extent to which public perceptions of women's leadership qualities and cultural practices influence their participation in democratic processes.

Culture determines power relations within society, influencing women's and men's access to and control over economic resources and their ability to take decisions in the family and community.

Economic and political forces both shape and are shaped by culture.

Material processes –like the economy or politics depend on ‘meaning’ for their effect, and have cultural or ideological conditions of existence. Different constraints on women exist from society to society, yet in each location, any particular time, ideas of correct female behavior are viewed as universal and unchallenging. Gender ideology is embedded in notions of customs and tradition which direct women’s and men’s lives and ensure conformity to the norms of society. By appealing to tradition, cultural practices which reinforces the power of men in our societies are venerated unquestioningly; but tradition is not the whole of the past but only a part of it consisting of frozen movement , the result of deliberate choices endorsed by subsequent generations over a relatively long period (UNESCO, undated: 58).

However ancient and time honored they may seem, traditions may actually undergo alteration to suit changed economic, political and social circumstances. What does not change is the underlying ideology of female inferiority, which is disguised in an idealized image of woman as a perfect wife and mother.

The foregoing introduction sums up the question of women and culture. From the data analysis this researcher found that cultural biases, perceptions and financial barriers served as limitations to women limitations. Few women are known better than their male competitors at the grassroots levels due to the above mentioned reasons. The process of socialization is unfair to women. Boys grow confident and form oratory skills earlier than girls. A large section of the public mistakenly believes women cannot lead, and that women should not veer away from their place/domain in the kitchen, and ‘chapati’ making roles. The Kenyan oppressive culture discourages women from coming out to fight for political space. Competition is unfair right from the beginning. Its therefore not wrong to assert that the emotional, sexual, and psychological stereotype of females begins when the doctor says, ‘it’s a girl’. The laughable sexist rule such as one banning handbags in parliament, remains the

law. In the end, women lack the confidence to run for elections and consequently, view politics as a dirty game. There are also manmade oriented norms and structures that militate against women's public participation, including parliamentary schedules that are difficult to reconcile with parental and family obligations.

Political parties hold their meeting in places such as bars and night clubs that are deemed unsuitable to any 'self respecting' female candidate. And it does not help matters that meetings mostly take place at night when women are supposed to be busy playing reproductive roles at home.

The society needs to understand women issues from the woman's perspective. This researcher concurs with Shin, who argues that the woman's perspective is essential because

"They are 'the aliens within' patriarchal society. As such, they can offer new ways of thinking about self, society, power and powerlessness" (Shin:1986:195)

Currently in Kenya, the role played by women in society is that of subordinate position. This is because her position is influenced by the way the society perceives women, and consequently, the way she perceives herself. Decades of propagation of patriarchal expectations have succeeded in concealing women's social influences. These expectations are thus mistakenly perceived and presented as natural or biologically prescribed dictates, or even as divine prescriptions.

From the foregoing observations, it is clear that a certain culture of fear inculcated in women prevents them from joining and fully participating in elective politics. They therefore find it difficult to articulate their agendas.

In the just concluded 2007 general elections, cultural sexism took a heavy toll on women, or is it that the women did not work hard enough ahead of the exercise or were chaos part of the whole scheme to shut out women?

It is also evident that culture and tradition often dictate women's primary roles as mothers and housewives. According to many respondents women engage in triple roles, which leaves them with less time to concentrate in other fields and this would include political participation. These roles are Reproductive (child bearing responsibilities) and domestic tasks done by women. Other roles played by women include productive and community managing roles.

Therefore, cultural attributes, which guide the society in which we live, have made women who participate in political issues to be viewed as neglecting their gender roles. The Kenyan cultural and social society regards these women as women of low morals and incapable of taking care of their families and households. With such views already in place, women are discouraged from political participation.

Kenya's traditionally strong patriarchal value system favors sexually segregated roles, and the so-called traditional cultural values militate against advancement, progress and participation of women in any political process. Those who succeed to join the fray are forced to behave like men to fit the bill of being an MP. Women need not act like men to be successful in politics. This is aptly summed up in a quote by Tibaijuka, Anna 'International Idea, 2005, Women in Politics', p1.

"Women have tried to enter politics trying to look like men. This will not work. We have to bring our difference, our emotions, our way of seeing things, even our tears to the process... .."

(Anna Tibaijuka, Professor, Tanzania ;2005).

Some schools of thought however, believe, the only difference between men and women is biological, that the distinction is only anatomical. Is it, therefore, the inherent characteristics of women being anti politics that has resulted in disparities in representation?

However from the data analysis, it appears that the general public rates women candidates as just average and below average compared to male candidates. Only 40% of respondents interviewed think a woman presidential candidate would make an impact on the society. The muslim religion in particular is considered as one that will not allow for full democratic rights of women as long as they serve in their religion. In April 2000, the affirmative action motion was passed by parliament and was expected to be translated into a bill in November 2000. Amongst opponents of the bill were some muslim women groups-they said they were opposed to the affirmative action motion as they were neither oppressed or denied opportunities. These muslim groups expressed their opposition through a male spokesman as muslim women have been traditionally absent from traditional debates. (See Clay Muganda, 'Its Religion versus Equality', in Daily Nation, Nairobi 14th oct 2000).

The following starring words by Kabira W, (Kabira :2000:57), aptly sum up the repercussions of cultural biases on women parliamentarians.....

"Taking stock of the achievements of women since the deregulation of the political plane-our happiness seems to deem in the wake of growing and expanding frustration. Women in Kenya increasingly become exasperated with their male representatives. It has continually become obvious to opt for male mediocrity in the management of national affairs. And the result : women also fail and might continue failing until merit is put back on our national agendas "

Women, therefore ought to be allowed flexible working hours as in this way, they can combine family obligations and serve the public without losing out on either. In a patriarchal society like Kenya where

men have more power over women, they have to be persuaded to share their power with women. Stereotypes must be broken down by introducing equal opportunity programmes and anti discrimination legislation.

5.2. The second objective in this research study was to identify initiatives which enhance women's inclusivity in the political space.

5.2.1. Economic Independence

According to the findings, Kenyan women have not taken a giant leap forward in the politics because they cannot afford to finance political campaigns the thought of a woman participating in politics which require high expenditure discourages women from political participation. Instead women will prioritize to invest their little earnings in different activities, far from political participation. Which is considered expensive with no returns if one were to loose in the elections, or even at nomination stages. To succeed, women need economic independence – a well funded service sector and family policy, giving women a real opportunity to combine work and family need to be created. The government will need to set up a fund that will benefit women candidates because they mostly start from a position of distinct resource disadvantage. The launch of a women 'candidates' fund in the recent past by the Kenya Women's Political Caucus is a commendable effort towards bringing same order to the fundraising efforts. Feminization of poverty is best understood when the economic capacity of women is compared to men. Most women do not have access to and control of resources, therefore leaving them to be economically dependent on men or on their little earnings.

