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CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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DEDICATION

I'd like to dedicate this research piece to my parents: Dorice Aol Otieno and Boaz Otieno. They have been very instrumental in my education and molding me to be the person I am. My mother, for always encouraging me and my father for telling me that I was never too young to achieve success. It is the energy and motivation that counts and not the years of experience.

DECLARATION

I'd like to declare that this paper is my original work. I have not presented it for a degree in any other university

Winnie Awuor Otieno   **Date**

Prof. Maria Nzomo   **Date**

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ABSTRACT

Women's role in governance has for a long time been downplayed not only in Africa but in the world. Women are viewed as second class citizens who's role in the society is to accept the status quo and obey their male counterparts. They have been taught that it is in the men's place to be right. That they are the ones who make the laws, implement them and punish whoever is acting contradictory to the law and for the women to be the foot-soldier and only obey as their told.

Women have not been taken seriously when it comes to governance with some having to force their way so that their voices are heard. Some of these women have taken on advocacy roles so that they improve the environment for future generations.

Women face a number of challenges when participating in political sphere. They lack the proper knowledge with which to make informed decisions, patriarchal norms which always serve to oppress the women and lack of proper means to access power. Over the years women and more so women in Kenya have overcome such adversaries to take part in the country's politics.

While there is still a long way to go, great strides have been made from when the country gained independence to date. It is however important to evaluate ourselves (the country) at every milestone and determine if that is where we want to be and if not what should we have in place in order to have the desired goals.

Despite the hurdles that women face, they have had tremendous impact in the country's governance where they have been actively involved. It has been proven that an all-inclusive participation in the society is the right way to go in as far as governance is concerned. The only thing that varies from country to country is the political will to make this a reality.

CHAPTER ONE

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA

1.0 Background of The Study

Overwhelming evidence has proven that politics remains primarily a male dominated affair. A closer look at political matrix of many countries will show that political participation is dominated by men.[1] This evidence is not geographically or culturally distinct but extends the world over. In Africa for instance owing to a large extent to tradition, women are continually considered as minors and second-rate beings to men.[2] While some analysts may argue that no one is barred from political participation and that politics is an even field for all who care to join regardless of gender and social status, the structural basis for participation does not suggest so. This is especially so when it comes to holding elected public offices. It has to be however noted that while holding public office is considered to be the epitome of political participation it's not the only way, other forms of political activity exist which shape domestic political climate.

Governance deals with the decision making process and focuses on which decisions are implemented and or which do not.[3] It is one of mankind's oldest activity, it therefore pervades all areas of social life. It will exist where people assemble with accomplishment of a specific objective. In addition to decision making, governance has other dimensions including accountability and authority. While it may be taken for granted, governance exists not only in governments but also in other entities including corporations, NGOs international organizations, cooperatives, religious groups, the military and political parties. Nationally, it is carried out through structures which tend to be biased towards patriarchal values which has seen women largely excluded from the process.

While liberal thought has flourished in the aftermath of the collapse of Berlin wall, political participation among some groups has not. It can be argued that this is a paradox since liberal cultures

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[1] Aswath Komath, International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics, the Patriarchal Barrier to Women in Politics http://iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/opinion-pieces/patriarchal-barrier-women-politics(link is external)   Accessed July 26, 2015
[2] Ebeku, Kaniye SA. "African women and participation in public life and governance: relevant laws and overview of recent experience." *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 38, no. 1 (2005): 56-77 p. 56
[3] United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, What is Good Governance? http://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/good-governance.pdf ,p. 1

explicitly value democracy and equality which are thought to favor political participation. Though it is ridiculous to expect everyone in a democratic society to run for political office, at least both men and women should have the chance to effectively do so, similarly all those who qualify to vote should likewise take up this duty and in significant numbers. Citizen's participation in giving mandate to the people who run the government is vitally important since the government is meant to serve them.

Political participation is generally thought of as any activity under taken by people with the aim of shaping, affecting or involving the political sphere. The United Nations (UN) Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE) defines political participation as more than just the electoral process participation, it subsumes freedom of speech, assembly and association, ability to partake in public affair conduct, chance to register as an aspirant or a candidate, opportunity to campaign, opportunity to be elected and to hold office at any government level.[4] This wide definition encompasses a lot of things which are taken for granted. Some people equate political participation to the electoral process and thus fail to capture other equally significant activities like holding protests and participation in volunteer activities and local board meetings. According to Conway[5] political participation refers to citizen's activities which seek to influence government's structure, selection of government authorities or government's policies. This definition lays particular emphasis to the government structure and policies and the people involvement in the two. It highlights the centrality of citizen's perception of the remoteness or lack thereof of governments. Rosenstone sees political participation as entailing actions that in one way or the other effect dissemination of social goods and values.[6] Citizens choose their representatives who hold public office through the ballot, the representatives make policies that inevitably determine tax levels and who gets social program benefits. Citizens have other ways of participating in politics, they can become members of organizations that either work with bureaucrats or influence them directly.

Holding public debates, a form of political participation is vitally important in bridging communication between electorates and government officials.[7] Such debates can either support public office holders in their stands and policy orientations or can challenge officials to change them. They are most effective in open democratic societies where people exercise a high degree of free speech by expressing their views. More closed political systems discourage this kind of behavior and even use force

[4] United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/publication/Chapter3.htm Accessed June 8, 2015
[5] Conway, M. Margaret. Political Participation in the United States, (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 3rd. ed., 2000)p.3
[6] Steven J. Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1993) 1-20
[7] Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (1995)

to ensure that government's actions and policies are not questioned. Inevitably, the level of participation in politics depends on some factors like demography and social organization.

It can however be noted that comparative political activity exhibits differences associated with level of development, culture and duration of exposure to liberal values like democracy. In terms of development, the western countries of Western Europe and North America show stable democratization and more comprehensive political participation. Developing countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America Asia and Africa are characterized by exclusionary political activity and heightened tension in the relations among the different social groups.

Among the chief concerns of many scholars and policy makers is the marked absence of some groups in the political sphere. The overarching observation is that political representation exhibits bias towards the elite stratum of all societies, legislative assemblies are grossly unrepresentative of minority ethnic groups and women.[8] Even in the most democratic states, this observation holds true. Women and minority groups are observed to be especially missing in political participation across the world. It is vital that all groups are well represented, this way, their representatives can best articulate their unique needs which may be overlooked or deemed less significant relative to the needs of the majority groups. Though prevalent globally, this problem is deeply entrenched in Africa. In Kenya for example the first Somali woman to contest for a parliamentary seat was in 1997, decades after the country became independent in 1963.[9]

As stated, this picture is painted elsewhere in the globe with multiple similarities. Though expected to be the most politically active societies, western democracies still grapple with political participation. The United States (US) political participation is still wanting in terms of who gets to hold public office. Only a specific section of US citizenry can effectually run and gain elected office, this group is predominantly white males.[10] In 2001 women accounted for a mere 13% in US Senate, 13.6% in US House of Representative, nationally they composed 22.3% of state legislators, at city level, in 2000 women served as mayors in 19 out of 100 largest cities and 20% of cities with populations over 30,000 dire as it the statistics may suggest, this compared to the 1970s is remarkable improvement.[11] While the United States (US) Constitution Nineteenth Amendment of 1920 recognized women's suffrage

[8] Bird Karen, The Political Representation of Women and Ethnic Minorities in Established Democracies,: A framework for Comparative Research (2003) p. 2-32

[9] Noor, Sophia Abdi, Challenges Facing Minority Women in Political Participation and their Solutions: p. 1-14

[10]Conway, M. Margaret. "Women and political participation." *Political science & politics* 34, no. 02 (2001): 231-233.

[11] See data from Center for American Women and Politics, for years 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2000

nationally, it wasn't until 1980 when women political participation equaled that of men. This can point to other non-legal factors including social cultural determinants that underlie women political activity.

The Asia pacific region has taken measures to ensure women's political participation and all of them with the exception of Democratic Republic of Korea, Palau and Tonga have either ratified or acceded to The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).[12] South East Asia represents some hope of women inclusion in politics despite its many stereotypes and prejudices against women, the region has made tremendous gains in women inclusion in politics. It emerged as the first region in the world to vote women in the highest offices in the world, a number of countries in the region have equality measures and an active feminist network.[13]

Africa has made significant strides in general and the leading country in terms of percentage of women ratio in parliament is Rwanda which claimed the top position in 2003, women account for 64% of legislature seats.[14] Other significant gains have been observed in South Africa, Senegal and Seychelles which by 2013 had in excess of 40% women representation in parliament. Other notable countries are Uganda, Mozambique and Tanzania where women accounted for more than 35% in parliament. It is also important to state that most African states are also members to CEDAW. The impressive numbers highlighted here are an exception to the rule and do not reflect the situation in the majority of African countries. For instance, there has been heated debate in Kenya in the last few weeks to abolish the office of women representatives which is enshrined in Kenya's new constitution. Legal provisions it is evident does not necessarily change public and political perceptions in favor of women. Women are yet to be elected in the top office in Africa. As at January 2015, women accounted for only 22.2% of parliamentarians in sub Saharan Africa.[15]

The Middle East has perhaps one of the lowest rates of women participation in the world. The culture of most Middle Eastern states is vastly traditional and is based on centuries old traditions. While the rest of the world is busy making headway towards more inclusive polities, the Middle East continues to marginalize some groups in society. Repressive governments in the region have for the longest time

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[12]True, Jacqui, Sara Niner, Swati Parashar, and Nicole George. "Women's Political Participation in Asia and the Pacific." (2013), p. 5
CEDAW was adopted by the United Nations Assembly in 1979

[13]Labani, Sepideh, Carla Zabaleta Kaehler, and Paula De Dios Ruiz. *Gender Analysis of Women's Political Participation in 7 South-East Asian Countries: Bangladesh, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, East Timor and Vietnam 2008-2009: Regional Gender Programme in South-East Asia-Stage II.* Association for women's rights in development (AWID), 2009, p. 9

[14] Mari Aili, Democracy in Africa, Women and Politics in Africa Today http://democracyinafrica.org/women-politics-africa-today/. Accessed May 28, 2015

[15]Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women, "Women in Politics: 2015" http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:eTASE7Etf-sJ:www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation/facts-and-figures+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk#sthash.dIKf8v7Z.dpuf may 25, 2015

taken measures to deny Islamist parties, women and other minorities based on religion opportunities to participate more fully in politics.[16]

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Political participation aims to enhance representation of the population in the governance of society or nation. In the modern state, political participation is encouraged as its vibrancy represents legitimacy of regimes and maintains social order and status quo as people are able to articulate their concerns and choices to political elites who accordingly respond. Most constitutions worldwide provide for equality of rights between women and men including the right to participate in politics and governance. The inclusion of the rights of women to universal suffrage in the past 100 years has opened doorways for significant women's participation in political activity. Today most countries recognize the role that women play in shaping policy and many states have ratified or signed international conventions that provide women's rights and welfare.

While the above is true, there remains stark inequality between men and women political participation in virtually all societies of the world. Governance and politics remains dominated by masculinity and patriarchal values that limit women participation and effectiveness when they enter political office. This is especially so in Africa where patriarchal values are deeply embedded in the governance. This study's research problem is the persistence of women's marginality in politics both numerically and in capacity to effectively influence decision making. In this regard, the study seeks to answer the following questions.

1. What is the role of women in shaping Africa's political environment?
2. What is the effect of patriarchal values in determining women's entry and effective participation in governance and politics?
3. What is the nature of political parties' structure and what role do they play in hindering or advancing women's participation in governance and politics in Kenya?

1.3 OBJECTIVES

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[16] Nabeel Yasin, World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous People http://www.minorityrights.org/3576/middle-east-overview/overview-of-middle-east.html#top   Accessed June 12, 2015

1.3.1 Overall Objective

To assess women's political participation in Africa

1.3.2 Other Objectives

i. To review and establish the role of women in shaping Africa's political environment/level of political engagement in Africa.

ii. To determine the role of patriarchal values in determining women's entry and effective political participation

iii. To determine the nature of political parties' structures and their role in hindering or advancing women participation in politics in Kenya

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

The study is guided by the following justifications

1.4.1 Academic Justification

While there has been significant research done on the level of women participation in political process, most of it tend to focus on the innumerable challenges faced by women. Most of this research tends to show an image of women being passive participants in politics. Notwithstanding their conspicuous absence in holding public office, women as members of society have a role to play in politics. There does seem to be a gap in existing literature on the role of women. It is widely known that women registered voters outnumber men in many places and sometimes even register high voter turnout than men during elections. Yet in some cases where there is female candidate competing with men, men emerge victorious. Such evidence does point to underlying factors that need careful evaluation. This study will therefore add to the existing knowledge on women's political participation. In addition, the research will inevitably generate new areas of research for future researchers who may seek to understand this phenomenon. Ultimately, this research will become the basis of further studies in this critical area.

1.4.2 Policy Justifications

This study will be especially useful to policy makers in government, political parties, and Non-Governmental Organizations and think tanks involved in gender and democracy policy matters. For government it will improve policy to ensure gender parity in governance and politics. The leadership of political parties will find the research informative on what works and what doesn't in the policies and

rules they generate and adopt to ensure higher women participation. NGOs and think tanks may also use the findings to improve effectiveness of their respective mandates.

1.5 Literature Review

This section will review existing literature on governance and political participation. It will lay specific emphasis on the role of women, that is, their presence or absence in governance and political participation globally. While the study's main focus is on Africa and specifically in Kenya, it suffices to state however that one cannot understand the prevailing political situation without looking at what is happening in other regions of the world as pertains to women's role in governance and politics. Neither would it provide as comprehensive analysis of the research if such was ignored. While governance is not entirely new, political participation in Africa through democratic voting especially is relatively new to African having been introduced in the last 5 to 6 decades through colonization. Coupled with the predominant patriarchal system in a majority of African societies the role of women in governance and politics is conspicuously diminished in terms of women being key decision makers in policy and governance overall and their low occupancy of public office. However, this observation is not uniquely Africa, it can be observed globally.

Literature in this study will be divided into   subsections. Firstly literature on governance, secondly, literature on forms of political participation, thirdly literature on factors determining political participation, fourth and lastly literature on women and political participation.

1.5.1 Governance and Political Participation

Governance and political participation are inherently intertwined, the two are at the center of any social economic organization in society. The role of women in the two process is seriously wanting globally. For many women more so housewives, the home has become the place of work[17], this is their primary contribution to society while men take up the vast majority of positions of governance and political leadership.

1.5.2 Governance

Whenever a group of people is so large that making decisions proves difficult, members of the group create a body to aid the process, they delegate to that body a significant ration of decision-making.[18]

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[17] Muller, M. S., & Plantenga, D. Women and habitat: Urban management, empowerment and women's strategies. Bulletins of the Royal Tropical Institute No.321. (1990).
[18] Institute On Governance, Defining Governance, http://iog.ca/defining-governance/   Accessed July 18, 2015

The body depending on whether the entity is a public or private organization could be a board of directors or project managers. Broadly, governance thus entails strategic steering of societies, major decision regarding direction and responsibilities.[19]   It can therefore be argued that governance is generally about power, it's about who gets to decide what policies are adopted and to some extent the efficacy of the same. By all means, governance is not as simple as the above description may suggest. It's often a complicated thing owing to the number of actors involved. While directors may be the decision makers say in a private organization, the board reports and articulates clearly to stakeholders including owners and shareholders the basis of their decisions. Governance can be at the local, national, international, and corporate levels.

