

**v\THE IMPACT OF ENGENDERING PUBLIC POLICY IN KENYA: A  
CASE STUDY OF KENYAN WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS'/**

**BY**

**WICHANGI MERCY WAIRIMU**

**R/50/P/8132/06**

**SUPERVISOR:**

**AMB. PROF. MARIA NZOMO**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE AWARD OF A DEGREE IN MASTER OF ARTS IN  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AT I HL INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**IDIS**

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**SEPTEMBER 200\$**

**l a i i i i i i i i i i i i**  
0470468 1

## DECLARATION

This Dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for examination at any University.

Signed .....^OOM^F; . . . . . Date . . . . .

Mercy Wairimu Gichangi

This Dissertation has been submitted to the Board of Post Graduate Studies at the University of Nairobi for examination with my approval as I diversity Supervisor.

Signed . . . . . Date J . P

Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo

## **DEDICATION**

This study is dedicated to my father John and my mother Martha, my brothers Nicholas. Peter and Boniface and my sister in-law Njoki and sisters in-law to be Florence and Carol.

To all the Kenyan women and children who have suffered gravely both psychologically and physically by displacement and lose of loved ones as a result of the post election violence experienced following the 27<sup>th</sup> December 2007 disputed Presidential General Elections in Kenya. Their suffering and struggle has\* motivated me to carry out this research in the belief that a Kenya led by women would not be plunged into such catastrophe that men leaders have plunged Kenya into.

God Bless them always.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First and foremost. I would like to thank the almighty God for his blessings.

Secondly, I thank my supervisor Amb. Prof. Maria Nromo for her patience, guidance, thoroughness, and inspiration that she accorded to me throughout this Research Project.

Special thanks to Mabel, Mina, Ann and Nancy for their material and moral support.

More thanks to my church Lavington United Church (LUC). Rev. Joshua Omungo and my mentor Mrs. Ruth Omungo. The LUC Worship Ministry, the LUC Young Adults Fellowship, the Young Adults Bible Study Fellowship (USF) - Joyce Wanjala's Group. My fellow committee members in the Church History Committee; Dr. Hicks, Dr. Mwiti and Rev. Adolwa that is documenting the history of the church for the 2010 fiftieth Anniversary celebrations. My friends and prayer partners in "Seekers" Group 15, Theology Education by Extension (TEE) Class; Michael, NtokoiO. Elizabeth, Josephine, John. Evans. Ann. Lydia and Mercy thanks for their tireless prayers and encouragement.

Finally thanks to my family for their love and acceptance.

## LIST OF AC RONYMS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
EPPP	Engendering of the Political Processes Programme
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
GGP	Gender and Governance Program in Kenya
IPPG	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LPK	Liberal Party of Kenya
LPK	Liberal Party of Kenya
MY WO	Macndeleo Ya Wanavvake Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
PFA	The Platform for Action
SDM	Social Democratic women's Movement
UDIIR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization United UNCSW Nations Commission on the Status of Women

## **ABSTRACT**

This study sought to examine the impact of engendering public policy in Kenya and studied Kenyan women in international relations in the eyes of those serving in international jurisdiction and those in the local sphere who have been able to influence international public policy.

The Methodology of research was through both primary and secondary data analysis. Primary data was collected from interviews with women in public offices locally and internationally. The interviews were personal interviews in the form of Non-Scheduled Non-Structured interviews. The study relied heavily on secondary data which was collected from various sources such as library research, internet searches, past thesis, academic papers and dissertations, summary of journals, government documents.

This study established that public policy in Kenya has been going through an engendering process despite fundamental social and structural barriers that tend to exclude women from public office. This engendering process of public policy in Kenya has resulted in an increase in women representation public office and the impact women have in public policy both locally and internationally. It is not merely for altruistic reasons but because of favourable policy and institutional framework, mainstreaming of public policy: which is having policies and programmes that facilitate women participation and translating programmes into practice to remove social and institutional barriers.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER ONE.....	I
BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	I
INTRODUCTION.....	1
STATEMENTS OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	4
OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.....	6
JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	6
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
INTRODUCTION.....	7
WORLD STUDY ON THE CONDITION OF WOMEN PUBLIC OFFICE.....	8
THE MINIMAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE.....	11
THE IMPACT OF A CRITICAL MASS OF WOMEN PARLIAMENT.....	13
LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	13
ACTION FOR WOMEN IN KENYA.....	14
CONCLUSION.....	15
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	15
FEMINIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT.....	15
INTRODUCTION.....	15
STRANDS OF FEMINIST THEORY.....	16
STANDPOINT FEMINISM.....	17
LIBERAL FEMINISM.....	17
POSTMODERN FEMINISM.....	17
CONCLUSION.....	18
HYPOTHESIS.....	18

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH.....	18
PRIMARY DATA ANALYSIS.....	18
SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS.....	19
CONCLUSION.....	20
CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	20
SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS 01 THE RESEARCH.....	21
CHAPTER TWO.....	22
THE IMPACT 01 ENGENDERING PUBLIC POLICY AROUND THE WORLD..	22
INTRODUCTION.....	22
THE CASE OF EUROPE: GERMANY.....	23
CONCLUSION.....	25
THE CASE OF ASIA: CHINA.....	26
CONCLUSION.....	28
THE CASE OF AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA).....	29
CONCLUSION.....	32
THE CASE OF EAST AFRICA: UGANDA.....	33
CONCLUSION.....	36
THE ABOVE CASE STUDIES IN RELATION TO KENYA.....	36
CHAPTER THREE.....	37
THE IMPACT OF ENGENDERING PUBLIC POLICY IN KENYA.....	38
INTRODUCTION.....	38
THE ENGENDERING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESSES PROGRAMME (EPPP)	39
THE GENDER AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM IN KENYA (GGP).....	40
WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE . . .	42



THE STRUGGLE FOR MORE PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY.....	43
WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC OFFICE AND POLITICS.....	45
WOMEN PERSONALITIES THAT HAVE INFLUENCED PUBLIC POLICY...	48
CONCLUSION.....	52
CHAPTER FOUR.....	53
THE CASE STUDY OF KENYAN WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	53
INTRODUCTION.....	53
INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS THAT HAVE FACILITATED WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.....	55
KENYAN WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.....	57
CONCLUSION.....	60
CHAPTER FIVE.....	62
CONCLUSION.....	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	65

# CHAPTER ONE

## *BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM*

### INTRODUCTION

Political scientists around the world have been generally surprised by the recent surfacing of a viable advocacy movement stemming from the women's rights movement. The profession as a whole has found itself hard pressed to deal with the movement, either in analyzing the factors that provoked its emergence, or in explaining its implications for policy-making and the operation of public institutions in general.<sup>1</sup> Such unpreparedness can be partially explained by the focus of public policy research, which has almost excluded women from its concern," The question then becomes "If your party nominated a woman for president, would you vote for her if she were to qualify for the job?"<sup>1</sup>

The equality of men in the matter of public and political rights is established by a large number of constitutions, codes and laws. Many nations have adopted the system of representative government at a later juncture, and whose customs and traditions maintain women in a subordinate position, have adopted the principle of the equality of both sexes; in the Far East and in Islamic countries, this improvement in legal status of women is proceeding, indeed at a revolutionary pace.<sup>4</sup> In the Far East the public emancipation of women has encountered very strong opposition in circles attached to traditions, whether religious or not.

Man's primacy in the public office field and the confining of women to private and family activities were usually visible before the birth of the feminist movement; the development

<sup>1</sup> See A Journey of Courage. Kenya Women's Experiences of 2002 General Elections, (AWC Features. 2004). p

Jmc J. Jaquene (ed ). *Women, \*in Politics*. (John Wiley & Son\*. Inc.. 1974). p 54-56.

, J<sup>TM</sup>^1 Ekine. The Polls: Women'\* Role *Pub Opinion Quart. XXV*, p 277-79. (Summer 1971).

Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. Reader for the Regional Conference on Women and Participation in Electoral Politic\*. December 5\*-6<sup>K</sup> 2006 Nairobi, Kenya, p.7.

of the movement has not completely done away with them even in countries where it has reached its culmination. The anti-feminist attitudes remain stronger in Latin, than in the Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries.<sup>5</sup>

Public office has traditionally viewed itself as a male field, and with the possible exception of economics, it is a social science that has responded with the least enthusiasm to the impact of the modern feminist movement.<sup>1</sup> Laws which disable women from full participation in political, public office, business and economic areas are often characterised as 'protective' and beneficial. Those same laws applied to racial or ethnic minorities would readily be recognized as invidious and impermissible. The pedestal upon which women have been placed has all too often, upon closer inspection, been revealed as a cage. We conclude that the sexual classifications are made with respect to employment...'

Women comprise the majority of the world's populace, yet only fifteen per cent of public office holders and parliamentarians are women. In Sub-Saharan region the representation of women in public office stands at an average of fourteen per cent/ It is widely accepted that despite their large representation and their significant contribution to countries economies, women fail to have access to essential development resources and consequently tend to have less power and fewer resources than men in general.

Women participation in decision making is vital to achieving equality, development and peace. It is also their right. Unfortunately, a decade after the Fourth World Conference on Women. (Beijing, 1995) women are still grappling with little public and political space to exert their influence in the public sphere ' A number of strategies have been formulated such as

Maurice Dmerger. *The Political Role of Women*. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1955). p.9,

M. H. Garskof. (ed ). *Roles of Women Plural Reactions Toward Women's Liberation*. (Belmont. Ca Brook\* Cole. 1971). p.673.84-96

All« D Spritzer. Equal Employment Opportunity vs. Protection for Women: A Public Policy Dilemma, *Alabama Law Review*. U. p.79. (Summer 1972). Johnston. Jr. and Knopp. Sex\* Discrimination by Law. *op at.*, p. 690.  
^www.wipo.org

Beyond Numbers: Toward\* Transformative Leadership. (Women Direct 20CW), p. 1-11

capacity building training for women candidates and women policy makers, demanding affirmative action or proportional representation and support services to women policy makers and women legislators at local and national levels. These efforts have seen considerable progress in terms of women's representation globally.<sup>11</sup>

Women participation is a discussion that has been for long, the survey undertaken by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1952." the survey showed that women had a lower standard of information and participation in public policy and less political maturity than men. One out of three women states that "public policy and politics is not a woman's business": thirty per cent of them admit to having no political opinions. Men incidentally confirm what they say. as thirty per cent of the married men state that their wives 'had no political opinions before marriage'.<sup>11</sup>

Women's public policy horizon is narrower than man's since men's interests are less often limited to local public policy and political problems and they are more inclined to think in terms of institutions, parties or policy programmes. The largest differences to be observed between the two sexes relate to the attitude towards public policy and political discussion and, more generally, all prejudices concerning the various forms of public policy activity.

*Women 'v' equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy but can also be seen as a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account. Achieving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning "*

Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. Reader for the Regional Conference on Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. December 5\*-6\* 2006 Nairobi. Kenya. p.2.

Maurice Duverger. 7\*,- *Political Role of Women*. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1955) p.2

Jamen S. Colman. *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1964). G. Carter. *African One-Party States*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1962). Sandra Baxter and Marjorie Laming, *Women and Politics*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1980).

The Beijing Platform of Action. Fourth World Conference on Women. 1995.

Legal strategies and reforms interwoven with the fabric of society have given legitimacy, to existing economic, political and social practices that discriminate against women. Women have to lobby for reforms and repeals of these laws monitoring and enforcing the implementation of existing laws that may empower women and institutionalizing legal-awareness programs to inform women of their rights under the rule of law."

In Africa, achieving men's and women's equality in the public policy and political realm is a goal towards which for instance Kenyan women have moved with considerable difficulty over the past few decades.

### *STATEMENTS OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM*

The problem this research seeks to address is informed by the Feminist School of Thought in the view of engendering the public policy sphere in Kenya and the impact this has in relation to Kenyan women participation in International Relations.<sup>15</sup>

Kenya like other African Countries has a small number of women in public office such as Diplomatic Missions, United Nations, Regional and International Organizations, the Parliament. This is attributed to the fact that women even those very active in advocacy as members of civil society and political parties are deliberately discriminated by men who lead these organizations and wield a decisive influence in the choice of candidates.

In the political sphere, in 2002, there were only eighteen women parliamentarians out of two hundred and twenty two members of parliament only nine out of these women were elected in as members of parliament.<sup>16</sup> The political parties have had poor and limited institutions

*mmStmrn\** \_\_\_\_\_ <>

Maria N/omo. *Women, Democracy, and Development in Africa: In Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa.* (Nairobi; Heinctnimm. 197t.Lp.126.

Sec T A Couloumhts and J. H. Wolfe Introduction lo International Relations; Power and Justice. (Prentice-Hall otIndia Private limited. New Delhi. 1916). K. W, Deuttch, *The Analysis of International Relations.* Third Edition. (Prentice-Hall. Inc.. |9t9.

Se« Inter-parliamentary Union Meeting in Kenya Times. (Beijing). September. 9. 2002 P 18

omo, M. Empowering Kenya Women: Report of a Seminar on Post-Election Women's Agenda: Forward looking strategic\* to 1997 and bc>ond, (National Committee on the Status of Women. 1993). p. 1-t6

capacity to manage elections in the parties, the campaign trail has proved challenging for women candidates who have had to put up with harassment both physical and psychological.

Women continue to succumb to forty eight per cent minoritarian power dictates in public office at international and local level in Kenya, while they represent fifty two per cent of the population. The performance of women who have sought public office is limited, dismal and poor.

The purpose of the Study is to identify the contribution of Kenyan women in international relations as a result of engendering public policy in Kenya.<sup>1</sup>

See Dougherty, J. F. and Pfalttgraft Jr. R.t.. *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Third Edition.* (Harper & Row Publishers. New York. 1990)  
~"vcr»«. M., *The Political Role of Women*, (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 1955). p. 7-86.

## *OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY*

*The main objective is*

1. To demonstrate that Kenyan public policy has\* been engendered despite fundamental social and structural barriers that tend to exclude women from public office.

*The secondary objective*

1. To determine the impact of engendering public policy in Kenya.
2. To evaluate the contribution of Kenyan women in international relations.

## *JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM*

Women refuse to accept a marginalized status in society in public office. Women have vowed to scrutinize all policy documents and ensure that all the fundamental issues that affect women are mainstreamed in the development of policy programmes in various institutions. The women join hands to lobby and pressure for all existing laws that discriminate against women.

Women seek to achieve these goals through awareness programmes that would sensitise and encourage a lot of capable women to participate in public office in Diplomatic Missions, United Nations, Regional and International Organizations, the Parliament, private sector, local government by building their capacity and confidence which is crucial in improving the performance of these women in these offices.