5.2.2. Combating Electoral Violence

Campaigns are violent and physical toughness is a valued attribute or asset. Women cannot march men in hooliganism. The Kenyan culture of violence scares women from coming out to contest for

electoral positions. Women shy away from politics because they fear for their lives. Mrs. Betty Angasa who vied for the ODM ticket in Kisumu Town West Constituency but lost attributes the debacle that faced women politicians to a macho electorate. In respect of violence, the most frequent suggestion was for the candidate to conduct a peaceful campaign and not to incite violence. The next frequent suggestions were for the candidate to organize adequate security, and to seek police protection whenever necessary and possible. Caroline Lukalo, a contestant in Dagoretti suggested that female candidates should reach out to male supporters and support youth activities such as sports, in order to have youth on their side.

These suggestions are important because they are consistent with the general view that women politicians stand to lose. Other suggestions were that women organizations educate voters on the dangers of such violence and to lobby for police protection. Women lobby groups need to campaign for the enforcement of the electoral code of conduct, and to establish mechanisms for reporting or responding to violence. They should also pool resources to successfully address the question of violence.

5.2.3. Education/ Exposure / Capacity building

Lack of leadership oriented training and education for women is a huge obstacle that hinders the full participation of women in politics. The main suggestions made for addressing the possible effect of educational attainment and exposure on women's chance of success were that inadequately educated candidates should seek to further their education, and second, that the candidates should demonstrate their competence and literacy. Since women are judged by higher standards in anything they try their hand at, primarily because of the skepticism surrounding their competence. Another pointer was continuous civic education which is crucial in empowering the electorate – both women and men – to know their rights and obligations in electing political leaders as well as campaign techniques.

Intensive lobbying and advocacy should be conducted so as to enable more women to ascend to positions of leadership as it has been proven that when men and women work together there are better outcomes than whenever either of them work in isolation. Education with an aim of social change is important. It challenges attitudes and structures that oppress people. Illiteracy limits women's participation. But even beyond basic literacy, information about political processes, even how and where to vote is often difficult for women to obtain. Trade unions, political parties, and other organizations, the most common source of this information, are inaccessible to most women

5.2.4. Constitutional Reforms

Respondents suggested a need for a gender policy – that the GOK needs to commit to this to iron out discrepancies. The constitution should enable a conducive environment to support women's participation. The constitution review process has remained key in the political arena in Kenya for the last fifteen years, within the draft constitution, there are many provisions to protect and promote women's rights. After rejection of the draft at the National Constitutional Referendum, women have had to position themselves in the process that will be put in place to ensure the realization of new constitution. Further, they will have to ensure that the provision that protects and promotes women's rights is retained.

Kenya does not have a good legislative framework that supports women candidates. As indicated earlier, the gender policy is only in draft, it has not been enacted into the law. Laws of Kenya are inclined to men; they are still as patriarchal as ever. Legal and policy frameworks for promoting gender equality are still weak. It has been difficult to pass legislation that protects and promotes the status of women. Affirmative Action in the political process has not been clearly understood and is seen as a favor for women. The government has not responded to the Affirmative Action call – not in the law, only in the Draft Constitution. Attempts to formalize it in the Wako Draft were defeated.

Therefore to succeed in increasing numbers, Kenya must go the proportional representation way where every district elects a woman parliamentarian

5.2.5. Political Parties

Without doubt, party affiliation plays a great role in deciding which candidate succeeds or fails in their bid to win parliamentary or civic seats, and depending on how a candidate reads the situation in her own electoral area, she should make a decision to go along with the party that has the greatest support in the area. However in Kenya political parties have no principles, despite impressive manifestos on what they have in store for women, should they win power. These proposals are just on paper and are never translated into action. Although 57.1% of political parties have specific programmes for women especially the young, 28.6% do not have any.

All political parties this researcher visited, except the Democratic Labour Party have a gender policy. Again the party hierarchy is a major issue for women. Many respondents were of the opinion that women are not high up in the party leadership. And even though a woman may be among the decision makers, wrong alignment, can militate against her. This was seen in the case of Hon. Julia Ojiambo versus Hon. Kalonzo – the current vice president of Kenya.

Hon. Phoebe Asiyo, former MP for Karachuonyo points out something very insensitive in the hurried manner in which major political parties conduct their nominations – they are flawed and undemocratic. Political parties are seen as main obstacles in their structures, processes and lack of party support for female candidates – particularly limited financial support and limited access to political network. Political parties also prefer members with huge resources – women candidates do not have the money. A suggestion was made to achieve quotas in political parties, the Nordic Way. Again, this can only be done through legislation.

5.2.6. Mass Media

The media, both print and electronic, play an integral role in product promotion. The media deserves to be called the fourth branch of power because of its influence on public opinion and public consciousness. The media, including women's publications, does not adequately inform the public about the rights and roles of women in society, nor does it take issues with the government's measures for improving women's positions. 37.0% of respondents suggested that media should give equal coverage to men and women, while 14.8% thought media should feature female role models as well, 3.7% suggested televised interviews, while 3.7% said the media should show case, women activities. This information is important because the media is yet to deal with the fact that women as a rule are the first victims of economic changes and reforms taking place in a country – that is, they are the first to lose their jobs. There is also the fact that women are largely alienated from the political decision making process. The media paints politically engaged women as activists, rather than leaders. Male politicians are rewarded with daily coverage. Women's movements therefore need to use the media more for lobbying and advocacy. Lobbying packages should be developed with the media to publicize the gender content of the nominations, party by party. Few political contestants are interviewed in the dailies. Women candidates are given a near blackout. This needs to change.

Admittedly, the mass media also tells stories about women politicians and about business women and their successes, but this kind of coverage is rare and infrequent. More typical is the presentation of topics such as fashion competitions, movie stars and secrets of eternal youth. Not surprisingly, such views hardly promote women's sense of self-worth and self respect or encourage them to take up positions of public responsibility.

5.2.7. Eradicating Bribery

The level of corruption is very high so women candidates get disillusioned since they are more honest and are intimidated by the more aggressive male candidates. To fight bribery and its influences on electoral outcomes, it was suggested that women organizations conduct civic education for the electorate, to support candidates financially, and to enhance mechanisms of reporting bribery incidences to the relevant authorities.

An emerging development in the electoral process is however, the higher perceptiveness of voters, who are increasingly showing independence of mind irrespective of which candidate they take money from. This should encourage women candidates not to give bribes. The suggestion that the candidates should give bribes in competition with an opponent doing the same is not a good idea because, as already indicated earlier, women candidates mostly start from a position of distinct resource disadvantage. Enhanced mechanism of reporting voter bribery by women's organizations therefore seems to be a less problematic approach to helping reduce the effect of bribery on the success chances of women candidates.

In order to reduce the possible effect of traditional attitudes on the success chances of women, it was suggested that candidates themselves strongly campaign for social inclusion. Strive to prove their competence, and generally highlight the achievements of women politicians, past and present. Interestingly, almost 25% of respondents did not think women candidates were marginalized. Rather, they attributed the failure of women to win political seat to lack of active participation and that women took a back seat and expected favours and special treatment from the electorate.

Respondents were also apparently concerned that women politicians tended to address women's issues more than the broader developmental problems facing the entire electorate. Due to this, it was

argued, some voters feared that women would not make good representatives. Only 40% of respondents said women would make good leaders more so, presidents. Cultural biases limit women from acquiring fame at the grass root level, consequently party nominations ought to be done early to give women candidates a chance to acquaint themselves with electorate.