Governance is seen differently by many analysts and the verdict is still out there as to what it really means and entails. To Murdoch, governance connotes a shift from predominantly state sponsorship to partnership with Non-Governmental Organizations in running social economic programs and projects.[20] This view offers a more comprehensive look at governance by highlighting the dynamism of the process. It's a process that is no longer ascribed to the government alone, it is achieved through the efforts of private and volunteer sectors. Governance decides the structures and mechanism to be put in place to implement decision and who executes them. Lange conceives governance as a process of institutionalized relations between public and private bodies aimed at attaining specified collective ends.[21]

1.5.3 Good/Democratic Governance

Over the last few decades, the notion of good/democratic governance has come to the fore in international and domestic settings. Good or democratic governance refers to the extent of transparency in institutions and processes in a country.[22] In developing countries good governance has become one of the key criteria these countries must fulfil in order to access development money from the developed world. The role of civil society in domestic governance has therefore taken center stage in this backdrop. According to the United Nations Development Program, good/democratic governance has the following characteristics.[23]

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[19] ibid

[20] Murdoch, J & Abram, S 'Defining the limits of community governance', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1998) pp. 41-50

[21] Phillipp Lange, Peter P.J Driessen, Alexandra Sauer, Basil Bornemann & Paul Burger, Governing Towards Sustainability-Conceptualizing Modes of Governance, Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning Vol. 15:3 (2013)

[22] United Nations, Governance http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/governance/ accessed July 18, 2015

[23] The United Nations Development Program, Why good governance makes for better development, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourperspective/ourperspectivearticles/2011/05/20/why-good-governance-makes-for-better-development.html Accessed July 18, 2015

1. Accountability-one of local government's obligation is reporting, explaining and being answerable for implications of its decision on the community.

2. Transparency-the people who represented by governance should easily follow and comprehend the decision making process, they should be able to see why a decision was taken, what led to the decision that it what information was it based on. It should also be apparent what consultation and advice was taken into account before the decision and the relevant legislative requirement that were followed.

3. Responsive-the needs of the community in question and any competing interests should be met in a manner that is both timely and responsive,

4. Follows rule of law-decisions taken should always be consistent with the law, entities charged with governance cannot be above the law.

5. Effective and efficient-the decisions of the local government and implementation should make the most of available resources including finances, human resource and time for the good of the entire community.

6. Equitable and Inclusive-governance should allow all groups in a community a chance to participate in the process. This is more so for the most vulnerable owing to the fact that positive member's feelings towards governance occurs when there is a mutual feeling that member's interests have been taken into consideration.

7. Participatory-all those affected or who have an interest in a particular decision should always have the opportunity to take part in the decision making process. This can be achieved by members contributing their opinions, recommendation or being kept in the know by availing information to them. Other times, their participation in the actual decision may be required.

8. Consensus Oriented-decisions made should always be on the basis of consensus of those involved. It should be able to accommodate varying interest to get a consensus.

The above characteristics derive from the principles of good governance including legitimacy, voice, direction, performance, accountability, and fairness.[24]

1.5.4 Women and Governance

Globally, women are left out of key decision making at all echelons including local, regional, national and international level.[25] The men drive governance at all levels and the women are expected

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[24] Institute on Governance, Defining Governance http://iog.ca/defining-governance/ Accessed July 19, 2015

to be subservient and simply follow established value system. While it is true that a level of women's participation in governance does exist, the general observation is that women are in most cases found in entities of governance that exhibit relatively modest funds and staff.[26] The common observation is that when it comes to making decisions that affect society women play a marginal role overall.

In Australia for example, preponderant values in modern society including competition and greater emphasis on private sector in rural development programs have had the effect of buttressing masculine processes and sidelining women and feminine preferences.[27] Regional and local government has however favored women as increased participation has been observed, from 1980 to 2004 the number of women holding elected posts has increased from 5% to 30%.[28] Global governance has to a large extent served only to exacerbate women marginalization, while many global agreement recognize women's skills and their central role in building and sustaining sustainable communities, a gender blindness and unwillingness has festered on the part of multiple multilateral agencies, states and their governments and influential groups to comprehensively incorporate gender calculus in policy and programs.[29]

The African continent has taken steps to reverse patriarchy in governance, African states adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's rights on the Rights of African Women that provides for women's rights to take part in governance and public life.[30] However, adopting policies and implementing them are two different things and women continue to remain conspicuously minority in governance. For most women in rural Africa, their role is restricted to household duties like preparing food, fetching water and gathering fuel, and cleaning[31], they are heavily involved in taking care of the sick and children not to mention the aged and handicapped. These prescribed roles for the women restrict their ability to participate in governance and politics as most of their time is spent at home. Countries like Ghana have undertaken reforms to decentralized governance and promote grass root participation in the last two decades and while local government decisions should in essence have greater women input as the women's role in domestic social economic is most significant, many people

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[25] Emmanuel Opoku Acheampong[a*] & Romanus Dogkubong Dinye, Women and Local Governance in Developing Countries: A Case Study of Ejisu, Ghana International Journal of Public Administration Vol. 38:3, (2015)

[26] Alison Sheridan, Barbara Pini & Louise Conway Modestly staffed and modestly resourced: An exploratory critique of women's entry to rural and regional governance, (2014) 271-282

[27] Little, J & Jones, O 'Masculinity, gender and rural policy', *Rural Sociology*, vol. 65, no. 4, (2000) pp. 621-39.

[28] See Supra note 21 at 274

[29] Prabha Khosla, Environmental governance and women's Activism, Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity, 17:52, 17-23

[30] Kaniye S.A Ebuku, African Women and Participation in Public Life and Governance: Relevant Laws and Overview of Recent Experience Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee/Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America Vol. 38, No. 1 (2005), p. 56-77

[31] Vickers, J. (1993). Women and the world economic crisis. London, UK: Zed Books

in Ghana are of the opinion that decision making is men's duty.[32] This situation is no different elsewhere in the continent as the authoritarian nature of traditional family has always concentrated power in the hands of the eldest males.

1.5.5 Forms of Political Participation

As alluded to, political participation is more than just holding office and voting. There are other activities that citizens can indulge in depending on their preferences, resources, & skills. It is important to categorize these activities into legal and illegal participation and convectional and non-conventional methods. Legal forms are those sanctioned by the law while illegal are prohibited. Conventional means are the mainstream forms while non-convention are considered outliers. Some of the better known conventional forms include working in election campaigns, joining political organizations, donating money to political causes or candidates, contacting political officials, volunteering in local community, serving on local boards e.g. school boards.

Other forms of political participation albeit more passive include engaging in support activities like attending concerts or take part in sporting events like running a marathon. Still there are other activities that though are normally associated with dissent are key forms of political activities. These non-conventional means include demonstrations, protests and rioting they are forms of political participation that register dissatisfaction with the government's position.[33] From the above list, it emerges that almost anyone regardless of gender or social status can participate in political activities. I shall proceed to look at some of these activities in detail.

We'll however only mention two forms of political participation. Conventional mean and voting.

1.5.6 Conventional Means

These entail political activities that are fairly routine and use representative channels of government. They can fall into two categories :(a) supportive-where participants ceremonially depict allegiance to a government or country (b) influencing-where participants aim to modify or reverse a particular government stand or policy. Supportive behavior by participants may be targeted at obtaining a specific benefit from the government. Influencing behaviors can occur through voting or through high initiative which aims to attain benefits for a group.

1.5.7 Voting

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[32] See Supra note 23
[33] Lester W. Milbrath and M. L. Goel, *Political Participation*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1977), p 34-45

This is perhaps the familiar means of political participation and possibly the one undertaken by a vast majority of the world's population. It exemplifies democracy, the right of people to choose their government. Democracy is broadly conceived in terms of four key elements namely: (a) existence of a political system through which governments are chosen and replaced in free and fair elections, (b) citizen's active participation in civic and political life, (c) human rights protection for all citizens, (d) existence of rule of law that equally applies to all citizens.[34] The western type democracy was largely introduced to Africa and other developing countries through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPS) which begun after the oil crisis of the early 1970s. Adopting democracy was one of the preconditions put on developing countries by the World Bank, International Monitory Fund and western countries albeit to some extent in order to acquire funding to resuscitate ailing African economies.

Voting is unique in that it allows the views of more people than any other activity to be represented. It'san equating factor in that everyone gets one vote irrespective of his or her social and power status. This legitimizes political office holders and ensures that winners in an election are acceptable to a majority of the population where free and fair elections prevail. Of course the efficacy of voting depends on where it is held and the proportion of eligible and registered voters who take part. In mature democracies of the west, for example in America 9 out of ten people agree that it's the duty of citizens to vote.[35] In Africa the situation is not much different, 79% of South Africans think it is the citizen's duty to vote.[36] This does not mean however that every registered voter votes during elections in these democracies, there is still a significant proportion of registered voters who don't fulfil their civic obligation.

In developing countries especially those in Africa elections tend to be less free and fair. Voting is marred by irregularities which sometimes precipitates ethnic tensions and violence. In Kenya for instance, the 2007 presidential election led to post election violence that killed over 1000 people and displaced an estimated 600,000.[37] New democracies like Kenya which have weaker institutions, pronounced marginalization of some communities and entrenched ethnic suspicion need systemic reforms which can be effectively achieved through the ballot box. It thus rather disturbing that the voting process that would address these challenges divides rather than uniting Kenyans. Not everybody

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[34] What is Democracy?, https://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/WhaIsDemocracy012004.htm

[35] William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, 9th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 1999)

[36] Human Science Research Council http://www.hsrc.ac.za/en/media-briefs/sasas/trends-democracy-efficacy.#sthash.aQljFLmh.dpuf Accessed May 22, 2015

[37] Lynch, Gabrielle. "Durable Solution, Help or Hindrance? The Failings and Unintended Implications of Relief and Recovery Efforts for Kenya's Post-election IDPs." *Review of African Political Economy* 36, no. 122 (2009): 604-610. p. 604

in a country is eligible to vote though, normally some requirements must be fulfilled including attaining age of the majority and citizenship. In addition, one must also be a registered voter.

Low voter turnout presents one major challenge to the electoral process since the representativeness of the results can be questioned. The challenge of low voter turnout is omnipresent and is to be found in all regions of the world. Of course behind this uniformity lies complex factors that can only be understood through deeper probing. Complex bureaucratic registration process is another thing that keeps people off voter registration. It normally means that one has to abandon his or her daily activity, travel to registration centers and possess required documents. This can prove too much for different social groups especially those in the employ of inflexible work hours or those who need to work overtime to simply get by due to their low wages. To address such problems, the US has simplified the process by allowing voters to register themselves at social services offices, motor vehicle offices and online making the voter registration convenient and easier.[38] Online registration has contributed immensely to increase in voter registration. During 1992 elections in the US, online registration registered in excess of 2 million new voters, this figure exceeded 2.5 million new voters in the 2008 election.[39]

1.5.9 Factors Determining Political Participation

Inevitably, political participation like any other social activity is determined by some factors which predisposes one group to take up political activities than others. These factors tend to show similarities globally, some differences are however observed from time to time. I will discuss some of the most common ones below.

1.5.9.1 Resource Availability

Differential access to resources across demography is touted as one of the key determinants of political participation. The term resources is used in this context to refer to education& income levels and occupational status including organizational membership. Higher income, educational and occupational status levels are generally associated with active engagement in politics and vice versa.

1.5.9.2 Education

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[38] David L. Paletz, Diana Owen, and Timothy E. Cook American Government and Politics in the Information Age, v. 1.0
[39] "The Campaign: Rockers and Rappers," *The Economist*, June 20, 1993, 25

Education has been found to be a key determinant of political participation. Numerous research has consistently shown that higher levels of education correlate with profound political participation, better knowledge of politics, high voter turnout and exhibition of democratic attitudes.[40] In developing countries of Africa, ignorance plays a big role in maintaining corrupt politicians who prey on voter's witlessness about the implications of voting their opponents and or women. Women especially find it hard to participate in contents due to entrenched traditions that relegate woman to domestic work, these notions are more prevalent among the low educated members of society. Among the urban population which is relatively well off in terms of education levels compared to the rural counterparts, acceptance of women as political participants is prevalent. Low education levels in Africa also discourage some groups in society from running for higher positions in government. To become a head of state for example, one must have attained tertiary education which is pretty limited among some ethnic groups who still cling to traditional practices and refuse to educate their children. Such people may also see the government as something remote which they have no power to shape, they therefore do not vote.

1.5.9.3 Income

While it's natural to expect people of higher socioeconomic status to participate more fully than people of lower status. This assertion is backed by numerous research which has looked at people's incomes and their activeness in politics. The positive correlation between income and political participation is one of the clearest and undisputed facts in political science.[41] Members of higher social economic status tend to have economic interests which they seek to protect by ensuring that the candidates they choose are pro-business. It's only natural that if you have nothing to lose by either supporting a candidate or not supporting them that you'll show indifference to politics. Frey has argued that voting entails actions that people who occupy higher social economic status do in their daily business.[42] It can therefore be said that members of society who are relatively wealthy find voting a natural part of their existence.

Moreover, the occupations prevalent among the higher income group require higher mental and lower physical effort compared to those of lower income occupations.[43] Buchanan is of a different

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[40]Hillygus, D. Sunshine. "The missing link: Exploring the relationship between higher education and political engagement." *Political Behavior* 27, no. 1 (2005): 25-47.

[41]Bruno S. Frey, Why do High Income People Participate More in Politics, public Choice, Vol. 11 (1971) 101-105

[42] ibid

[43] Russell, Keith P., John Fraser, and Bruno S. Frey. "Political participation and income level: An exchange." *Public Choice* 13, no. 1 (1972): 113-122.

view. He argues, like many economists do that there is positive correlation between the amount of income an individual earns and the number of hours available for leisure.[44] It therefore becomes self-evident that higher income individuals opt to have more non-work activities including voting, a privilege absent in those who occupy low income jobs, these people would rather be earning than voting. The opportunity cost of voting thus becomes perceptibly higher for lower income people than for higher income members. It can also be concluded that higher income people have more flexible working hours than lower income people and can sometimes work remotely following technological advances. On the other hand lower income jobs tend to be manual and thus require the presence of the worker at the site limiting flexibility and indulgence in other activities.

Some have also argued that higher income people participate more in politics e.g. by writing letters to a congressman because its marginal cost is minimal. Such people already have a secretary who types letter and need not go out of their way to engage in letter writing.

1.5.9.4 Ethnicity

Ethnicity has in it the shared consciousness regarding a groups origin and traditions, ethnicity is in itself not biological but cultural and derives meaning from tribe, nation and has links to religious, national and linguistic identity.[45] People who ethnic minorities are living in societies with low integration find themselves marginalized from economic and political life. Studies have shown that ethnic minorities are less likely on average to take part in protests owing to their limited access to resources necessary to mobilize and participate in such activities. Minority group association and existence of social ties with a preponderant ethnic group causes members of the minority group to engage in protests like was observed among Mexicans Americans who had ties with whites.[46] Since members of the same ethnic group are likely to experience similar experiences, it follows that a majority are also likely to occupy similar socioeconomic status.