Women around the world have resolved to form their own advocacy movements; in France, Australia, Norway, Germany and Yugoslavia the women saw a lack of understanding on the part of men with regard to the accession of women to leading positions. The men view the issue of having a small number of women candidates as a result of a shortage of women qualified to hold public office.

Women have deferred strongly and have organized themselves into groups demanding their voices to be heard, their gender based interests to be included and mainstreamed in the new

democratic agenda and that they participate on the equal footing with men in the democratic process.

This Study will be used to identify the contribution of Kenyan women in international relations as a result of engendering public policy in Kenya

## *LITERATURE REVIEW*

### INTRODUCTION

The literature review will focus mainly on the Feminist School of Thought to identify the role feminism has played in engendering public policy in Kenya and as a result increasing the role of Kenyan women in international relations.

Feminist scholars are emphasizing the importance of gender roles in international relations which can be applied in democratic processes. Several scholars have written on the historical perspectives of the evolution of women in leadership, before the Beijing Platform in 1995, and the affirmative action after the Beijing Platform.<sup>1\*</sup>

The wide variation in women's presence in public office contradicts the expectation that established or consolidated democracies are more supportive of the presence of women in public life than emerging democracies. In efforts of women to compete for public office, women who decide to run often face opposition from their own families particularly their husbands. They face discrimination, intimidation, violence, ostracism, verbal abuse in the candidate selection and placement process. Such was experienced in 1997 Kenyan elections in constituencies such as Kitui Central, Westlands, Nakuro Town, Dagoretti, Lugari.<sup>19</sup>

At societal level, women's Non-Governmental Organizations are instrumental in

<sup>19</sup> Ann4n, lmcn «,io, «<sup>1</sup> Women's Day 2006 E. fcllen Johnson Sirleaf, Prewdent of Liberia, FirM Resident,al Speech. 2005 The Beijing Platform of Action. Fourth World Conference on Women. 1995 Die global AC«on Plan W\_m With Women: Strengthen Political Parties. (National Democratic Institute. 2007).

jwiltr l>95, p.56. Nation Reporter 1998. UN Millennium project 2005. Taking Action: Achiesing (lender quality and Empowering Women. Task Force on Education and Gender Equality. UNESCO's International Social Bulletin, vol. V. no.I. 1953. p. 160 ct sevj.



improving women's representation at all levels of government. The role including mobilizing women for positions in Diplomatic Missions. United Nations. Regional and International Organizations, the Parliament by lobbying government and political parties, engaging in leadership training and financial support for women office bearers.\*<sup>1</sup>

## WORLD STUDY ON THE CONDITION OF WOMEN PUBLIC OFFICE

The equality of men and women in the matter of public policy is established by a large number of constitutions, code and law, many nations which have adopted the system of representative government and whose customs and traditions maintain women in a secondary and subordinate position, have not hesitated to adopt the principle of the equality of both sexes: in the Far East and Islamic countries, this improvement in the legal status of women is proceeding at a revolutionary pace.<sup>1</sup>

How far do the facts square with the law? To what extent is the legal equality of the sexes accompanied by real equality? How far do women, in practice, exercise their recognized political prerogatives? It was in order to answer these questions that a survey was undertaken by United Nations Education Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s Department of Social Science in 1952 and 1953, at the invitation of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (UNCSW), The survey would cover four countries France, The Germany Federal Republic. Norway and Yugoslavia.

In implementation of this plan, seventeen reports were drawn up between January and August 1952 in fifteen countries, seven in Europe (Belgium, the German Federal Republic. Netherlands. Norway. Switzerland, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia): three in America

<sup>1</sup> Kirman, R. Political Economy of international Relations\*. (Princeton University Press. Princeton. New York. 1957). Goldstein. J. S. and Peeverhouse. J.C.. International Relations\*. Seventh Edition, (Elm Street Publishing. New York. 2006). p. 124-139.

<sup>2</sup> Christine. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994.

<sup>3</sup> Sandra. *Feminism and International Relations*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1994.

(Argentina, Mexico and the United States); five in the Middle and Far East (Egypt, India, Japan, Syria and Turkey). All these reports were discussed in detail at four working meetings during the International Congress of Political Science held at the Hague from 8th to 12th September 1952

The second stage of the survey consisted in assembling more detailed information on the points 10 defined, as a result of more extensive research carried out in the four countries chosen by (UNESCO); France, the German Federal Republic, Norway and Yugoslavia. A preliminary meeting, organized at (UNESCO) house and adding to the general reporter and the national reporters various experts and representatives of the leading women's associations, made a critical study of the working hypotheses adopted at the Hague Congress, and of the field of research defined at that congress: as a result it modified the original work plan

The conflict between modern ideas and anti-feminist traditions is strikingly illustrated by the discussions provoked by the problem of women's suffrage, and generally speaking their participation in public office in Islamic countries. In Egypt, for instance, this matter is at present the subject of keen controversy. In the Far Eastern countries the political emancipation of women is also encountering very strong opposition in circles attached to traditions, whether religious or not. These conflicts are less marked in the West and those concerned are sometimes unconscious or only partly conscious of them, they nevertheless exist.

The financial emancipation of women also accelerates the change in habits and customs, but such change remains fairly circumscribed. It is rare for women who are financially independent not to be in a very definite minority; financial independence itself has not succeeded, any more than the granting of political rights, in completely eradicating a general attitude which stems from a tradition several years ago.

MI\*. Dorothy Pickett's report of this discussion in UNESCO's International Social Science Bulletin, vol. V. p. 75 et seq

An account of this meeting was published in (UNESCO)'s International Social Science Bulletin, vol. V. no. I. p. 160 et seq

Public opinion as a whole seems rather unfavorable to public office bearing by women. Alain has excellently described the traces of that primitive mentality which regards war as a "sport for men"; there is a similar tendency to regard public office a man's affair. The club, the reform, debates, parliament and political life in general are still considered to be typically masculine activities.

Women's participation in them usually takes the form of an "example" to be followed; it represents an effort to change the old conceptions, rather than a change already accomplished. It is systematic. For instance, that the granting to women the right to vote has in many countries been the result of an executive decree, or a revolutionary measure imposed by the decree-law of a provisional government, subsequently ratified by an assembly elected in virtue of its provisions; The Soviet Union and Germany in 1918 and 1945 respectively. Austria, Poland. Republican Spain. Cuba. France. Italy. Israel and Venezuela.

Women's direct part in public office stands out in extreme smallness. While in public offices the proportion of women playing a real part in leadership is ridiculously small. In the overwhelming majority of cases, men continue to be hold public offices such as ambassadors, high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations, regional and international organizations, ministers, members of parliament, high-ranking civil servants, leaders of political parties and pressure groups.

There are hardly women in the bodies which make public decisions and women are only able to exert indirect pressure on them, either through the elections or through certain special pressure groups, such as women's associations. In this matter, then, the equality of the sexes has not been achieved and indeed, great inequality still exists.

The number of women members of the government and of the higher civil service, of political and administrative assemblies (parliament, local assemblies, municipal councils), is extremely small. It is rare that the proportion of women in international missions or in parliament

is higher than five per cent and the figure for local bodies is even smaller. There seems to be a tendency towards stabilization of the proportion of women in administrative and political life, to the minimal and perhaps even towards regression.

#### THE MINIMAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN PUBLIC OFFICE

What is the reason for this extremely small female representation? The question is difficult to answer as it cannot be considered apart from the whole problem of the shortcomings of women's public integration, the hostility of the public towards women and the small number of women public office holders. Many women leaders think that it is due to deliberate discrimination on the part of the men who lead the organizations.

Three aspects of the problem merit closer study which is the variation in the women public office holders under different governance systems, through time and in different countries. The proportional representation of women seemed easier to get into public office such as the elected assemblies through a working hypothesis suggested at the Hague congress, the "party ticket" system while the "single member" system did not.<sup>14</sup>

The democratic norm of equal opportunity implies that anyone can be president, a goal theoretically open to both sexes. Feminists' insistence on defining the difficulties of women as a social problem rather than as individual challenges and "hang-ups" was a startling innovation for the social sciences as well as for the society as a whole. Social underpinnings of sexes behavior went unnoticed until radical women forced attention from political scientists. Myrdal,<sup>15</sup> Hacker<sup>6</sup>, and a few female psychoanalysts. Thomson<sup>1</sup>, Horney<sup>1</sup> and Klein<sup>29</sup> are among investigators

<sup>1</sup> Maunce Duvrger. *The Political Role of Women*. (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1955). p. 7 - \*

\* K H ^ ' % L A m r i e u , , D , U m m » York. Aldine- Atherton. 1971.

n c , \* o m e n i s « Minority Group" *Social Forces*. 30. pp. 60-69 (Oct. 1951)

<sup>3</sup> K H " m p T M r M \_ C f t C T \_ • *Interpersonal Psychoanalysis* New York; Basic Books. 1964. pp 201-343.

->V K k ^ y ~ T h m m n U ! P s > x M \* y - N c % v York: Nonon\_ 1 ^ 3 .  
pp.386-40^ C r e m m i n c Character" in C. Thomson, ed.. *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*. Modern Library, 1955.

who talked about women problems in social issues before the late 1960s.\*\*

*A political being has no exclusive personal problems ... political activity should not be evaluated apart from personal hang-ups« interpersonal frictions, grievances, etc. These have roots in political ideology and practice and have important political consequences Women have learned that their personal problems are not individual or inevitable but are generalized, systemic, socially caused and common and they are solving these problems through political action"*

Gender Equality has however continued to be elusive even in jurisdictions where the critical mass of thirty per cent representation has been met. This may be the case for various reasons, such as inadequate knowledge or technical capacity, lack of commitment or the desire to meet one's own needs, on the part of the leaders. Women's active and equal participation in development is fundamental to the development of all societies. Development means total development, including development in the political, economic, social, cultural and other dimensions of human life<sup>5\*</sup>,

Development policies and actions that fail to take gender inequity into account and fail to enable women to be actors in those policies and interventions will have limited effectiveness and serious costs to societies<sup>33</sup>. The full promotion and protection of women's human rights can only occur in conditions of peace and security. Where there is war or civil strife, women and children are most affected. There is the need therefore to ensure as a leader that peace is cultivated and maintained. Peace includes not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities at the national and international levels but also the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms within

<sup>1</sup> J. (ed). *Women in Politics*. (John Wiley & Son\*. Inc.. 1974). p 1-322.  
n j ^ J L n , v m i « y Conference newsletter. 1970.

J\* S, II, c n n , u m Projeci 2005. Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women, Task Force  
™ Mucanon and Gender Fquality.

society .

#### THE IMPACT OF A CRITICAL MASS OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

Almost one half, that is forty nine per cent of women in Sub-Saharan Africa have less than ten percent women in public office such as parliament. Does a critical mass of women in those public offices have any significant impact on passing laws in favour of women?

Senegal. South Africa. Tanzania. Uganda. Women account for nineteen point two, twenty nine point eight, twenty two point three and twenty four point seven per cent respectively, of the parliamentary seats. Women also occupy more than twenty per cent of legislative seats in Mozambique. Namibia and Seychelles.

In South Africa's National Assembly, the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are women. Out of forty one parliamentary committees, women chair ten." Female members of parliament in South Africa have played a significant role in establishing the parliamentary committee on the commission of gender equality and the improvement of the quality of life and status of women. Since 1994 they have worked to pass dozens of laws that directly affect the lives of women.

#### LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The ratification of the United Nations Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. (CEDAW). The Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1997, which legalizes abortion. The Domestic Violence Act of 1998. which criminalizes perpetrators and allows abused women to obtain a remedy. The Labour Relations Act of 1996. which includes Women's Maternity Rights and Codes Against Sexual Harassment in the work place.

The Customary Marriage Act of 1998. which grants Customary Marriage Partners equal status, as well as equal rights to property; and the Equality Act of 1998. which bans

<sup>34</sup> Supra note 2.  
<sup>35</sup> Parliament of South Africa 200".

discrimination in the work place and mandates implementation of Affirmative Action plans to employers".

#### ACTION FOR WOMEN IN KENYA

Transformative leadership makes a difference. It reduces the inequalities between men and women, the poor and the rich. There is a need to bring women's voices closer to the policy level with the aim of improving the quality of life of people, their health, education, safety and welfare.

Women leaders have not only the responsibility but also potential to influence and impact public agendas', positive policy formulation and its subsequent implementation with the primary aim of achieving gender equality and reducing gender gaps. Women's leadership and the work of the women's movements need to be linked effectively to be able to collectively influence change.'

Without the active participation of women in position of decision-making, development cannot be fully realized. The need for transformative leadership is now<sup>5\*</sup>.

Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives at all levels or decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

*Women's vision for their society often differs from men's because they understand clearly the impact of distorted priorities on their families and communities. The vision of women is one of inclusion, not exclusion, peace not conflict, integrity not corruption and consensus not imposition<sup>99</sup>.*

*-Let us remember that, in individual countries, the increase in the number of women in*

<sup>101m</sup> Standing Committee on the improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women

*HV^! Midambt, The United Variant Decode: Political Empowerment or Increased Mar^naliranon for Ktman*

" b ^ L S " " ^ \_ , , , Qu4nCT, 1990

" 11 't Ell <sup>T< \*%ards</sup> Transformative Leadership. (Women Direct 2006). p. M I

•ifma In /v" in Si,lcalf- President of Liberia. See Maria Nzomo. *Women, Democracy, and Deselopmtm in mocratic Theory and Practice in Africa*. (Nairobi: Heinemann. 1978). p. 126

*decision-making has not happened by itself. Rather, it is often the result of institutional and electoral initiatives such as the adoption of goals and quotas, political party commitment and sustainable mobilization.*

Affirmative action has been defined as a temporary partial remedy for past and continuing discrimination against historically marginalized and disenfranchised groups in any society. Affirmative action works to provide marginalized groups greater equality of opportunity in diverse contexts marked by substantial inequalities and structural forces that impede a fair assessment of their abilities and capabilities

Women of Kenya have and continue to agitate for Affirmative Action through legislative actions as a means to ending historical and systemic discrimination against women. This will ensure representation by women in international and or national policy making bodies.' In the pursuit to push the women's agenda forward, female members of parliament should establish the Parliamentary Women' Group within the National Assembly.

## CONCLUSION

The change in policy in the Kenyan parliament as regards women has meant a spill over of the effects of engendering public policy in Kenya to include more women in public office.