However respondents suggested that campaigns for social inclusion should ideally involve the participation of men, and they should be organized to popularize the complementarities of the sexes as well as the deconstruction of some negative stereotyping of women. There are examples of exemplary women leaders who have performed in civic bodies and in parliament with distinction, and these can be mentioned as indicative of the positive qualities and values that women can bring to leadership. It was therefore suggested that women's organizations also have a role to play in reducing the effect of traditional attitudes on the success chances of women candidates.

5.2.8. Clanism /Tribalism

In Kenya, tribalism is like an institution and every successive government has tried to perfect it. Therefore tribalism plays a big role in general elections. The electorate is socialized to vote along tribal lines. Respondents suggested that women politicians could mitigate the possible effects of clannish / tribalism on their chances of success by declaring and maintaining their neutrality in inter-clan/ tribal feuding and rivalry, by promoting inter-clan / tribal dialogue. Women organizations could help the cause of women politicians by harping on the neutrality of women.

52.9. Individual Organization and Networking

Lack of coordination and networks of women candidates and women's groups with other public organizations such as trade unions, possibly due to lack of awareness of potential benefits or lack of financial resources for such activities militated against success of women candidates. Therefore respondents suggested that women candidates should develop electoral strategies in good time, assemble effective campaign teams, organize regular meetings with campaigners on the ground and prepare adequate resources and budgets for their campaigns. It was suggested that women's organizations assist in this respect by helping candidates plan their campaigns and organize training meetings. Further, younger women should come out for elective positions. The incumbents may have nothing new/different to offer. Support networks among politically active women encourage and enables women who are already in active politics to share their valuable experiences and other women leaders. Finally, institutional support will develop strong organizations of women who can manage finances, organize a hierarchy, select leaders, and make decisions in a democratic fashion.

52.10. Quotas

Quota systems have significantly increased women's participation and representation in both elective and appointive political decision making positions. Quota systems vary. Some are enforced through national and regional legislation. . This means quotas for women will have to be written into the constitution or introduced through national legislation. The quota system ensures that women constitute at least a 'critical minority of 30 – 40%. The core idea behind quotas is to recruit women into political positions and to ensure that women are not isolated in political life. We need Affirmative Action to correct injustices that women have experienced for a long time because of our patriarchal society that perpetuates retrogressive notions about women, among them women can not lead, nor make decisions.

Quotas have been viewed as one of the most effective Affirmative Action in increasing women's political participation. To date, there are 77 countries with constitutional electoral or political party quotas for women. The current constitution of Kenya, gives the president powers to appoint the cabinet. The president needs to use these powers to create a quota system which will enable the women participate in decision making within the government.

Proportional representation system tends to increase incentives for political parties for balanced lists and makes it easier for parties to introduce quota systems. Women in power and decision making positions are expected to carry with them the women's agenda. Ideally the concept of having equal representation of women in government and decision-making posts is to ensure that women's concerns and needs are seriously taken into account.

5.2.11. Gender Budgets

Gender budgets, gender sensitive budgets and women's budgets are all terms used interchangeably to describe budgets, processes and tools that can be used to assess gender specific impacts of government budgets. Gender budgets also seek to describe the situation of women, examine government policies and budgets to seek to know whether sufficient money has been allocated to implement gender sensitive policies and programmes.

5.2.12. Good Governance

When the NARC government in Kenya was campaigning in 2002, leaders came up with a blue print and in part of it, according to the Daily Nation, Monday November 27, 2002, they promised to ensure that their government would implement the draft constitution to the letter. Six years later, the country had a different story to tell. A new constitution is yet to be enacted. This is unfortunate for Kenyan

women. because key to the restoration of constitutional governance is respect for human rights and the rule of law. This means, among other things, guaranteeing security to all Kenyans.

While no blue prints are universally valid, some practices have succeeded in most parts of the world. They include, gender balance in political institutions and other public offices, putting up machinery to monitor and implement gender equality within policies, setting up a woman's budget targeted at providing funds to secure gender measure and when necessary, creates gender equality policies mainstreaming gender concerns, adopting and implementing o Affirmative Action measures whenever perceived necessary and are all important in increasing representation. Kenya will also need to adjust the discourse so as to emphasize the sharing of responsibilities rather than power takeovers. Finally, benefits would be reaped by comparing strategies and experience and mechanisms from around the world.

5.3. The third objective of the study was to establish indicators of women's awareness of their democratization rights. Therefore in this section the researcher sought to answer the following questions – to what extent are women aware of their democratic rights? What direction is their struggle taking?

Kenyan women, especially those holding significant positions in business and in NGO sector, have been spearheading the cause for their gender to hold key positions. Success stories of women gaining headway in the arena of politics have served as inspiration for other women to run for public office, or support women candidates. Beth Mugo, Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu, Jebii Kilimo, Prof. Kamar, Dr. Sally Kosgei, Hellen Sambili, Elizabeth Ongoro, Bishop Margaret Wanjiru, Naomi Shaban, Ester Mathenge and many more all competed with formidable men and emerged victorious. The formally

extremely powerful Moi-era cabinet minister Nicholas Biwott, the self-proclaimed 'Total Man' faced a bruising battle waged by Tabitha Seii.

In the USA, Democratic party's Hillary Clinton, a New York Senator put up a spirited fight against Senator Obama. At the moment, Sarah Palin, McCain's running mate is bright and has unfailing political instincts. German chancellor, Angela Merkel, defeated powerful men in the previously war-torn Liberia, the voters elected Sirleaf Johnson as president. In the U.K., Margaret Thatcher, the 'Iron Lady', served as the prime minister for a long time. India, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Pakistan have had legendary women leaders at the helm.

Back home, we have had quite a number of women who have excelled in the public and private sectors. Esther Passaris of (Adopt – A- Light Company) is a good example. Rose Kimotho, who pioneered FM radio with Kameme, stands out. Julia Ojiambo, Grace Ogot, Aida Odinga, Margaret Kenyatta and so many other women have shaped this country's destiny.

5.3.1. Democratic Role

Respondents were of the opinion that women have played an important role in democratic movements although their participation in the various spheres of public life still remains minimal. There are many women organizations but they have not been able to provide adequate moral and financial support to those interested in becoming involved in politics. This is because women without money do not have freedom to make choices. Women, a segment of the population that has traditionally been locked out of politics has made its best showing yet. In the current parliament, they constitute 14% of all parliamentary candidates. Though it can be concluded that the female gender has benefited from a more inclusive and open process. This is because the political monopoly wielded by parties has slightly loosened. Further, there has been liberal registration of political parties. More

stringent and substantive criteria would have knocked out fringe parties and marginal candidates. The stage is set to change courtesy of a new political party Act of 2007 that is causing ripples in the political sphere.

5.3.2. Gains for Women

Many respondents agree on one thing, that women are involved in mainstream politics. They have not quite been marginalized. The only bottleneck is, that their welfare does not feature in government policies and programmes. Their welfare has been somehow overlooked, especially in elective appointments for decades. Recent statistics show that the participation of women in modern sector wage employment since independence has gradually risen from 12.2% in 1964, 29% in 1999 to 30.3% in 2006 (KNBS). In the judiciary, 41.85% comprise District Magistrates, 40.3% Senior Magistrates, 42.3% Senior Principal Magistrates and 19.1% High Court Judges, while the rest are men. In 2005, there were 2 female ministers against 32 male ministers, 6 female assistant ministers against 40 male assistant ministers and 18 female MPs against 204 male MPs. Ambassadors / High Commissioners, 6 permanent secretaries and zero females against 26 male provincial commissioners.

