

**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING PARTICIPATION OF
WOMEN IN KENYAN POLITICS (2008 - 2012)**

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any award in any other University.

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

Signature _____ Date _____

DR. PENNINAH OGADA

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my late dad Mr. Felix Kieti Kasolia, to my mum Mrs. Anastasia M Kieti, my sisters Lucy Kieti-Iversen and Mumbi Kieti, my brother-in-law Svend Iversen, my nephew Dalvin and niece Sonia. God bless you for your endless support.

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ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil Society Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
CBO	Community Based Organization
FBO	Faith Based Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
CREAW	Centre for Rights Education and Awareness
FIDA- K	Federation of Women Lawyers- Kenya
MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya

ABSTRACT

This project was concerned with the Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in promoting political participation of women in Kenyan politics between 2008-2012. This was the period following the experience of post election violence and the agitation for the new constitution in Kenya. The study's objectives included examining the activities carried out by the CSOs in empowering women politically, and the challenges the CSOs encounter in their promotion of women participation in politics in Kenya.

The findings of the study were that the civil society plays a significant role in advocating for gender equality and women's rights in the society while seeking to increase women's participation in all decision making organs, women's representation in parliament and participation in politics. However, CSOs face challenges such as lack of funds, administrative inefficiency, political interference, donor conditionalities and competition among organizations for donor funding influence project activity success.

The study therefore recommended that the CSOs need to overcome these challenges in order to support women political participation. This can be done by improving CSOs funding, educating the public through capacity building programmes, by networking with stakeholders with whom the CSOs share same interests and holding joint activities for projects sharing the same outcome.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Women's organizing in Kenya has been going on for long even before the country's independence from colonial rule. In the pre-independence period, women organization had a humble beginning as self-help groups focusing on socio-economic advancement. However, as years progressed, women movements expanded and specifically focused on women's participation in leadership in both elective and appointive bodies.

According to Mute (2002), the civil society encompasses a wide range of organizations which are not under the control of governments and which are not for profit as organizations of the private sector. He further states that Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are value-driven rather than profit driven. They include: Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), Trade Unions, Farmers Associations, Academics, Professional Associations, Students Movements and other mass movements which are not affiliated to political organizations.

Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that every individual has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. The article further states that everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. Lastly, it states that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Lopes (2008), argued that the last two decades had strongly indicated a paradigm shift in the international system whereby democracy had become a championing ideology practiced by many states. Theories of gender parity and equality had also evolved in this era and the roles of civil societies had grown stronger by the decade. Globally, civil societies had played a role in advocating for mechanisms that ensure promotion of

women in all aspects of life. It is candid that many governments had come to terms with the role that civil societies play in women empowerment and developmental progress. There had been pronounced commitment of the international community in its effort towards the attainment of gender equality especially in the levels of engagement in political processes. Despite the agenda set by the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), The Nairobi Forward Looking (1985), and the Beijing Platform of Action, (1995), not much had been achieved. For example according to UNDP (2005), there were only twelve countries globally where women reportedly held 33 percent or more seats in the parliaments. In fact in 2005, women's representation in legislatures around the world was only 15 percent.

Heidi Hartmann (1981) in her works, *'The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism'*, was identified with the marxist analysis in that she argued all forms of structural dominance must be supported by material basis. To her, patriarchy as a class domination was a form of systemic domination by one sex over the other on material basis. She posits that patriarchy was fundamental and more developed than capitalism as a form of domination. Therefore, the patriarchal structures were already established in most human societies even before the advent of capitalism and that capitalism only inherited the elements of an already developed patriarchy. According to Hartmann, how strongly patriarchy operates is dependent on the structural organization of the society and argues that patriarchy and capitalism are two different forces that ally against women. For instance, she points out that a society could undergo transition from capitalism to socialism but still remain patriarchal.

On the other hand, Lawless and Fox (2008), argued that the health of a democracy should be evaluated by the degree to which all men and women are equally represented and are willing to run for a public office. The evaluation however had not been achieved due to the fact that even though democracy is practiced by many developed states in the world; majority of the women are still reluctant to run for political offices. It is important for gender equality advocates to focus on the gendered nature of development and the capitalist paradigm of international development that creates and recreates gender

disparities, while at the same time working towards creating an enabling environment for women's participation in development. Women's mere participation in mainstream development cannot automatically lead to their advancement and gender equality. The level and nature of participation is equally important in determining whether women are able to share development gains. In a sense, democracy had failed women and the mechanisms for women empowerment provided a push and pull effect that was strongly felt in the modern society. Women's political participation related to the nature of politics in general and the liberal democracy in particular. Democracy had historically served men better than women. As a political system from the ancient Greece to the modern times of the 21st century, it had built on the public-private dichotomy and excluded women from citizenship. Women had been kept outside the public domain of politics. Most of the political thinkers and philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Hegel considered women fit only for domestic roles in the private sphere. They maintained that there was no place for women in politics because of their suitability in caring roles as mothers and wives. The public-private divide remained as the foundation of the various forms of world democracies (Phillips, 1998; Rai, 2000). According to Potter (2004), in the ideals of participative democracy, it became pertinent that a way is developed on how the public influenced the government decision around them. The continuous exclusion of women from the political process continued to limit the extent to which democratic principles promote equality of women, and opportunity of peoples regarding their sex.

Bathla (1998) posits that both ancient and modern democracies failed to recognize women as citizens. Therefore, they sidelined them and their concerns in its theory and practice. It was only the liberal political philosophy of the 19th century that promoted the idea of 'free and rational' individual which was used by suffragists to demand for women's right to vote. Rai (2000) argued that conceptual basis of liberal theory was inherently gendered in ways, which perpetuated patterns of patriarchy and ignored gender subordination in both polity and society. Feminist theorists also challenged the notion of abstract individual in liberal theory, and argued that liberal theory is not a gender-neutral category. This is why despite women having the right to vote, they were not able to

impact public policy and could not bring private sphere in the preview of the public. Even western democracies left them dislocated on many fronts. When women entered politics within this patriarchal context of modern democracies, they were unable to play a role to radically change the gender politics rather they largely played political roles on male's terms.

Kamau (2010), stated that the role of women in the African Culture had in many cases been defined as 'home bound'. A term used lightly, to describe the traditional African role of a woman as being a home maker. Issues regarding leadership be it political, economic or social had always been left to the men. In fact, most of the states in Africa were and have always been patriarchal in nature. Kamau noted that the struggle for women to stand out as leaders in Africa is an ongoing process. It had taken the intervention of many entities to begin the journey of promoting women as capable and decisive political leaders. Civil societies were example of entities that had promoted the participation of women in Kenyan politics.

Nzomo (2003) believed that the marginalization of women in political leadership and their continued exclusion from decision making positions was a product of a history and the patriarchal structures in both the colonial and post-colonial state. She argued that gender disparities that existed in Kenya were due to deep-rooted patriarchal, socio-cultural, economic and political structures, and ideologies. In order to combat such ideologies, Moser (1993), asserted that civil societies had been instrumental in lobbying for the women's agenda and in engaging activities that were aimed at ensuring implementation of various international conventions. She also argued that the success of gender planning through government policies depended on the level of participation of women in planning and policy implementation processes.