## *THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK*

### FEMINIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT<sup>41</sup>

#### INTRODUCTION

In this study the theoretical approach will be the Feminist School of Thought. This is an alternative to the Realist School of Thought. The Realist School of Thought has its core

<sup>1</sup> In, eTTUieffU Women's Day 2006. Maria S/omo. *The Impact of the Women's Decode on Policies.*  
<sup>2</sup> *FmP°«\*rm<ni of Women in Kenya* Iwuc 17 (2). 1919: p 9-17.  
T, m t, c

<sup>3</sup> *CamferiA^ p^1 ^1* <sup>4</sup> *Christine - Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era.* New York: Sandra, *Feminism and International Relations.* New York: St.



assumptions on anarchy and sovereignty. These reflect the ways in which males tend to interact and see the world. The Realist approach assumes male participants when discussing foreign policy decision making, state sovereignty or the use of military force. The Feminist School of Thought which received increasing interest in the 1990s and produced a rapidly growing literature<sup>45</sup> seeks to uncover hidden assumptions about gender in the study of related issues such as war and international security. The Feminist Scholars argue that we can better understand international relations by including the roles and effects of women than by ignoring them.

The Feminists challenge traditional concepts of gender which revolve around the assumptions that males fight wars and run states whereas females are basically irrelevant to international relations. These gender roles are based in the broader construction of masculinity associated with the sphere of the private and domestic. The Feminist Scholars emphasize the importance of gender roles in international relations, especially the distinction between males in the political and military roles and females in the domestic family roles.<sup>44</sup>

## STRANDS OF FEMINIST THEORY

Feminist scholars emphasize the importance of gender roles in international relations especially the traditional distinction between males in the political military roles and females in the domestic-family roles. Beyond a basic agreement that gender is important, there is no single feminist approach to international relations, but several approaches or strands of scholarship and theory. These include Standpoint Liberal and Postmodern Feminism.<sup>45</sup>

Jabr J Sp,ke \*\*\* Anne Sisson Run > ^ *Global Gender Issues*. Boulder. Co: Watvim. 1993  
 RicniJf IOQL"? Eleanor O'Gorman, (eds). *Ifamen in Culture, and Internationa! Relations*. Boulder. Co: Lynoe  
 Divet ' Turp,n• ,enrefer - and Ann Lorenuen. (cdv). *The Gendered Sen World Order Militarism*.  
 " S E m , r M n K f U - New York Routledge. 1996.  
 K Fetnin ' ol "ln,ema"onai Politics: A ftancwoifc of Analyst\*. (Seventh Edition. Prentice-Hall. 1995). Home),  
 Inc.. I«74) T S \* \* \* ^ Yortt:Norton, 1963>- i«q»enc. *I. J.* (ed). *Women in Politic\**. (John Wiley A Son\*.  
 Co l vtin» u<sup>p</sup> V. and O'Gorman, E. (ed\*), *Women in Culture. and international Relation\**. (Boulder.  
 "I S GS 1999>  
 Street Pc\*«house. *I.C., International Relations*. Seventh Edition, (Elm  
 r w w a t m g S c r v i c e \* . U K . , 2 0 0 6 ) p . 1 2 6

## STANDPOINT FEMINISM

This strand of feminism focuses on valorizing the feminine, which is valuing the unique contributions of women as women. These scholars do not think women do all things as well as men or vice versa, but because of their greater experience with nurturing and human relations, women are seen as potentially more effective than men on average in conflict resolution as well as in group decision making. They believe there are real differences between genders that are not just social constructions and cultural indoctrinations. Some believe there is a core biological essence to being male or female, but majority believe that women's standpoint is more culturally than biologically determined<sup>46</sup>.

## LIBERAL FEMINISM

In this strand scholars reject claims as being based on stereotyped gender roles. They see the "essential" differences in men's and women's abilities or perspectives as trivial or non-existent. They see men and women as equal. They deplore the exclusion of women from positions of power in international relations but do not believe that including women would fundamentally change the nature of the international system. They include women as subjects of study such as women state leaders, women soldiers, and other women operating outside the traditional gender roles in international relations.<sup>47</sup>

## POSTMODERN FEMINISM

This strand combines feminism with post modernism. Postmodern Feminism tends to reject the assumptions about gender made by both standpoint and liberal feminist, where

[^T ri^-^"\*\*\*"

*Motions theory Contribution\* of a Feminist Standpoint.* Millennium 15 (2).

Publihen^L Groomi A I R\_ International Relations; A Handbook of Current Theory. (Pinter  
<n.i pCII • \*TV«?" 1985)- N,org 8enlhau. H and Thompson. K W.. Politics Among Nations The struggle for Power  
MvtSTG A ^ ( N < W York: Alfred ^ opp ,965>\_-1  
Internal,ORI R » A n w n e a n Dilemma. (New York: Aldinc- Alherton. 1971). Parkinson. F., The Philosophy of  
Relation\* A Study in the Hittofy of Thought. (Sage Publication\*. Inc.. 1977).

Standpoint Feminists consider gender differences to be important and fixed, and Liberal feminists consider these differences to be trivial. Postmodern Feminists find them important but arbitrary and flexible

## CONCLUSION

These three strands will form the basis of this study and try to identify the impact of feminism as interpreted in global terms and used in the international scene, has on gendering the political processes in multiparty election in Kenya."

## *HYPOTHESIS*

- i) Engendering public policy in Kenya has resulted in an increase in women representation in public office.
- ii) Increase in women in public office has not been purely for altruistic reasons: men as key players have had their interests in it
- iii) Key men players have supported engendering of public policy to preserve their status quo and acceptability in future interactions with women.

## *METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH*

This study used both Primary and Secondary data.

### PRIMARY DATA ANALYSIS

This study used purposive sampling defined by Nachmias and Nachmias as sampling whereby the researcher selects sampling units subjectively in an attempt to obtain a sample that

\*hit»h. S., *Feminism and International Relations*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974). Tickner, J. A., *International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991). P. A., *An Introduction to International Relations*. Third Edition. (Longman, 1992).

SHI<sup>V</sup> S. Gendered States. *Feminist (Re)visions of International Relations Theory*. (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992). p.31-79

appears to be representative of the population.<sup>49</sup> The researcher obtained respondents from the previous and current women serving in public office as Diplomats. Representatives to the United Nations. Representatives to regional and international organizations and members of parliament.

The interviews were personal interviews in the form of Non-Scheduled Non-Structured interviews. The population sample of the study was two hundred respondents.

Primary data analysis was confined to personal interviews of eighteen samples only due to the limitation of time and costs involved. Primary data analysis assisted in dealing with some of the limitations resulting from secondary data analysis, such as institutional bias, errors in secondary data and ensured sustainability of data as well as adequacy of the data.

## SECONDARY DATA ANALYSIS

The study relied heavily on secondary data because it is available in the public domain and reliable, as it has undergone scrutiny from other scholars. Secondary data analysis is viewed by Uorbble Earl as a social research method appropriate for studying human communications and other aspects of social behaviour.<sup>50</sup> It was widely available for this particular study.

Nachmias and Nachmias assert that, secondary data analysis exposes the research to a wider range of material covering different areas and eras. This encouraged greater scope and depth in the study.<sup>51</sup> Secondary data enabled the researcher to compare views of other scholars on issues related to this study.

Secondary data analysis enhances the researcher's exhaustiveness in definitions of concepts, thus gaining new insight.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore the use of existing data is less costly than trying out a primary data collection. •

<sup>49</sup> U4 N\* Chn n M wd D Nttmias. *Research Methods in th< Social Sciences*. (London. St Martin's Press. 1996).

<sup>50</sup> Lf ^ b l e . *Thr Practice of Social Reseanh*. (California; Wardsworth Publishers. 1989). p 29

<sup>51</sup> j, 305 TM<sup>1,as</sup> ""d D. Nachmias. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. (London. St Martin s Press. 1996).

H. H 19t7), p <\*Ct nuAjr v *Analysis of Sample Surveys*. (Middle Town, Connecticut. Wcsle>an University Press.

Secondary data collection exposes a researcher to data which was collected for a different purpose- Moreover, many researchers have not allowed free and easy access to their research findings. It is also difficult to access data with suitable variables. There is also the danger of analysis of secondary data which is already an analysis of another data. This may distort the meaning of concepts and end up limiting the applicability of the current findings. It is safe to be aware of the method that was used to collect the existing data for secondary analysis. Other scholars argue that secondary data analysis may create a new text which diverges from the original source material. '

To overcome the above weaknesses the data was collected from various sources such as library research, internet searches, past thesis, academic papers and dissertations, summary of journals, government documents, periodicals, magazines, newspapers, grey literature, articles, reports, views of various writers, publications from related organizations including the Electoral Commission of Kenya (E.C.K), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), United Nations (UN), Embassies and Political Parties.

## *CONCLUSION*

This Chapter introduced the theme of the study and the methodology of the research study. The next chapter will explore the impact of engendering public policy around the world.

### CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One introduces the theme of the study and the methodology of research study. Chapter Two will explore the impact of engendering public policy around the world.

Chapter Three will explore the impact of engendering public policy in Kenya.

Chapter Four is the case study of Kenyan women in international relations.

^

*of KiAD* // *y<sup>C</sup> Th \*oic* *Sruifdbilateral Relations in Mediation by Suh Regional Organizations: A Case Study* •  
17.18. ' u f , o n , \* » *Sudan Conflict between 199) and 2005.* fMasJers rthesis, University of Nairobi. 2 (2007). p.

Chapter Five provides the conclusion.

Bibliograph)

#### SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The constraints that this study will face include limited time, limited resources, institutional bias, occurrence of incomplete reports and unavailable data from the (FCK). secrecy surrounding data, errors in data collected, and lack of sustainability of secondary data collected

## CHAPTER TWO

### *THE IMPACT OF ENGENDERING PUBLIC POLICY AROUND THE WORLD*

#### INTRODUCTION

Engendering of public policy is defined as being the cause of a situation or condition. (Oxford Dictionary. 1974).

This research views engendering public policy in the eyes of a favourable policy and institutional framework, the extent to which women are able to influence public policy, mainstreaming which is having policies and programmes that facilitate women participation and translating programmes into practice to remove social and institutional barriers.

Engendering hence involves increasing the number of women in public office, which is an effort to be undertaken by the government to put in place a policy framework and enforce it to facilitate effective participation of women in public office. It will also involve the impact women are able to have in public office.

This chapter will be looking at case studies from different countries around the world that involve engendering public policy.

The Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 agreed on an agenda for empowering women and accelerating implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, adopted in 1985. The Platform for Action (PFA) established a list of actions aimed at achieving significant change by the year 2000 and was adopted by 163 countries. The PFA and Declaration emerged after a preparatory process (the most participatory of its kind) wherein women from villages in the poorest of countries to urban centres in the richest of countries demanded a space for active input.

This message, though not new, was a universal one:

*If women's ... full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including... in the decision-making process and access to power, are fundamental for the advancement of equality, development and peace. (Beijing Declaration, paragraph 13)*

The PIA noted that the feminization of poverty has become a matter of key concern in countries in economic transition. Furthermore, 'the failure to adequately mainstream a gender perspective in all economic analyses and planning and to address the structural causes of poverty is... a contributing factor' (Beijing Platform for Action, paragraph 48).

It was stressed throughout that development and economic growth can only be sustainable through improving the economic, social, political, legal and cultural status of women\* (Beijing Platform for Action, paragraph 54)/

Women in different countries in the world had different experiences in the quest to attain equality with men and economic benefits, but in order to "make the revolution" and consolidate their own liberation.

#### THE CASE OF EUROPE: GERMANY

In Germany a revival to liberalism can be traced as taking place after the turn of the **century**, culminating in the foundation of the Weimar republic under liberal auspices, while **others** trace the roots of Nazism to the decay of liberal values and liberal policies in the years **before** the First World War. The analysis of the social economic and legal status of German **women**, the history of the Social Democratic women's Movement and other women's **organizations**, the policies of the SPD towards women's emancipation.

**Nineteenth-century** feminism, in all parts of the world, had two major characteristics: it

Habermas, M. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985) Jürgen Habermas.  
"Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy", (Cambridge: MIT Press.

World Bank. *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*. Washington: LN, 1995.  
"Equity and the World Bank: A Post-Beijing Assessment". (Washington; Women's  
World Bank-1.S, October 1997),



was middle-class and the basis of the feminist creed was the doctrine of liberal individualism, whose roots lay partly in Protestant sectarianism and partly in the rationalism of the enlightenment. The development of Germany liberalism from the fall of Bismarck to the advent of Hitler and Liberalism in Victorian England also rested on complex infrastructure of social institutions and social movements.

Liberal individualism, who regarded the world as composed of a mass of individual human atoms, all competing with one another for their own individual benefit. Competition, free and unrestricted, would not only benefit the individual, however, it would also benefit society as a whole, only if the interference of the State were reduced to a minimum, all inequalities between individuals abolished, and all barriers to their free competition one with another removed, could a truly just and equitable society come into being.

The most consistent exponents of this doctrine realized it could not logically be confirmed in its application to men alone. Thinkers such as John Stuart Mill whose work *The Subjection of Women*, published in England and America in 1869 and issued in French and Germany translations in the same year, was probably the most widely-read and influential of all feminist tracks demanded equal rights for women, or rather the removal of all legal restraints on their ability to act as free individuals in a society based on economic and social competition, as the final step in the creation of a perfect Laissez-faire society.<sup>5\*</sup>

feminism cannot be properly understood unless it is seen as an integral part of the social and political system within which it sought to achieve its aims. The closest ties of feminism in the Nineteenth century and Twentieth centuries, it suggests, were to bourgeois liberalism, and it

<sup>17</sup> \* *Formation of the Liberal Party 1857-1868*, (London, 1966). Brian Harrison. *Drink and the*  
*Question of Enslavement 1815-1871* (London, 1971). Brian Harrison. 'The British  
abolitionists 1853-72. A Biographical Analysis', *International Review of Social History*, 1970. See also Patricia  
Hollis, (ed.), *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London, 1974).  
<sup>18</sup> George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of Germany Ideology: Intellectual origins of the Third Reich* (London, 1966). Fritz  
Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair*, (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1961).  
<sup>19</sup> John Stuart Mill, (ed.), *The Subjection of Women*. (Everyman, London, 1929). p.219-317. Louise Tilly and Joan  
Scott, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (Jan. 1975). pp.36 ff. Eric Richards. 'Women in the British  
Economy Since About 1700: An Interpretation'. *Hatory*. 59/197. (Oct. 1974).

jj to the success or failure of this creed, itself dependent on wider political and social circumstances, that its fate was linked.

No feminist movement wanted equal rights merely for their own sake. No Feminist movement desired equality in the strict sense of the word and the last thing any female suffrage society anywhere wanted was for women simply to be absorbed into the existing public office and political system without changing it in the process. Female Suffrage was a weapon in the fight for moral improvement. Feminism was a means by which the individual woman was to become, in the words of the American feminist Elizabeth Cadv Stanton. " I he Arbiter of Her Own Destiny' called our protestant idea, the right of individual conscience and judgement; our republican idea, individual citizenship.