Verba attributes low political participation voter among minority groups to other factors including class, education and religious differences.[47] Ethnic minorities also tend to be underrepresented

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[44] Buchanan, James M. "The Backbending Supply Curve of Labor: An Example of Doctrinal Retrogression", *History of Political Economy, 3* (1971)

[45] Stephen Fisher, Political Sociology Lectures: Ethnicity http://users.ox.ac.uk/~nuff0084/polsoc/EthnicityLecture.pdf

[46] Cassese, Erin, Jeremy Zimmerman, and Lauren Santoro. "Political Engagement in Appalachia: Distinctive Regional Subculture or Confluence of Demographic Variables?" In *meeting of the American Political Science Association annual meeting*.(2012)

[47] Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry Brady, and Norman H. Nie. "Race, ethnicity and political resources: Participation in the United States." *British Journal of Political Science* 23, no. 04 (1993): 453-497.

in parliament since their candidates are unlikely to have the support of the majority groups. In Britain for example candidates from ethnic minorities suffered approximately 4% electoral penalty from whites, whites who have anti-immigration sentiments were less likely to vote for Muslim candidates.[48]

Many developing democracies of Central Europe, Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa are characterized by division based on ethnic animosity, poor economic performance and domination in the political life by predominant party heavily influenced by specific ethnic group.[49] In Africa, people whose ethnic group dominates either the government or the opposition are more likely to participate in politics than those who are of a less numerically significant ethnicity. Ethnicity has hastened sectarian politics and so far this has shaped Africa. To be sure, ethnicity is undoubtedly a political manipulation tool in the continent.[50]A dominant ethnic group which has consistently held power is likely to rally its members to come out in large numbers to vote to avoid power being wrestled form the community. Members of a minority ethnic group are likely to ignore political participation since they see the futility of affecting anything in politics due to their trifling numbers.

1.5.9.5 Group Consciousness

Mainly focuses on identification with political groupings and is different from group identification. While group identification is psychological and involves an individual's perceived belonging and self-allocation to a specific social stratum, group consciousness entails group identification and political awareness or cognizance of the group's ideology used to interpret the group's position in society and consequent commitment to the group's collective action directed at advancing its interests.[51] While group consciousness is shared among members of a social group, it may vary from individual to individual and from time to time and even across the strata as prevailing social conditions dictates. Participation in collective action including demonstration and lobbying become acceptable to the individuals who share group consciousness as a means of altering the social order.[52]

According to Miller,[53] Group consciousness has four distinct components including: (a) group identification which denotes a feeling of belonging to a certain social strata. This psychological

[48]Sanders, David, Stephen D. Fisher, Anthony Heath, and Maria Sobolewska. "The democratic engagement of Britain's ethnic minorities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 1 (2014): 120-139.
[49]Linz and Stephan   1996
[50] Deng M. Francis, The Brookings Institute, Ethnicity: An African Predicament (1997)
[51]Jackman, Mary R., and Robert W. Jackman. "An interpretation of the relation between objective and subjective social status." *American Sociological Review* (1973): 569-582.
[52]Landecker, Werner S. "Class crystallization and class consciousness." *American Sociological Review* (1963): 219-229.
[53] See Arthur H. Miller, Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin and Oksana Malanchuk, Group Consciousness and Political Participation *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Aug., 1981), pp. 497

underpinning of this sense of belonging is in itself an awareness of the group's social position relative to other groups which occupy different social stratum (b) polar effect characterized by partiality of members own group (in-group) and antipathy for members of other groups or (out-group). (c) polar power which is expressed contentment or discontentment with the groups prevailing resources status, power compared to the out-group (d) individual vs. system blame members hold the belief that the either individual failings or social system inequalities are responsible for the low status of the group in society.

Studies have shown that people of lower social economic class who harbored psychological sense of social strata belonging and who attributed their predicament to systemic causes turned up to vote in presidential elections than those of similar strata who only identified themselves as members of the group and those who only blamed systemic causes for their poverty but did not identify with the group.[54] Other studies capturing social capital in their analysis have however come to different conclusions. During the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, African American women in the US participation exceeded all other ethnic, gender or racial group.[55]

1.5.10 Women's Political Participation

It is the view of Feminist theory that women owing to their specific life experiences in society makes women politicians highly rank and express dissimilar values, policies and values more so pertaining to childcare, education, healthcare, women politicians pursue less confrontational and cooperative political style.[56] Women's political participation has been exceedingly low compared to men, this is the case both in developed and developing world.[57] This is taking into account women's holding of elected offices and their role as voters. In modern democracies political participation takes many forms, people elect representatives whose responsibility it is to put electorate's welfare in generation of policies. [58] In Africa, the number of women heads of states since independence is negligible.

Liberia has an elected woman president since 2005, Sirleaf Johnson became the first ever woman president in Africa. Another notable case was Malawi where Joyce Banda took over presidency

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[54] Ibid at 500

[55]Farris, Emily M., and Mirya R. Holman. "Social capital and solving the puzzle of Black women's political participation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2, no. 3 (2014): 331-349.

[56]*Lovenduski, J.'Gender Politics: a Breakthrough for Women?', Parliamentary Affairs, 50 (4) (1997) 708–19*

[57]Conway, M. Margaret. "Women and political participation." *Political science & politics* 34, no. 02 (2001): 231-23

[58] C.J. Uhlaner, 'Participation: Political,' in N. Smelser and P. Baltes (eds), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (New York: Elsevier Science, 2001), pp.11078–82.

albeit for a short time, Catherine Samba in the Central Africa Republic became the interim president in 2014.Since 1993, Africa has had only 9 female prime ministers. Some scholars do not equate having women representatives with advancing women's rights as being a woman does not necessarily make one aware of the patriarchal system. It is often suggested that some women leaders champion the status quo more than men.

To be sure, political participation aimed at getting elected to public office entails being a member of a recognized political party. Political parties are undeniably the stage which careers in politics are perfected and nurtured. They therefore become a vitally important vehicle through which individual's aspirations of public authority are realized. In short, to be successful in politics needs to join a political party and convince the other members that he/she presents the best chance for the party to win seats in parliament or local elections. It has to be noted however that political parties are irrelevant in some forms of political participation like running a marathon or volunteering. Therefore the study will consider parties in the context of presidential, parliamentary and municipal/local/constituency elections.

1.5.11 Political Parties

These are an important element of political participation. In most countries they choose individuals who run in elections and thus determine who holds political office. Political parties thus become critical in women's access to political office. Political parties are critically important in eliciting member support and participation during elections, the most active political parties manage to get their supporter to the ballot box.

Active parties are better able to mobilize massive rally attendance, knock on doors and because of their perceived numbers and dedication win over undecided voters and encourage them to vote. In most cases, the process of recruiting and selecting of candidates occurs from the public eye. Some parties have party members nominating candidates as flag bearers while others have few select high ranking party bureaucrats selecting candidates. This gives rise to the duo candidate selection prevalent globally, on one end there is democratic candidate selection and on the other oligarchic. The democratic model encourages more participation as people tend to get increasingly involved when they feel that

their personal choice counts.[59] Inevitably, political party selection mechanism decides who appears and who does not on the ballot.[60]

One undisputed factor to successfully attaining public office is becoming a political party candidate in a constituency.[61] This fact holds true since getting to hold a public office is more as a result of a career than a fluke. In light of this winning the party's nomination thus becomes key in local and national contests. Political parties inexorably influence the outcome of nomination and therefore have a direct influence on women's successful nomination. This makes them both a tool that can advance women's election or hinder their participation in running for public office. Political parties if they so wish can directly increase and enhance women participation and representation by formulating pro women representation policies and rules which ultimately guide and direct the party's operations.[62]

Gatekeepers influence nomination process by encouraging or discouraging particular candidates to run and therefore alter the composition of candidate pool. Gate keepers in political parties are the influential top tier individuals who guide and direct the party's operations and policies. It is widely known that where men and women have the same credentials women have a high likely hood of not being promoted in the party imitating their chances of their candidature.[63] An entrenched behavior observed in political parties operations is typified by party heads. Party chairs consistently exhibit preference for members of their own group (based on gender) as opposed to the out-group, it thus follows that since party leadership is dominated by men women have little chances of emerging as nominated candidates and consequently party's flag bearers.[64] Similarly Arscott argues that low levels of women participation in politics can be found in lack of support for female candidates and the masculinity of political environment.[65]

It must however be stated that gate keepers role is not always negative nor hell bent on punishing and excluding women in political careers on the basis of gender. Gate keepers can play a pivotal role in encouraging women to take up political roles. As a matter of fact, in the US women who are asked to run for party's candidature in the preliminary nomination phase are more likely to consider

[59] Whiteley, P. F., & Seyd, P. The dynamics of party activism in Britain: A spiral of demobilization? *British Journal of Political Science*, *28*, (1998), 113-137

[60] Kernell, Georgia. "Party Nomination Rules and Campaign Participation." *Comparative Political Studies* (2015): 0010414015574876, p. 4

[61] Kunovich, Sheri, and Pamela Paxton. 2005. Pathways to power: The role of political parties in women's national political representation. *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (2): 505-52

[62] Erickson, Lynda. Making her way in: Women, parties and candidacies in Canada. In *Gender and party politics*, ed. Joni Lovenduski and Pippa Norris, (1993) p. 60-85.

[63] Fox, Richard L., and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. Entering the arena? Gender and the decision to run for office. *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 264-80.

[64] Niven, David. "Party elites and women candidates: The shape of bias." *Women & Politics* 19, no. 2 (1998): 57-80

[65] Trimble, Linda, and Jane Arscott. 2003. *Still counting: Women in politics across Canada.* Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press.

the offer than those who are not asked to do so.[66] Equally significant, local party leaders could help women with campaign advice and help in fund raising not to mention mobilize party members to support women's bid. If party chairs speak well of a candidate support from lower ranks within the party is improved greatly.

Elections are one way to hold leaders to account, this becomes problematic when women basically exhibit relatively low political participation. In Tanzania for example increased awareness has led communities and women groups to hold their leaders accountable.[67] Women in developing countries are realizing the only way to transform politics and accountability is to engage in politics.[68] Ultimately, for women to hold leaders accountable, they must participate more in governance and politics.

1.5.12 Challenges of Women's Political Participation

Women are faced by some serious challenges which constrain their ability to actively engage in politics. It is peculiar that for most part women make a majority of voters yet world over women are inadequately represented in governments. I will proceed to evaluate some obstacles that stand in women's way and bar them from actively participating in politics.

As aforementioned the best strategy to increase women representation in politics is to have favorable gatekeepers. Since gate keepers are here to stay and they recruit people like them it becomes imperative that having women as party presidents albeit at the local level will culminate in more women participating in politics through running for offices. indeed where gate keepers have been women there is noted increased in the number of female candidates owing to the fact that female elites encourage other women to participate actively in politics these gatekeepers also back policies that favor women or candidates who show female predispositions.[69] Having more women as gate keepers then becomes a big challenge which impedes women's political activity. This could easily be reversed by having legal provisions in the political party policies but it presents another challenge since those who currently occupy these positions are opposed to such attempts owing to the fact that they are predom2inantly men.

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[66] Lawless, Jennifer L., and Richard L. Fox. *It takes a candidate: Why women don't run for office.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, (2005) p. 129

[67] Social Accountability Programme in Tanzania (SAPT) http://www.forumsyd.org/PageFiles/2232/Best%20Practice%20Report.pdf P10 Accessed July 26, 2015

[68] Miranda, Rosa Lind, Impact of Women's Participation in Decision Making p.3 http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/docs/EP.7_rev.pdf Accessed July 26, 2015

[69] Caul, Miki Women's representation in parliament: The role of political parties. *Party Politics* 5 (1): (1999) 79-98.

Moreover women lack support from interest groups leaders, campaign fund raisers and volunteers who drive the campaign. Without doubt, most power brokers are men who are unlikely to support women at the preliminary stages. A clear example was Elizabeth Dole who withdrew from the republican presidential nominations in year 2000 because she could not raise enough money for nomination campaign.[70] This has led to the development of pro women fundraising support groups that support women campaigns, Emily's List backs pro-choice women candidates in the Democrat Party while WISH supports pro-choice women candidates in the Republican Party. The two bodies raise campaign funds for women candidates with the view of securing political offices.

Traditionally politics has always been male dominated, a structure which is both hostile and unwelcoming to women. In general many societies are patriarchal and frown on women who try to change the status quo. Women also have to contend with physical barriers like lack of financial resources, relatively lower levels of education, marginal access to information and more family responsibilities not to mention rights deprivation it is even worse in post conflict societies characterized by militarism, insecurity domination by a small elite mostly men, no entrenched political parties, absence of women in peace negotiations. While post conflict societies offer a chance to change the political structure and culture so as to include women, they also have numerous challenges for women.

Domestic role of women as careers of family means they have limited time available to take up responsibilities that assist men gain skills necessary to pursue political careers. Women find themselves involved in non-political activities most of their time not withstanding that both men and women have the opportunity to get involved in volunteer and religious organizations which develop leadership skills.[71] Some scholars have focused on cultural basis to explain low participation by women. They emphasize cultural underpinnings of role expectations, patriarchy, and social norms that allocate females to domestic life and constricted roles of clerks, teacher secretary, and nurse .Social norms and inadequate educational and occupational prospects thwart women from attaining skills needed to contest for public office successfully. While thy possess qualifications, public attitudes don't back them. Equally significant is the time demands associated with women traditional roles, being wives and mothers women lack family backing for woman posts outside home.

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[70]Heldman, Caroline, Carroll, Susan J., and Olson, Stephanie. ""She brought only a skirt": Print Media Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Bid for the Republican Presidential Nomination."*Political Communication* 22.3 (2005): 315-335

[71]Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry E. Brady, and Henry E. Brady. *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Vol. 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

In conclusion, I cannot emphasize enough the role of gatekeepers who are imperative in determining who gets nominated by the party to run in elections. As a way out, some analysts have pointed to deliberate allocation of party seats to men and women. To attain gender equilibrium parties should ensure that the list of every party's candidates has either both men and women or allocate a definite percentage to women. While this may be provided for in legal documents it ultimately depends on the degree and success of its implementation.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study will employ the Radical Feminist theory to evaluate prevailing women political participation. Feminism as a theory seeks to analyze gender, its components and how it is experienced and in effect our thoughts towards it or lack thereof. Feminism seeks to identify the fundamental basis of women's subordination and develop a comprehensive explanation as pertains to origin and essence of women domination. Such understanding is necessary to create strategies for effective women liberation. Feminism theory aims to (a) comprehend men and women power differentials in society, (b) understand how women's oppression has evolved and its changes in time as well as how it interacts with other oppression forms, (c) to overwhelm oppression. Inherently, feminism is committed to alter oppressive structures and lift women out of their subservient state.