Wanyande and Okebe (2009), were in agreement that, civil societies encompass a wide variety of organizations that are independent in nature and not subjected to government control. These organizations have always based their objectives on moral principles and universal norms that aimed to protect, promote the sense of humanity in issues where they seem to lack. Civil societies are not driven by profit at all. They tend to promote

values that aim in positively changing the society as a unit. Since time immemorial, women had been denied the right to politically participate as leaders. Moreover, Albright (2012), urged that each country was mandated to have the best possible leader thus women need to be given a platform to compete for chances to be leader. He further asserted that if women were never allowed to compete in the electoral process then the countries were really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent since equitable participation of women in politics and government was essential to building and sustaining democracy of any given nation.

Mute (2002), noted that the role of civil society had been deemed to play a key role in promoting women participation in politics in many African countries. This was due to the fact that women were moving into leadership positions through both reserved and unreserved seats and that many perceived positive outcomes as a result of increased self confidence and improved status in the family and community. This was despite fact that women faced a number of barriers such as low literacy levels, lack of sufficient training, heavy household chores and negative attitudes towards women in public office that constrain their ability to fulfill their governance roles. Wanyande argued that the multiplicity and participation of civil societies in Kenya increased after 1992, following the opening up of Kenyan politics to multiparty democracy. A substantial number of civil society organizations were formed to deal with issues regarding democratic development, human rights, gender and social awareness.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

According to Nzomo (2003), alot of studies had been done about the role of civil societies in championing other political aspects such as democratization, human rights and liberation of the markets. She argues that in Kenya, the role of civil society in modern day democratic governance was of utmost importance since the civil society ensured the proper functioning of government while respecting the main pillars of democracy. The governments play a key role in supporting various projects aimed at bringing about economic development while many forms of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), including NGOs, have played a significant role in promoting social justice in

development activities. The government is the actor in delivering public services however, the role of civil society organizations in service delivery had not been given much attention.

In addition, Awan (2012), argued that little effort had been put to examine the roles and challenges that civil society faced during their quest to empower women. He further stated that it was unfortunate that some countries in the world had been adamantly ignorant to see the potential of women as leaders and agents of development. Such governments had continued to restrict the ability of civil societies to operate freely in promoting participation of women in politics. Besides, following the experience of Kenya's post election violence of the 2007 disputed elections and the agitation of the new constitution, the Kenyan society became aware of the need to have more women engage in political decision-making processes and leadership positions. Thus, there was need for this study to examine the role of civil society in promoting women's participation in politics in Kenya between 2008-2012.

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by a general question:

What role had the civil society played in promoting women's political participation in Kenya between 2008-2012?

The specific questions of the study were:

- i. What activities CSOs undertake to promote women's political participation in Kenya?
- ii. What challenges CSOs face in promoting women's political participation in Kenya?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The general objective of the study was to examine the role played by the civil society in promoting participation of women in Kenyan politics between 2008-2012. The specific objectives were:

- i. To examine the activities CSOs undertake to promote women's political participation in Kenya.
- ii. To examine challenges CSOs face in promoting women's political participation in Kenya.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Over the years, efforts had been made to raise consciousness in engaging women. However, following the experience of post election violence and the agitation of the new constitution, the society at large became more acutely aware of the need to have more women engage in political decision-making processes and leadership positions. It is for this reason the study focused on the activities of selected civil society organizations between 2008-2012. The study was an addition to academic knowledge about civil societies and scope and limitations. The study will be important to the policy makers since it aimed at identifying areas in which policy reforms were needed in respect to the role of women in political leadership.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of Study

The concept of civil society is broad and changes with different times of political history of different types of states. There are many ways in which civil society organizations play different role as long as it is in the interest of the common man and aims are to protect his rights. For the purposes of this study, the focus was on the civil societies that have played a role in empowering women politically from 2008 to 2012. This was the period following the experience of post election violence and the agitation of the new constitution. Thus the study aimed at examining the activities carried out by the CSOs in

empowering women politically, and the challenges the CSOs encounter in their promotion of women participation in politics in Kenya.

One of the major limitations encountered in this study was failure by some of the respondents; who are mainly staff members of the organizations; to answer the questions and the inability to probe deeply into respondents as questionnaire was administered. This may have been attributed to the fact that they would not want to disclose information on their organizations' operations. In this regard, the researcher endeavored to seek all the necessary authority in due time to avoid disappointment and, or any cancellations. The other limitation was time and financial constraints. This is mainly due to the cost and time involved in the data collection process.

1.7 Definition of concepts

Civil Society

The term Civil Society in the context of this study focused on organizations formed to empower women on political participation.

Empowerment

In this study, empowerment referred to increasing the political awareness of women.

Equality

Referred to the view that men and women should receive same treatment and should not be discriminated against based on gender.

Equity

This referred to the process of allocating resources, programs and decision making fairly to both males and females.

Mainstreaming

This referred to any planned policy action involving legislation and implementation of gender programmes whose goal is to achieve gender equality.

Participation

For the purpose of this study, participation was used to mean the involvement of women in public affairs at the national and civic levels.

Politics

The term was used in this study to refer to active engagement in decision making for the allocation and control of resources.

Political Participation

Political participation in this study referred to activity that had the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.

Affirmative action

This involved positive steps taken to achieve equity in both gender in governance. This was for the purpose of reforming and eliminating discrimination of women in leadership positions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter dealt with the review of scholarly literature on the role of civil societies and women participation in politics. The review was done under three categories according to the objectives of the study. The first category dealt with the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in promoting participation of women in politics. The second category examined the activities undertaken by CSOs to promote women's political participation. The third category dealt with challenges that CSOs face in pursuit of political participation of women.

2.2 History and Evolution of Women's Movement in Kenya.

According to Nzomo (1991), the 1985 Nairobi Conference which closed the United Nation's Women's Decade marked the awakening of the Kenyan society to the fact that the issue of women's empowerment was central to the achievement of the triple goals of Equality, Development and Peace. She stated that during the ten years of the Women's Decade (1975-1985), the Kenya government had adopted Women in Development (WID) policy position and created national machineries to develop and coordinate programmes for women. According to Nzomo, Kenya was merely complying with the 1975 United Nations resolutions that demanded all member states to introduce policies and programs geared towards accelerated advancement of women, by creating specific national machineries to serve women and by strengthening existing organizations. It is in the post 1975 era that the Kenyan official development policy position changed from one that was gender biased to one that at least acknowledged that women were an important element in the development process and should be integrated in the development process.

Scholars have documented women's political resistance and struggle against colonial rule in Kenya; a notable example being the 1920 Harry Thuku uprising where women, led by Mary Nyanjiru, directly confronted the colonial government in demanding the release of Harry Thuku (Kabira and Akinyi, 1994). In many communities in Kenya, there are

examples of women organizing themselves and taking leadership in dealing with their social-historic and economic situations, as supported by Margaret Ogola (1994) though in form of fiction but nothing as elaborate as the women's journey towards leadership in the new constitutional dispensation but women seized the opportunity to organize themselves and negotiate for a constitution that recognized gender equality with particular focus on equal representation in leadership position.