Guillaume-Schack's society, indeed, was suppressed by the police, and its leader, despairing of any help from bourgeois women, joined social democrats. Feminism of the classical liberal individualist type had no place in the German women's movement before the 1890's. As the General Association headed by its new leader Auguste Schmidt, told the International Council of Women in a letter, refusing to join the most moderates of world feminist societies in 1888: "In Germany we have to work with great tact and by creative methods...the difference between our position and that of our American sisters is largely due to the fact that they live in a Republic but Germany is a monarchy...in a land centuries old. where the ideas and habits of thought are...incrusted in the people'.<sup>59</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Case of Germany give an insight into the Kenyan case clearly demonstrating that the feminist movement of the nineteenth century grew out of need to address women representation

» Germany which is reportedly the case in Kenya in the 1970's. 80's and 90's.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. Quote "men nr" hu 1931 (Phu Diss Weil Deriln\_ IVSS>> P 1r Vol 1\_191 Richard J. Evans. *lh.; feminist n Germany 189J.IS9J.19JJ.* SAGE Publications Ltd.. 1976). p.1-35.

women were dissatisfied by the position they held within Kenyan public policy and as a result culminated in change in public policy.

Feminism as introduced by the German case has sought to inform this transformation and it cannot be properly understood unless it is seen as an integral part of the social and political system within which it sought to achieve its aims because no feminist movement wants equal rights merely for their own sake or simply to be absorbed into the existing public and political system without changing it in the process.

#### THE CASE OF ASIA: CHINA

The Chinese experience, or rather the massive revolutionary experiment, in the continuing revolution of China, has indubitably and from the very beginning been linked with woman's true liberation, in every sense of the word. In the 1970's women's liberation movements were occurring in many countries in the West; as premier Chou En-lai said of the young, there are all manners of seeking for a way. From the truth; and all genuine movements begin with these. The Great leap forward of Chinese women is best seen in the fact that they are not liberating themselves only in order to attain equality with men and economic benefits, but in order to "make the revolution", to contribute to the consolidation of socialism, for only in this consolidation can they also consolidate their own liberation, and truly become half of heaven".<sup>61</sup>

*Women Carry Half Of Heaven On Their Shoulders and They Must Conquer it.*<sup>61</sup>

The very existence of the new women's movements poses a number of questions. The first one is: why is there a woman's movement at all today? After all, women have the right to vote in all countries where the movement exists: so that was not the reason they founded the women's groups. We have the right to divorce, the right to contraception, the experience of social labour. The application of the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' has even been written into

IX | (Man Jie Hy ^ 16 r \* t omcn s L'b'raition m China. (The Harvester Press Limited. 1977), p.vii. See Chine nouvelle. Moo Tit tun i P , 1 ^ 1 f 1 C M \* omen reject the revisionist line in the women's movement'.

the bourgeois code of work. Reforms in marriage laws have attenuated some of the more glaring instances of sexual discrimination. Today, universities are open to women. Last of all, a large number of household appliances are widely available these days to lighten the burden of housework. Then why have women's movement? Historically women have accomplished a great deal and yet they find themselves back at square one, still oppressed.

We know that the right to work, to vote, to get divorced, to study, to use contraceptives, and an electric coffee grinder haven't really freed us from domestic slavery, from compulsory motherhood or from economic dependence on our husbands, any more than our political rights have enabled us to change society in any way. This means that our oppression isn't rooted in the absence of these rights. In fact not only have these reforms not liberated us: they have made us feel our oppression even more cruelly.

What do women want? Cries the panic-struck bourgeois legislator 'After all, we've given them everything!' Quite right! They have given us everything (or almost everything) - everything allowed under capitalism, that is. And it's not much! French women liberation views women's liberation movement very much as women's oppression well. They believe that we live under the tyranny of noncommunication. That no man can rise above himself sufficiently to understand the female condition and that women who live their oppression have no need to analyze it, and even less need to build a theory about their liberation. In any case, they say, theories are made by men for men - that's a male territory.<sup>02</sup>

Feminism is not the task of destroying that economic dependence which is precisely what forces women to be passive and to play dependence the role of object: that is unless we also attack the economic and political functions of the bourgeois nuclear family in which women are trapped. In its usual capitalism, although always eager for novelty and transformation, preserves

Itman 11"  
China\* Stl \*"" tsc ^ WomCT suicide", in B. Young Marilyn. *Women in China*. (Michigan Papers in  
^ Marx Y I\*\* Ann Arbor\_ University of Michigan Press, 1973. pp. 16-17.  
*of Political economy*. (London Lawrence & Wishart, 1971). p. 197.

one of the most ancient cottage industries: the domestic workshop where "honest workers" and their docile wives are trained and become conscious of their duties and respectful of other people's property. Capitalism must ensure that women, the skilled workers who provide this noble service, are not diverted from such profitable work, even when it has to use them as a pool of reserve labour. In either case, it is vital that they should continue to fulfill their domestic role.

The road to women's liberation via the Chinese revolution has been only roughly sketched. To see it in greater detail requires a clear understanding of Chinese society, its past history as well as its present contradictions — an understanding, clearly, that we have yet to achieve. We also need to understand more about all manifestations of women's oppression in our own countries. Such understanding comes only with an unlimited awareness and ever closer contact with the mass of our women compatriots. To the question, 'What is to be done?' the only proper answer is, 'Everything!'"

If the women of today are involved in their own revolutionary hopes and dreams have always been reduced to a slim catalogue of legislative and budgetary demands appended to the end of any self-respecting party manifesto. The struggle will not be understood or successful as long as women's movement ignores the other forms of exploitation suffered by other oppressed people.<sup>64</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Case of China is one that informs of the great struggles women have made to have their voices heard in a Communist country, these women have made several steps ahead including the right to vote, the right to divorce, the right to contraception, the experience of social labour applying the principle of 'equal pay for equal work', universities open to women, a

C U r a / T " and (London. "Humes & Hudvsn. 1970), p 153.

W See CI i' N, y r n o e c n o n \* o f U n, n. (Moscow. 1956).

0, n c i, " Nrojelle, *Women's Liberation in China* (the Harvester Press Limited. 1977).

Co, lan \* «, le management, p. 72.

Large number of household appliances are widely available these days to lighten the burden of housework, yet they still find themselves oppressed.

The Kenyan case is very similar today with Kenyan women having the same opportunities yet finding themselves confronting social and structural barriers such as culture which inhibit them from making a significant impact and being able to influence public policy even when they have a representation in public office. Kenyan women in parliament have to confront the "government of men" which from creation at independence in 1963 addressed men. **perhaps** because it was created by men.

#### THE CASE OF AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (USA)

In the United States in the 1970s there was little public interest in, and almost no systemic information about, women candidates and their campaign. The political arm of the women's movement was still in the early stages of its development, the "gender gap" in public opinion and voting behaviour had not yet been discovered. In races for most public offices, a woman candidate was a rarity. In 1993 systemic information about women candidates is still lacking, but interest in women candidates and office holders is at an all-time high. Several developments over the past two decades have drawn public attention to women candidates and their campaigns, including the path breaking 1984 nomination of Geraldine Ferraro as the Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States/

Traditionally, political scientists have overlooked questions relating to the representation of **women** by governing institutions. The failure to raise questions pertaining to the representation of women has stemmed in part from the sex stereotyping. The domination of public **office** by men has been viewed as a natural extension of the sexual division of labour within the family. Women's preoccupation with home and family has been seen as the reason for

P XuTV tarT011- *Women* \*\* *Candidates in American Politics*. Second Edition. (Indiana University Press, 1994).  
I^... (Laurie and Jean Grossholtz. "Politics an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Looks at Female  
P\*00" *Politics and Society*. 4. (Winter 1974): pp. 225-266

their relative absence from public office positions. Women have been assumed to share the political views and preferences of their husbands and fathers: women's representation in the public political sphere has not been viewed as an issue of major concern.

Political scientists' neglect questions pertaining to the representation of women in American politics, while perhaps rooted in sex stereotyping, has been reinforced since the middle of this century by the changing focus of democratic theory. In 'classical' democratic theory, the active participation of the citizenry was of central concern. Participation was viewed as necessary to prevent leaders from pursuing their own selfish interests at the expense of the interests of the public. More importantly, for theorists such as John Stuart Mill and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, participation was assumed to enhance the self-fulfillment and development of the individual.

However, for many years the dialogue in democratic theory has been dominated not by **revisionists**, generally labeled pluralists or democratic elitists.<sup>6\*</sup> Pluralists and democratic elitists **have** rejected classical democratic theory as unrealistic in the light of Post-World War **II** **empirical** findings. In the eyes of these revisionists, 'classical' democratic theory is inappropriate **for** examining democracy in the twentieth-century America because of its demand that **democratic** citizens be interested participants, well informed about public affairs, and rational in **their voting** decisions.

Considerable evidence generated in the postwar era indicated that few members of the **American** public could fulfill these expectations.' and in light of this evidence, the revisionists **•tempted** to construct a contemporary theory of democracy consistent with the findings of empirical research. The findings on the inadequacies of individual voters led the revisionists to **•With the** emphasis of democratic theory from a focus on system attributes and institutional

<sup>6\*</sup> of pluralists and democratic elitist strains has been so pervasive that Pateman, p. 14  
S ^ ' J\* • ^ n p l c. Ibid.; Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter: An Abridgement*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980).  
^ l h a m H. F U n m a n and Nancy H. Zingales. *Political Behaviour of the American Electorate*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1979). p.97-113.

arrangements as the defining characterise of democracy. Attributes such as the existence of elections and political competition became the critical criteria for judging whether a system was democratic.

The empirical basis and justification for this shift is evident in the Post-World War II studies of James Prothro and Charles Grigg, Samuel Stouffer, and Herbert McClosky. Is there not something wrong with a 'democratic' system in which women constitute a majority of the citizenry but an almost negligible minority of participants at the governing level? Because of the basic assumptions that underlie the revisionist point of view, questions about women's participation would not, in the absence of some external provocation, be likely to occur to those working within a pluralist or democratic elitist framework."

This is not the full explanation for why political scientists working within pluralist and democratic elitist traditions have devoted little attention to questions pertaining to the representation of women. The explanation has another critical component. In accepting elitist and pluralist conceptions of political pressure an individual or a group brings to bear on government. There are two major means through which interests can be expressed in the political process through voting and through interest-group activity.

Since women were not viewed as having distinct interests. The fact that they were represented in governing bodies by men never became an issue of concern. The equation of the interest of men and women led to the implicit assumption that male representatives would present women in their constituencies equally as well (or as poorly) as they represented men."

An unprecedented level of interest, excitement, and enthusiasm surrounded women's candidacies in 1992, which was widely hailed as the 'Year of Women'. More women ran for and were elected to congress in 1992 than ever before by a significant margin. Five women were elected

M

C^\*\*\*" A

*Democracy in the United States: Promise and Performance.* (Chicago: Rand McNally &

p 3

Canoll, *Women as Candidates in American Politics.* Second Edition. (Indiana University Press, 1994).



U.S. Senate, increasing the number of women had ever served at one time. The number of women members of the U.S. House increased from twenty-eight to forty seven as a result of the 1992 elections. Emily's List raised \$6.2 million for women candidates.

Notwithstanding the significant barriers imposed by the political opportunity structure, there are signs of change and reasons for optimism on the part of those who are concerned with increasing the number of women holding public office. The growing mobilization of women on behalf of women candidates is likely to decrease the length of time we must wait before parity in numerical representation and adequate representation of women's interests are achieved. If more effort also is directed toward public policy and political reforms which may lessen the adverse effects of the political opportunity structure, the goals of parity in number\* and adequate representation of interests may be achieved even sooner.

Women in the USA have significant representation and impact on public policy with many women holding high public offices in the like of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State and Condoleezza Rice as former Secretary of State.

## CONCLUSION

The Case of the USA denotes an important aspect of women representation in public office having been ignored in governing institutions because women have been seen to share the political views and preferences of their husbands and fathers; ending up in the domination of public office by men. This has emanated from sex stereotyping and a natural extension of the traditional division of labour within the family. Women's preoccupation with home and family has been seen as the reason for their relative absence from public office positions.

Women in Kenya have found themselves in the same situation where due to social barriers such as culture women have been seen to share political views for their spouses and

\* for the American Woman and Politics. -Women Candidates and Winners in 1992." Fact Sheet.  
P 1, in *Women's Political Participation in American Politics*. Second Edition. (Indiana University Press. 1994).

lathers- Women have found themselves confined in domestic roles with little to offer in public domain, to avert this aspect women have resorted into women interest groups such as the federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) that represent their views and push their agenda similar to the Emily's List in the USA. These women groups have lessened the length of time we must wait before parity in numerical representation and adequate representation of women's interests are achieved in Kenya.

#### THE CASE OF EAST AFRICA: UGANDA

The women's movements in Africa emerged at a similar time as the West, and China. In Uganda the women movement made an unexpected shift and visible entrance onto the public scene shortly after Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement took over in 1986. Unlike women's movements in many African countries where significant sectors had been captured by a ruling party or regime, Uganda's women movement gained momentum from the fact that it remained relatively autonomous. This autonomy allowed it to expand its agenda, to become a political force in the country, and, perhaps most remarkably, to seriously challenge clientelistic (i.e., ethnic and religious) basis of mobilization that have plagued the country since independence.

The Ugandan Case, is one of the state being "relatively" accommodating to women's demands and women have been brought into public leadership at various levels, the rules, structures, and practices continue to promote an older, more exclusionary visionary vision of politics, making it not just one of representation and voice; rather, it is a matter of whether they will have a say in making the rules that determine how public policy and politics is conducted.

Women's interests are articulated and expressed on how women often differ from men in the way in which they engage in public policy. Case studies of local struggles of women's groups, - over market space, starting a health clinic, redesigning an infrastructure improvement

project, or ousting the corrupt leadership of a women's group show how women were trying to simultaneously to transform gender relations in their respective communities and to undermine structures that stood in the way of men';, advancement and participation. \*

Moreover, they were not just fighting for their share of the pie or for equal representation in the traditional sense of interest-group politics. These struggles were over the terms of women's involvement and the need to change the very rules of the institutions themselves to accommodate women's participation, leadership and interests.

*I will not share the political cake with areas that voted against me but will give them some bits of the development cake'*

*Sections of the press and some politicians have made 'eating' acceptable and have placed it right at the centre of political debate. Struggling for the trappings of power is now at the centre stage, it has become acceptable and even fashionable. Values which we women care about such as caring, serving, building, reconciling, healing and sheer decency are becoming absent from our political culture. This eating is crude, self-centered, egoistic shallow, narrow and ignorant. We should ban eating from our political language. Madam Chairman ...it is a culture which we must denounce and do our best to get rid of if we are to start a new nation.'*

Strategies of state hegemony and women's mobilisation were applied in Uganda to seek to address issues of women participation. Old organizations were banned and new mass organizations created. The women associations, like other societal groups, have faced a whole range of state strategies to control and limit their autonomy. In the most extreme situations, as in Uganda under Idi Amin, independent women's organizations were simply banned and replaced

AJB Man Tripp. *Women A Politics in Uganda*. (James Currey, Oxford, Foundation Publishers. Kampala. The University of Wisconsin Press. Madison. 2000). p. xvii-xviii  
Interview with President Yoweri Museveni. 1994.