In the 10th parliament, 21 of 219 members are women compared to 10 or 4.8% out of 210 elected members of parliament in 2002. The representation may be low, but there is a notable registered improvement.

Despite some major achievements, such as the establishment of a Women Enterprise Fund to provide Kenyan women with access to alternative financial services, glaring gender gaps still exist in access to and control of resources and socio-economic opportunities. For example, only 3% of Kenyan women own title deeds thus minimizing opportunities to access credit facilities due to lack of collateral or make economically viable decisions. There are still large gender disparities in levels of participation, for example in job groups U,T,S,R and Q which are the top most levels in public

service, there is 84% male representation against 16% female representation. At the bottom level, A, B, C, D, E and F, there is 74% female representation and 26% male representation. (Source; PRM)

According to FAWE, Kenya, 84% of top positions in public institutions are held by men. This is despite the fact that women account for slightly more than half of the total population, 50.7% and comprise a large voting population. Women are still under represented in strategic decision making institutions.

Historically, trends show a gradual increase in women participation, although this representation is still low compared to other countries like South Africa which has which has 33% women representation in parliament. There are gender specific vulnerabilities that prevent men and women, boys and girls enjoying a high quality of life and equal opportunities. These need to be addressed.

5.3.3. Pressure Groups

Women's struggles since the 70's have formed pressure groups and organizations focusing on different issues of interest that affect women. Some of these groups include FIDA, FAWE, CMD, KLWV and the Kenya Women's Political Caucus amongst others. From the researchers' findings, these groups have pursued capacity building and advocacy. Some have sort to promote participation of women in elective politics while others such as CMD in collaboration with Heinrich Boll have agitated for more women appointments to the cabinet and strategic positions in government. There have been varying levels of success due to increased awareness that indeed women are a special category that need to be recognized. The Caucus hit a first when it established its pilot women's Regional Assemblies in 14 districts across Kenya in 2006. The assemblies champion the needs of women such as mobilizing them to demand their rights. They have been established to work around capacity building of women politicians and leaders, amongst other thematic areas. Many of the

pressure and women groups focus on advocacy and women skills. CMD also helped turn numerical strengths of women into votes by providing funding. There have been varying levels of success due to increased awareness that indeed women are a special category that needs to be recognized. Their interests need to be factored into pro-women programmes and policies. In the recent past there have been campaigns to provide free sanitary pads for the girl child, to enhance their learning environment. A women's enterprise fund has also been established to provide Kenyan women with access to alternative financial services. Universities have increased their intake of female students by 30%. The entry points for female students have been lowered by one point to inkeep with the governments' policy ration of boys to girls in the education sector.

Education centre for women in democracy in partnership with UNIFEM, on the other hand, fielded women in 12 constituencies countrywide. In addition, this group gave training in political leadership mentoring and advocacy for electoral and constitutional reforms.

It is evident that women's struggles are bearing fruit, the society has begun to recognize that women are involved. Besides, promoting democracy, good governance and human rights, the political caucus has played a role in engendering the political process, representation and leadership. It lobby's for political parties to nominate women candidates. At present it is difficult to construct government committee that is lacking in women representation. For instance, the constituency development Board has six women representatives. Therefore, the political activism of the Kenyan women's movement in the 1990's yielded an almost 100% improvement in women representation in parliament following the 2002 election as well as the greatest number ever of women appointments to the cabinet and to high positions in the foreign service. Although the women representation in parliament in Kenya is less than half the continental average, the prospects are quite high, given the gender activism and the increased awareness of women's issues.

5.3.4. Constitutional Reforms

After enduring a bruising struggle for gender equality, the long suffering Kenyan women, at last made remarkable gains through the Bomas Draft (2004). Some key highlights of these gains included; The preamble, which had embedded gender equality, social freedom and constitutional justice at the centre of Kenya's collective national vision, ideals, aspirations, and shared values. Chapter 2, safeguards have been mainstreamed to ensure customary laws do not claw back at the entrenched doctrines of equity aimed at protecting women and other marginalized groups. Chapter 3 bound the state to progressively take measures to implement the principle's of at least 1/3 representation of women in elective and appointive bodies with the eventual goal of gender parity. While chapter 10 had set up mechanisms for ensuring at least 1/3 representation of women in appointive and elective organs of the state. Chapter 11 on legislature proposes 74 additional women representatives based on district platforms and recognized their participation in bicameral parliament. Chapter 18 on constitutional commissions, entrenches the gender commission, besides accepting the embedding of the 1/3 representation of women in all the commissions and constitutional offices.

5.3.5. Government's Role

Of greatest achievement to the women of Kenya is the establishment of Ministry of Gender and the National Commission for Gender and Development in 2002. The ministry of gender has set up gender desks in ministries such as ministry of social services. The aim is to mainstream gender. However this ministry is very broad and ineffective and impacts are yet to be felt. The gender policy is in Draft only.

The ministry of justice and constitutional affairs has been keenly looking at laws that concern gender parity. Consequently a law reform process has been launched by a National Cohesion to address laws

that pertain to equality. It is hoped that these institutions will receive adequate technical and financial support to promote and protect women's rights.

In the constitutional draft, a lot of laws were proposed for reform as indicated above. The Affirmative Action question was one of them. It is however not understood by many people, who define it as a strange cure that generates its own disease and that it will breed laziness, complacency and learned helplessness. If truth be told, we need Affirmative Action to correct injustices that women have experienced for a long time because of our patriarchal society that perpetuates retrogressive notions about women. Reserving 30% of leadership positions for women will level out the playing field with both sexes getting a fair chance at representation. However the 2004 Draft Constitution was rejected at a National Referendum, while the Affirmative Action Bill was allowed but never published. The Affirmative Action Bill was first brought to parliament by Hon. Phoebe Asiyo (1997), and subsequently by Hon. Beth Mugo (2000). Hon Martha Karua, Justice Minister introduced the Bill again in 2007. The Bill failed, it was defeated because of what was fronted as "a total lack of consultation" on the part of Hon. Karua (Daily Nation Newspaper, 2007). The Bill was supported by two male MPs, Hon Amos Kimunya, the former Finance Minister, and Hon Amos Wako, an Ex-officio and cannot vote, anyway. The Affirmative Action Bill is still retained in the Draft constitution of Kenya 2004. Courtesy of the women's political caucus. However, challenges still outweigh achievements, although there has been a lot of enlightenment on women's issues and the wind of change has been blowing to the very depth of the village, sweeping even the most marginalized off their feet.

5.3.6. The Presidential Decree

The decree proposed 2/3 representation of women especially on the constituency development committee. Many organizations are attempting to fulfill this rule. In his address on Madaraka Day 2006, president Kibaki directed that all future public employment must have at least 1/3 of either gender. The president also issued another important directive – women representative would hence

forth be automatic members of the district/ constituency committees on security, bursaries, HIV/Aids and CDF amongst others. Women have been appointed to senior positions as stated earlier, there are now eight out of 65 permanent secretaries, this is a paltry number but more than has ever been the case.