According to Kabira and Akinyi (1994), the Women's Movement in Kenya had its roots in self-help groups which existed even in pre-colonial societies. Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) is a national grassroots women's organization formed in 1952 and had survived for all these years. Maendeleo was initially started as a welfare organization during the colonial period however; it later became a political force in the country during the 1980s and 1990s. The strong political parties like Kenya African National Union (KANU) recognized the power of the organization and used its power to mobilize women. According to Kiragu (2006), another women's organization that had a national representation was National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) formed in 1964. Its main purpose was to strengthen and unite women's organizations at local, national and international levels. NCWK played a pivotal role of coordinating NGOs in preparation for the Beijing Conference in 1985.

In addition, Kabira and Akinyi (1994), The *Third UN Conference on Women* was held in Nairobi in 1985 and marked the beginning of rights centered activism. A number of women's organizations were born, right after the conference including the *Federation of Women Lawyers, Kenya* (FIDA) which gained prominence for its women's rights advocacy. According to Nzomo, it is also in February 1992 when women were brought together by the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and Africa Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) for a National Women's Convention. This was the year of election and women felt the need to organize themselves in order to access political power. The next twenty years saw a focused Women's Movement mobilized around key issues and building a network of many different organizations and retaining the spirit of the 1992 National Convention. They focused on a struggle for institutional framework for gender mainstreaming which

resulted in the establishment of the National Gender Commission, a ministry in charge of women affairs, children and social services, a presidential directive for 30% women's representation in public service, establishment of women's fund and publication of the Sexual Offences Act.

Kabira (2012) argued that it was after the 1997 elections that Hon. Phoebe Asiyo, a woman member of parliament tabled the first motion on Affirmative Action for women's representation in elective positions. Her motion called for parliament to increase the number of women parliamentarians by 18 (eighteen), at least two from each of the 8 provinces of Kenya. This move by Asiyo brought women's organizations and leaders together. Moreso, it is the organizational energy and strategic decisions that the women made between 1997 and 2010 that gave birth to the second constitution of Kenya. The Affirmative Action motion was a landmark in the struggle for women's representation in parliament and other elective bodies. A powerful Women's movement was formed in 1997; named Kenya Women's Political Caucus (KWPC); and Hon. Asiyo was elected the chair of the Caucus. The caucus was to mobilize the women as individuals and organizations in the struggle for a new constitution and ensure 30 percent women's representation in elective and appointive bodies.

In the constitution of Kenya, 2010, women's participation in leadership and decision making was emphasized. The constitution through clauses in article 10 of Chapter 2 provides major reforms regarding the participation of both women and men in governance. This is in line with the objectives of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) particularly MDG 3 that promotes gender equality and women empowerment, and the Kenya Vision 2030 that envisages gender equality by 2030. On the other hand, women's organizations have an important role to play to have a common voice. Women need to organize themselves at grass-roots level, and form coalitions and alliances between different women's organizations to help build a broad-based movement at national level. These coalitions and alliances need to include political and socially conscious organizations across gender and class.

2.3 The History and Evolution of Civil Societies

Nzomo (2003) defined civil society as any other organization exclusive of family members and political parties. She acknowledged informal rural associations as part of the civil society. However, she noted that the role of civil society had evolved over time and their roles had distinctly increased.

On the other hand, Wanyande and Okebe (2009) asserted that civil societies are actors that are purpose driven for providing and defending value mechanisms rather than profit making mechanisms. They posit that the definition of the term civil society encompasses different meanings depending on the nature of the society or an interpretation that best suits an expert. According to Wanyande and Okebe (2009), the evolution of civil society in Kenya can be traced back to four distinct historical periods. The first period was in the pre-colonial times. The colonial government imposed a lot of rules and regulations on the people and their say did not matter a lot. It was in this period that a money market economy was introduced and the barter trade system was phased out. In this period, CSOs did not have a big impact and was largely a new concept in the society. Any indigenous associations in this period were considered to be a threat to the colonial government. Such associations included the Mau Mau association and the Nandi resistance. The second period was characterized by a lot of political awareness and marks a transitional period since many Africans were finding a means to fight and lobby for decolonization. It was in this period that the formation of trade unions, tribal associations and political parties are formed. These parties fought for decolonization as well as the formation of a democratic government.

The third transitional period came after Kenya gained independence and a new constitution describing the new state as a liberal democratic state. The trade unions and ethnic associations acquired the status of being CSOs after power became devolved in the three arms of government namely, the executive, the parliament and judiciary. These CSOs played the part of watchmen ensuring that power was not abused by its holders. It is however, important to note that in this period, Kenya was simply a one party state and some of these associations have been known to favor governments that seem friendly to

them. This factor was also made possible by the fact that the government feeling challenged especially by the Trade unions found a way to neutralize the threat by limiting the freedom of forming associations and unions. The last transitional period was in the multiparty era of Kenya, observable are the increasing number of CSOs in the state and the evolution of the media up to date enabled it to act as a CSO and to provide a platform for other CSOs to air our their concerns. Many external factors contributed to the growth of civil society in Kenya. Many CSOs got their funding from donors and well wishers who were not happy with the operations of the government. (Wanyande and Okebe 2009).

As earlier noted in the study, the roles of the civil society in areas such as, democratization, liberalization of the market and judiciary independence, had been extensively researched upon. However, little effort had been made to examine the role of CSOs in Kenya in empowering women to politically participate in the affairs of the state. Lopes (2008) stated that many CSOs in the Developed world have championed the active participation of women in politics but it was unfortunate that the problem continues to persist in the underdeveloped world especially in Africa.

2.4 The Role Played by CSOs in Promoting Women's Political Participation

According to Idembe and Musa (2011), the role of Civil Society Organizations is the respect, promotion of human rights and social justice. This is done when CSOs adopt practices and activities that promote human rights, such as the right to work with dignity, the right to have a decent job and the right to development and equity for all people regardless of sex or gender. This is very vital to women empowerment since it forms the basis to which to promote women in terms of their capability and strength. It is important that, CSOs empower people to voice out the opinions and secure their rights using holistic approaches. These approaches include; government accountability and its mandate to protect respect and fulfill rights for all people. In many democratic states such as Kenya, these rights are described as the rule of law.

Oxfam (2011) stated that CSOs are expected to accept and promote gender equality and equity in promoting girls' and women's rights. This could be achieved by supporting women's effort by encouraging them to realize their collective as well as individual rights. This forms the basis of empowerment. Gender equity and equality is achieved by CSOs in addressing the vulnerability and discrimination of women in the society expressed in heinous acts such as sexual exploitation and gender violence. By addressing these issues women are empowered and encouraged to actively participate in decision making, resource allocation and opportunities at all levels.

Another role of CSOs is the focus on democratic ownership and participation of all people. CSOs are mandated to empower people to participate in the democratic process and expand their ownership by developing democratic policies that affect their lives on a daily basis. As part of this process, CSOs are encouraged to be respectful of culture and traditions of individuals. This will enable them to be more receptive and be deemed as friends of the people. Democratic ownership is important to the poor and marginalized since it gives them the ability to claim their rights and shape other factors of their lives violent free (THE SIEM REAP CSO CONSENSUS , 2011).