Interview with Chair, Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus, addressing Constituent Assembly. 3 August 1994; Proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. Official Report, Wednesday. 3 August 1994. p. 1490.

by government-sponsored organization. Even Kwame Nkrumah disbanded the Federation of Ghana Women and launched the National Council of Ghana Women under the control of his Convention People's Party. (Staudt, 1986: p.208). ' There were attempts to create new mass organizations that were tied to the clientelist networks found in the state. (Widner, 1997, p.69).<sup>7ft</sup>

Frequently the leading women's organization was an affiliate of the single ruling party, created by the party itself (for example, the 31<sup>st</sup> December Women's Movement in Ghana which is tied to the National democratic Congress. Umoja wa Wamawake wa Tanzania, which is affiliated with Chama Cha Mapinduzi; or the Women's League of the United National Independence Party in Zambia. The National Congress of Sierra Leone Women that was tied to the All People's Congress was charged with building the party membership and serving party needs, although studies showed that women members received little more than promises of benefits in return (Steady, 1976). In the early post-independence period in Mali, the National Union of Malian Women could not take up any women's issue that diverged from the interest of the ruling party (McNeil, 1979).<sup>8</sup>

Through such controlling mechanisms, the women's wings were unable to cater for women with other political allegiances. Moreover, they were unable to fight forcefully for women's interests that might be at odds with the priorities and goals of the ruling party. Dr. Maria Nzomo explained in reference to Kenya: the structures in the organizations are sometimes no different from government structures. They are authoritarian. You see a lot of authoritarian

Staudt, "Stratification: Implications for Women's Politics", in C. Roberson and I. Bergcr. (ed). *Women and Politics in Africa* (New York; Africana Publishing Company, 1986).

Jennifer Widner. "Political parties and Civil societies in Sub-Saharan Africa", in M. Ottaway, (ed.), *Democracy in Africa: The Hard Road Ahead* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publisher\*. 1997).

Flomena Chioma Steady. "Protestant Women's Association\* in Freetown, Sierra Leone", in Nancy Hatkin and F. Bay. (eds.). *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. (Stanford, C.V Stanford University Press, 1976)

Little McNeil, "Women of Mali: A Study in Sexual Stratification". (B.A. Thesis. Harvard University, 1979).

women leaders who stoned in 1963 and don't want to give up. It is tragedy they have not moved in 20 years.

## CONCLUSION

The Ugandan Case brings out the aspect of women majority in making public policy in parliament and in implementing public policy in public institutions yet they don't have the ability to make significant influence. The major hindrances are the rules, structures, and practices that continue to promote an older, more exclusionary visionary vision of policies politics.

Political liberations and opening up of political space in the 1980's and 1990's in Uganda gave rise to a change in public policy and to new independent women's groups and associations that challenged the women's exclusions from public office and political life. The women were not just fighting for their share of the pie or for equal representation in the traditional sense of interest-group politics but over the terms of women's involvement and the need to change the very rules of the institutions themselves to accommodate women's participation, leadership and interests.

In Kenya, women have not enjoyed a majority in public office and are slowly getting there through reforms such as affirmative action: the hindrances are the same, the social and institutional barriers within the Kenyan society and public institutions. These still hold women back even when a number of them hold public office. The women in Kenya also strive for not just greater numerical representation but over the terms of women's involvement and the need to change the very rules of the institutions to accommodate women's participation, leadership and **Interests.**

HIE ABOVE CASE STUDIES IN RELATION TO KENYA

These cases serve to inform different aspects of women liberation efforts and the different dimensions these have had in the different countries in advocating for women's participation, leadership and interests.

In Africa and in particular Kenya, women have been able to make gains through women's organizations, private sector, ministries of women, and other state-related institutions and have changed gender imbalances fundamentally.

Kenyan women find themselves in a position where they comprise over fifty per cent of the population and hence have over fifty per cent voting power yet have a significantly low representation in public office. This minimal representation has further been challenged by social and institutional frameworks that don't favour the women in public office which has resulted in minimal impact and influence in public policy.

To counter these hindrances efforts have been made towards engendering public policy in Kenya with directives by the executive such as having fifty per cent women nominated by parties and in recruitment in all hiring by government institutions, the private sector and non governmental organizations.

These efforts have resulted in more women holding positions such as sub-chiefs, chiefs, district officers, provincial commissioners, heads of parastatals, judges, permanent secretaries, and heads of commissions. These women have made an impact and influence in public policy at local level and have been the same actors in the international level where women have served as ambassadors and high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations and directors of international organizations.

Chapter two explored the engendering of public policy around the world.

**Chapter** Three will explore engendering of public policy in Kenya looking at women who have influenced public policy locally.

## CHAPTER THREE

# *THE IMPACT OF ENGENDERING PUBLIC POLICY IN KENYA*

## INTRODUCTION

Women have minimal representation in public office in Kenya despite women comprising the highest percentage in the population. Women comprise fifty one per cent of the Kenyan population; they hold 'half the sky' , but only nine percent of public office bearers and parliamentarians are women compared to the global average of thirteen point four percent.

Kenya like any other African country has a small number of women in public office with women's participation in decision-making positions remaining negligible over the years.\* Major institutions and bureaucracies in Kenya tend to be male dominated despite the guarantee in the current constitution.

This is attributed to the fact that social and institutional barriers such as the process of recruitment of women to public office, culture and the socialization process of women among other factors make it difficult for the women to penetrate the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the political parties', to attain positions in public office.

To deal with these barriers programmes towards engendering public policy were developed. These include the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP).

These programmes have promoted the engendering of public policy in the light of a favourable policy and institutional framework, the extent to which women are able to influence public policy, mainstreaming public policies and programmes to facilitate women participation and translating programmes into practice aiding in removing social and institutional barriers.

*n*

Chinese saying recalled at an Inter-Parliamentary Union Meeting in Beijing, (reported in Kenya Times. September. 9.2001 p.15).

Most of the data on election conducted in early periods of independent Kenya did not depict gender distribution of registered voters. Nevertheless, the figures in respect of the registered voters for the 1997 and 2002 general elections show that women outnumber men. When we attempt to get the proportion of men and women voter turnout\*\* from the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), we were informed by a most reliable source that the commission was contemplating making a stand in this direction with the 2002 general elections.

The engendering process has resulted in increasing the number of women in public office, an effort the government has undertaken to put in place a favourable policy framework, enforced it to facilitate effective participation of women in public office and increased the ability of women to impact public policy.

These efforts have resulted in an increased number of women holding public positions such as sub-chiefs, chiefs, district officers, provincial commissioners, heads of parastatals, judges, professors, permanent secretaries, and heads of commissions. These women have made an impact and influence in public policy at local level and have been the same actors in the international level where women have served as ambassadors and high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations and directors of international organizations.

#### THE ENGENDERING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESSES PROGRAMME (EPPP)

This programme deals with good governance practices in Kenya that promote women participation. 'Engendering' governance strategies involves the integration of gender into all areas of policy and programming so as to address the structural, attitudinal, cultural and institutional barriers faced by women.

Governance here is defined as the exercise of political, economic and administrative authority to manage a nation's affairs. It is the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations, and mediate their differences (UNDP 1997).

The common strategy of development institutions to promote good governance involves reforms to promote predictability, accountability, transparency, efficiency, equitability and Participation.\*<sup>1</sup>

Rinu Das Pradhan. 'Engendering Good Governance in Practice'. *Development Bulletin*. No 5, (2000). pp. 6-9.

<sup>1</sup>«ed Nailoiu Development Program, *Measuring Democratic Governance A Framework for Selecting Pro-Poor ?\*G\*ndr^Sensici\<e Indicators*. United Nation\* Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), African Governance \*\*)\*>«. (2006). [http^/vrwww.undp.orgfotlocerttre'tfecso&Tramc](http://vrwww.undp.orgfotlocerttre'tfecso&Tramc) pdf



In order to maximize the benefits of development assistance and economic development, the strategy commonly aims to: improve economic management; strengthen public-sector management; promote legal and judicial effectiveness; and strengthen processes for effective civil society participation and representation.

'Good governance' emerged as a priority in the mid-1980s as critical to the provision of development assistance. It now shapes the policy of every major multilateral and bilateral development institution. It is based on a belief that corruption, poor control of public funds, lack of accountability, human rights abuses, and excessive military expenditure have undermined 50 years of international development efforts (see, for example, Faundez 1997, Orford and Beard 1998, Pritchard 1996, Turner and Hulme 1997).

A recent landmark study by the World Bank (1998) stresses the crucial role of good governance for sustainable development. It shows how, with a good policy environment and sound country management, an additional 1 per cent of GDP in development assistance translates into a 1 per cent decline in poverty and a similar decline in infant mortality. Where governance is weak, development assistance has much less impact and is often wasted.<sup>82</sup>

Good governance practices will allow the engendering of public policy allowing the integration of gender into all areas of policy and programming so as to address the structural, attitudinal, cultural and institutional barriers faced by women.

#### THE GENDER AND GOVERNANCE PROGRAM IN KENYA (GGP)

The Gender and Governance Program (GGP) in Kenya is a follow-up initiative of the Engendering the Political Process Programme (EPPP), which operated for 18 months from 2001 to 2002 during the run up to the 2002 General Elections.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). African Governance Report, available at <http://www.uneca.org/af2001/>. Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Parliament and the Budget Process including from a Gender Perspective*, Report No 38, IPU, Geneva. 2001).

FPPP focus was on gender sensitive voter education, campaign monitoring and capacity building of women aspirants for advocacy.<sup>R)</sup>The GGP worked at seeing women enjoy their civil and political rights as well as participate actively in democratic governance, as a way of promoting democracy, good governance and sustainable development.

The GGP program key focus areas include engendering the legal and policy frameworks for securing women's human rights, engendering local and national governance institutions, political parties and the Parliament.\*'

Gender equality and women's participation in Local Governance was undertaken by all women Organizations, identified sensitizers at divisional level in fifty districts to serve as agents of change. The program developed tools for engendering local governance, identified entry points or targets in formal and informal sectors in the districts; identified at district level women leaders of different generations to serve as lobbyists.

GGP helped women to become more aware of their ability to occupy leadership positions and to bargain for such positions in all public offices.\*' It instilled confidence and the realization that women have public and political leadership capacities. It created a platform for renewed spirit for harnessing solidarity as the men are now able to appreciate that women too could be involved in leadership. Women are now considering positions they feared most like being chair of any committee at the local level, sub-chiefs, chiefs, district officers, provincial commissioners, heads of parastatals, judges, professors, permanent secretaries, and heads of commissions, ambassadors and high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations and directors of

<sup>u</sup> Pippa Norm, and Jooi Lovenduski. *Gender and Party Politics*, London Sage. 1993).

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), African Governance Report. (2005) <http://www.uneca.org/asr2005/> Tarn Vanhanen. "A New Dataset for Measuring Democracy 1810-1998", *Journal of Women Research*, 37(2), (2000), pp.251-265.

Marco Steenbergen. Andre Bichtiger. Markus Spöndli. and Jürgen Steiner. "Measuring Political Deliberation. A Discourse Quality Index". *Comparative European Politics*. 1, (2003), pp 21-48.

international organizations. Within the first year of implementation, there has been an increase of women taking up positions of leadership in different offices.<sup>5\*</sup>

## WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The pre-independence events reveal that Kenyan women displayed active participation with their men folk in the important spheres of national interests, including the struggle for liberation from Colonial rule. The role played by women like Mary Muthoni Wanjini<sup>7</sup>, in inspiring the Kenyan men towards defiant action against white policemen over the arrest of Harry Thuku in 1952, as well as the large number of women who joined the fight and conveyance of food and ammunition to freedom fighters in the forests during the 1952 Mau Mau uprising attest to this.

Others converted their homes into armories for storing guns smuggled from the colonizers. For women, as for men, the major issues during the colonial period were national political liberation and the creation of a democratic society. When independence was drawing near and a number of Kenyans were working on the constitution that was to form the basis on which Kenya was to be governed.\*\*

Those charged with writing the independence constitution failed to take gender balance into consideration. According to them the most immediate thing was to gain independence and this blurred the inclusion of women issues into the document. The independence period witnessed the political subordination of women in the very society whose public life they tirelessly struggled to put in shape.

In 1963 general election that ushered Kenya into independence from colonial rule, no

\*Anne Phillips, *Democracy and Difference*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993). Jury Sterner, Andre. Uilchiiger, Markus Sptkndli, and Marco Slccnbergcn, *Deliberate Politics In Action Analysing Parliamentary Discourse*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004).

It is this woman who flung the first stone at the armed policemen thereby paving the way to the enduring battle between black people and the white policemen in what was later to be famously dubbed the, 'Thuku Riots'. *Standard Newspaper*. 15 July 1955.p.14.

See AWC Features. A Journey of Courage. Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections. 2004.

woman was elected to parliament in 1966; the same happened\*<sup>9</sup> in 1960, only one woman, Mrs. Grace Ony'ango of Kisumu Rural Constituency, out of six candidates, won a parliamentary seat. In subsequent general elections the number of women going to parliament either as elected or nominated members has been very small, hardly gone beyond three point five per cent of the composition in parliament.

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR MORE PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC POLICY

1990 saw Kenya through its second rebellion struggle the political transition from a one-party state to multi-partyism through the repeal of Section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution in December 1991 paved way for the return to multiparty politics and opened the gates for popular participation in what is now viewed as the democratization process. Numerous interest and pressure groups emerged, all demanding to have their concerns included in the new democratic agenda. Popular struggles for democratization and development are everywhere the theme of conferences, seminars, workshops, and even street demonstrations. It is important to understand what women saw as the barriers to Public office and political participation prior to the 1992 elections.

Six women were elected into parliament and one nominated in the first multi-party elections of 1992. The second multiparty elections in 1997, the constitution was amended under the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) with reforms to make it mandatory for political parties to give at least half of their nomination slots to women. There were four elected and four

t\*

Elections conducted in only 28 constituencies out of 158 following the fall out of some sitting members of parliament from the ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU) to the opposition, Kenya Peoples Union (KPU).

See Gabriele Abels. *Engendering the Representational Democratic Deficit in the European Union*, (discussion paper FS II 98-106 of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, 1998). Andreas Foilesdal and Simon Hix. 'Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravcsik', *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 44(3), (2006), p.533-62.

nominated ones, some parties flouted the rule.<sup>9</sup>

The ninth parliament following the 2002 elections saw an increase to eighteen women members of parliament, This was the result of a number of factors, including the bold steps taken by various groups to ensure greater representation of women in parliament such as affirmative action.