Radical Feminism views social relations through sex, sexuality and gender lenses. It can thus effectively explain the absence of the female sex in politics and its domination by men. The woman, is relegated to inferior roles compared to masculine gender. This happens to them not because they are not capable of, for instance participating in governance and politics, but simply because they are women and are seen as best suited for domestic and childbearing and roles. Radical Feminism theory has dominance, patriarchy, hierarchy, power and gender systems as preponderant concepts. This makes this theory particularly suited for the study as the research focus on power, dominance and patriarchy to explain women's activities in politics. It suffices to say that like we have observed sometimes women have the numbers but do not actualize their liberation

The key insight of Radical Feminism is the marked gender distinctions which are centered on sex relations and are so pronounced that they are not ordinarily recognized. Indeed, it can be argued that most women are not even aware of their subordination to men due to entrenched patriarchy and gender systems. The theory relates women's sex with their oppression and views gender as the unquestioned structure through which we perceive and interpret our environment. To Radical

Feminism, women are seen as a distinct class in society that is defined by sex, not economics. The cradle of women's suffering and oppression draws from their sexuality and patriarchy is the overarching system that sustains women's suffering through practices like house work, childbearing and marriage. As has been noted, these are some of the things which keep women out of politics. Radical Feminism thus aptly presents the essence of this study.

1.7 Hypothesis

- Women are insignificant participants in governance and politics in African
- Patriarchal value systems negatively influence effective participation of women in governance and politics in Kenya
- The nature of political parties' structure hinders women participation in governance and politics in Kenya

1.8 Research Methodology

This study will be descriptive research. Descriptive research which is apt for providing valid and exact representation of dynamics pertinent to research question.[72]It aims to describe social happenings accurately, to give detailed picture of phenomena. This kind of study aims to answer the question "how" and "who" and is uses a wide variety of data gathering techniques. Descriptive research is especially useful in informing policy decisions and typically begins with a well-defined subject and proceeds to study and describe it precisely culminating into a detailed and accurate picture of the subject. The study methodology will be mixed method research. This methodology employs both qualitative and quantitative data to give the true picture of study problem. While qualitative strategy focuses on social context, quantitative methodology main focus is on numbers.[73]

Questionnaires will be developed to gather quantitative data while interview guides will be used to conduct interviews with relevant participants. Interviews allow a researcher to gain in-depth information due to its meaning centric nature while questionnaires are useful to capture numbers. Research design used will be Case Study. Case study examines present-day phenomena in its actual setting and is most apt to study contextual situations. Case study design seek to address the "how" & "why" questions and does not enmesh control of behavioral actions.[74] The design will ultimately yield all-inclusive data from identified respondents. The research key focus will be Kenya but will inevitably

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[72] Neuman Lawrence, Basics of Social Research, (2007) p. 15
[73] Denniz Donmez, Social Science Methods for Empirical Data Collection and Analysis (2012), p. 14
[74]Yin, Robert K. *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications, (2013), p. 3-10

borrow from Africa due to similarity prevalent among African countries as well as other regions of the globe.

Population

This study targets the general public, renowned academicians, policy makers and leaders and key informants in government and political parties and relevant NGOs and think tank personnel. The population is thus drawn from people who are in one way or the other involved in study problem. The population will be drawn from the Kenyan capital, Nairobi which well represents all social stratums and ethnic groups. Nairobi has a population of approximately 3.36 million within 696 km^2 [75]

Sampling

Stratified random sampling will be used in this research. We will have four groups from which a simple random sample will be taken. Questionnaires and interview guides will be used to attain relevant data. Stratified sampling will ensure that the four different groups which are uniquely different are well represented.

Data collection

This research will use mixed method research. It will employ both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Working with both qualitative and quantitative methods is important as we will not only have statistics of the different views of the respondents but we will have tangible evidence to qualify their statements. Employing both methods is also important to boost the authenticity of the research such that the research is not shaped by the sentiments of the researcher but by the facts presented to us.

Qualitative methods: the study will use interview guides to obtain primary data through interviews with identified respondents. This technique allows a researcher to gain in-depth information due to its meaning centric nature

Quantitative research: Questionnaires will be developed to gather quantitative data, this will be undertaken in two ways. There will be a structured interview that will be used on key informants who will be identified by contacting relevant stakeholders who are concerned with the issue of women

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[75] Government of Kenya, Census 2009.

empowerment and face the challenges that corruption brings in realizing these goals. These will be called key informant interviews.

The data that will be collected will be collated and meaningful conclusions drawn from it. This will contribute to the findings section that will be in the subsequent chapters of this document.

Instruments primary data will be obtained through interview guides and questionnaires to be prepared and used. Interview guides will enable the researcher to probe deeper to elicit more detailed information that captures respondent's views and beliefs.

Respondents will include key informants in political parties, general public, leading scholars and Non-Governmental Organizations.

1.8.1 Primary Source of Data

Primary data will come from interviews and questionnaires administered.

1.8.2 Secondary Source of Data

Scholarly books, academic journals, unpublished works, articles, reports from the UN, non-Governmental Organizations,

1.8.3 Data Analysis

The study will employ qualitative data analysis methods. Content analysis will be use to analyze data obtained through interviews.

1.9 Scope and Limitations

This research will particularly look study the experience of African women in politics, their contributions, challenges, opportunities and their response to such opportunities. Specifically the study will lay special emphasis on women's political role in Africa and specifically in Kenya. The research will vastly relay on existing literature due to time and financial limits.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: The first chapter will draw from existing literature to broadly introduce the study. It will have the study's background, problem statement, literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter one studies pertinent concepts that will be used in the research. Ultimately, chapter one will offer the outline subsequent chapters.

2   **Chapter Two: Overview of the Role of Women in Political Participation in Africa**

Chapter two will detail women's role in the politics of Africa. It will address how the structures in many African countries have affected the overall women participation since the creation of many African states several decades ago. This chapter will evaluate the milestones and challenges faced by women in Africa in political matters. While the focus is on Africa, the chapter will also draw from other regions to provide a full analysis.

Chapter Three: Role of Patriarchal values in determining women's entry and effective political participation in Kenya.

Chapter three will assess the effect of patriarchal value system and how it hinders women participation in governance and politics. The chapter will critically address the traditional values that place authority in the hands of the male sex and alienate the female sex from governance and politics yet decisions arrived at often affect women more.

Chapter Four: Nature of political party structures and their role in hindering or advancing women participation in governance and politics.

Chapter four will evaluate the inherent nature of the structure of political parties in Kenya and how this structure impedes or advances women's political and governance participation. It will seek to understand if indeed the low representation of women in governance and political offices is due to the structure of political parties which act as a vehicle to public office.

Chapter Five: Summary, Recommendation and Further Research

This last chapter will be the summary. It will present the conclusions of the study, recommendations arising from the study findings and analysis against hypothesis and objectives. It will also suggest areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SHAPING AFRICA'S POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT/LEVEL OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA.

In reviewing the role that women have been playing in the political arena, we cannot go without mentioning some of the challenges as well as breakthroughs that women have had leading up to the present. It is in reviewing this and some of the recommendations made in the past studies on women's participation in governance in Africa that we'll determine the role women have in shaping the political environment in Africa.

In looking at the role that women have been playing in shaping Africa's political environment, it is imperative that we review it cognizant of the three phases that Africa has gone through which is precolonial, colonial and postcolonial.

In the precolonial era, despite different ethnic groups belonging to different factions that is either hunter/gatherers or agricultural groups, women played an important role in decision making. [76] The queen mothers and the upper class women had a say in as far as decision making was concerned (ibid). It was also noted that while there was patriarchy at the time, women were allowed to carry on their activities independent of the men. There are recorded dual systems (matriarchy and patriarchy) in some communities. Despite there being some level of inequality among the sexes at this point

During the colonial and post-colonial era was a dark period in as far as women's role in politics is concerned. It was at this time that the colonialists transferred their culture and norms to Africa. The role of the women in active political and economic activities dwindled with the introduction of capitalism (ibid at 10). The system became oppressive to the women and the African men took advantage and ensured that the women would stay in their control.

Women have been known to take the back seat in as far as active political participation is concerned. This political participation doesn't only refer to voting during elections and representation in legislature but goes further to look at the ability of women to hold their leaders accountable. There are a number

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[76] Pearce, Tola Olu. "Gender and Governance in Africa: A Conceptual Framework for Research and Policy Analysis and Monitoring." In *A Paper presented at the African Knowledge Networks Forum Preparatory Workshop*. 2000.

of studies that show that in fact more women than men are registered as voters in Kenya for example but very few pose their candidature and worse still a smaller number ends up being elected. [77]

In Kenya, there were no women representatives between 1964 and 1969 (ibid). The reason for this was that women lacked the experience and expertise to hold leadership positions. This was in fact very ironic as the country had just gained independence and both the male and female leaders at the time didn't have the 'required experience'.

Women have for a long time had the agenda set for them. Despite having the power in terms of voting numbers, often it is the patriarchal agenda that carries the day. Women have been made to believe that the leadership positions are meant for men and their authority ought not to be questioned. In so doing, the needs of the women are often overlooked.[78] According to Mama 2000, women participation in the Western countries was marked by activism. The women fought for their ability to actively take part in politics whereas in African countries, the notion of women participation came about during nation building and was only a sub component of the nation building process. This means that the agenda was already set for them and it was not up to the women to decide what it is they wanted to achieve.

Mikell was however of a different opinion; women played an important role during the nationalist period in Africa. This importance in politics however diminished in 1970s.[79]

It is however important to note that women's participation in governance and the economic sphere increased during structural reforms in the 1980s. The African economies nearly collapsed following the oil crisis in the 1970s and as a result, Western countries as well as the international lending bodies came up with Structural Adjustment Programs commonly known as SAPs in order to bail out African countries.[80] Some of the conditions were the inclusion of women in development (politics and economy) and creating equity for them and their families. For this reason, African leaders did not see this as their own agenda but rather that which was imposed on them thereby being reluctant in the implementation process.

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[77] Mikell, G. (1997). *African feminism: The politics of survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
[78] Mama, A. A. (2000). National machinery for women in Africa: Towards an analysis.
[79] Mikell, G. (1995). African feminism: Toward a new politics of representation.*Feminist Studies*, 405-424.
[80] Heidhues, F., & Obare, G. (2011). Lessons from structural adjustment programmes and their effects in Africa. *Quarterly Journal of International Agriculture*, *50*(1), 55-64.

Women's role goes beyond numbers should they want the change that they so desire. Their role, given the African context is in five spheres: Institutional change, conflict management, representational change, promoting democracy and good governance and discourse change.

Institutional Change

Institution are usually identified with the 'rules that govern the game' by economists and others. [81] Institutional change therefore would mean going by a different set of rules as opposed to what is considered the norm. For the women to change the rules to suit them, it is imperative that they learn the rules first. [82]

The extent to which women will be able to effect substantive representation will depend on women's commitment to gender equality but also the extent to which the institutional setting of parliament allows women to engage as equal partners in the legislative process and to put women's issues on the parliamentary agenda.

The number of women who get into parliament is dependent on the electoral system. While formal commitment to equal participation should reflect in more women being elected to parliament, this is not always the case.[83] To this effect, Kenya is particularly a curious case. In its bid to increase the participation of women as well as their representation, a new position of Women representative was introduced. The women representative in each county (47) has the task of ensuring that the women in their county are properly represented and their needs met accordingly. This already increases the number of seats in parliament. The state also in its attempt to improve women participation introduced the one third gender rule in the 2010 constitution. Article 81 (b) stipulates that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender.[84] Women had lobbied for equal chances for their fellow women in as far as public positions was concerned and cited structural constraints in as far as women's access to political participation in Africa was concerned.

The introduction of multiparty system has also played a crucial role in the role women play in governance. With the multiparty system more political parties emerged and in a bid to be competitive, they adopted an array of policies. There are a number of women who headed parties such as Margret

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[81] North, D. C. (1990). *Institutions, institutional change and economic performance*. Cambridge university press.
[82] Karam, A., & Lovenduski, J. (2005). Women in Parliament: Making a difference. *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, 187.
[83] Gouws, A., & Hassim, S. (2011). The Power to Change: Women's Participation and Representation in Africa.
[84] The constitution of Kenya, 2010

Dong. She started the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats, Dr. Ilonge Lewanika started the national Party in Zambia and in Kenya we had the late Dr. Wangare Maathai and Charity Ngilu head parties. [85] This was aimed at boosting the representation of women in legislature as well as promoting women's agenda. It was previously noted that where women were members to political parties, they often got posts that rendered them 'toothless'. It is for this reason that they opted to have their own parties that would give them the power they needed to bring desired change (Ibid).

The women in the first South African parliament came together and agreed that taking votes on important issues late at night was unacceptable because the women needed to attend to their families.[86] As aforementioned, women are cumbered with different roles in the society. They are first tied to the domestic work at home and the rest (political and economic engagement) comes second. It is for this reason that these women in the South African parliament decided that voting of important issues would no longer happen at night. They went ahead and established a 'Women's Empowerment Unit' and established childcare facilities. This was meant to help cater to the varied roles that women have to take in society. This acted as an incentive to the women who are already in parliament to go on with their work and those who aspired to join politics.

This change of working hours can be regarded as an institutional change as where it was the norm to work late hours and women were saying no to that and changing the hours to reasonable ones. Ones that would enable them to play their different accordingly.

The women in this first South African parliament were also responsible for stopping smoking in committee meetings (Ross, K). This was accomplished by throwing out all the ashtrays after which they all agreed that smoking in committees would no longer be acceptable. This should not be underrated as a small task. By virtue of stopping smoking in committees, members can actively take part in whatever task at hand without shying away as a result of the discomfort that non-smokers might get.

Still under institutional change, as was stated earlier, in order to change the rules, it is important to first understand it thereafter be able to change it to suit your specific needs. Women can increase their understanding in a number of ways. To start with, women can learn this through orientation by the political parties (Lovenduski and Karam, 2005). These parties are the vehicles with which the women get elected. It is therefore their first mode of interaction with legislature. Despite different parties having

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[85] Ndlovu, S., & Mutale, S. B. Emerging Trends in Women's Participation in Politics in Africa.
[86] Ross, K. (Ed.). (2002). *Women, politics, and change*. Oxford University Press.

different ideologies, their understanding of how the system works is more or less the same. Women should therefore be keen during orientation in order to better understand the process.

Women should also network with other women in parliament. It is bad enough that the legislature is predominantly dominated by men who have 'old boys' networks, if the few women in parliament therefore cannot work together, then there will be isolated attempts at making a difference. This networking puts up a united front and strengthens women's voice. This networking can also take the form of mentoring. Women should mentor the new comers so that they do not feel isolated and get a quick inkling on what it is they should be doing in parliament and what the expectations from them are. As has been mentioned before, having more women doesn't necessarily mean that women's issues will be pushed through. There are those who are notorious for accepting the status as quo as is. Networking therefore expands one's views of issues and therefore if they were initially comfortable with the status quo, they become aware of what it would mean to change it.

Women should also participate in joint training sessions (Lovenduski and Karam, 2005). It is important to understand that while it is important for women to network among themselves, they should not isolate themselves from the men. Ultimately when passing legislation it is the votes of both men and women that will count. In these training sessions therefore, women are able to highlight that which appeals to their needs while at the same time making it clear to their male counterparts what their issues are. This provides a forum for the women to also network with the men and possibly break through the codes of conduct which do not favour them.