Three women PS's were 'retired in the latest re-shuffle without apparent effort to 'reserve' the slots for their gender. Again women lost out when parliament picked key committees – including the PSC, PIC and PAC. Those appointed were all men. However, as mentioned earlier, women have made some gains – there are now 13 women ministers, 7 appointed to the cabinet and 6 assistant ministers, giving a 14% increase.

It's commendable to note that more women sit on the CDF Board – a total of six. The minister for planning, Hon. Oparanya launched vision 2030 Kenya's new long term national planning strategy. The foundation area on Genders, Youth and vulnerable groups spells out the implementation of specific strategies such as increasing the participation of women in all economic, social and political decision making processes (e.g. through higher representation in parliament). Respondents suggested that in order to realize the vision 2030 goal, the government will endeavour to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in all government policies, plans, budgets and programmes as an approach that would achieve gender equality in all aspects of society and so increase participation of women through affirmative action.

The government of Kenya highlighted the need to strengthen women's participation in national decision making processes by way of improving social frameworks and creating an enabling environment in the poverty reduction strategy paper 2001-2004.

5.3.7. Donor Funding

Donors deemed it important to support the values identified by the government of Kenya, as part of the lessons learned during the run up to the 1997 general elections. A group of donors, DFID, CIDA, The Royal Embassies of the Netherlands and Denmark and therefore embassy of Sweden and United Nations Fund for women – UNIFEM have hence done a lot in regard to strategic support in the form of the engendering the political process programme (EPPP). It has been noted that opportunities for partnership with private sector have grown. There are several opportunities for stakeholders to mobilize substantial financial resources within the private sector for training women candidates, and other related programmes. This is relatively new type of collaboration so there is potential for conflict of interest if not handled properly. For this to work well, stakeholders need to develop a framework and guiding principles for engaging in these types of partnerships. In the recent past due to initiatives from pressure groups, a women's enterprise fund has been established to provide Kenyan women with access to alternative financial services. Universities have increased their intake of female students by 50%. Entry points have been lowered by one point to inkeep with the GOK policy of ration of boys to girls in the education sector. Initiatives such as the one undertaken by the British Council assisted women from different countries, both developing and developed, to exchange ideas and experiences.

5.3.8. The Sexual Offence Bill

The sexual offence Bill brought to the house by Hon. Njoki Ndungu, former nominated MP, and passed as a law in 2006 is a big plus for women. This only came to be after sustained pressure from women's movements and interested stakeholders. These are fruits of the democratization struggle.

5.4. Conclusions

A World Bank report on Kenya's economy (2008) states that the decentralization of finances, such as CDF. The Youth and Women's Funds by the GOK might be good, but it is just a drop in the ocean.

Gender inequalities continue in Kenya because the GOK is not using awareness and knowledge to make informed policy and resource allocations.

Representations in the new cabinet and parliament is below expectations, there is still need to push for Affirmative Action Bill to become law so that women have the much needed proportional representation in parliament and government. There is also need to safeguard gender friendly laws. This study shows that constraints to women's advancement include socio-cultural, economic; the political-electoral system and unfair laws to women, amongst other marginalized groups.

In the immediate post-independence years, women were excluded from the leadership of Africa's new states. The importance of their input was overshadowed by the challenges of war, famine and tribal strife. But as the influences of Africa's dictators begins to fade, as the terror in Rwanda gives way to forgiveness, and as the economy in several African countries hit their strides, women have taken a collective leap forward. In October 2008, a swearing in ceremony in Kigali saw 45 women taking oath in the country/s bicameral parliament of 80 deputies, making Rwanda the global record setter with majority MPs being women.

Women comprise 35% of Mozambique's parliament, nearly 30% in S. Africa and 23% in Tunisia. In 2006, Africa took another bow on the global stage when Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became president of Liberia. More recently, we have witnessed Christine Kirchner win the Argentinean presidency, while Angela Merkel is the German chancellor and now, McCain, the Republican US presidential candidate has settled for Sarah Palin, the Alaskan Senator for a running mate. Senator Hillary Clinton put up a

spirited fight during nominations and would have equally made a good choice for presidency. Underlying the problem of power in relations between men and women is what might be called the paradox of gender. This influences politics, economics, war and peace. The paradox of gender continues to yield male political supremacy. Although colonialism and westernization may have solved some problems, they did not solve the gender problem or did they? Sometimes when we recall that the concept of women's participation in governance on equal footing with men dates back at least to the 4th century, BC, it is almost impossible to deny that this is the greatest paradox of democracy. This is even more so because we have continued to live up with the paradox for so long that it has nearly become a norm.

The functioning of democracy depends, on the proper functioning of its institutions. Many times, a new democratic renewal means new institutions and new public bodies such as new judiciary, executive, legislatures, political parties and even new players in these institutions.

This is circumstantially, the scenario Kenya has to grapple with in the legislative, judiciary, and civil service and even in political parties. As in many African countries, opposition parties disappear in between elections, while ruling parties behave like they used to under the single party regimes. What women should significantly learn during this time of Kenya's political transition is that they do not benefit automatically every time the democratic system is recorded by successful transitions. It takes awareness, questioning and organizing by women inside and outside the mainstream to turn transitions into something good for women.

The respite however is, there are those who have risen up to this enormous challenge and in some parts of the world, dividends have paid off. In the area of electoral representation, there are those who

are beginning to make a shift from mere emphasis on women's numerical representation to the effectiveness of their participation in decision making.

There are also countries that still have to put in place mechanisms that augment women's numerical presence particularly in legislative bodies – Kenya is one of such countries. However, some schools of thought are of the opinion that it may matter less even if more women or marginalized Kenyans are elected to parliament. This is because they are prisoners of egoitism, personal greed, and the politics of opportunism and tribalism. It is no wonder, previously ethical and committed women and men have become political vultures. This is not unique to Kenya. Infact, the early political history of the USA was often chaotic. It takes time to create a viable and resilient political party culture. In the Kenyan case, this only began in 1991 with the re-introduction of multi-partyism. But we cannot wait for a century. That is why we must socially engineer the maturation of the political process now.

The above reality raises a fundamental question as to the impact of the wave of the 1990's democratization in Africa-what difference has it made to gender dynamics and women's representation in political processes in the democratizing countries within which laws that govern contemporary societies are made as well as the site where national resources, both material and symbolic are determined? The gender differential is arguably the single most important discriminating platform that should inform the quest for parity in governance. It should ideally precede other considerations like ethnicity, geographical representation, political loyalties and age. To subordinate it to the latter group as the government seems to be doing is to abysmally fail the equity test. At the root of the lacksture practice of the president's directive is failure by the government of Kenya to entrench it in law and follow it with legislation.

After 2007 elections women leaders, gender based organizations gender experts and women in general are still keeping a watchful eye on the performance of women at various electoral levels. The 2007 general elections should have provided important insights into new areas of engagement, sadly, it did not. Although women's performance improved after the 2007 general election, it does not get close to the 1/3 representation threshold for Affirmative Action. The problem in Kenya is not just as a result of faulty legislation, but also of deeply rooted cultural stereotypes. Whereas, it is undeniable the Kibaki government has done better in uplifting the plight of women than his predecessors, there is a niggling feeling that it has nevertheless performed below expectation.