The number of women appointed ministers and assistant ministers since independence has been very small. Under Kenya African National Union (KANU), which was in power from independence in 1963 to 2002, only one woman, Nyiva Mwendwa was appointed Minister in 1995\* and three women Julia Ojiambo, Agnes Ndeti and Grace Ogol served as assistant ministers.

The local authority being the staling point to national leadership and an indicator to women's chance in public office participation has also suffered from low women's participation even at this level. The result of the negligible representation of women has been the near absence of the women's voice in both the legislature and the cabinet, making these institutions "men's club". The overall marginal representation of women in the hierarchy of public interest can be changed by empowering women to participate in public office and elections, not merely as supporters of men in public office or voters in elections but also as candidates.<sup>93</sup>

*Patriarchy social structures and institutions are sustained and strenghtened by value systems and cultural rules which propagate the notion of women inferiority Every culture in Kenya has its examples of customs which reflect the low value placed on women. (Longwe. 1990).*

" AWC Features, A Journey of Courage: Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections. 2004. p 8  
Denise Walsh. *Limits to Gender Justice. Democratic Consolidation and Deliberation in South Africa.* (Paper Prepared for APSA Annua] Meeting. Philadelphia. PA. 2003).

' Her appointment came at the eve of the 1995 Beijing Conference on women, it raised the probability that it was aimed at symbolizing feminism in Kenya rather than the show of intrinsic value of women integration in the government

AWC Features, A Journey of Courage: Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections. 2004. p. 9-  
I-. Iris Marion Young. 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy'. *Political Theory.* 29(50), (2001), p.6?0-

## WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC OFFICE AND POLITICS

The tables below show women participation in public office and politics following the engendering of public policy in Kenya. These tables denote that there is an increase in women holding public office in Kenya since the efforts to engender public policy in Kenya begun in the 1980's and more recently being informed by the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP).

These tables are the Performance of Women in Election of 2002 in Kenya, Women's Participation in Public Office and Politics between June 2003 - June 2005". Women's Participation in Provincial Administration in Nairobi August 2009 and Women Participation as Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs August 2009.

Source Department of Gender, Electoral Commission, DPM Compliment Statistics Unit.

Governance Structure	Elected by Gender		Elected by Gender	
Province	Parliamentarians		Councilors	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Nairobi	7	1	54	1
Coast	20	1	173	11
N Eastern	11	0	112	1
Eastern	34	2	307	20
Central	27	2	211	8
Rift Valley	47	2	645	21
Western	23	1	188	16
Nyanza	32	0	353	19
Total	201	9	2043	97

Women's Participation in Public Office and Politics June 2003 - June 2005\*

Rank	June 2003			June 2005			
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	%
National Assembly	18	204	222	18	204	222	8.1
Ambassadors/ High Commissioners	7	27	34	11	29	40	27.5
Permanent Secretaries	3	21	24	6	25	31	19.4
Provincial Commissioners	0	8	8	0	8	8	.
District Commissioners	3	68	71	2	69	71	2.8
Deputy Secretary	19	75	94	21	77	98	21.4
Councilors	377	2460	2837	377	2460	2837	13.3
Lawyers	1645	3179	4824	1708	3277	4985	34.1
District Officers	68	355	423	88	358	447	10.6
Rank	June 2003			June 2005			
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total	%
Chief Justice	-	1	1	-	1	1	.
Judges of appeal	1	12	13	-	14	14	.
High Court Judges^				12	47	59	20.3

^ Source The African Woman and Child Feature Service (AWC), in Gender Monitoring Report. (2003).  
 Source Department of Gender, Electoral Commission. DPM Compliment Statistics Unit.

[Commissioner* of Assize	1	2	3	33.4	1	2	3	33.4
Chief Magistrates	6	8	14		6	9	15	40
Senior Principle Magistrates	9	13	22		11	15	26	42.3
[ Senior Resident ^Magistrate	32	55	87		38	63	101	37.6
president   Magistrates	53	71	124	<i>J</i>	64	82	146	43.8
[ Dismers Magisrrates	85	121	206		92	126	218	42.2
Chief Kadhi/ iKadhis'	-	17	17	<b>m</b>	-	17	17	-
("Total	177	300	477	36.4--	224	359	583	38.4

Women's Participation in Provincial Administration Nairobi August 2009<sup>97</sup>.

Provincial Administration	August 2009			
	Women	Men	Total	%
Provincial Commissioner	-	1	1	0.00
Deputy Provincial Commissioners	2	2	4	50.0
District Commissioner*	2	7	9	0.22
District Officers	8	8	16	50.0
Chiefs	5	44	49	0.10
Sub-chiefs	25	76	101	0.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>0.23</b>

Note: Out of eight provinces in Kenya, there is only one woman provincial commissioner.

Women's Participation as Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs within the Provincial Administration Nairobi August 2009\*.

District	Women Chiefs location	Women Sub Chief; Sub-location	August 2009		
			Women in total	Men in total	Overall Total
Makadara	-	Vrwandani	1	12	13
Kiambu	-	Mowlem Saika	2	10	12
Embakasi	-	Mihango	1	11	12
Langata	Langata Mugumoini	Kibera Lcna	3	15	18

Source-Human Resource Department Provincial Administration. Nairobi Province.

\* Source Human Resource Department. Provincial Administration, Nairobi Province.



		Hardy				
Kasaram		Utalii Ruaraka Kamuthi Kariobangi Nyithaini	5	21	26	0.19
Wcs (lands	Kilimani	Murhaiga Upper Parkland?	3	15	18	0.17
Srarehe	Ngara	Mlango- kubwa N'gara Mas* (lirv- Square Ziwaru	5	11	16	0.31
Dagoreni	Uthiiu/ Ruthimitu	Ngando woodley	3	16	19	0.16
Total			30	120	150	0.20

#### WOMEN PERSONALITIES THAT HAVE INFLUENCED PUBLIC POLICY

Mary Muthoni Wanjiru" played a big role in inspiring the Kenyan men towards defiant action against white policemen over the arrest of Horry Thuku in 1952. A large number of women who joined the fight and conveyance of food and ammunition to freedom fighters in the forests during the 1952 Mau Mau uprising attest to this. Others converted their homes into armories for storing guns smuggled from the colonizers.

In 1969 Mrs. Grace Ony\*ango of Kisumu Rural Constituency, out of six candidates, won a parliamentary seat.

Hon. Charity Ngilu, currently the Minister for Water moved the motion that saw the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action in November 1996 making her the first Kenyan woman to successfully move a woman friendly Motion. The resolution committed the Government to the translation, interpretation, simplification and clarification of the resolution in the in the Platform of Action to grassroots women.

" 1\* is this woman who flung the first stone at the armed policemen thereby paving the way to the enduring banic between black people and the white policemen in what was later to be famously dubbed the. 'Thuku Riots', *Standard Newspaper*, 15 July 1985. p. 14.

In addition, the government committed itself to convening seminars, workshops, and other forums in sub-locations to explain the Beijing Platform of Action and to allocate adequate funds for the enhancement of women's welfare. Other motions that have been moved by women include The Affirmative Action motion 1997, The Equality Act Motion 1999 and Sexual Offences Bill 2005.<sup>100</sup>

Fatma Ahmed and Naomi Mwangi are Deputy Provincial Commissioners. Nairobi Province. Matilda Sakwa and Flora Muorowa are District Officers in Nairobi Province.

Margaret Kenyatta is a former Mayor and served as Kenya's Ambassador to the United Nations.

Prof. Ruth Oniang'o is the first professor of nutrition science in Kenya and the first woman professor of nutrition in sub-Saharan Africa.

Professor Julia Ojiambo is a Professor of Nutrition: she is also the first Luhya Member of Parliament after independence from Funyua, Busia. She is also the first woman assistant minister in Kenya and the first female lecturer at University of Nairobi. The Founder of Liberal Party of Kenya (I.P.K).

Rose Ayuya Oloo born in Khwisero, Kisa. was the first African and woman to open a bank account in Kakamega in 1937. She was the twenty-fifth person to do so. In those days it was known as Posta which later became Post bank. She's also the first trained African nurse in Kakamega and is the mother of Raila Odinga's wife, Ida. She is still alive.

Mrs. Priscilla Agufwana Abwavo from Maragoli is the first Luhya female to go sit in parliament before independence; then known as I.egco. She lives in Kitale.

Several women have served in parliament and these include 1991-93 Assistant Minister of Culture and Social Affairs Grace Ogot.

<sup>100</sup> Isabella Bakker, (ed.). *Rethinking Restructuring: (Gender and Change in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). (Hartal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*. (London Verso. 2000).

1992-95 Assistant Minister of Public Works and Housing Winifred Nyiva Kitili Mwendwa and also in 1995-98 as Minister of National Heritage, Culture and Social Affairs she was MP for KANU 1974-79 and 1992-98.

1996-97 Assistant Minister of Education Agnes Mutindi Ndeti.

1998 Assistant Minister of Gender and Community Development Marere wa Mwachai, 1998-2001 Assistant Minister of Home Affairs. National Heritage. Culture and Social Affairs, 2001-02 Assistant Minister of Heritage and Sports.

2003-07 Minister of Health Charity Kaluki Ngilu. 2008- Minister of Water and Irrigation, MP 1992-97, 1992-97 Leader of the Parliamentary Group of the Social Democratic Party. 1997 Presidential Candidate, from 2000 Leader of Women Political Alliance, since 2001 also Leader of National Party of Kenya Presidential Candidate in 1997 and from 2001 one of the leaders of the opposition Rainbow Coalition, which won the elections in 2002. Before the elections it was agreed that she would become Prime Minister when the constitution was changed, but the proposed change was turned down in a referendum in November 2005. (b. 1952-).

2003-05 Minister of Water Resources Martha Wangari Karua, 2005-09 Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, 2006-08 Deputy Leader of Government Business in Parliament. 2008-09 Minister of National Cohesion. MP from 1992. (b. 1957-)

2003-04 Minister of State in the Office of the Vice-President. Line Jebii Kilimo. 2004-05 Minister of State of Home Affairs. 2005 Minister of State in the Office of the President in charge of Immigration. 2008- Assistant minister for Cooperative Development Jebii Kilimo

2003-04 Assistant Minister of Local Government, Betty Njeri Tett. 2004-07 Assistant Minister of Housing.

2003-04 Assistant Minister of Tourism and Information Beth Wambui Mugo 2004-07 Assistant Minister of Basic Education, 2008- Minister of Public Health and Sanitation Interim Chairperson of Narc-Kenya in 2006.

2003-07 Assistant Minister of Environment, Natural Resources and Wildlife, Prof. Wangari Maathai, leading member of the opposition against former President Moi. an environmentalist activist and detained several times. Professor Wangari Maathai championed environmental rights and conservation since the late 1970's; Presidential Candidate in 1997. Leader of the Mazingira Green Party of Kenya from 2002. MP 2002-07. Awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize for her work for the environment and women's liberation in 2004. (b. 1940)

2003-07 Assistant Minister of Equality, Sport, Culture and Social Services Alicia Jemaita Chelaite.

2003-04 Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs Rebecca Nabutola. from 2004 Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services.

2004-05 Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs Esther Tolc. Former Ambassador and from 2005 Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Regional Authorities.

2007 Assistant Minister of Labour and Human Resource Management Adelina Mwau. Lost her parliamentary seat in 2007.

2007 Assistant Minister of Transport Cecily Mbarire. 2008- Assistant Minister for Tourism.

2008 Minister of State for Special Programmes of the Office of the President Naomi Namsi Shaban. 2008- Minister of Special Programmes appointed by President Kibaki whose re-election as President was criticized by foreign observers and was followed by serious unrest. Re-appointed to the power sharing Grand-Coalition Government later in the year.

2008- Minister of Gender and Children Esther Mathenge.

2008- Minister of Youth and Sports Dr. Helen Jepkemoi Sambili.

2008- Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology Dr. Sally Jepngetich Kosgey. High Commissioner to United Kingdom 1985-90, Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs 1991-97 Permanent Secretary of Finance 1997-98. Permanent Secretary in the Office of

the President 1998-2001. I lead of the Civil Service 2001-07 and from 2003 concurrently Cabinet Secretary, (b. 1949-).

2008 Assistant Minister of Home Affairs Lorna I aboso, She was killed in a plane crash together with the Minister of Roads.

2008- Assistant Minister for Nairobi Metropolitan Development Elizabeth Ongoro Masha.

2008- Assistant Minister for Housing Bishop Margaret Wanjiru.

2008- Assistant Minister of Youth and Sports Wavinya Ndeti.

## CONCLUSION

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his or her country. The empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of transparent and accountable governments in administration resulting to sustainable development in all areas of life. Women in Kenya have taken advantage of this through the engendering of the public policy process.

There have been social and institutional barriers such as the process of recruitment of women to public office, culture and the socialization process of women among other factors that have made it difficult for the women to penetrate the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the political parties', to attain positions in public office.

To deal with these barriers programmes towards engendering public policy were developed. These include the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP).

The engendering of public policy in Kenya has facilitated women in Kenya into leadership positions in different institutions. From the table above it is possible to see the

increase in women representation in public office, it is minimal representation with ranges as low as zero point eight to fifty per cent in some public offices but the women have been keen to impact and influence public policy to the best that they can despite social and structural barriers that have existed over the years and still exist. More women continue to make their way into public office due to the engendered public policy facilitated by a favourable public policy and institutional framework.

The women so far in public office and key decision making offices in government, national assembly and local government have conducted themselves well with few being implicated in any corruption that has been featured lately in the media. Some argue that this is because of their minimal number: however studies in Kenya and around the world have shown that women leaders are more accountable and good governors of institutions than their male counterparts. I believe that would translate to a better Kenya if we had even more women in public office.

This Chapter explored the engendering of public policy in Kenya; the next chapter will look at a case study of Kenyan women in international relations.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### *THE CASE STUDY OF KENYAN WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS*

#### INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter on the impact of engendering public policy in Kenya, we did identify that women have minimal representation in public office in Kenya despite women comprising the highest percentage in the population, only nine percent of public office bearers and parliamentarians are women compared to the global average of thirteen point four percent. Major institutions and bureaucracies in Kenya tend to be male dominated despite the guarantee

in the current constitution.

This is attributed to the fact that social and institutional barriers such as the process of recruitment of women to public office, culture and the socialization process of women among other factors make it difficult for the women to penetrate the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the political parties', to attain positions in public office.

To deal with these barriers programmes towards engendering public policy were developed. These include the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP). These programmes have promoted the engendering of public policy and resulted in an increased number of women holding public positions at local and international levels. Those holding international positions serve in such as ambassadors and high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations and directors of international organizations.