Once this has been established, women should go ahead and nominate fellow women for positions in either legislature or committees. Women being elected to committee work as opposed to debating chambers.

Quotas

Quota system is a form of affirmative action and refers to a system where special seats are reserved for women. This system according to Nzomo is predetermined and inflexible.

Women in Africa should push for quota system which will guarantee more women are elected to power and thus paving way for other women in the years to come. This system has been successful in western countries such as Germany in both local and national levels. In Belgium and France, this has been implemented in political parties (Esarey, J., & Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2015)). In Uganda the adoption of the

quota policy has seen the increase of women in legislation triple from 34 in 1989 to 112 in 2011.[87] It is not enough to have these policies in place, but there should be a mechanism to ensure that there is monitoring taking place so that the policies are implemented to the letter.

Burkina Faso however the same has not happened. Where politicians have recognised the need to have women leaders join their camp, they have often promised them informal quotas once they join their camp. This however has not been implemented.[88] Women should therefore champion for the need to have formal quota systems which can be monitored as opposed to relying on empty promises.

There are however those who oppose the quota system. They claim that the system is undemocratic and it only reinforces the position that women are weak and in fact in need of saving. As a result, those who come in to power thanks to the quota system are seen as inept hence not able to effect real change.

Increase of women movement groups.

These groups have played a significant role in politics in Africa. The vibrancy of these groups have pushed for constitutional transformations in their respective countries. Some of these groups include: National Committee on the status of Women (Kenya), Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA), Action for Development (Uganda). This has resulted in constitutions respecting human rights including equality and non- discrimination (Ibid). In Zimbabwe for example, WOZA was involved in the drafting of the constitution in 2012 which culminated in the constitution having clauses such as prohibiting discrimination against women on the basis of customary law, having a maximum of two presidential terms, Amendment of the constitution to be only by way of referendum.[89]

Before the introduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya in 1992, the women's movement were only three and regulated by the government. Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYWO), National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and the Nairobi Business and Professional Women Organisation.[90] These women groups act as voice to champion the rights of women in Kenya.

Women who are in parliament are constantly asked to liaise with these organisations in order to bring about desired change. There has been a disconnect between the women, gender machineries and

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[87] http://democracyinafrica.org/women-changing-policy-outcomes-learning-pro-women-legislation-ugandan-parliament/
[88] Compraore. N. Burkina Faso: Recruiting Women for Legislative Elections
[89] http://wozazimbabwe.org/?p=1250
[90] Nzomo, A. P. M. (2011). Women in Political Leadership In Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting & Accountability.

effecting real change. While the women in power have access to directly influence legislature, these women organisations have the means to implement the policies as they deal directly with the women on the ground. As a result these two need to work together in order to bring about much desired change.

Diplomacy should be exercised at all times when conducting legislative duties. In the world over, fights break out in parliaments. While this is an unorthodox means of resolving conflict or promoting one's agenda, this is an area that women can make a difference. Men are by nature more primal than women. This means that they will whatever it takes to assure their position in a given domain. Women however have learnt to literally roll with the punches. Instead of offering better solutions to resolving conflict, they have also been involved in the fights. This kind of behavior is likely to discourage other women who are more diplomatic in their approach. In Kenya for example, councilors who are now referred to as MCAs are infamous for how they handle their affairs in their forums. It is therefore that some women relate the position with physical violence hence be opposed to it.

National Gender Machineries

The role of women in shaping the political environment should not only be seen from one lens which is electoral positions or rather electing women to these positions, but also in terms in National Gender Machineries (NGM). These machineries ensure that women are better represented and their issues are better articulated

In the Western Countries, these machineries came up as a result of activism and struggle (Mama, 2000). They had an agenda and that agenda was to change the status quo in as far as division of labour was concerned. The same however cannot be said about African states. NMG were introduced during the period of nation building therefore instead of the machineries creating their own agenda, they were easily swayed to adopting whatever agenda the governments had at the time (Mama, 2000). The NMGs therefore did not revolutionize the political field so to speak but instead only reflected the situation the African countries were being faced with.

Women should therefore come to the realization that in order to change the political environment they should be more critical of the current situation, its influence on political engagement and decide as to whether they are contented with it and leave the situation as it is or assess what measures should be put in place in order for the women to achieve what they want to achieve. Women ought to be proactive and set their own agenda instead of waiting for agenda to be set.

These machineries have however not been very successful across Africa. In Ghana, a closer look into the National Council on Women and Development (NCWD) showed that not much was accomplished in the gender equality and women's advancement front. According to the study women felt that they still needed some form of structure to address gender imbalance. [91]

Uganda experienced an almost similar problem. They restructured the machinery that was charged with drawing up a National gender Policy which was the Ministry of Women and Development to one that was merged the Departments of Culture and Youth, too a ministry of Gender, labour and Social Development.[92] This was evidence that the government did not take it very seriously.

In order for machineries to be effective, they have to work together with women's organisations in civil society that can hold the machinery accountable (Gouws and Hassim, 2011).

The nature of political institutions has plagued not only African countries but the Western countries as well. According to Gouws and Hassim, women often quit after getting to position of leadership as a result of the pressures that come with it. The parliaments having been predominantly dominated by men resulting in women feeling isolated. Where the men can rely on 'old boys networks' the women often feel alienated and at a disadvantage. They cannot boast of the same networks as the men and sometimes end up quitting. Women however have a role to play here they should employ what is known as critical mass. The theory of critical mass points out that there's power in numbers.

Employing the theory of critical mass, that is getting about 30% of women into legislation would change the political culture of the state. Once the culture is seen not to favour one sex at the expense of the other, more women will be encouraged to enter the political arena. The Kenya government has attempted to create an environment in which they can employ the theory of critical mass by having the two third gender rule as aforementioned. The purpose of this was to see more women participate in politics and decision making. One of the ways in which the government has tried to realise this is by introducing the post of women representatives in all counties. While there isn't a law that dictates that it is only women who can vie for this position, it is expected that women are the ones who understand the issues that women face thereby women representing their fellow women. This in turn would mean that 47 more women would be elected to parliament. This number is exclusive of those who would want to be elected in other capacities such as Member of Parliament, Governor, Senator and Member of County Assembly.

[91] Mensah-Kutin, R. (2000). The National Machinery of Women in Ghana: An NGO Evaluation.
[92] Wangusa, H. (2000). The national machinery for women in Uganda.

Representational and Presentational change. Encouraging women candidates, acting as role models

Presentational change refers to women leaders encouraging other women to take part actively in politics. Studies have shown that where there are more women elected in parliament, the adolescent girls are more likely to engage in political discussions and later actively take part in politics. [93] Areas that have recorded more women in leadership have also registered change in the psychology of women about leadership (ibid).

This point however cannot stand alone devoid of increased representation by women. Whereas increased representation only means more women in legislature, it is important to go beyond numbers. This increased numbers doesn't mean much if not used appropriately. According to studies, women are able to debate more confidently in the presence of other women as opposed to a forum that only has men.[94]

In Kenya Charity Ngilu and Wangare Maathai were the first women to run for presidency in 1997. [95]This broke the artificial ceilings for women as it now conveyed the message that they too could vie for presidency. The next woman to vie for presidency as would be expected was Martha Karua. Martha Karua has played a crucial role in the political environment of Kenya. Though not successful in her attempt she stood tall among the men who were also vying and gave them a serious run for their money. This act only went on to inspire more women that they too could stand in the same field as the men for the highest position in the country.

Role of Women in Conflict Resolution

Different countries in Africa have been riddled with conflict for one reason or the other. At the end of the day it all boils down to the governance of the state and the warring factions feeling as if they are alienated from resource distribution in the country or marginalized in other ways. In this regard, we cannot go without mentioning the role that women have had in resolving conflicts in different parts of Africa. It is however important to note that women's role in conflict resolution has over the years not been appreciated as it should.

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[93] Wolbrecht, C., & Campbell, D. E. (2007). Leading by example: Female members of parliament as political role models. *American Journal of Political Science*, *51*(4), 921-939.
[94] Inter parliamentary union 2002. Women in National Parliament. See http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm
[95] Kamau, N. 2010. Women and Political Leadership in Kenya. 10 case studies.

The increased participation of women in peace talks is important as the peace agreements are not what they used to be. Initially, these agreements just marked a ceasefire between the warring factions but now they act as a political framework to a better society.[96] In this map, women would like to have their say so that in the end there exists an all-inclusive roadmap.

During the first round Burundi peace talks in Arusha in 1998, there were only two women out of 126 delegates. [97] This number is dismal and in the following phase of the talks in July of the same year, a group of women crashed the event as they were not recognised before as participants to the talks. Nyerere however accorded them the necessary support which eventually led to a group of seven women being given observer status. It should be noted that these women represented different civil society groups and women organisation.

Nzomo highlights the role that Sudanese Women's Association has played. The organisation is based in Kenya and has worked towards unifying the Sudanese population since 1994 through a number of ways including trainings and workshops to address the issue of food security and peace management in Sudan. [98]

In Kenya during the 2007-2008 post-election violence, both the leading party and opposition were asked to name their negotiating team whereas Annan would be the mediator. In both camps, there was an elected female leader to the negotiating team. This is an important milestone as the legislatures acknowledged the importance of the teams having women and not just relegating them to the back seat and force them to take the outcome as it would have been decided. Martha Karua headed the team in negotiations with the opposition (Kamau 2010). Sally Kosgei was nominated to the negotiating team for the opposition. The result was a coalition government. This was a milestone in the role that women play in the political environment.

From some of the examples mentioned, it is clear to see that women's participation did not just come easily. There's a lot of activism of lobbying that takes place before women can finally sit at the negotiating table. It is also evident that peace management goes beyond the negotiating table and on to the day to day activities which women seek to tackle in managing and resolving conflicts. It is however sad to see that this input though very vital is given little recognition.

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[96] Bell, C., & O'Rourke, C. (2010). Peace agreements or pieces of paper? The impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on peace processes and their agreements. *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, *59*(04), 941-980.
[97] EASSI. (2012). Women's Political Participation and Economic Empowerment in Post-Conflict Countries. Lessons From the Great Lakes Region in Africa.
[98] Nzomo, M. (2002). Gender, governance and conflicts in Africa.

Improved Governance

Studies have shown that where women have achieved critical mass, there is less corruption in the state compared to when there are few women in legislature.[99] Numerous explanations to this have emerged. There are those who say that corruption is likely to run more in already established networks and men having more networks, relying on old boys, makes them more susceptible. Women on the other hand have very few links therefore as 'newcomers' no one would like to involve them in the said activities. This would probably explain why corruption in Rwanda which is acclaimed for having the most women in legislature is much lower compared to that in Kenya.

It is therefore not a wonder that some of the African Countries which are praised for their female representation such as South Africa, Seychelles and Senegal are also ranked in the top ten in Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG)2014. Rwanda which has recorded the highest number of women representatives in the world comes in at number eleven in the index.[100]

The other reason for low participation for women in corrupt activities is that women are more risk averse compared to men. Corruption is risky business and men are naturally more likely to take risks compared to women.[101] The root cause of women being risk averse has not entirely been established. However it is highly suspect that it comes to the different socialization that they have. This means that the social and cultural factors weigh in heavily on the decisions they make. Some of the risky behavior are linked to being masculine hence the term boys will be boys. This term is used in the event boys are undertaking risky activities and therefore when a girl is found to be doing the same thing, she is warned to not behave like boys.

Women also do not engage in corrupt activities as they are likely to be judged more harshly compared to their male counterparts. This acts as a disincentive to participate in corrupt activities.[102] This point is related to the socialization aspect. In majority of the societies in the world, women are expected to uphold greater standards as opposed to their male counterparts. Therefore when the hammer comes

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[99] http://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/are-women-more-susceptible-corruption-men

[100] Ibrahim Index of African governance. 2014.

[101] Esarey, J., & Schwindt-Bayer, L. (2015). *Women's Representation, Accountability, and Corruption in Democracies*. Working Paper. URL: http://jee3. web. rice. edu/gender-corruption-accountability. pdf a ccessed 5/7.

[102] Hossain, N., Musembi, C. N., Hughes, J., & Stern, J. (2010). *Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections*. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

down, it does so heavily on the women compared to the men. This is imbedded in patriarchal culture that dominates most African countries.

An empirical example of how women and men are judged differently: In Kenya, when the then deputy chief justice Nancy Baraza was accused of assaulting a security guard upon the guard's request to search her as was standard procedure, Ms Baraza was forced to resigned because of misconduct despite that having been the only case since she became deputy chief justice. On the other hand, Moses Kuria who is an MP has been notorious for inciting people to violence against different ethnic communities time and again yet he still remains an MP. This is despite his party distancing itself from him and his remarks, no one has moved a motion to have him removed for misconduct. The other MP, Ferdinand Waititu, who was once accused of incitement because of his remark that all Maasai should be removed from his constituency, was let of the hook when he made a public apology and still maintained his job as the MP of Embakasi. The other politician, governor of Nairobi who was caught on camera slapping the women's representative Rachel Shebesh was not forced to resign over the assault or according to the governor, alleged assault.

While these experiences are not corruption related, it is clear to see how women are judged much more harshly compared to their male counterparts. The effect of Ms Baraza's action was on one individual yet that of Mr Moses Kuria and Mr Waititu had the power to instigate ethnic cleansing of a whole community yet it is Baraza who lost her job.

One of the challenges that women experience when getting to power is the already established way of doing things which may not necessarily be the right way. When they attempt to challenge the status quo, the system pushes back causing them to be very frustrated. A good example is in Kenya where Martha Karua who is also referred to as the iron lady for her hard stand in crucial matters, was the Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional affairs in the tenth parliament resigned citing frustration when administering her duties. She did not want to be part of the corruption that ran deep in the system.

Good governance is however not synonymous with lack of corruption. The electorate should be able to make an informed decision as to who they are voting for and thereafter hold the leaders to account such that when the leaders are not serving the people, the electorate is empowered enough to speak up. Women leaders ought to introduce programs on empowering other women to speak up. Voting is only one half of their civic duties. The other is holding them accountable.

Impact on Output (Producing 'Women Friendly' Legislation)

Women have experienced firsthand what it means to be marginalized. They have tried to make their voices heard through activism among other avenues so that women all over are empowered and accorded similar opportunities as men. Women who therefore get elected should make an effort in producing women friendly legislation. Studies have shown that where women's participation has increased, there are increased policy that advance the interests of women.[103]

In Uganda for example a number of laws which were women friendly were enacted in the eight parliament. As was previously mentioned, this parliament had the most number of women compared to the other parliaments. As a result they formed a cross-party women caucus which engaged both men and women in and outside the parliament.[104] Some of these laws were: The Equal Opportunities Commission Act (2006), The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (2009), The Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act (2009), and The Domestic Violence Act (2010) (ibid).

In Kenya, women had a crucial role in the new constitution in as far as marriage was concerned. Where the marriage bill of 2007 made polygamy legal, the new constitution of 2010 made this null and void. In the new constitution a man had to get the consent of the first wife in the event he wanted to marry a second wife. The wife could veto the husband's decision to marry a second wife. This clause was included in the 2010 constitution as women were cognizant of the fact that when men married a second wife, it is often the first wife who suffered the most. She would be neglected sometimes together with her children and focus being solely on the second wife. This clause therefore was to give the Kenyan women power so that they didn't suffer the same fate as their predecessors.