Civil Society Organizations are expected to lead by example. That is why transparency and accountability reinforces the core value that lies beneath the concept of civil society. Public trust as well as the credibility and legitimacy of the CSO will be enhanced. The solidarity of the relationship between the CSOs and other stakeholders is then developed positively. This trait as well as role comes pertinent in funding related issues as well as reporting findings and the impartiality required when dealing with interested parties. The adaptation of the Paris declaration on aid effectiveness in 2005, researchers have questioned the role that CSOs play in funding women and the relationship between the donors and the CSOs (DAC Network on Gender Equality , 2008).

2.5 Activities undertaken by CSOs to Promote Women's Political Participation

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2003), noted that gender equity was the process of being fair to women and men. To ensure this fairness, measures must often be available to compensate for historical and political injustice that prevent women from operating on a leveled playing field with men. Exercise of equity leads to equality, implies that women and men enjoy the same status, have equal opportunities to contribute to political, economic, socio-cultural development of their nation, and benefit from results thereof.

Kamau (2010) stated that CSOs generally work to increase women's political participation by lobbying for law proposals, such as the gender-equality law and also working inside the parliament and with politicians to increase their knowledge and put forward questions on gender-equality. The women's organizations also have the continued challenge of coordination, of keeping the pressure on the Parliament, aiming to develop more and better mechanisms for women to participate in politics and to be represented in Parliament.

According to Brass and O'dell (2012), many of the CSOs provide leadership training for women. This becomes the starting point to build pro activity, vision and a sense of purpose. At the individual level, this would involve training of trainers and enabling the trained to run capacity building programs at the community level. Not only will this bolster confidence of the trained community member, but it will also be easier for communities to understand the often difficult concepts as the trained community member will be able to deliver in a local language. Institutional capacity building will include administrative funds to support dedicated office work and training of the staff in fund raising, financial and project management.

2.6 Challenges faced by CSOs in Promoting Women's Political Participation

According to the Office of the UNHCHR (2008), funding was one of the major challenges that civil societies face in general regardless of the specific objectives that the

CSOs might have. The United Nations Human Rights Commission funds most of its nongovernmental organizations that deal with human rights issues through its office, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). Funds and grants are a means of financing civil society organization that are at the grass roots and working with UNHCR to promote human rights. Some of the funds administered by the OHCHR include: The United Nations voluntary fund for victims of torture, The Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations, United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, United Nations Democracy Fund, and the United Nations Voluntary Fund on Disability. It is important to note that it is not a guarantee for civil societies to get funding from the OHCHR. This is due to the concept and values attached to the work of civil societies. It is important to note that the issue of funding has always been a subject of debate since it limits the function of the civil society. Many civil societies are left vulnerable or corruptible due to the lack of proper funding. In the Kenyan context, Wanyande and Okebe (2009) argued that not all CSOs make a benefitting contribution to the attempts of political transition. In Kenya, CSOs have been accused of working closely with conservative forces to limit political transition. Some of these actions by the CSOs are heightened by the funding factor. When it comes to the issue of women empowerment, CSOs have found it hard and cumbersome to come up with the proper funding to finance the activities required (Harcourt, 2011). Most of the funding acquired is for short term projects and not long term projects. This limits CSOs in dealing with issues regarding women empowerment.

The second major issue that often creates challenges for CSOs was the cultural limits and patriarchal ideology regarding the role of a woman. The role of the woman in the modern society differs very little with the ancient ideology. Lawless and Fox (2008), argued that many women have often found it hard to balance between a political career and raising a family. Ideology of the patriarchal system had constructed the role of men and women in the society. This is a hierarchy of gender where men are more privileged than women. This patriarchal ideology had greatly shaped the role of women as mothers and wives in the private arena of homes whereas men are allowed a role in the public sphere. According to Bari (2005), the role of women between the public and private life has often

created a barrier in the lives of women. Kamau (2010) asserted that Africa underlying structure of domination was patriarchal and it was assumed that bad leadership was male leadership while good leadership was female. However, women have often been sidelined as though they have existed outside the realm of the state. Consequently women have been viewed as objects not capable of defining their own destiny politically. This was controversial to the role that they have played in nationalistic struggle. The dynamic interaction between state and society had enhanced competing groups within civil society. The Kenyan, Kenya gained its independence from a nationalistic movement that was against the colonial government. This movement had women as its nationalistic heroines, since they led struggles against the colonial oppression. However even after independence, the patriarchal system of leadership was still inherited and the common belief that women do not make good political leaders was observed in the fact that for the first decade after independence women did not hold any political offices in the first government.

It is candid that the cultural influence about the role of women had been a major challenge in CSOs. The patriarchal culture was strongly embedded in the systems that even within the CSOs; women still faced a lot of hostility when it came to leadership. Harcourt (2011) observed that gender discrimination and subordination of women had remained an obstacle even within civil society organization. Women in the CSOs had often been pushed to handle issues regarding gender, education and health while other issues like trade and climate were left to the men. According to Nzomo (2003), the marginalization of women in political leadership and their continued exclusion from decision making positions was a product of history and the patriarchal structures in both the colonial and post-colonial state. She argued that gender disparities that exist in Kenya were due to deep-rooted patriarchal, socio-cultural, economic and political structures, and ideologies.

The lack of will and awareness of gender issues had played a major role in enhancing gender inequality. Harcourt (2011), argued that many countries were faced with limitations of freedom of expression, participation and movement. This was common in authoritative and totalitarian states. Lack of these freedoms directly interfered with the

promotion of women and advocacy of women rights. Consequently policies regarding women had been neglected. CSOs can also be denied access to information and resources. Governments have been known to deny information on policies, development initiatives and budgets. Donor terms and conditionality have also known to prevent CSOs on taking up issues that are gender inclined.

According to Lerner (1989), patriarchy was the prime obstacle to women's advancement and development. It was the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. He implied that men hold power in the important institutions of society hence women were deprived of access to such power. However to Lerner, this did not imply that women were totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources. Jagger and Rosenberg (1984), described patriarchy as the institutionalized system of male dominance. To them, patriarchal ideology exaggerated biological differences between men and women making certain that men always had the dominant or masculine roles and women always had the subordinate or feminine ones. This ideology was so powerful such that men were usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress. Millett (1977), added that the men dominate over women through institutions such as the church, and the family, each of which justified and reinforced women's subordination. Patriarchy which presupposes the natural superiority of male over female, upholds women's dependence on, and subordination to, man in all spheres of life. Consequently, all the power and authority within the family, the society and the state remain entirely in the hands of men. Hence, women are deprived of their legal rights and opportunities for example lack of access to resources and decision making in the society.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shows the relation between independent variable (role of Civil Society) and the dependent variable (participation of women in politics).