Women in Kenya have participated in the international sphere such as the Beijing Platform for Action Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, which called on governments national bodies, the private sector, political parties, trade unions, employers' organizations, research and academic institution, sub regional and regional bodies and non-governmental and international organizations to implement measures to ensure women's equal access to, and full participation in, power structures and decision-making and increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.<sup>101</sup>

Women have participated in the Fourth World Conference on women, which identified Women and the Media as one of the twelve critical areas in Beijing Platform of Action. In ascribing to the Beijing Platform of Action, one hundred and eighty-nine nations made a commitment to increase women's participation in and access to the media and to promote non-stereotyped images of women because they realize the powerful effect the media has in shaping

<sup>101</sup>See Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 4-15 September IWS (United Nations Publication\*, Sales No. F. 96.IV. 13).

attitudes and perceptions. Women were challenged to create news and be more visible, credible and have increased influence in the media.<sup>102</sup>

## INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS THAT HAVE FACILITATED WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Prior to the Beijing Conference in 1995, International Instruments have existed and have not been followed to the letter by national states; they however have been clear in urging governments to make deliberate legal intervention to ensure that the participation of women in decision-making is heightened and accelerated. There is urgent need for the state parties to translate these international commitments into domestic realities. The importance of involving women in the participation in public office and political processes has been appreciated in various instruments.

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa requires that State Parties take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that women participate without any discrimination in all public offices and elections and are represented equally at all levels with men in all public office and electoral processes. The protocol further calls on State Parties to ensure increased and effective representation of women at all levels of decision-making.<sup>111</sup>

In 1943 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognized the Right of both men and women to participate in decision-making. Under Article 21. the Declaration

See Lucy Oriang. *Images of Women in Kenya's Print Media The Case of the Daily Nation*, (MA Thesis in Journalism. Cardiff University, Cardiff. Wales. UK, 1991). 1). Niven, 'Media Coverage of Women and Men in Congress', in S. Tolleson-Rinchard & J J. Josephson. (eds.), *Gender and American Politics Women, Men, and the Political Process*, (Armonk. NY: ME Sharpe. 2005). p 264-284

" ' Women and Participation in Electoral Politics, Reader for the Regional Conference on Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. December 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> 2006 Nairobi. Kenya, p.5.



recognizes the right of everyone to take part in government directly or through chosen representatives. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his or her country. The empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women's social, economic and political status is essential for the achievement of transparent and accountable governments in administration resulting to sustainable development in all areas of life.

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW), under Articles 2 to 4 calls on State Parties to actively pursue the elimination of discrimination in women's political participation through legal and temporary special measures and affirmative action. Article 7 further instructs State Parties to "take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public positions at all levels of government.

On women's political rights in the international arena. Article 8 of The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW). instructs State Parties to "take all appropriate measures to ensure equal terms of women with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their governments at the international level and to participate in the international organizations,"<sup>1</sup>

The United Nations Resolution (S/Res/1325), adopted by the Security Council on 31<sup>st</sup> October 2000, Article 1 urges the Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. Article 2 encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action, calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

*Transforming society and politics is a long and difficult process because we are changing*

<sup>M</sup> 'United Nations Resolution (S/Res/1325). Adopted by the Security Council on 31 October 2000'. Peace Journal. Issue No. 4. (2002). p. 14-15.

*power relations and we all have to take responsibility in ensuring that we bring it into our personal lives. But we should not be daunted by the task, lie take small steps now. a quantum leap next time and perhaps backtrack another time M'hatcver our progress we must commit to moving the process fornar I because our goal is for women and men to lun-e equal power to shape their societies.* <sup>IAt</sup>

## KENYAN WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Kenyan women have participated in public offices internationally and influenced public policy. Key women in the local public offices have equally participated and influenced public policy globally.

Women have participated as ambassadors and high commissioners as shown in the table below. They have used these positions to influence international public policy in different countries around the world, in The Hague, the United Nations Headquarters in Geneva and UNESCO.

Women's Participation in International Relations as Ambassadors and High Commissioners 2000-2009<sup>1</sup>.

Name	Diplomatic Mission	Year of Service
HE Prof, Judith M Behamuka	New York	2003-2006
H.E. H. M. Tolle	Lusaka	1999-2002
H.K. Mary D. Odinga	Tokyo	2000-2004
	Cairo	2004-2006
H.E. Magdalene J. M. Warnbua	Kampala	2000-2004
H.E. Chawahir A. Mohamed	Geneva	2000-2006
H.E. Tabstha J. Sen	Pretoria	2003-2007
H.E. F. V. Khavumbi	Tel Aviv	2004-date
H.E. Kahmi Mwona	The Hague	2004-2006
H.E. Prof. Mana Nzomo	Harare	2003-2006
	Geneva	2006-2009
H.E. Rachel Omamo	Pari*	2003-2009
H E Anne B. Nvikulu	Rotterdam	2005-date

<sup>1</sup> Women and Participation in Electoral Politics\*. Reader for the Regional Conference on Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. December 2006 Nairobi, Kenya p.6

<sup>1c\*</sup> Source-Human Resource Department. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

H.E. Mishi M. Mwatsahu	Tel Aviv	2005-date
H E. Rose Boit	Windhoek	2006-date
H E. D*. Wcnwa Alonvi O. Oranga	Los Angeles	2009-date
H.E. Mary Khunulu	UNESCO	2003-date
I I.E. Josphinc Gaita	HQS	2007-date
H.E. Purity M hundi	Stockholm	2006-date
H.E. Prof. Ruthie C. Rono	The Hague	2007-date
I I.E. Catherine Mwiua	Dublin	2007-date

Women in Kenya have also participated in international relations through international organization, the public sector, regional organizations, the general assembly and public service.

The Macndeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) the largest grassroots women's organization in Kenya developed a program in 2008; The Chagua Amani. Zuia Noma Peace and Nation Building program. It was an initiative by the organization to bring together women at local and international level to help facilitate creating a lasting solution to the current crisis in January 2008. The program provided an entry point for launching a track II diplomatic effort spearheaded by the women of Kenya that saw the Arrival of H E. Kofi Annan.

Professor Shanyisa Khasiani promotes civic education and computer skills for women in Kenya through her agency, the Family Support Institute, a local organization with great networks internationally through her organization, the women in Kenya have been able to communicate with one another, exchange ideas, and even learn what other local and international non governmental organizations.

Hon. Charity Ngilu. currently the Minister for Water who moved a motion in the Kenyan parliament that saw the adoption an international instrument, the Beijing Platform for Action in November 1996 making her the first Kenyan woman to successfully move a woman friendly-Motion. The resolution committed the Government to the translation, interpretation, simplification and clarification of the resolution in the in the Platform of Action to grassroots women. In addition, the government committed itself to convening seminars, workshops, and

other forums in sub-locations to explain the Beijing Platform of Action and to allocate adequate funds for the enhancement of women's welfare.

Margaret Kenyatta who served as Kenya's Ambassador to the United Nations. Prof Ruth Oniang'o is the first professor of nutrition in sub Saharan Africa. Professor Julia Ojiambo the first woman assistant minister in Kenya and the first female lecturer at University of Nairobi. The Founder of Liberal Party of Kenya (LPK) which has networks internationally.

Rose Ayuya Oloo born in Khwisero, Kisa, was the first African and woman to open a bank account in Kakamega in 1937. She was the twenty-fifth person to do so. In those days it was known as Posta which later became Post bank. She's also the first trained African nurse in Kakamega and is the mother of Raila Odinga's wife. Ida. She is still alive.

Women who have served in parliament who include Mrs. Priscilla Agufwana Abwavo » from Maragoli the first Luhya female to go sit in parliament before independence: then known as Legco. Assistant Minister of Culture and Social Affairs Grace Ogot. Assistant Minister of Public Works and Housing Winifred Nyiva Kilili Mwendwa, Assistant Minister of Education Agnes Mutindi Ndctci, Assistant Minister of Gender and Community Development Marere wa Mwachai,

Charity Kaluki Ngilu Minister of Water and Irrigation, Martha Wangari Kama, former Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs, former Minister of State in the Office of the Vice-President. Linah Jebii Kilimo. Former Assistant Minister of Local Government. Betty Njeri Ten, Beth Wambui Mugo, Minister of Public Health and Sanitation Interim.

Former Assistant Minister of Environment. Natural Resources and Wildlife. Prof. Wangari Maathai. in her recent campaign to protect Kenya forest cover and particularly the Mau complex. Former Assistant Minister of Equality. Sport. Culture and Social Services Alicen Jemaita Chelaite. Former Permanent Secretary of Foreign Affairs Rebecca Nabuiola. Esther

Tolc, Former Ambassador and from Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Regional Authorities.

Former Assistant Minister of Labour and Human Resource Management Adelina Mwau, Cecily Mharirc. 2008- Assistant Minister for Tourism. Minister of State for Special Programmes of the Office of the President Naomi Namsi Shaban. Minister of Gender and Children Esther Mathcngc. Minister of Youth and Sports. Dr. Helen Jepkcmoi Sambili. Minister of Higher Education. Science and Technology. Dr. Sally Jepngetich Kosgcy, Lt. former Assistant Minister of Home Affairs I.orna 1 aboso. Assistant Minister for Nairobi Metropolitan Development Elizabeth Ongoro Masha. Assistant Minister for Housing Bishop Margaret Wanjiru. Assistant Minister of Youth and Sports Wavinva Ndeti

Women in local provincial administration such as Fatma Ahmed and Naomi Mwangi who are Deputy Provincial Commissioners and Matilda Sakwa and Flora Muorowa who are District Officers in Nairobi Province have participated and influenced international public policy through their capacities within the local provincial administration.

## CONCLUSION

Kenya like any other African country has had a small number of women in international as well as local public offices due to social and institutional barriers such as the process of recruitment of women to public office, culture and the socialization process of women among other factors make it difficult for the women to penetrate the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the political parties', to attain positions in public office even in the international sphere.

To deal with these barriers programmes towards engendering public policy were developed. These include the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP).

The engendering of public policy in Kenya has facilitated women in Kenya into leadership positions in different institutions. Women have been keen to participate and influence public policy internationally the best way they can through international placements as ambassadors and high commissioners and as representatives of international organization^ and through local institutions.

More women continue to make their way into public office locally and internationally and make an impact in public policy due to the engendered public policy facilitated by a favourable public policy and institutional framework, increasing the extent to which women are able to influence public policy, mainstreaming policies and programmes that have facilitated women participation and translating programmes into practice to aid in removal of social and institutional barriers.

Majority of the women ambassadors have conducted themselves well with a number serving two terms and some prolonged terms of more than three years, such as I.I.E. Prof. Judith M. Bchamuka, H.E. Mary Khimulu, I.I.E. Prof. Maria Nzomo, H.E. F. V. Khayumbt I.I.E. Rachel Omamo, H.E. Man D. Odinga. Women have come out as accountable and good governors of the international institutions.

( here is a general consensus that the active and equal political participation of both men and women are key ingredients for the sustainable and wholesome development of any country <sup>1 7</sup> In recognition of this fact, public policy was identified as one of the channels through which gender equality could be attained in the public policy and political realm under the Beijing Platform for Action (1995).

This chapter covered Kenyan women in international relations, the next chapter and the last chapter is the conclusion of this study.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpt from paper by Rosa Linda Miranda (2005) for the UN Expert Meeting on Women and Men in Decision Making Processes, with Particular Emphasis on Political participation and Leadership.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### *CONCLUSION*

This study sought to examine the impact of engendering public policy in Kenya and studied Kenyan women in international relations in the eyes of those serving in international jurisdiction and those in the local sphere who have been able to influence international public policy.

This study established that that Kenyan public policy has been going through an engendering process despite fundamental social and structural barriers that tend to exclude women from public office. This engendering process of public policy in Kenya has resulted in an increase in women representation in public office both locally and internationally and it is not merely for altruistic reasons but because women have sought to change the situation minimal representation and impact in public policy.

The cases in chapter two serve to inform different aspects of women liberation efforts and the different dimensions these have had in the different countries in advocating for women's participation, leadership and interests. In Africa women have been able to make gains through women's organizations, private sector, ministries of women, and other state-related institutions and have changed gender imbalances fundamentally.

Kenyan women find themselves in a position where they comprise over fifty per cent of the population and hence have over fifty per cent voting power yet have a significantly low representation in public office. This minimal representation has further been challenged by social and institutional frameworks that don't favour the women in public office which has resulted in minimal impact and influence in public policy.

Kenya like any other African country has had a small number of women in international as well as local public offices due to social and institutional barriers such as the process of

recruitment of women to public office, culture and the socialization process of women among other factors make it difficult for the women to penetrate the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the political parties', to attain positions in public office **even in** the international sphere.

To deal with these barriers programmes towards engendering public policy were developed. These include the Engendering of the Political Processes Programme (EPPP) and the Gender and Governance Program in Kenya (GGP).

The engendering of public policy in Kenya has facilitated women in Kenya into leadership positions in different institutions. They have been keen to impact and influence public policy to the best that they can despite social and structural barriers that have existed over the years and still exist. More women continue to make their way into public office due to the engendered public policy facilitated by a favourable public policy and institutional framework. »

From the tables in chapter three it is possible to see the increase in women representation in public office, it is minimal representation with ranges as low as zero point eight to fifty per cent in some public offices. These efforts have resulted in more women holding positions such as sub-chiefs, chiefs, district officers, provincial commissioners, heads of parastatals, judges, permanent secretaries, and heads of commissions.

These women have made an impact and influence in public policy at local level and have been the same actors in the international level where women have served as ambassadors and high commissioners, representatives to the United Nations and directors of international organizations.

The women so far in public office locally and key decision making offices in government, national assembly and local government have conducted themselves well with few being implicated in any corruption that has been featured lately in the media.



Majority of the women ambassadors have conducted themselves well with a number serving two terms and some prolonged terms of more than three years, such as H.E. Prof. Judith M Bchamuka, H.E Mary Khimulu, H.E. Prof. Mam Nzomo, H.E F. V. Khayumbi, I.I.E. Rachel Oaunio, and H.E. Mary D. Odinga. Women have come out as accountable and good governors of the international institutions.

While some may argue that this is because of their minimal number, however studies in Kenya and around the world have shown that women leaders are more accountable and good governors of institutions than their male counterparts. I believe that would translate to a better Kenya if we had even more women in public offices locally and internationally.