Despite women's effort towards this, there was an amendment to this in 2014 where male members of parliament scrapped off that clause and suggested that men ought to marry as many wives as they see fit provided they had the means to support them and that consent of the first wife was not needed. This debate took a turn when women who felt their voice was not heard and were angered by the men's argument stormed out of parliament. The men cast their votes and the new law was passed on 20th May 2014 much to the disappointment of not only the women legislatures but women all over the country.

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[103] Bratton, K. A., & Haynie, K. L. (1999). Agenda setting and legislative success in state legislatures: The effects of gender and race. *The Journal of Politics*,*61*(03), 658-679.

[104] Wang, V. (2013, December). Women changing policy outcomes: Learning from pro-women legislation in the Ugandan Parliament. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 41, pp. 113-121). Pergamon.

When Ellen took office in Liberia, women could now speak openly in public. Their role before was restricted to the family unit but since Ellen came to office women were empowered not only politically by economically. [105] Women were not allowed to engage in business and were illiterate. With the Ellen's coming to power however, more girls have now enrolled in schools and women undertaking their businesses far and wide.

These were made possible by policies adopted during Ellen's rule. Some of them include: Establishment of rural women structures in 15 counties; Development and adoption of a National Gender Policy (NGP) in 2009; Development and Implementation of a National Gender-Based Violence Action Plan; Enactment of a Children's Law; Design and Implementation of a Gender Equality and Women's Economic Empowerment Program.[106] Men and women all over the country were sensitized on gender issues and the government has gone further to ensure equal opportunities for both sexes.

In Malawi, soon after Joyce Banda was sworn in as the fifth president she sold the presidential jet and fleet of limousines and initiated the 'Presidential Initiative for Maternal Health and Safe Motherhood'.[107] This was a bid to curb the maternal rate

In South Africa, women were involved in the constitution drafting process in the post-apartheid era. The aim of their involvement in this process was to contribute to gender equality policy in the country.[108]

Discourse Change

The language that has been used in legislature has been sexist in the world over. This language is a product of both culture and the traditional male dominance in parliament. According to researchers this language reflects the ills of the society which are: gender bias and social exclusion of women from certain roles. [109] Language such as chairman send a negative kind of message- that only men can have those positions, that only men have the ability to take on those positions.

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[105] http://democracyinafrica.org/women-politics-africa-today/
[106] Government of Liberia, 2014. National Review Report on Beijing 20+.
[107]http://www.theroot.com/articles/world/2012/10/joyce_banda_and_ellen_johnson_sirleaf_fight_for_womens_rights.html
[108] United Nations. 2005. Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision Making processes with Particular Emphasis on Political participation and Leadership. Division for the Advancement of Women.
[109] Stahlberg, D., Braun, F., Irmen, L., & Sczesny, S. (2007). Representation of the sexes in language. *Social communication*, 163-187.

Women can therefore use the media to highlight some of these issues in order to change the language and normalize women's perspective. Despite the fact that patriarchal discourse has been reinforced by the media in the past, it is the same media that can be used to change people's perspectives.

Women can also advocate to have this kind of language to ne incorporated in the school curriculum and be taught in schools. They do say that it is difficult to teach an old dog new tricks, it might therefore be more effective that children are taught from an early age that it is not chairman but chairperson.

There have been programmes in the past that have been used to promote the use of nonsexist language. The only problem with this is that people have failed to monitor whether the programs have been effective or not.[110] Women should take this up as a challenge and not only come up with programs that promote nonsexist language but also find ways to monitor these programs so that they are successful. Some of the things can monitor are what are the short term effects; are people now using sexist language less in the media, organisations? What are the long term effects; are more women now applying for positions that were originally male dominated?

Challenges in Women Shaping the Political Environment

The patriarchal nature of the culture in Africa is still something to grapple with. Despite the fact that women make up more than 50% of the voters in many of the African countries, very few women are elected in power. This is because in as much there in increased voter registration, if the mentality of women and men does not change, then the increase in voter registration will not mean much. Closely related to this is the issue of religion. The dominant religions in Africa are Islam are Christianity and Islam. Both religions encourage women to take a subordinate role.

Countries that are predominantly Islam record lower women participation as opposed to countries that are predominantly Christian (Ndlovu and Mutale, 2013).

In reference to women representation, as mentioned earlier there are those who are opposed to the quota system stating that it portrays women as being weak and therefore those who are elected using the system will be seen as inept and not able to effect the changes that they so desire mainly because of the attitude that people have towards them. In the same breath, the machinery through which women can get into power which is political parties are construed against them. In Burkina Faso for example

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[110] Banaji, M. R., & Prentice, D. A. (1994). The self in social contexts. *Annual review of psychology*, *45*(1), 297-332.

women are not often nominated by these parties and if they are, they are relegated to the bottom of the list and sometimes put in positions where they stand no chance of winning (Compraore, N).

Women are known to have a disproportionate share of domestic work. This means that majority of their time is spent in undertaking domestic chores as opposed to the amount of time men spend on chores. This coupled with the fact that a significant percentage of women in Africa do not have the required education for gainful employment means that few women will have the time and resources to take part in politics[111].

 Lack of capacity among the women in terms of leadership and holding the leaders accountable. While there have been campaigns for voter registration and the importance of undertaking one's civic duties, but little attention given to political engagement in terms of holding the leaders accountable. So for some their duty ends after elections.

Conclusion

Women have a crucial role to play in governance. Looking at the different spheres discussed, women's inclusion in governance is of positive consequence to the masses at large. In the first chapter, it was hypothesized that women are insignificant participants in politics and governance in Africa. The preceding narrative has emerged strongly to dispel this. Women have pushed the boundaries and sometimes having to bulldoze their way so that their voice is heard and they are capable of actively taking part not only in politics but the governance of the country. This was seen in the Burundi peace talks in Arusha in 1998 where a group of women stormed into the talks and demanded that they to be part of the talks.

In the narrative, what emerges is that the more women we empower and have in power the less corruption we have in the system. One of the reasons given is that corruption is deeply embedded in the pre-existing networks and women who are always excluded from these networks are not easily influenced by their counterpart s to engage in corrupt activities.

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[111] Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. *Women in parliament: beyond numbers*, 33.

The mere presence of women in politics is motivation for young girls and other women that they too can compete for such positions, merge victorious and make a difference. This in turn causes a change in the mindset of girls who in turn will rise to challenge the status quo.

It therefore emerges that women do want to be actively involved in governance but the men would rather maintain the status quo and therefore frustrate efforts that women make to break through the glass ceiling.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF PATRIARCHY IN SHAPING WOMEN'S ENTRY AND EFFECTIVE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN KENYA

What is patriarchy?

In this chapter, we will unpack what patriarchy means and the effect patriarchal values has in determining women's entry and effective political participation.

According to Pogoson, patriarchy is a social system where the role of man as the main authority figure is fundamental to social groups and association.[112] This patriarchal system is dominant in majority of the African countries. According to this system, the man is considered as the leader of the household unit. His responsibilities are to provide for the family and has the final say on matters that concern the unit.[113] Women on the other hand are confined to domestic work within the household.

Walby defines Patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices where men are dominant and exploit women. [114] Patriarchy also refers to male domination both in the public and private spheres.[115] Where one sex is dominant then by default the other sex becomes subordinate. By women being subordinate to men, the connotation is that women are inferior to men.

Because these norms determine the division of labour in the society, female children are therefore left to do most of the household work while their male counterparts participate in public life. As they grow, this becomes inculcated in their minds; that men ought to do a certain kind of work and women another. This is reinforced further by the theories that came about explaining the subordination of women because of their biological make up as well as their psychological attributes. According to Oluwole 2014, it is commonly believed that women's biological traits account for their passive and submissive nature.

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[112] Pogoson, A. Irene. "Gender, political parties and the reproduction of patriarchy in Nigeria-a reflection on the democratisation process, 1999-2011." *Journal of African Elections: Nigeria's 2011 Elections* 11, no. 1 (2012): 100-122.

[113] Oluwole, O. "The dynamics of women political emancipation and political participation in Nigeria." Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa. 2014

[114] Walby, Sylvia. *Theorising patriarchy*. Oxford, 1990.

[115] Sultana, Abeda. "Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis." *Arts Faculty Journal* 4 (2012): 1-18.

It is important to note that some of these norms have been in existence since time immemorial while others were introduced during the colonial times. As was mentioned in chapter 2, when colonialists came, they introduced their culture to Africans. According to Pearce, women participation in politics at that time was very minimal in Europe. The colonialists advanced their agenda and saw the decline of women participation in politics during the colonial period as opposed to the pre-colonial period (Pearce, 2000).

Patriarchy starts at the domestic level. It is for this reason that women's participation at the local and national level is devalued (Egbue, 2010).

It is however important to mention that while patriarchy has dominated a majority of the communities not only in the world but Africa as well, there are a few communities that are matriarchal. The Ashante community of Ghana is one such example. It has maintained its matrilineal root and children belong to their mothers' families.[116]

When unpacking patriarchy, it is important to mention that these norms prevail in different spheres of the society such as cultural, religion, economic, social and political. We'll therefore look into these spheres and identify the patriarchal norms within these spheres and determine their role in determining women's entry and effective political participation.

Masculine Political Models

Political parties are the primary ways in which women can access legislative bodies and local authority. These parties are however structured in favour of men and not women. The parties can either be issue based, clientelist or patronage based. Often they are clientelist or patronage based. This means that there will be favouritism based on 'old boys' networks. This puts the women at a disadvantage as they are newcomers and don't have the kind of influence that the men do (UN, 2005).

Women's participation in politics in Kenya especially in holding office has been dismal. With few of them presenting themselves for nomination and even fewer being elected, the kind of networks that they have isn't as elaborate as the one that old boys have. The few women in legislature experience challenges and because of their number, they aren't able to speak with a voice that would cause changes for female politicians in future. The process is instead slow. The number of women politicians

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[116] Ogbomo, Onaiwu W. "Women, Power and Society in Pre-Colonial Africa." *Lagos Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (2005): 49-74.

have been increasing with every election and in the process they have become louder and bodies have come up to support women in legislation.

According to Omtatah, women do not have the mentoring needed when they are elected.[117] This mean that they lack the relevant skills needed to adjust to their new roles. There are however those who have received some mentoring. This however has not been from other women because of the low number of women in politics.

There have been bodies formed to counter this. One such example is KEWOPA. KEWOPA stands for Kenya Women Parliamentary Association and is a membership association for all women in parliament irrespective of their parties.[118] KEWOPA was formed by eight women parliamentarians in 2001. Its main objective was to address the issues of women parliamentarians (such as the one mentioned above of lack of newtorks) build women's capacities as legislators and lobbyists of women-centred policies and laws.

The nomination process has been manipulated such that only men get elected and women are at the bottom of the list. This results in very few women being nominated on major party tickets which reduces their chances of being elected (Kamau, 2010). The party officials focus more on the probability of the candidate winning than their credentials. This will be tackled in detail in the subsequent chapter.

These parties are largely briefcase entities with very few having structures. Kamau goes on to say that women in Kenya were especially cross with these parties. They described them as personality cults, tribal grouping simply to sell nomination certificates and not founded on ideology. Therefore where one doesn't have means to buy these certificates, they are inherently locked out of the legislative positions. This is also discussed in the subsequent chapter. Nominations are an expensive affair. There's different fee for different positions. Women are not able to afford this despite many parties lowering the nomination fee for women.

The other issue that arises from having informal structures is the fact that political parties' priorities are analysed from a male perspective and women's needs are not included in these policies. This makes it difficult for aspiring women to join politics as the policies that come up do not favour women. They are

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[117] Omtatah, O. O. "The Affirmative Action Debate: Developing Winning Strategies." *N. Kamau, Perspectives on Gender Discourse: Enhancing Women's Political Participation, Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation* (2008).
[118] http://www.kewopa.org/?page_id=7

misconstrued as to what the women might be interested in by men whose agenda is not to alleviate the women's position in politics but to further their idiosyncratic interests.

Cultural Norms

Culture has been defined differently by different scholars with others arguing that it is very difficult to define it.

Culture refers to a people's way of life. Culture is the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next.[119] This culture is passed through socialisation from one generation to the next.

In many cultures all around the world, when women get married, they move to live with their husbands. This is a construct of patriarchy. The man does not leave his home but instead it is the wife that leaves her home to start a new life with the husband. Because of this, women are not seen as worthy investments by their families. To the families, the argument is 'why invest if she is going to leave the family.' If the girl is educated, they argue that it is not her family that benefits but where she'll get married to. They prefer to invest more in the boy child as they argue that the boy will stay home and take care of the family.

This creates a basis on which women cannot effectively take part in politics. Where these women are not educated, they are not aware of their rights and civic duties. They rely on the men in all spheres of their lives thus the men end up making decisions for them. In Bangladesh for example, girls are not accorded the same education opportunities as their male counterparts. Their parents believe that education is primarily for the boy child.[120]

The other cultural norms that act as an impediment to women's political participation is marriage norms (Oluwole, 2014). These norms confine women to the private realm. According to these norms, women are believed to have inborn skills in as far as home management is concerned. According to these norms, marriage institutions give women a chance to realise this ability which involves: child bearing

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[119] Gudykunst, William B., Yuko Matsumoto, S. T. E. L. L. A. TING-TOOMEY, Tsukasa Nishida, Kwangsu Kim, and Sam Heyman. "The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self construals, and individual values on communication styles across cultures." *Human communication research* 22, no. 4 (1996): 510-543.
[120] Rahman, Farjana. "Patriarchy and Women's Parliamentary representation in Bangladesh." (2014).

and nurturing, cooking and overall management of the homestead. Enemuo goes on to say that it is these practices that have barred women from leadership in Nigeria. [121]

The men perceived as being superior to the women should not be questioned and their word is law. This inhibits effective participation as the women are made to believe that they cannot challenge what a man does. This therefore makes it very difficult for women to hold their leaders accountable. Most of their leaders are men and them talking back or questioning their leaders activities would be termed as an act of disrespect. Even when they feel disgruntled, they will not openly criticise the leaders for their actions. Political participation is not only voting as was alluded to but being able to feel confident enough to hold leaders to account if they do not do their jobs as is required of them.

In Africa it is required in many communities that when a girl is of 'age' they get married and start a family. A woman who does not wish to get married or otherwise is often accused of being immoral among other things. As a result, people are socialised not to pay much attention to single women. This point was reiterated sometime in 2014 when a Kenyan Governor suggested that single women should not hold leadership positions. This statement was met with a lot of anger from women members of parliament as well as women groups and the governor was forced to recant his statement.[122]

It is this kind of thinking that holds women back not only when it comes to presenting themselves as candidates but also being voted by the electorate as they subscribe to the same school of thought.