The grand coalition is said to have a reformist agenda. However, among the isolated cogs central to the engine of change is the place of women in governance and leadership. Both PNU and ODM party manifestos promised more women in high ranking jobs and deliberate policy assaults on bottlenecks thwarting their merited ascendancy. Yet a close look at the prevailing public employment trends reveal a worrying failure to honour that promise. Women still retain fringe presence in appointments. Regrettably, this is the scenario in all the three arms of the state, whether in the cabinet, the judiciary or parliament. The principle of reserving at least 1/3 of the jobs for women is being observed in breach rather than in practice. This researcher's findings show that even though political parties remain the only avenue to parliament in the absence of a constitutional provision for private parliamentary candidates, the cultural belief that women 'cannot lead' persists and especially so when the two protagonists are fighting tooth and nail to gain parliamentary majority in the 2007 general elections.

Women are however, partly to blame for not coming out strongly to participate in party matters, attend functions, and organize events for their parties prior to nominations. That means, women are not properly anchored within the main political parties for while men are in the fore front when it

comes to party matters, most women will wait until the last minute and only appear when nominations are around the corner.

This is unfortunate, because results from this study show that increasing representation and participation of women in political party leadership will result in better advocacy, create balance and change public attitudes and perceptions. Although many political parties have put in place structures to encourage women to take part in party affairs including taking up political offices, a close examination of cultural practices shows that many communities are yet to approve of women's efforts to ascent to power.

Women must now make a leap from 'access' to 'efficacy' They will need to look beyond numbers to positively influence decisions inside and outside parliament.

The good news is the twenty two women in parliament will provide the platform to do this. It may not be ideal, but it is a good number to continue with.

Of the factors limiting women's ability to participate in politics, poverty is perhaps the most pervasive. Women carry primary responsibility for household and family maintenance. In both rural and urban communities, women of poorer families augment the income and food supplies with agricultural labour or informal employment. These dual obligations of household paid labour leave most women with little time for politics. For Kenyan women, the 2007 general elections presented the best opportunity to bridge the ever growing gap between male and female representation in the government or did it?

While constituencies elected in open competition may be preferable, and afford more effective influence than reserve seats, Affirmative Action is required as a temporary measure until such times

that gender equity is attained and sustained. This researcher shall conclude this research paper with an apt quote. Alluding to Virginia Wolf in "A room of one's own", Alida Brill states that the mirror women have held up to men – a mirror that exaggerates and flatters the male attributes, has increasingly projected a more realistic image since women's entry into public life. However, she cautions, many men resent these newer projections and therefore fight against them. Brill, A. (Ed.) 1995; 1.

5.5. Recommendations

The society needs to accept women leadership. Further, it would be prudent for the government of Kenya to provide a flexible and conducive environment in which women can play the role of leadership and family obligations without compromising either. Women candidates should be given support by family and friends (both materially and moral) to succeed in politics.

To help enhance the prospects of equity in women's representation, it is critical that the constraints identified in this research project be addressed. Even more importantly, it is imperative that the various advocacy groups within the gender movements in the country find common ground in terms of a clearly stated unity of purpose, organizational capacity and vision for the future. These groups also need to seek to bridge the divide between rural and urban women, educated professionals and uneducated non-professionals. They will also need to overcome their own divisions along ethnic, religious and class lines in order to advance their collective interests within the complete multi-layered and dialectical process of democratization in Kenya. For at the end of the day, women's democratization process in key policy-making institutions is critical. It enhances, and strengthens the political agenda on social issues such as health care, education and environmental protection. Women's increased participation in politics is thus important for a more balanced wholesome and equitable socio-economic development.

The lack of information and analysis on the issue of maximizing political impact, coupled with a global trend of rising conservatism vis-à-vis women's involvement in public life have led to a certain skepticism on the part of some concerning women's contribution to politics in general. This skepticism can sometimes be seen among intellectuals, politicians, and the average lay man or woman. The question,

"So what have women actually done that is so different from what men can do?" is not uncommon. Articulating this skepticism in Pakistan, Dr. Farzana Bahari, says; it can be said that women's presence in formal politics will not bring a qualitative change by putting social issues on the national agenda. It can be argued that women, because of their gender alone, will not place gender issues on the national agenda women in the upper echelons of politics are more likely to become an elite group among women and develop their own vested interests" (In 'Right of women's seats', The News. 15th May, 1997).

It is therefore now essential to look beyond the question of members to enhancing the quality and effectiveness of women politicians. This can be done by 'feminizing' legislation by making sure it takes into account women's concerns. Laws and policies should be altered or influenced in women's favor, that means, putting women's issues on the agenda and ensuring that all legislation is woman friendly or gender sensitive. Another way is by making parliament more 'woman friendly' through measures to promote greater gender awareness, encouraging women candidates and changing electoral and campaigning laws, and promoting sex equality legislation. Parliamentary language should be altered so that women's perspectives are normalized and a change in public attitudes towards women encouraged. In a South African parliament, one male MP was overheard saying of women MP's – "Some of these women comrades are almost like flowers that must decorate every delegation" (Mtintso, 1999; 52)

The ways and means by which women can maximize their impact on the political process at large, and on parliamentary procedure in particular, and their actual achievements in this regard, remains an area of major importance that has not been researched much – once women enter parliament, their struggle is far from over. In parliament, women enter a male domain. It pays to remember, parliaments were established, organized and dominated by men, acting in their own interests and

establishing procedures for their own convenience. There was no deliberate conspiracy to exclude women. It was not even an issue. Inevitably, these male dominated organizations reflect certain male biases: the precise kind varying by country and culture.

As with efforts to try to get women elected to parliament, today women inside parliament should organize, mobilize, motivate, and advance their own agenda from inside the world's legislature. The actual impact women parliamentarians can make will depend on a number of variables, such as the number of women in parliament who are motivated to represent women's issues and concerns. While the presence of even one woman can make a difference, long-term significant change will largely be realized when there is a sufficient number in parliament. Feminists' political scientists refer to it as "critical mass".

Women will need to learn the rules of parliament, use them, and change them to suit their agenda. For women parliamentarians to be effective they must learn and understand the functions of the legislature. They must learn the rules of the game, both written and unwritten codes, procedures and mechanisms on how to get things done in parliament.

Training by political parties is particularly useful since it offers insight into how MP's party understands the procedures. Also political parties must change their culture – make the timing and venues of meetings more family friendly. Many women feel uncomfortable in venues that are technically open to both sexes, such as bars and clubs. Networking is a crucial mechanism of training and socialization for women MPs. Women parliamentarians should also participate in joint training sessions for men and women. Women also need to learn how to handle the media, which can easily break or make one's career. The media if used carefully can increase women's visibility. Therefore, women MP's and aspirants should learn to caucus with media, national and international

organizations and movements. Familiarity with speaking and debating techniques can help to curtail heckling.