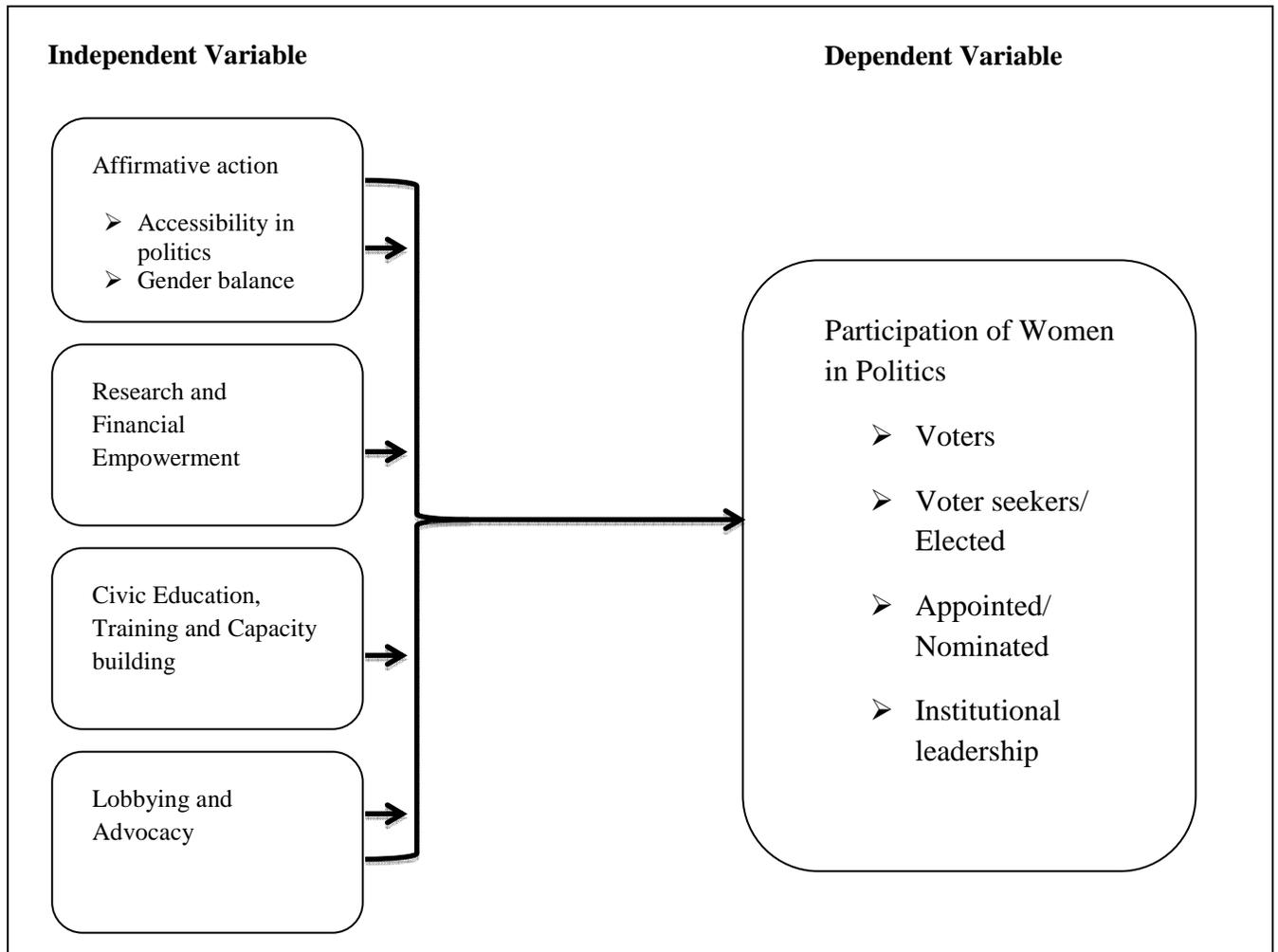


Figure 1.1 shows the role of civil society in promoting women participation in politics.

Affirmative action: Through implementation of an affirmative action, civil society organizations play a key role in promoting women participation in politics. Their support includes provision of managerial and entrepreneurial skills to all women especially those who are the most marginalized, such as indigenous women, to challenge their unequal status with men and to bring the issues of concern to them to the decision-making table.

Financial empowerment: Civil society organizations promote women participation in politics through provision of funds and subsidized interest rates. This is because economic empowerment could ease corruption and violence; promote greater environmental sustainability for women hence enabling them to gain full accessibility to various positions in leadership.

Civic education: The civil society organizations recognize the vital importance of civic education and training as a main aspect of women security and as a means to empower them realize their potentiality to participate in politics.

Women lobbying: Civil society organizations play a key role in promoting accountability by counteracting various patriarchal decisions passed against women. They do so by sending letters and calling the people in authority so as to fight for women to up some political positions hence promoting women participation in politics.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the study describes the research site, target population, sampling procedures, identifies sources of data, and provides details of data collection techniques and data analysis procedures.

3.1 Research Site

The study was undertaken in Nairobi. The research site comprised of selected CSOs whose mission focuses on building capacities of women for political participation in Kenya. All the target organizations and institutions are headquartered in Nairobi but their work with women is spread throughout Kenya. The study targeted the headquarters in Nairobi because the organizations' records and the plans for major activities are kept at the headquarters.

3.2 Target Population

These are organizations and institutions that work with women to prepare them for political participation. These included: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UN Women successor of United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV), Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW), Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya (FIDA KENYA) and Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO). A brief description of the mandates of the CSOs is provided in table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: A list of CSOs, their mission and activities

Name of the CSO	Mission	Actual Activities
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)	Gender equality and women's empowerment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinates global and national efforts to integrate gender equality and women. • Gender empowerment for democratic governance.
UN Women / United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)	Promotes economic and political empowerment of women in developing countries.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programs and strategies that promote economic security and political participation • Links with other women's organizations.
League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV)	Promoting participation of women in leadership and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Civic education on voting • Electoral monitoring • creating awareness on human and legal rights.
Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW)	Commitment to confront the low awareness of women's real needs and rights in society.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using different forms of media to create awareness of women's rights.
Federation of Women Lawyers- Kenya (FIDA KENYA)	To ensure a just society that is free from all forms of discrimination against women.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offering quality legal services to women. • creating awareness on gender and legal rights. • conducting community based human rights monitoring, lobbying and advocating for reform of laws and policies that protect women's rights.
Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYWO)	To nurture and empower women through capacity building interventions that promote women's rights, sustainable livelihoods and political standing in the Kenya.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnering with donors, like-minded organizations so as to train women on leadership skills at all community levels, and civic education.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling was the preferred technique for this study. This is because the study was interested in those organizations that undertake capacity building activities, carry out lobbying campaigns, and collaborates in funding such activities and those that have records of women's participation. Once the organizations had been identified, the respondents within the organizations were also selected purposively. This is because the study was interested in those individuals who have official capacity to respond to questions on behalf of the organization, and these individuals should at least have been involved in the organization's activities.

3.4 Sources of Data

The study used two sources of data: primary and secondary sources. For the primary data, questionnaires were administered to individual office holders in the selected CSOs, who by virtue of their official responsibilities could respond to questions on behalf of their organizations. The questionnaire consisted of both open-ended and closed ended questions. The open ended questions allowed the respondents to tell their views on issues raised. On the other hand, close-ended questions helped the respondents answer the questions by choosing the best alternative response. The secondary data was obtained from books, research articles, internet sources, and annual reports of the CSOs guided by the study's research question.