Religion

Africa is dominated by two religions: Islam and Christianity. These two religions have very similar constructs and inform the relations that people have with one another and their day to day activities. Both religions have been criticised to advance a patriarchal system.[123]

There have however been arguments that it is not so much the religious excerpts as it is their interpretations. In Islam, man and woman are equal in Islam in the essence of human. Dignity or reward

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[121] Anifowose, Remi, and Francis C. Enemuo. *Elements of politics*. Malthouse Pr, 1999.
[122] http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26049787
[123] Chidiebere James. "Religious Interpretations, Gender Discrimination and Politics in Africa: Case Study of Nigeria."

and accountability for personal conduct and matters pertaining to property rights, morality and religion.[124] According to the Om'an, Men are the protectors and maintenance of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them from their means.[125]

There are however some excerpts that reinforce the subordination of women. In the Bible for example, Eve was created to be Adam's helper.[126] This in itself subordinates the woman and whoever subscribes to this to the letter will always see the woman as being inferior to the man. Kenya is a secular state in the sense that it is guided by the constitution and not the Bible or Quran. Despite the constitution saying so, Kenyans have held prayers openly for their leaders and the nation at large. With a significant majority being Christians and being informed by Christian values, they believe that the man is the head and the woman is inferior to him. This may be a reason as to why the women are not openly challenging their leaders.

Religion has also put different standards for both men and women. In Islam, women are encouraged to be virgins before marriage failure to which can even lead to their death. The same however is not said for men. Christians also have special emphasis on maintaining purity until marriage. The emphasis is more on women than men. We for example know that Mary mother of Jesus was a virgin but we are unsure as to whether Joseph, the man she was betrothed to was a virgin as well. There are those who claim that Joseph was married and had a family before he married Mary. That he was a widower at the time of marriage. There are others however who say that he was a virgin.[127]

It is also important to note that there are instances where religion does not dictate whether or not women should be treated differently, rather the masses are subjected is religious fundamentalists who interpret religion harshly against women. In Islam for example, there is no rule that that states that women should not be leaders. Illiteracy has left the women susceptible to harsh interpretations of the Quran by people who have ulterior motives. [128] This is a very common phenomenon. In Kenya, there have been exposes of fake pastors whose only purpose is to exploit the masses for their own benefit. They often target women as they are more 'gullible' compared to their male counterparts.

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[124] Mohammad Hashim Kamali, "Equality, freedom and justice in Islam" ilmaiah Publishers, Malaysia p.85. (1999)
[125] Q.4:34
[126] Genesis 2:8
[127] Contemplative Sisters of the Indwelling Trinity, Fostoria, Ohio, Octave of Christmas, 2010
[128] Husain, D. S. A. "Women's Empowerment: Education and Culture'." *Unnayon Padokkhep, Steps Towards Development, Dhaka* (1995): 35-41.

In Nigeria, Boko Haram which is a jihadist group has wanted to convert the northern Nigeria state into a Muslim state that observes Sharia law. This group is against Western education and to drive their point home, they abducted 276 girls from school in 2014. This stirred the campaign 'bring back our girls' all over the world. This is just an example of the effect extremists have on girls. These girls' education was disrupted for over a year and when they were finally rescued, more than half of the abducted girls were pregnant.[129] This causes another problem for the girls. Having to give birth and provide for their children, they will have to forgo going to school. The result is an increased number of women who languish in poverty and are not empowered in the long run. This means that other people will be making decisions for them hence lack of participation in the political sphere.

This act of kidnapping also creates another effect. The fear of taking girls to school. The school ought to act as a safe place for children. When the school ceases to be a safe place, parents will not have faith that their children will not be the next lot to be kidnapped.

There is also a belief that religion and politics cannot merge. This is derived from Christians who believe that one cannot serve two masters. This was especially an issue for Margaret Wanjiru who vied for Member of Parliament, Starehe Constituency in the Kenya general elections in 2007. She is also a Bishop at the Jesus is Alive Ministries which is also very popular in the country and more so in the capital. There are those who were sceptical about her participation in politics claiming that she couldn't take part in both. She however won the race despite the critics.

Religion is very sacred issue. In the Bible for example, Christians are warned against judging their pastors that it is not in their position to do so. This results in the fear of questioning their religious leaders as one wouldn't want to go against the teachings. Some leader use this to their advantage. They quote the bible in order to endear themselves to the mass.

Socio- Economic Sphere

Patriarchal norms have played a crucial role in the economic sphere. According to Fredrick Engels, women subordination began with the privatisation of property. [130]When capitalism was introduced and hence privatisation of property, men wanted to maintain their power. The only way they could do this according to Engels was to take charge of the property and because they wanted their children to have

[129] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/05/05/boko-haram-pregnant-victims_n_7215792.html

[130] Engels, Friedrich, and Lewis Henry Morgan. *The origin of the family, private property and the state*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1978.

the same power, they did away with whatever chance the women/wives had of owning the property and only made inheritance to their children possible.

Women are more predisposed to poverty compared to men. This has led to what is called the feminization of poverty. Feminization of poverty refers to women's vulnerability to poverty. This concept has a number of concepts: women constitute a disproportionate percentage of the world's poor, this trend is on the rise, women are increasingly becoming the heads of households.[131] According to a publication by the United Nations Development Programme, 70% of the world poor are women.[132]

The problem with this is the fact that different women have different experiences and circumstances surrounding their experiences yet they are being treated as one huge group.

This disproportionate percentage arises from norms that have acted against women empowerment such as education of women, access to land and other assets, access to gainful employment. Once the women are on an uneven platform when it comes to education as was mentioned to be the case in Bangladesh, they cannot have the skillsets required to get gainful employment and provide for their family. They are forced to be dependent on their husbands or anyone who would alleviate them from their situation.

Once women are in such a desperate state as the one mentioned above, their priorities are different. The priorities for a woman who is the head of her household and has very little skills are not to participate in politics but to feed her family. Political aspirants in Kenya often take advantage of this in the electioneering period. They entice the electorate with money and foodstuff. Because these women are already in a sorry state, accepting these goods in return for their votes goes without question. The leaders get re-elected and very little is done about the women's state. Because these women are not empowered, they do not know that it is their right to question their leaders. The cycle then continues in the next election period.

This electioneering period is very expensive. As has been mentioned, more women than men are poor and are susceptible to poverty. This means very few have the means to vie for elective positions leave alone buy votes as has been the trend in Kenya. This means that even though the female candidates would get money to pay their nomination fee, they still run a chance of losing because they are not as

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[131] Chant, Sylvia. *Re-visiting the'feminisation of Poverty'and the UNDP Gender Indices: What Case for a Gendered Poverty Index?*. Gender Institute, 2006.
[132] United Nations Development Programme. "Human development report 1995". New York: OUP. (1995).

popular as their male counterparts. This popularity as has been mentioned is dependent on how much you can give the electorate as mentioned above. This is discussed further in chapter 4.

This feminisation of poverty clearly affects women participation on two fronts: presenting themselves for consideration as leaders and the electorate who are tasked with electing the leaders.

Women have been socialised to put the needs of the family first before anything else. A study was conducted in 2007 on senior women in university in Kenya, and they found out that women would rather wait for their children to grow to an age where they don't need their mother's attention so much before they can further their education (Kamau, 2007). This is also extended to women who want to join politics. The women wait until their children have grown up before they vie.

Closely related to this is the fact that women have to get full support from their husbands. Some men feel it emasculating to have their women participate in politics as it may be a reflection of who is the head of that household. This probably explains why women who are in politics are either widowed or have never been married (Kamau, 2010).

Some of the divorcees in Kenya who have been very active and have enormous impact in Kenya's political life are Martha Karua who is also commonly known as iron lady and vied for presidency in the 2013 elections and the late Wangari Maathai who was Nobel Laureate in 2004, ran for presidency in 1997 together with Charity Ngilu (the first women to do so) and commonly known for her green belt movement.

There are exceptions. Nyiva Mwendwa and Julia Ojiambo joined the political arena when in their early thirties, married and had young families. According to Mwendwa for example, despite both her husband and her having political ambitions, they decided that Nyiva would be the first to try her hand (ibid).

Studies have also shown that men do not support their partners getting higher degrees.[133] The study goes on to state that women are more likely to support their husbands when they are pursuing a degree but when the shoe is in the other foot, men have been found to even threaten their wives with divorce should they want to pursue a doctorate.

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[133] Leonard, Diana. A Woman's Guide to Doctoral Studies. Taylor & Francis, Inc., Orders and Customer Service, 10650 Toebben Drive, Independence, KY 41051 (paperback: ISBN-0-335-20252-7, $26.95; hardcover: ISBN-0-335-20253-5, $78), 2001.

Probert noted that eight out of then women pursuing their doctorates in broke up with their partners in Australia.[134]

Participating in politics is no cheap thing. When one is vying for a position, they need money to fund their campaign. Women however do not have access to these funds. Women are locked out of opportunities of earning an income and therefore it is very difficult for one to come from a humble background and win in elections. To start with, access to sources of income is dominated by men. It is men who are in possession of title deeds, it is the man who is paid for the produce obtained from a farm in which the wife and children spent tilling and harvesting. This complete control by the men makes it difficult for a woman to secure funds for a campaign for example as they have nothing to leverage the loan against.

There are social norms that have prevailed in the country that have made it difficult for women to take part in politics. One of these norms is the violence against women. Violence against women is not treated with the severity that it ought to. Often nothing happens once a complaint is lodged. In Western Kenya, a teenage girl was raped by 6 men and then dumped in a latrine in 2013. The physical assault left the girl confined to a wheelchair. The men however were only asked to cut grass as punishment. This sparked outcry from both local and international activists who petitioned against the lenient punishment. The result was the rapists were jailed for 15 years.[135]

In late 2014, Kenyan men were on a stripping spree. They stripped women who they felt were indecent in their dressing in public. This sparked the campaign "my dress my choice" which targeted breaking the patriarchal constructs where men decide what was right for women, in this case what was appropriate wear. Very few men were charged with assault.

Moving to the political scene, in 2007, Flora Igoki who was parliamentary candidate was brutally attacked on her way home. Flora was assaulted by a gang of five men who sent a clear message that she should drop out of the race.[136] Flora ended up spending weeks in the hospital. Despite her identifying some of her attackers, they were arrested and released the same day. There hasn't been any follow ups on this case based on technicalities.

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[134] Probert, Belinda. "'I just couldn't fit it in': Gender and unequal outcomes in academic careers." *Gender, Work & Organization* 12, no. 1 (2005): 50-72.

[135] According to a publication by the United Nations Development Programme, 70% of the world poor are women.

[136] http://www.africafiles.org/article.asp?ID=19134

This was however not an isolated incident. Leading up to the 2007 elections, the help desk at the Education Centre for Women in Democracy, handled 153 cases of electoral violence against women candidates and received 258 complaints of harassment and torture of women via email and phone. (Ibid). According to Igoki, women are targeted because they are seen as soft candidates.

Media

The media plays a significant role in reinforcing or doing away with patriarchal norms is concerned. In reinforcing patriarchal norms, the media is notorious for using different criteria to analyse women as opposed to their counterparts. Where the first lady and the president would be attending an event for example, the focus on the president will be the speech he gives about whatever current phenomenon while that on the first lady will be on what she was wearing first and what her objective would come second to her attire.

This has been witnessed with the President of the United States and his wife Michelle Obama. The focus on Michelle is more about her fashion rather than her qualification as the first lady ad what she has to offer. The same is the case with the Kenyan president, His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta. The public focuses on Uhuru's policies and looks at the First Lady as the softer side of the president and sometimes as a public relations gimmick when the she is spearheading the beyond zero campaign that seeks to improve both maternal and infant mortality.

Women may discouraged from participating in politics as their agenda will come second if the current media is anything to go by.

Results

We set out to find out some correlation between patriarchy and women participation in the form of administering questionnaires to gender experts, human rights experts, governance experts and other stakeholders in the field.

The results are as follows.

Is Kenya heavily influenced by Patriarchal Values?

Is Kenya heavily influenced by patriarchal values?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	86.4	86.4	86.4
	No	3	13.6	13.6	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

A significant majority of the correspondents believe that Kenya is heavily influenced by Patriarchal values in the present day. 86.4% of the respondents believed so while the other 13.6% were of a different opinion.

Those who cited the heavy patriarchal influence supported their views by referring back to the overwhelming number of men leaders in office vis a vis women leaders in the current parliament, men have dominated the parliament as opposed to women. Other points that reiterated this view according to the respondents is the fact that men are still the heads of the households.

Despite currently living in a society where the woman also pursues a formal career and earns handsomely out of it, the man is still tasked with providing for the family. It is the woman who still adopts her husband's name in the event of marriage and their children take up the man's lineage. Men determine what activities the family members will be involved in, how money is spent in the family

among other things. In some communities in North Eastern part of the country, the man is the one in possession of all the vital documents like the women's identification cards. These cards are key documents when one is seeking nomination or any form of political participation like voting. Once the man is in possession of these documents, women do not have a say.

Such a large percentage believing that patriarchy is still strongly embedded in Kenyans is very alarming. Patriarchal norms have only served to put down the women and give the men an upper hand. As long as there's patriarchy, gender equity cannot prosper. This only echoes what is in the narrative.

This also shows that the kind of affirmative action that is currently ongoing still has a long way to go. While we cannot dismiss the work they have done to date, both civil society and government have a lot of work to do to influence people's perceptions. Some of the work that we cannot go without mentioning is the role they played in the constitution that was promulgated in 2010. This has article 81 (b) which states that not more than two thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. The National Gender and Equality Commission was established by act of parliament in 2011 and is mandated to contribute to the reduction of gender inequalities and discrimination against all: women, men, persons with disabilities, the youth, children, the elderly, minorities and marginalized communities.[137]

It is important to understand that this is also a reflection of how difficult it is to change one's culture. Culture defines us and what we do. Culture has existed before us and guided our forefathers. The argument therefore often is, 'if it worked for our forefathers, then it will work for us as well'. People are often comfortable with what is familiar and anything that might threaten this is treated with the utmost suspicion.

Maseno and Kilonzo undertook research in the Western part of the country to determine if these areas were still heavily influenced by Patriarchy. Their findings reiterates our position on the matter. According to them, when women in these parts of the country are getting married, the common term for it is 'going to cook'.[138] They also found out that women do not own property in this area. They do not own land. This is especially very unfortunate as the women in this area are involved in small scale farming yet have very little control over their produce or everything that pertains to their source of income.

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[137] Government of Kenya. 'The National Gender and Equality Commission Act'. (2011)

[138] Maseno, Loreen, and Susan M. Kilonzo. "Engendering development: Demystifying patriarchy and its effects on women in rural Kenya." *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 3, no. 2 (2010).

Maseno and Kilonzo further found out that women did not sit on chairs. The chairs were reserved for men in the communities. This only serves to further inequalities among the sexes in the communities. Women who toiled most of the time did not sit on seats but at the feet of men. This only goes to reinforce the notion that patriarchy is deeply embedded in the communities in Kenya.

This kind of tyranny over women however was mostly seen among poor women.

Voting patterns.

Do these values influence the electorate when voting

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	18	81.8	81.8	81.8
	No	4	18.2	18.2	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

These values greatly influence the electorate. Once the electorate associates leadership with men, then it is inevitable that they will vote men into these positions. The media in Kenya has played a very vital role here. While they have tried to sensitise people on the criteria under which the people should elect the leaders, that is through competence and nothing else, they have failed to put both the men and women on the same level in as far as ability to lead goes.