Women also need to work in partnership with men by designing programmes, whether inside or outside, that take into account men's concerns and perspectives with respect to solidarity with women politicians. Maintenance of ties to the women's movement is crucial, both for the support and for information on issues; similarly, the women's movement needs bases in political parties and in the legislature. Caucusing and networking allows women MPs to share information, ideas, resources and support. Meetings, conferences, seminars, newsletters and electronic mail links are useful networking devices. Consultations with women's organizations and research gauging in the needs/demands of women and their practical constraints, enable women candidates to target their efforts to activities that will be useful and effective. Women candidates and MP's must use the mass media, particularly, the resources offered by organized media women broadcasters, editors and journalists, to communicate their concerns and highlight relevant issues. The mass media should be instrumental in educating and mobilizing voters, particularly in rural areas, an important block particularly in developing countries like Kenya where women with limited resources, have had difficulties in reaching out to voters.

Collecting, monitoring and disseminating statistics and facts about women's political participation and representation is important as it enables women's advocates in parliament to analyze the position of women in decision making and define problems, device appropriate solutions and seek political support for their preferred solutions women should ensure that gender issues are integrated or mainstreamed within different political, social and economic concerns. Political participation is a process that is evolving and developing. The actors involved in this process should be prepared to always keep ahead of the changes.

It is important to note that barriers that face women entering public and political life do not exist in a vacuum. They are closely connected with the overall economic, social and cultural status of women. Strategies that simply focus on encouraging women to stand for elections and improving the capacity of those who do not come forward may fail to address the structural and cultural resistance to women from within these powerful groups.

The Beijing platform for action, the section on women's power and decision making states that there is need to set a firm timetable to end all manner of legal discrimination against women. This section also advocates for establishment of a framework to promote legal equality. It also states that there is need to initiate specific measures targeted to acquiring a short term threshold of 30% for women in national decision making positions, with a long term aim of 50%. At the same time, there is need to mobilize national and international effort to facilitate (for everyone- and women in particular) greater access to economic and political opportunities. Without enabling policies these actions are mere words.

For Kenya to succeed in empowering women and their political participation, there is need to look into the challenges and then draw strategies that will counter the challenges. There is also a need to involve women in higher decision making positions, to ensure inclusion in policies that will not discriminate against this gender. This research paper shows that the type of electoral system plays an important role in determining whether or not women get properly involved on party list. Yet one of the key international frameworks for the promotion of women's human rights is-The Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. The additional protocol on women's Human Rights to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights is the most important regional normative framework. One of the key commitments of Kenya's coalition government formed in February 2008, is a comprehensive review of the constitution. This political moment presents an

opportunity for systematic review of the state of affairs in relation to constitutional and legal protection of the rights of women in Kenya. It calls for strategic and proactive action to build a reform agenda addressing the existing gaps in the legal and institutional framework for protection of women's Human Rights in Kenya.

Women's organisations need to identify existing inconsistencies between Kenya's constitutional, legal and institutional frameworks, on one hand, and additional protocol on the other. Kenya must also realise that this is not the time to demonstrate pomposity, but rather to exercise sobriety.

What we must acknowledge is that at the moment, women and men have much to learn from one another in politics. However rapid that process may become and however much we need to take action for its acceleration, the lessons require a great deal of internalisation, in addition to conscience mastery. The process is therefore likely to take longer than the acquisition of factual knowledge.

Consequently, in assessing progress since Beijing, it is probably good to bear in mind a Chinese proverb '*The (wo)man who built a mountain began by collecting small stones*'.

(Balch, Jeff:1998)

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APPENDIX I

TIME PLAN

No.	Activity	Activity Breakdown	Duration	Period
1	Background information	Pre-testing of the questionnaire and locating of respondents	1 month	February
2	Data collection	Data will be collected from suitable individuals	1 month	March
3	Data Entry	Entering of field data into the computer for pre-processing. Qualitative data analyzed by themes.	1 month	April
4	Data analysis	Quantitative data analyzed using a suitable package	1 month	May
5	Report writing	Writing of the project	2 months	June & July
6	Draft and feedback from supervisor	Feedback and comments from the supervisor; and submission of project for examination	1 month	August

APPENDIX II
INDIVIDUAL RECORDING SCHEDULE

Dear Respondent

My name is *Lois Atambitsa Munala*. I am most grateful to you for availing your time to participate in this research study. I am a *post graduate* student undertaking a study on *The Role of women in the Democratization Process* at the *University Of Nairobi*.

The course requires me to do and complete a research project on ways of enhancing women's representation in decision-making positions in public and private spheres.

For many years, Kenyan women have not been adequately included/ represented in the country's democratization process, yet they form more than 50% of the adult and voting population. The purpose of this study is *to provide information that will identify methods that can successfully be used to involve more women in decision making to fully understand the needs and concerns of women leaders and politicians, and address us to meeting these needs*. I request you kindly to spare a few moments of your valuable time to respond to this questionnaire.

The information collected will be used for purely academic purposes, and shall be treated strictly confidential. Your name is not required on the questionnaire. Thank you.

SECTION ONE
PRELIMINARY/PERSONAL DATA

This section requires you to give information concerning yourself. Please place a tick () in the spaces provided to indicate the response that is applicable to you.

1. Gender

- a) Male
- b) Female

2. In which age category do you belong?

- a) 25 years or less
- b) 26 -34 years
- c) 35-44 years
- d) 45-54 years
- e) >=55 years

3. What is the highest level of qualification you have attained?

- a) No formal education
- b) 8 years primary school
- c) Secondary school
- d) Attended tertiary college
- e) University graduate
- f) Post graduate
- g) Other (specify)

4. What religion do you currently practice?

- a) Roman catholic
- b) Anglican (ACK)
- c) PCEA
- d) Methodist
- e) Evangelical
- f) Islam
- g) Other (specify)

5. Where do you principally reside?

- a) Nairobi
- b) Other city or large town
- c) Village, rural

SECTION TWO

1. During the past general elections, in which years did you vote? (Tick all years that you voted in this period).

- a) 1992
- b) 1997
- c) 2002
- d) 2007

2. Did you receive anything (gift or money) in order to vote?

- a) Yes
- b) No

3. Did you attend any campaign meetings in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 elections?

- a) Yes
- b) No

4. Did you attend civic education training?

- a) Yes
- b) No

5. What is your main source of information?

- a) Radio
- b) Television
- c) Newspaper
- d) Relatives or friend
- e) Women's group
- f) Other Specify

6. What type of information do you obtain from this source?

- a) Politics
- b) Marketing
- c) Education & Training
- d) Employment
- e) Other (specify)

7. Who is a good leader?

- a) Men
- b) Women
- c) Both men and women

8. What are the qualities of a good leader?

- a) Presentable
- b) Courageous
- c) Honest
- d) Sociable
- e) Good role model
- f) Democratic
- g) Patient
- h) Initiator of community development
- i) Other Specify

9. What positions did women vie for in the 1992/1997/2002 elections?

- a) Parliamentary
- b) Civic
- c) Both
- d) Don't know

10. What other elective positions do women vie for?

- a) Administrative (chief/sub-chief)
- b) Party leader
- c) School committee
- d) Women's group committees
- e) Church committees
- f) Other (Specify)

11. Have you been exposed to any information concerning women and political participation?

- a) Yes, a little information
- b) Yes, quite a lot of information
- c) None

12. How do women candidates compare with male candidates?

- a) Truly exceptional
- b) Outstanding
- c) Well above average
- d) Above average
- e) Average
- f) Below average
- g) Inadequate opportunity to observe Other (Specify) _____

APPENDIX III
POLITICAL PARTIES INSTRUMENT

1. Name of the political party and acronym if any

- a) Official contact _____
- b) Postal address _____
- c) Telephone number _____
- d) E-mail address _____
- e) Physical location of the headquarters _____
- f) Legal status _____
- g) Year of registration _____

2. How many women are in the top management position in your party? _____

- a) Do you have a women's wing or congress _____
- b) Does the above influence decision-making in the top organ of your party? Please explain:

3. Does your party have a specific gender policy? Please explain

- a) Does your party have specific programmes for young women leaders and members of your party? Please explain.