There is a general consensus that the active and equal political participation of both men and women are key ingredients for the sustainable and wholesome development of any country." In recognition of this fact, public policy was identified as one of the channels through which gender equality could be attained in the public policy and political realm under the Beijing Platform for Action (1995).<sup>109</sup>

\* Excerpt from paper by Rota Linda Miranda (2008) for the UN Expert Meeting on Women and Men in Decision Making Processes, with Particular Emphasis on Political participation and Leadership,

See Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing. 4-15 September 1995 (United Nations Publications. Sales No. E 96.IV.13).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Journey of Courage; Kenya Women's Experiences of 2002 General Elections. (AWC Features. 2004), p. 1-53.
- Abels. G., *Engendering the Representational Democratic Deficit in the European Union*, (Discussion paper FS11 98-106 of the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, 1998).
- African Governance Report, (2005, 2006),  
[Http://www.undp.org/oslocntr/docs06/Framevxx>rk%20paper<sup>a</sup>/o20-20cntirc%20paper.pdf](http://www.undp.org/oslocntr/docs06/Framevxx>rk%20paper<sup>a</sup>/o20-20cntirc%20paper.pdf)
- African Governance Report, available at <http://www.uneca.org/agr2005/>.
- An account of this meeting was published in (UNESCO)'s international Social Science Bulletin, vol. V. no.I, 1953, p. 160 ct seq.
- AWC Features, A Journey of Courage: Kenyan Women's Experiences of the 2002 General Elections. 2004. p.9-12.
- Bakker, I., (ed.), *Rethinking Restructuring: Gender and Change in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
- Barbble, E.. *The Practice of Social Research*. (California; Wardsworth Publishers. 1989), p. 29.
- Baxter. S and Lansing, M.. *Women and Politics*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980).
- Beyond Numbers: *Towards Transformative Leadership*. (Women Direct 2006). p. 1-11.
- Bourque. S. C.. and Grossholtz, J., "Politics an Unnatural Practice: Political Science Female Participation". *Politics and Society*, 4. (Winter 1974): pp. 225-266.
- Broyelle, C., *Women's Liberation in China*. (The Harvester Press Limited. 1977), p. Nouvelle, C., I.XI (March 1968), p.8.
- Byanyima, W., Chair. Constituent Assembly Women's Caucus, addressing Constituent Assembly. 3 August 1994. Proceeding of the Constituent Assembly. Official Report, Wednesday, 3 August 1994. p. 1490.
- Campbell, A., el al.. *The American Voter: An Abridgement*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1964);
- Carroll. S. J., *Women as Candidates in American Politics*, Second Edition. (Indiana University Press, 1994), p.XHI.
- Carroll, S. J., *Humeri as Candidates in American Politics*. Second Edition. (Indiana University Press, 1994), p.3-174.
- Carter, G.. *African One-Party States*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).
- Center for the American woman and Politics, 'women Candidates and winners in 1992,' fact sheet.
- Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*, (London: Verso. 2000).
- Chinese saying recalled at an Inter-Parliamentary Union Meeting in Beijing, (reported in Kenya Times, September. 9, 2002. p. 18).
- Christine. S.. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*, New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994.
- Colemen. J. S., *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical \frica*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1964).
- Collange. C., *Madame el le management*, p <sup>7</sup>2
- Couloumbis. T. A. and Wolfe. J. H. Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice. (Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited. New Delhi. 1986).
- Dahl. R. A.. *Democracy in the United States: Promise and Performance*. (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company. 1972), p.49.

- Deutsch, K. W., *The Analysis of International Relations*, Third Edition. (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1989).
- Dougherty, J. E. and Pfaltzgraff, Jr., R.L., *Contending Theories of International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey*. Third Edition, (Harper & Row Publishers. New York. 1990).
- Duverger, M., *The Political Role of Women*. (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1955), p. 7-116.
- Erskine, H.. The Polls: Women's Role. *Pub Opinion Quart. XXV*. p.277-79, (Summer 1971).
- Evans. R. J., *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894-1894-1933*. SAGE Publications Ltd.. 1976), p.1-35.
- Flanigan, W. H.. and Zingale, N. H., *Political Behaviour of the American Electorate*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1979), p.97-153.
- Follcsdal, A. and Hix, S., 'Why there is a democratic deficit in the EU: A response to Majone and Moravcsik'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 44(3), (2006), p.533-62.
- Garskof. M. H.. (ed.). *Roles Women Play: Readings Toward Women's Liberation*. (Belmont. Ca.: Brooks' Cole, 1971). p.68-83. 84-96.
- Geisler 1995. p.56
- Gilpin. R., *The Political Economy of International Relations*, (Princeton University' Press. Princeton. New Jersey. 1987).
- Goldstein, J. S. and Peeverhouse. J.C.. *International Relations*. Seventh Edition, (Elm Street Publishing Services. Inc., 2006). p. 124-139.
- H.E. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. President of Liberia. First Presidential Speech, 2005.
- Habermas J., *The Theory of Communicative Action*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985). Habermas, J., *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).
- Hacker. H., "Women as a Minority Group" *Social Forces*. 30, pp. 60-69 (Oct. 1951).
- Harrison, B., 'The British Prohibitionists 1853-72. A Biographical Analysis'. *International Review of Social History*. 1970.
- Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question I England 1815-1872*. (London, 1971).
- Hollis, P., (ed.), *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London, 1974).
- Holsti, K. J, *International Politics: A framework of Analysis*, (Seventh Edition, Prentice-Hall. 1995).
- Homey, K., *Feminine Psychology*. (New York; Norton. 1963).
- Feminine Psychology*. New York: Norton. 1963, <http://www.uneca.org/agr2005/>
- Hyman, H., *Secondary Analysis of Sample Surveys*. (Middle Town, Connecticut. Wesleyan University Press, 1987), p. 17.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Ibid. Quoted in Irmgard Remme. *Die Internationalen Beziehungen der deutschen Fraubewegung vom Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1933*. (Phil. Diss. H'est Berlin. 1955), p. 17. Vol. I. 191 ff.
- Interparliamentary Union Meeting in Kenya Times. (Beijing). September. 9. 2002. P. 18.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. *Parliament and the Budget Process including from a Gender Perspective*, Report No.38, IPU, Geneva. 2001).
- Jabri, V. and O'Gorman. E., (eds.). *Women in Culture, and International Relations*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 1999.

- (eds.), *Women in Culture, and international Relations*, (Boulder. Co: tvnne Rienner, 1999).
- Jaquettc, J. J., (ed.), *Momen in Politics*, (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), p. 54-56.
- (ed.), *Women in Politics*. (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974). p.1-322.
- (ed.). *Women in Politics*. (John Wiley & Sons. Inc., 1974). p. 1-322.
- Johnston, Jr. and Knapp, *Sex Discrimination by Law, op ell.*, p. 690.
- Keohar\ R. O., *International Relations Theory: Contributions of a Feminist Standpoint*. Millennium 18(2), 1989: 245-253.
- Klein, V., "The Feminine Character" in C. Thomson, (ed.). *An Outline ofPsychoanalysis*. Modem Library, 1955. pp.386-409.
- Kofi Annan. International Women's Day 2006.
- Kopp, A.. *Town and Resolution*. (Tendon, Thames & Hudson, 1970), p. 153.
- Light. M. and Groom, A. J. R., (eds.). *International Relations; A Handbook of Current Theory*. (Pinter Publishers, London. 1985).
- Likoyc. D. A., *The Role ofStrained Bilateral Relations in Mediation by Sub Regional Organizations: A Case Study ofIGAD Mediation in the Sudan Conflict betw een 1993 and 2005*. Wasters Thesis. University of Nairobi. 2007). p. 17-18.
- Marx. K.. *Critique ofPolitical economy*. (London Lawrence & Wishart, 1971). p. 197.
- McNeil. L.. 'Women of Mali: A Study in Sexual Stratification'. (B.A. Thesis. Harvard University. 1979).
- Midamba. B., *The United Sations Decade: Political Empowerment or Increased Marginalizationfor Kenyan Women?* Africa Today, I\* Quarter, 1990.
- Mill. J. S., (ed.). *The Subjection of Women*. (Everyman, London. 1929). p.219-317. Uuise Tilly and Joan Scott', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. (Jan. 1975). pp.36 rr.
- Miranda, R. L., *UN Expert Meeting on Women and Men in Decision Making Processes, with Particular Emphasis on Political participation and Leadership*, (2005).
- Morgenthau. II and Thompson. K. W., *Politics Among Nations. The strugglefor Power and Peace*, Third Edition, (New York: Alfred Knopp 1965). 11-12.
- Morna 1999.
- MOSIC, G. I., *The Crisis ofGermany Ideology. Intellectual origins ofthe Third Reich* (London. 1966).
- M>rdal, G., *An American Dilemma*. New York: Aldine- Atherton, 1971.
- Nachmias. F. and Nachmias, D., *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. (London. St. Martin's Press. 1996). p. 184-305.
- Nation Reporter 1998
- New University Conference newsletter, 1970.
- Nivcn. D.. 'Media Coverage of Women and Men in Congress', in S. Tollcson-Rinehart & J.J. Josphson, (eds.). *Gender and American Politics: Women. Men. and the Political Process*. (Armonk. NY: MF. Sharpe. 2005), p.264-284.
- N'orris, P. and Lovenduski, J.. *Gender and Party Politics*, London: Sage, 1993).
- Nzomo. M., *Empowering Kenya Women Report ofa Seminar on Post-Election Women's Agenda: Forward looking Strategies to 1997 and Beyond*, (National Committee on the Status of Women. 1993). p. I -86.
- The Impact ofthe Women s Decade on Policies. Programs, and Empowerment of Women in Kenya*. Issue 17(2). 1989:p.9-17.
- Women. Democracy, and Development in Africa: In Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa*. (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1978). p. 126.
- Oriang. L.. *Images of Women in Kenya's Print Media: The Case of the Daily Xation*,

- (MA Thesis in Journalism. Cardiff University, Cardiff, Wales, IJK. 1991).
- Parkinson. F.. *The Philosophy of International Relations A Study in the History of Thought.* (Sage Publications. Inc.. 1977).
- Parliament of South Africa 2003.
- Peterson. V. S., (ed.). *Gendered States. Feminist (Re) visions of International Relations Theory.* (Lynne Rienner Publishers. Inc., 1992). p. 31-79.
- Phillips. A.. *Democracy and Difference.* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).
- Picker, D., UNESCO's International Social Science Bulletin, vol. V. no. 1.1953, p. 75 et seq.
- Pradhan, R, D., 'Engendering Good Governance in Practice', *Development Bulletin*, No 5, (2000). pp. 6-9.
- Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women. Beijing. 4-15 September 1995 (United Nations Publications, Sales No. E 96.IV. 13).
- Reynolds. P. A., *An Introduction to international Relations*, Third Edition. (Longman Publishing, New York. 1994).
- Richards. E., 'Women in the British Economy Since About 1700: An Interpretation', *History*. 59/197, (OCL 1974).
- Roxane Witke.'Mao Tse tung. Women and suicide', in B. Young Marilyn, *Women in China.* (Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. 1973, pp. 16-17.
- Source The African Woman and Child Feature Service (AWC). in Gender Monitoring Report, (2003). »
- Department of Gender, Electoral Commission, DPM Compliment Statistics Unit
  - Human Resource Department, Provincial Administration, Nairobi Province.
  - Human Resource Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Spike. P. V. and Runyan. A. S., *Global Gender Issues*, Boulder, Co: Westview, 1993.
- Spritzer. A. D., Equal Employment Opportunity vs. Protection for Women: A Public Policy Dilemma. *Alabama Law Rev.* 24. p.579, (Summer 1972).
- Staudt. K., 'Stratification: Implications for Women's Politics', in C. Roberson and I. Berger. (ed.). *Women and Class in Africa.* (New York: Africans Publishing Company, 1986).
- Steady, F. C., "Protestant Women's Associations in Freetown, Sierra Leone". in N. J. Haftin and E. G. Bay. (eds.). *Women in Africa Studies in Social and Economic Change.* (Stanford. CA: Stanford University Press. 1976).
- Steenbergen. M., Andre BSchtiger. Markus Spiimdli, and Jurg Steincr. 'Measuring Political Deliberation: A Discourse Quality Index', *Comparative European Politics*, 1,(2003), pp.21-48.
- Steiner. J., Andre. BSchtiger, Markus SpOmdli, and Marco Steenbergen. *Deliberative Politics in Action: Analyzing Parliamentary Discourse.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004).
- Stem, F., *The Politics of Cultural Despair.* (Berkeley/Los Angeles. 1961).
- Supra note 2.
- Sylvester, C.. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Sylvia Tamale.
- Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women. Task Force on Education and Gender Equality. UNESCO's International Social Science Bulletin, vol. V, no.1.1953, p. 160 et seq.
- Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women. Task Force on Education and Gender Equality.

The 'Thuku Riots'. *Standard Newspaper*, 15 July 1985, p.14.

The Beijing Platform of Action. Fourth World Conference on Women. 1995.

The Global Action Plan: Win With Women: Strengthen Political Parties. (National Democratic Institute, 2007).

The influence of pluralists and democratic elitist strains has been so pervasive that Pateman, p. 14

The Parliamentary Joint Standing Committee on the improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women 1999.

Thompson. C.. in Green. M., (ed.). *Interpersonal Psychoanalysis*. New York; Basic Books, 1964, pp. 201-343.

Tickner, J. A., *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1992).

Tripp. A. M., *Women A Politics in Uganda*, (James Currey, Oxford. Foundation Publishers, Kampala. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison. 2000), p. Xvii-xviii.

Turpin, J. and Lorentzen. L. A., (eds.). *The Gendered New World Order; Militarism. Development, and the Environment*. New York: Routledge; 1996.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, 1996.

UN Millennium project 2005

United Nations Development Program. *Measuring Democratic Governance A Framework for Selecting Pro-Poor and Gender-Sensitive Indicators*

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNFCA).

United Nations Resolution (S/Res/1325), Adopted by the Security Council on 31 October 2000'. *Peace Journal*. Issue No. 4. (2002). p. 14-15.

United Nations, *Platform for Action: Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*. Washington: UN, 1995.

Vanhanen. T.. 'A New Dataset for Measuring Democracy 1810-1998', *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(2), (2000), pp.251 -265.

Vincent, J.. *The Formulation of the Liberal Party 1857-1968*. (London. 1966).

Walsh, D., *Issues to Gender Justice: Democratic Consolidation and Deliberation in South Africa*. (Paper Prepared for APSA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA. 2003).

Whitworth, S., *Feminism and International Relations*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1994).

Widner, J., 'Political parties and Civil societies in Sub-Saharan Africa", in M. Ottaway. (ed.), *Democracy in Africa: The Hard Road Ahead*. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1997).

Williams, L.. (Ed.). *Gender Equity and the World Bank Group a Post-Beijing Assessment*. (Washington: Women's Eyes on the World Bank-U.S, October 1997).

Women and Participation in Electoral Politics. Reader for the Regional Conference on Women and Participation in Electoral Politics, December 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> 2006 Nairobi, Kenya, p.2-7.

www.ipu.org.

Young. I. M., 'Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy'. *Political Theory*. 29(50). (2001), p.670-690.

Zetkin. C.. *My recollections of Lenin*. (Moscow. 1956).