3.5 Data Collection

In data collection, the questionnaire was administered via email and on face-to-face basis. This involved scheduling a mutually convenient time. Interview also helped probe deeply to obtain information that may not have been revealed and responses were recorded using field-note book. On average each interview lasted an hour. The questionnaire consisted of sections A, B, C and D. Section A solicited information on the demographics. Sections B, C and D focused on each objectives of the study respectively. Questions in Section B focused on the main objective that sought to examine the role of CSOs in promoting participation of women in Kenyan politics between 2008-2012. Section C focused on the

activities undertaken by CSOs in promoting women's political participation in Kenya, and finally section D focused on the challenges that CSOs face while promoting women's political participation in Kenya. For each of the sections, open ended questions were included to solicit detailed information during interviews. This created an opportunity to establish rapport, explained the purpose of the study and explained the meaning of the items that may not be clear.

3.6 Data analysis

The data collected was coded and fed into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program for analysis as descriptive statistics in form of frequency tables and percentages.

3.7 Chapter Outline

The study was organized into five chapters. Chapter one included the background to the study, statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives of the study, justification of the study, scope and limitations of the study, and definition of concepts. Chapter two presented the review of scholarly articles; which are categorized according to the objectives of the study; and a conceptual framework on the role of CSOs is provided. Chapter three presented data collection activities that included research site, target population, sampling techniques, sources of data, data collection and data analysis procedures. Chapter four presented the findings of the study. Chapter five presented summary and discussion of the findings, conclusion and recommendations arising from the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presented findings of the study analyzed and interpreted in line with the study objectives. The findings were presented in form of tables showing frequencies and percentages.

4.2 Questionnaire response rate

The study used questionnaires as a tool for data collection. The researcher targeted 6 civil society organizations where a total of six copies of questionnaire were handed out to official custodians of information with the ability to respond on behalf of their organizations. The six respondents of the self-administered questionnaire were able to respond to the questionnaire and returned the copies. This represents a response rate of 100%.

4.3 Demographic Characteristics

As part of the demographic information, the research requested the respondents to indicate their sex, age bracket and formal education level.

Table 4.3.1: Sex of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Male	2	33.3	33.3
Female	4	66.7	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

On the sex of the respondents, the study found that 66.7% of the respondents were female while males formed 33.3% of the respondents. This shows that most of the officials in the CSOs were female.

Table 4.3.2: Age bracket of the respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
21-30	3	50.0	50.0
31-40	1	16.7	66.7
41-50	2	33.3	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

According to Table 4.3.2 and in order of percentage, 50.0% of the respondents were aged between 21 - 30 years, 33.3% were aged between 41 – 50 years while those aged between 31 - 40 years were 16.7%. From these findings we can deduce that majority of the officials were young adults.

Table 4.3.3: Level of formal education attained

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Diploma	1	16.7	16.7
Degree	2	33.3	50.0
Masters	3	50.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

Majority of the respondents (83.3%) had university level of education while the rest had college level education. This indicates that the majority of the respondents had university education.

4.4 Role of Civil Society Organizations in promoting women’s political participation

The study sought to examine the role of civil society organizations in promoting women’s political participation. The results of the opinion of the respondents were presented in Table 4.4.1 to Table 4.4.7.

The respondents were asked to indicate the role played by their organizations in promoting women’s political participation between 2008-2012. The responses were presented in Table 4.4.1

Table 4.4.1: Role in promoting women’s political participation between 2008-2012

	Frequency	Percentage
Capacity building	4	66.7
Lobbying for women key position	1	16.7
Supporting visibility forums for women candidates	1	16.7
Total	6	100.0

The researcher requested the respondents to indicate their organizations role in promoting women’s political participation between 2008-2012. Majority of the respondents (66.7%) indicated that their organization’s role was capacity building. Other roles indicated by CSOs included lobbying for women for key positions and supporting visibility forums for women candidates both indicated by 16.7%.

Using a likert scale (**Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree**), the respondents were asked questions regarding the role of civil society. The data collected was tabulated in Table 4.4.2 to Table 4.4.6

Table 4.4.2: The role of civil society is to advocate for gender equality

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Strongly agree	6	100.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

All officials (100%) agreed that the role of civil society was to advocate for gender equality. This indicates that civil society advocates for gender equality in the projects they undertake as key to achieving their missions.

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the role of civil society was to increase women’s participation in all decision making organs. The responses are shown in Table 4.4.3.

Table 4.4.3: The role of civil society is to increase women’s participation in all decision making organs

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	3	50.0	50.0
Strongly agree	3	50.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

All officials (100%) agreed that the role of civil society was to increase women’s participation in all decision making organs. This indicated that civil society activities aim to increase women participation in all decision making organs.

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the role of civil society was to increase women’s representation in parliament. The responses are shown in Table 4.4.4.

Table 4.4.4: The role of civil society is to increase women’s representation in parliament

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Disagree	1	16.7	16.7
Agree	2	33.3	50.0
Strongly agree	3	50.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

Majority of the officials (83.3%) agreed that the role of civil society was to increase women’s representation in parliament. This indicates that civil society aims to increase women representation in parliament. However, 16.7% disagreed that their role was to increase women’s representation.

Respondents were asked to indicate on a likert scale whether the role of civil society was to increase women’s participation in politics. The responses are shown on Table 4.4.5.

Table 4.4.5: The role of civil society is to increase women’s participation in politics

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	1	16.7	16.7
Strongly agree	5	83.3	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

All officials (100%) agreed that the role of civil society was to increase women’s participation in politics. This indicates the critical role of civil society in ensuring that women participate in politics.

Table 4.4.6: The role of civil society is to advocate for women’s rights in the society (cultural context)

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	1	16.7	16.7
Strongly agree	5	83.3	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

The study inquired on the role of civil society to advocate for women’s rights in the society. From the findings, all the respondents (100%) felt that the role of the civil society was to advocate for women’s rights in the society. This indicates advocacy as key activity of civil society.

The study further sought to find out other roles of civil society.

Table 4.4.7: Other roles of civil society

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Lobbying	1	16.7	16.7
Accountability	1	16.7	33.3
Advocacy	2	33.3	66.7
Awareness creation	2	33.3	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

As is clear from Table 4.4.7, the major roles of civil society include advocacy and awareness creation both indicated by 33.3%. Other roles of civil society include lobbying and enhancing accountability.

4.5 Activities of civil society organizations promoting women’s political participation

The study further sought to establish the activities undertaken to promote political participation of women in Kenya.

Table 4.5.1: Activities promoting women’s political participation

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Advocacy and lobbying	2	33.3	33.3
Research publication	1	16.7	50.0
Awareness creation	2	50.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

From Table 4.5.1, majority of the respondents (50%) indicated that awareness creation promoted women’s political participation. Other activities shown to promote women’s political participation include advocacy and lobbying and research publication indicated by 33.3%, and 16.7% respectively.

The respondents were also requested to indicate the extent to which activities have promoted women’s political participation.