- b) Are you aware of any financial/ material or any other support offered to women candidates in your party? _____

- c) How has the above (b) support contribute to their nomination or election in the past?

d) Are your nominations and election rules gender sensitive? Please explain:

e) In your opinion, what are the key barriers/difficulties that women candidates face?

4. How many women have been elected to occupy important party positions since inception of your political party?

5. How many women did your political party nominate for the civic, parliamentary and presidential seats in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 general elections?

6. In your opinion, what does your party stand to gain or lose if women are elected in top party leadership and management structure? Please explain.

7. Do you think it is necessary for your party to adopt an affirmative action policy and strategy in its leadership and management structure? Please explain your answer.

8. Is your party committed to the implementation of CEDAW (1979) and the Beijing platform for action (BFA 1995)?

Please explain:

APPENDIX IV

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION PROTOCOL

Instructions to the facilitator of FGDs Protocol: This protocol shall be administered to 8-12 members of the selected CBO. The discussions shall last for a period of not more than 1 hour. The Focus Group Discussions may be conducted outside (under a shade) or indoors as may be deemed suitable. The discussion guide consists of the following issues/topics. Under the direction of the facilitators group members are free to engage in discussions and express their opinions on each issue/topic.

Name of Facilitator _____

Date of discussion _____

Name of the CBO _____

1. Major constraints to women entering elective politics
2. Areas in which women candidate and political leaders require support
3. Role of the government towards ensuring sustainable support of initiatives for women
4. Strategies for ensuring that women, especially the relatively young are nominated and elected in civic, parliamentary and presidential elections.
5. Women programmes on:
 - a) Political empowerment and governance
 - b) Gender mainstreaming.

APPENDIX V

KEY INFORMANTS / IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

1. a) Do you think women have generally been marginalized in the political and private spheres as far as leadership positions are involved?

Yes

No

c) Please explain your answer to (a) above:

2. a) What technical, material and financial resources do women candidates require for winning elections?

b) Who should provide the above resource?

3. In general, what do you think are the main barriers blocking women from actively/fully participating in politics?

b) What leadership position should women fill?

Explain your answer:

c) What would be the impact of a woman presidential candidate on the current political situation in Kenya?

4. Is there any other type of support that women candidates require to perform well in elective politics apart from the technical, material and financial?

Please specify:

5. What specific capacity building needs and skills do women candidates require before, during and after the general election?

6. a) Is women's low economic power a factor in the struggle to increase their representation and participation in politics? Please explain your answer.

b) Are there past initiative(s) of supporting women candidates that you are aware of?

c) What was the nature and form of support program or project for the initiatives listed in above?

7. Are there practices you deem best that can be replicated in future support initiatives for women candidates?

Please explain your answer:

8. What are the major barriers to women's participation in politics and decision-making in Kenya?

- a) _____

- b) _____

- c) _____

- d) _____

- e) _____

9. How can the above stated barriers be overcome?

Kindly explain:

10. What is the significance of increasing representation and participation of women in political parties' leadership and other decision-making structures/organs in the country?

11. What strategies can be applied to increase the number of women in top leadership and decision-making structures within political parties and other institutions of governance in Kenya?

12. How can women candidates' access relevant and appropriate information about existing technical, financial and material support within and outside the country?

13. What kind of support can the media give to women candidates in party and general elections?

14. How does the domestication or lack of domestication of international instruments such as CEDAW and Beijing platform for Action in Kenya affect the technical and other support for women programmes?

15. What is the role of the Government of Kenya in protecting and promoting the civil and political rights of women?

16. What measures can be undertaken by the women led organizations and civil society in general to hold the Government of Kenya accountable to the Universal human rights standards and instruments that seek to promote participation of women in politics and decision-making?

17. Should Affirmative Action be adopted as one of the fundamental criteria for any political party or individual women to easily make a breakthrough in politics?

18. Please comment on the relevance of your current collaboration with the Government to the needs of women in your community.

APPENDIX VI

CASE HISTORIES PROTOCOL

Instructions to the respondent to the Case Histories Instrument: This instrument is a guide to the respondent who is approached at a suitable location, e.g. in Parliament grounds, in an office or even at home. The respondent is assured of confidentiality of information provided. At least two ($n=2$) respondents should be included in the sample and their case histories recorded verbatim (with the informants consent).

CASE HISTORIES GUIDELINES

The facilitating assessor/researcher will encourage the respondent to voluntarily narrate her story of participation in democratic processes in Kenya. The topics below should serve as a general guideline.

The key topics include:

1. Early life.
2. Interest in politics.
3. Experience in participation in democratic processes.
4. Coping mechanisms.
5. Access to support by political parties and others.
6. Perception of impact of ones role played in the political arena
7. Challenges facing the respondent/politician?

Note: The respondent's story should be recorded verbatim.

APPENDIX VII

List of professionals and politicians interviewed

Name	Status/Position	Date
Betty Angasa	ODM Parliamentary Aspirant, Kisumu Town West Constituency	March 2008
Dr Axel Hameit Silvers	Regional Director Heinrich Boll Foundation	March 2008
Ms Irene Oloo	Member-Vital Voices	March 2008
Florence Ogur	Parliamentary aspirant- Nyatike	March 2008
Jael Mbogo	Ford-Kenya	March 2008
Judith Thngori	Lawyer and Member-Vital Voices	March 2008
Abida Ali Aroni	Commissioner and member-Vital Voices	March 2008
Caroline Lukalo	Founder Member Growth and Development Party and Parliamentary Aspirant Dagoretti	May 2008
Dr Ludeki Chweya	Ps, Office of the Vice President	May 2008
Peter Kubebea	Secretary General –LPK	May 2008
Hon Julia Ojiambo	Chair-LPK	May 2008
Janet Mangera	Catholic secretariat (Development and social services commission)	June 2008
Kepta Ombati	Youth Agenda	June 2008
Susan Kamau	Youth Agenda	June 2008
Aly Khan	Secretary- KADDU	June 2008
Mr Mbae	Secretary Democratic Labour Party	June 2008
Mr Kamau	Representative PNU	June 2008
Hon Nyamato	PNU Member	June 2008
Rose Agnes Mugiro	UNDP, Second Secretary	June 2008

APPENDIX VIII

Organizations Visited

The Kenya Women's Political Caucus

Institute for Education in Democracy

FIDA Kenya

The Youth Agenda

FAWE- Forum for African Women Educationists, Kenya Chapter

Institute of Women in Democracy

Centre for Multiparty Democracy(CMD)

UNDP

Vital Voices