Table 4.5.2: Extent activities promote women’s political participation

	Best		Good		Fair		Poor	
	Percent	(f)	Percent	(%)	Percent	(f)	Percent	(%)
Lobbying and advocacy		4	66.7	2	33.3	-	-	--
Capacity building		6	100.0	-	-	-	-	--
Research and publication		2	33.3	-	-	4	66.7	--
Peace and reconciliation		1	16.7	2	33.3	2	33.3	116.7
Civic education		3	50.0	3	50.0	-	-	--
Awareness creation		4	66.7	2	33.3	-	-	--
Entrepreneurship development		1	16.7	2	33.3	1	16.7	233.3
Networking and alliance building		4	66.7	1	16.7	1	16.7	--
Technical training		3	50.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	--

According to findings in Table 4.5.2, the activities that best promote women’s political participation include capacity building (100%), lobbying and advocacy (66.7%), technical training (50%), awareness creation (66.7%), civic education (50%) and networking and alliance building (66.7%). Moderate activities that promote women’s political participation include research and publication and peace and reconciliation shown by 66.7% and 33.3% respectively. Entrepreneurship has poorly promoted women’s political participation as indicated by 33.3%.

The study further sought to find out other activities CSOs undertake to promote women’s political participation in Kenya.

Table 4.5.3: Other activities CSOs undertake to promote political participation in Kenya

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Funding women aspirants	1	16.7	16.7
Capacity building	1	16.7	33.3
Advocacy and lobbying	3	50.0	83.3
Women economic empowerment	1	16.7	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

From the findings, majority of CSOs (50%) undertake advocacy and lobbying. Other activities undertaken include funding of women aspirants, capacity building and women economic empowerment all indicated by 16.7%.

4.6 Challenges Civil Society Organizations face in promoting women’s political participation

The study sought to examine challenges faced by civil society organizations in promoting women’s political participation. The results of the opinion of the respondents are presented in Table 4.6.1 to Table 4.6.7.

Table 4.6.1: Challenges organizations face in promoting women’s political participation

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Lack of sufficient funds	4	66.7	66.7
Culture	2	33.3	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

As is clear from Table 4.6.1, majority of the respondents (66.7%) indicated that the greatest challenge CSOs face in promoting women’s political participation is the lack of sufficient funds. Another challenge faced is culture especially patriarchy.

Using the likert scale (**Agree A, Undecided U, Disagree D**), respondents were asked questions regarding the challenges CSOs face in promoting women’s political participation. The responses are presented in Table 4.6.2 to Table 4.6.6

Table 4.6.2: Lack of funds

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	6	100.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

From the findings, all the respondents (100%) felt that the lack of funds is a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. This indicates the need to address this challenge by securing sustainable funding for NGOs.

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether administrative inefficiency was a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.3.

Table 4.6.3: Administrative inefficiency

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Disagree	1	16.7	16.7
Undecided	4	66.7	83.3
Agree	1	16.7	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

According to the findings in Table 4.6.3, majority of the respondents (66.7%) were undecided as to whether administrative inefficiency is a challenge.

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether political interference was a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.4.

Table 4.6.4: Political Interference

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	6	100.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

From the findings, all the respondents (100%) felt that political interference is a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. This indicates that the political environment plays a critical role in activity implementation.

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether donor conditionalities are a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.5.

Table 4.6.5: Donor conditionalities

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Agree	6	100.0	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

All the respondents (100%) felt that donor conditionalities are a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. This indicates that CSO programmes to some extent were dictated by conditions given by the donor.

In addition, respondents were asked to indicate whether competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities is a challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.6.

Table 4.6.6: Competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative percentage
Disagree	1	16.7	16.7
Undecided	1	16.7	33.3
Agree	4	66.7	100.0
Total	6	100.0	

A majority of the respondents (66.7%) agreed that competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities is a challenge in promoting women political participation. Furthermore, 16.7% disagreed with this statement while 16.7% agreed.

Respondents were also asked to indicate other challenges CSOs face in promoting women political participation. The responses are indicated in Table 4.6.7.

Table 4.6.7: Other challenges CSOs face in promoting women’s political participation

	Frequency	Percent
Culture	3	50.0
Overwhelming family responsibilities	1	16.7
Illiteracy	2	33.3
Total	6	100.0

A majority of the respondents (50%) agreed that culture is another challenge CSOs face in promoting women political participation. Other challenges include illiteracy shown by 33.3% and overwhelming family responsibilities indicated by 16.7% respondents.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher discussed the findings of the study as complimented by the findings from literature review against the conceptual framework. In each case the researcher briefly stated the findings and the general implications they have on role of Civil Society Organizations on women's political participation in Kenya (2008-2012). At the end of the chapter, the researcher drew conclusions based on the research objectives, stated recommendations and highlighted areas of further research.

5.2 Summary of findings

This study was conducted with the aim of identifying the role of civil society organizations on women's political participation in Kenya (2008-2012). The role of civil society organizations on women's political participation was assessed using two key indicators, which were, activities undertaken by CSOs and the challenges that CSOs face.

5.2.1 Role of Civil Society Organizations in promoting women's political participation

The study sought to examine the role of civil society organizations in promoting women's political participation. The findings show that the roles of CSOs include: capacity building (66.7%), advocacy (33.3%), awareness creation (33.3%), lobbying for women for key positions (16.7%), supporting visibility forums for women candidates (16.7%), and enhancing accountability (16.7%).

Based on the responses on the extent of agreement with statements on the role of civil society, 100% agreed that CSOs advocate for gender equality, 100% felt that CSOs increase women's participation in all decision making organs, 83.3% agreed that civil society increase women's representation in parliament, 100% agreed that civil society increase women's participation in politics and 100% felt that civil society to advocate for women's rights in the society.

5.2.2 Activities undertaken by Civil Society Organizations

Based on the responses, most of the CSOs indicated that the activities that best promote women's political participation include capacity building (100%), lobbying and advocacy (66.7%), technical training (50%), awareness creation (66.7%), civic education (50%) and networking and alliance building (66.7%) while moderate activities included research and publication, peace and reconciliation shown by 66.7% and 33.3% respectively. Entrepreneurship has poorly promoted women's political participation as indicated by 33.3%. Other activities shown to promote women's political participation include awareness creation, advocacy and lobbying, research publication, funding of women aspirants, and women economic empowerment indicated by 50.0%, 33.3%, 16.7%, 16.7% and 16.7% respectively.

5.2.3 Challenges Civil Society Organizations face

The respondents agreed that the challenges CSOs faced in promoting women's political participation include the lack of funds, political interference, donor conditionalities, competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities and administrative inefficiency indicated by 100%, 100%, 100%, 66.7% and 16.7% respectively. Other challenges CSOs face in promoting women's political participation is the lack of sufficient funds, culture especially patriarchy, illiteracy, and overwhelming family responsibilities shown by 66.7%, 50.0% , 33.3% and 16.7% respectively.

5.3 Discussion of the findings

This study sought to determine the role of Civil Society Organizations on women's political participation in Kenya (2008-2012). The results were discussed in relation to the existing literature on findings of related studies.

5.3.1 The Role Played by Civil Society Organizations

Based on the study, findings show that the roles of CSOs include: capacity building, advocacy, awareness creation, lobbying for women for key positions, supporting visibility forums for women candidates, and enhancing accountability. These findings

obey the views of Idembe and Musa (2011), that the role of Civil Society Organizations is the respect, promotion of human rights and social justice through adopting practices and activities that promote human rights, such as the right to work with dignity, the right to have a decent job and the right to development and equity for all people regardless of sex or gender. In addition, Oxfam (2011) states that CSOs are expected to accept and promote gender equality and equity in promoting girls' and women's rights. By addressing these issues women are empowered and encouraged to actively participate in decision making, resource allocation and opportunities at all levels.

There was agreement that that the role of CSOs include: to advocate for gender equality, increase women's participation in all decision making organs, increase women's representation in parliament, increase women's participation in politics and to advocate for women's rights in the society. According to The Siem Reap CSO Consensus (2011), CSOs are mandated to empower people to participate in the democratic process and expand their ownership by developing democratic policies that affect their lives on a daily basis. Furthermore, DAC Network on Gender Equality (2008), argues that civil society organizations are expected to lead by example and that is why transparency and accountability reinforces the core value that lies beneath the concept of civil society.

5.3.2 Activities undertaken by Civil Society Organizations

The study revealed that CSO activities that best promote women's political participation include capacity building, lobbying and advocacy, awareness creation, civic education, technical training, networking and alliance building. Kamau (2010) argues that CSOs generally work to increase women's political participation by lobbying for law proposals, such as the gender-equality law and also working inside parliament with politicians to increase their knowledge and put forward questions on gender equality. Furthermore, Brass and O'dell (2012) state that many of the CSOs provide leadership training for women. This becomes the starting point to build pro activity, vision and a sense of purpose. At the individual level, this would involve training of trainers and enabling the trained to run capacity building programs at the community level. Institutional capacity

building will include administrative funds to support dedicated office work and training of the staff in fund raising, financial and project management.

5.3.3 Challenges faced by Civil Society Organizations

The findings show that the challenges CSOs face in promoting women's political participation include the lack of funds, political interference, donor conditionalities, competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities, administrative inefficiency, lack of sufficient funds, culture especially patriarchy, illiteracy, and overwhelming family responsibilities. According to the Office of the UNHCHR (2008), funding is one of the major challenges that civil societies face in general regardless of the specific objectives that the CSOs might have. As a result many civil societies are left vulnerable or corruptible due to the lack of proper funding. Furthermore, Harcourt (2011) argues that when it comes to the issue of women empowerment, CSOs have found it hard and cumbersome to come up with the proper funding to finance the activities required.

Another challenge highlighted is the culture and patriarchal ideology regarding the role of a woman. Lawless and Fox (2008), argue that many women have often found it hard to balance between a political career and raising a family while Bari (2005), avers that the role of women between the public and private life has often created a barrier in the lives of women. Kamau (2010), asserts that Africa underlying structure of domination is patriarchal thus women have been viewed as objects not capable of defining their own destiny politically. Harcourt (2011) observes that gender discrimination and subordination of women has remained an obstacle even within civil society organizations. According to Nzomo (2003), the marginalization of women in political leadership and their continued exclusion from decision making positions is a product of a history and the patriarchal structures in both the colonial and post-colonial state.

According to Lerner (1989), patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women's advancement and development. He implied that men hold power in the important institutions of society hence women are deprived of access to such power. The study findings highlighted donor conditionalities as another challenge faced by CSOs in promoting women's political

participation. Harcourt (2011), argues that donor terms and conditionalities are also known to prevent CSOs on taking up issues that are gender inclined.

5.4 Conclusion

The role of civil society organizations is very important to the success of political participation of women. Civil society must be involved considering their interests and participation is geared towards women's rights. Civil society plays a significant role of advocating for gender equality and women's rights in the society while seeking to increase women's participation in all decision making organs, women's representation in parliament and level of participation in politics.

The range of activities undertaken by CSOs was satisfactory given that it was agreed they best promote women's political participation. However, challenges faced such as the lack of funds, administrative inefficiency, political interference, donor conditionalities and competition among organizations for donor funding influence project activity success. Therefore, CSOs need to overcome these challenges in order to support women political participation.

5.5 Recommendations

This study realized important findings on role of civil society organizations that have a lot of influence on women's political participation. Based on the findings drawn, the following recommendations were given for improvement of the situations realized through this study.

1. There is need for improved CSO funding. This should entail alternative sources of funds such as loans for long term project implementation which will allow for improved project activity.
2. There is need for CSOs to educate the public and politicians on their roles to avoid political interference. This should include capacity building communities, development agencies and the government.

3. CSOs should set up programmes from which projects can be derived. This should then be used for fundraising. Fundraising should only be based on those areas that have been proposed by these CSOs.
4. CSOs should network with stakeholders with whom they share the same interests. This should include holding joint activities for projects sharing the same outcome.

5.6 Suggestions for further research

This study had contributed to the body of knowledge on the participation of women in politics. The following area was suggested for further research:

- 1.) The role of devolved systems of governance on participation of women in politics.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX1. Introduction Letter

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at The University of Nairobi (UoN) pursuing a Masters of Arts degree in International Relations. I am undertaking a research study on the role of Civil Society Organizations on women’s political participation (2008-2012). Your responses will be used for research purpose only and your identity kept confidential. You are kindly requested to sincerely respond to the items on the questionnaire.

Your assistance is highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Teresia Mwikali Kieti.

NAMES (optional)

.....

ORGANIZATION

.....

STAMP

APPENDIX 2. QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A: Demographic Characteristics

1. Sex

- a) Male
- b) Female

2. Age

- a) 21-30
- b) 31-40
- c) 41-50
- d) 51- above

3. Level of formal education attained

- a) Diploma
- b) Degree
- c) Masters
- d) Phd
- e) Other

Section B: Examining the role of Civil Society Organizations in promoting women's political participation

3a. What role has your organization played in promoting women's political participation between 2008-2012?

3b. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement on the role of civil society.

	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	The role of Civil society is to advocate for gender equality.					
2	The role of Civil society is to increase women's participation in all decision making organs.					
3	The role of Civil society is to increase women's representation in parliament.					
4	The role of Civil society is to increase women's participation in politics.					
5	The role of civil society is to advocate for women's rights in the society (cultural context).					

3c. What other roles of civil society do you know?

Section C: Examining the activities undertaken by Civil Society Organizations in promoting women’s political participation

4a. What are the main activities that your organization has undertaken to promote political participation of women in Kenya?

4b. To what extent do you think the following activities have promoted women’s political participation?

No.	Activities	Best	Good	Fair	Poor	None
1	Lobbying and advocacy					
2	Capacity building					
3	Research and publication					
4	Peace and reconciliation					
5	Civic education					
6	Awareness creation					
7	Entrepreneurship development					
8	Networking and Alliance building					
9	Technical training					

4c. What other activities do CSOs undertake to promote women’s political participation in Kenya.

Section D: Examining the challenges Civil Society Organizations face in promoting women’s political participation

5a. What challenges has your organization faced in promoting women’s political participation?

5b. Indicate whether you Agree (A), Undecided (U) or Disagree (D) with the following as some of the challenges CSOs face in promoting women political participation.

No.	Challenges	A	U	D
1	Lack of funds			
2	Administrative inefficiency			
3	Political interference			
4	Donor conditionalites			
5	Competition among organizations for donor funding in project activities			

5c. What other challenges in your opinion do CSOs face in promoting women’s political participation?_____