According to the table above, majority of the respondents believe that patriarchal values influence the electorate when voting. 18.2% however believe that patriarchy has little influence on people's voting patterns in the country.

Women constitute up to 50% of the voters in Kenya. They alone have the power to make their voice heard but when they have been convinced otherwise about who can lead and who cannot, they will always work against themselves by always voting against each other.

Women are often portrayed as 'soft' by the media. The public needs to be reassured that they'll be well represented and their needs addressed and not have someone who is portrayed as soft representing them.

The respondents were also clear that the level of influence is not uniform across the country. It is important to note that those in the urban areas have access to more information and hence will question the status quo. Those in the rural areas however do not have the same chance. They will accept the values as they are embedded in the values of their communities and at the end of the day this will inform the decision they make.

According to Kriegler's report following the 2007 general elections, the patriarchal culture in the country has a lot to do with the number of women voted in office.[139] According to the report, women's leadership abilities is still not fully welcomed. To add on to this, there is the use of sexist tactics and violence to keep women out of the race. This tactic succeeded in discouraging women from participating in politics. That is why for example despite women accounting for 52% according to the recent census, registered women were only 47% in the 2007 general elections in Kenya.

According to Tripp, cultural attitudes against women is often reflected in the voting patterns of the community.[140] Women often are tools of their husbands or male representatives of their house and therefore obey whatever is asked of them, whether it is choice of candidate or any form of political participation in the political arena.

Civic rights and responsibilities.

Do women know their civic rights?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	a large percentage	7	31.8	31.8	31.8

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[139] Kriegler and Waki Reports. Summarized version. Revised edition. 2009

[140] Tripp, Aili Mari. "New Trends in Women's Political Participation in Africa." In *URL: http://www. democracy. standford. edu/seminar/AiliTripp. pdf*. 2001.

a small percentage	13	59.1	59.1	90.9
they do not	2	9.1	9.1	100.0
Total	22	100.0	100.0	

The respondents had varied opinions about women knowing their civic rights and responsibilities. 90.9% of the respondents believed that the Kenyan women had some knowledge of their rights and responsibilities. The degree of the knowledge is what was different. Majority (59.1%) of the respondents were of the opinion that only a small percentage of the women knew their civic rights and responsibilities. According to them the number of women who were now aware of their rights and responsibilities had increased and has been steadily increasing though it is not to the standard that is expected.

This empowerment has been credited to the work that the civil society is doing. One's awareness of these rights and responsibilities is also dependent on their geographical location. Those in the urban areas will be more aware of their rights compared to those in the rural areas.

Those however who are of a contrary opinion (9.1%), indicate that both men and women are ignorant alike when it comes to knowing their civic rights and responsibilities. They say more needs to be done in this area for any significant change to be witnessed.

It is important to note that while they may have some knowledge about their rights, women are heavily subjected to customary law.[141] This customary has served to oppress the women since time immemorial it taking precedence over civil law means that women will continue living in the shadows of men.

Some of the problems that have been mentioned by civil society members in the past is that civic education which is meant to boost both women and men's knowledge in as far as their rights and responsibilities are concerned, is that the education is often given very late and as a result there is very little time for it to have the intended effect. One of the reasons for this according to some implementers in this sector is that the funding is disbursed late and often with conditions on how it is spent. The result is a populace that does not fully comprehend their duties yet are involved in politics.

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[141] Kabeberi-Macharia, Janet, P. Kameri-Mbote, and V. Mucai-Katambo. "Law and the Status of Women in Kenya." *Women, law, customs and practices in East Africa: Laying the foundation. Nairobi: Women and Law in East Africa* (1995)

This has in turn translated to the lack of faith in women holding their leaders accountable. This is seen in the table below.

Do Kenyan women hold their leaders accountable

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	To a great extent	4	18.2	18.2	18.2
	to a less extent	9	40.9	40.9	59.1
	Not at all	9	40.9	40.9	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

Only 18.2% of the correspondents felt that women in Kenya have to a great extent held their leaders accountable to their actions. The other 81.2% believe that women have managed to do so but only to a small extent if at all.

Some of the reasons given for this are many of the women are not educated enough. With education comes empowerment, comes the authority to challenge what might not necessarily make sense to you. With education and consequently empowerment women would not be timid and let leaders get away with impunity.

There's also the issue of new positions that have come about when the new constitution was promulgated. There is little understanding about the different roles which is also why women are having difficulty holding the leaders accountable according to some respondents.

Respondents also indicated that because of patriarchal values, there are some 'duties' that are for men and questioning leaders is one of them. A woman should not be found 'heckling' or asking curious questions.

It is also important to sample some of the thoughts of those who believe that Kenyan women are making great strides is holding their leaders accountable. According to these respondents, there has

been an increase in the number of female activists in Kenya. These women have made women's voice louder. More women are able to find a voice through these activists.

Conclusion

From the narrative and the data, the hypothesis in chapter one holds true. Patriarchal value systems negatively influence effective participation of women in governance and politics in Kenya. The patriarchal values only serve the interest of men at the expense of women. It is only through empowerment in the form of education that women will rise to the occasion and have their rightful seat in the table of governance. For men to be more receptive to the idea of women having similar rights and responsibilities as them, advocacy on the subject will have to increase.

CHAPTER FOUR

TO DETERMINE THE NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES' STRUCTURES AND THEIR ROLE IN HINDERING OR ADVANCING WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN KENYA

What are political parties?

Different scholars have made attempts at defining political parties. Before we delve in to their nature and more so in the Kenyan context, it is important to understand what these political parties are and what their function are. According to Nnoli, political party refers to a group of people who share a common understanding of how and why state power should be used.[142]

According to Giovanni Sartori, political parties refer to "any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office."[143]

In the two definitions one thing that emerges is the need to control power. Before looking at the structures of thee parties it is imperative that we understand the functions of these parties and therefore see if their structure serve to help them in their functions or act as an impediment.

Functions of Political Parties

Mobilization

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[142] Nnoli, Okwudiba. "Introduction to Political Science." (1986).
[143] Hofmeister, Wilhelm, and Karsten Grabow. *Political Parties: Functions and Organisation in Democratic Societies.* Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011.

Political parties are in charge of shaping public opinion. They do so by informing the public about what the government is doing and their party programmes as well. This point is clearly brought out by the recent decision by the government to engage with Uganda in importing sugar. While this issue has been contentious both the government and the opposition through the respective parties have tried to explain the implication of the deal with both sides trying to garner support from the public.

This mobilization was also seen when the country was drafting a new constitution. Different stakeholders were involved and in the constitution making process. The people were made aware of the contents of the constitution through the different parties in either their opposition or their proposal to the new constitution. It is through these parties that the country was able to hold a referendum to vote in the new constitution.

In 2007 when the country was gearing up for elections, Orange Democratic Party pushed for the decentralization of power which would lead to regional governments. Their aim was to have equitable distribution of natural resources. The then government however interpreted this differently. According to them, it was a ploy to evict the kikuyu from their 'non-ancestral' homes. In so doing they got the backing of the kikuyu and needless to say mobilization took place along tribal lines.

It is important to mention that these mobilization are not based on party loyalty rather, they are based on issues at hand. Once the issues change, the party dynamics sometimes change with some members either shifting to other parties or breaking away from the main party to form their own parties.

Recruitment

For parties to remain relevant they must recruit people who are like minded to push the party's agenda. The most common form of recruitment, is that of candidates to elective office. The parties choose who is best suited for a given seat and thereafter provide campaign money and expertise so that their candidate of choice wins.

However the choice of candidate is not entirely based on merit (FES, 2010). Other factors such as role of the candidate in the party, likelihood of winning against other candidates in other political parties and ethnicity among others also count. This leads to discontent within parties which may then cause the discontented parties to either defect to a different party or form their own party with other disgruntled members.

Institutionalizing democracy

Parties provide people a legitimate way with which they can take part in politics of the country. These parties act as checks to the government and ensure that whatever actions the government takes are within the confines of democracy. In an autocracy or dictatorship, people do not actively participate in the country's politics. What the head of state says is law and any defiance of it is equivalent to treason.

This is especially important in Kenya and Africa at large where democracy has been in play for just over two decades. There are leaders who frustrate democracy and instead make sure that it is their idiosyncratic interests which carry the day at the expense of the country's development.

Legitimizing function

In any given race, it is inevitable that there will be a winner and a loser. For a win to be legitimate the other participants who did not win must concede that that they lost the race. The same is the case with political elections. The losers in elections must concede so that they legitimize the winner.

However this did not happen in the 2007 elections in Kenya. The elections were marred with irregularities and according to both local and international observers, the elections were not free and fair. The result was the post-election violence which saw thousands of people displaced and just over a thousand lose their lives. The then loser, Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) did not accept defeat citing irregularities in the electoral process. His supporters took to the streets in protest but despite this, the incumbent, Mwai Kibaki, was sworn in at dusk. The argument behind it was that there was a looming constitutional crisis where Kenya would not have a president had the swearing in ceremony not be done then.

The government at the time lacked legitimacy until the parties agreed to a coalition government. In the following elections in 2013, despite there being claims of irregularities, Raila Odinga who was still vying in the ODM ticket, accepted defeat just before the final results were announced which in turn led to a smooth transition with Uhuru Kenyatta being sworn in as the 4th president of the republic.

THE DIFFERENT PHASES IN HISTORY

1960-1963

During this time there were only two dominant parties: Kenya National African Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). The former was more dominant as it represented the larger ethnic groups such as Kikuyu, Luo and the latter came up to provide a check of some sort as well as represent

the minority groups.[144] At the time, the main agenda for these parties was to liberate the country from colonial rule and to create a mechanism with which the local aspirants could get into the Legislative Council (LEGCO) (ibid).

KADU however dissolved in 1964 which caused Kenya to be a single party state. With no active checks politics was now marred with cronyism, rivalries and regional loyalties (Ojwang, 1986).

In the period following this, KANU experienced internal wrangles with Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga forcing Oginga Odinga to quit the party and form Kenya People's Union in 1966. This move was however countered with an amendment in the constitution that saw the party take part in general elections. Only aspirants from Nyanza succeeded with the others being defeated by their KANU opponents.[145] KPU was frustrated by Jomo Kenyatta with its leaders being detained every time which led to its disbandment in 1969. Kenya was once again back to a defacto one party state.[146]

1969-1990

This trend continued until in 1982 in Moi's regime, where a constitution amendment (introduced section 2A of the constitution) solidified Kenya as a dejure one party state (Jonyo, 2013). Both Moi and Kenyatta did not use the parties as a form of mobilization or a means to free and fair elections but rather a tool for suppression ad regime consoldation. Any attempt at forming other parties to counter the ruling party was met by force. During this period, there was very low participation of women in politics leave alone being members to these parties.[147] Politics was associated with brutality and women did not want to be part of that. Political violence has been cited as one of the reasons for women's poor political participation.[148]

In 1991 section 2A of the constitution was repealed and Kenya became a multi-party state.

1992- date

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[144] Otieno, Owuoche Solomon. "Politics in Kenya: a perspective." (2004).

[145] Jonyo, Fred. "Assessing The Role Of Political Parties In Democratization In Kenya: The Case Of 2013 General Elections."

[146] Institute for Education in Democracy. "Political Parties Management and organisation in Kenya."(1998)

[147] Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Nairobi Office. *Institutionalizing Political Parties in Kenya*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010.

[148] Parliament-Kenya, Women's. Shadow. "Rapid Gender Assessment and Audit of Political Parties in Kenya,[www] http://womenshadowparliament. org/downloads."*Rapid_Gender_Assessment_and_Audit_of_Political_Parties_in_Kenya. pdf [PDF document, opens new window](accessed 19 Jul 2010)* (2006).

Many parties were formed once Kenya was declared a multi-party state. They all had one aim in mind-to unseat KANU. This however did not happen as the party that had the most promise then-FORD, split up due to internal wrangles. Before splitting up, it is the only party that had a semblance of representing all Kenyans while the others were solely ethnic and region centric (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2010). It is in this period however that we have had an increase in women's participation in politics.

There were more women presenting themselves for nomination in parties and actually winning respective seats. Granted, the number is still dismal but thanks to the new constitution and increased women empowerment the number has increased.

The number of elected women MPs rose from zero in the first post-colonial government to six in 1992 when the state had its first multiparty elections, dropped to four in 1997, and rose again to nine in 2002.[149] In 2007, the figure almost doubled. There were 16 elected female MPs and 6 nominated MPs.[150]

2013 marked a new era for women representation and participation in politics in Kenya. With the promulgation of the new constitution, there were 47 women to be elected in each county. These would be the women representatives of the counties. Women could still present themselves to vie for other seats but these 47 would translate to 47 more women legislature than they had before. There are a total of 86 women MPs (nominated and elected) in the 11th parliament.[151] While this number is commendable, this only represents 19% of the legislatures and ranks Kenya at 76 of the top 100 countries in the World Classification of Women in National Parliaments (ibid).

Parties' Structures and Their Role in Hindering or Advancing Women Participation in Politics in Kenya

Political parties, as has been mentioned before are the primary vehicles for which people participate in politics. These parties' determine who vies for a given seat and who is knocked out. These parties however have been biased against women. Male characteristics are often emphasized and become the criteria for choosing candidates. As was mentioned in previous chapter, when the party chooses a female candidate, it is often not in winnable positions or sometimes in low position which the party feel

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[149] file:///C:/Users/Delta01/Desktop/Project/chapter%203/New%20folder/VOLUME%2018,%20NO.%201-2%20(MAY-JULY%202003).html
[150] AMWIK. "Journey to Leadership Women Legislators in Kenya's Tenth Parliament." (2011)
[151] AMWIK. "86 and Counting Women Leaders in the 11th Parliament." (2014)

that the women belong. This is tantamount to setting women up for failure. This in turn impacts the women participation negatively as women are forced to overcome so many hurdles (patriarchal values, poverty, self-esteem) before they can even get a nomination ticket from party and when they finally get the ticket it is not winnable.

In 1992, Nzomo challenged the political parties to increase the representation of women at a National conference for women.[152] In 1997, former MP Phoebe Asiyo moved a motion calling for affirmative action by allocating 12% seats for women in parliament (ibid). This motion was a milestone in itself and was called the 'Phoebe Asiyo Motion'. The bill got support from some male parliamentarians but failed due to lack of support by majority. The bill did not entirely fail as it spurred women into organizing themselves for increased women representation and a cross-party women's organization came into being.

In 2003, former minister of Justice and a prominent female politician, Martha Karua attempted to introduce the Affirmative Action Bill. The bill was aimed at securing 50 parliamentary seats for women. This bill just like the Phoebe Asiyo motion, failed because of lack of support.

According to Shvedova, despite the fact that political parties possess resources for conducting election campaigns, women hardly benefit from them. This is to say that many parties do not support female candidates financially during campaigns.

Given these challenges, women's participation would be better realized through quotas.

In Kenya today, political parties are regulated by the political Parties Act of 2011. This Act provides for establishment of a Political Parties Fund. This fund ought to be administered by the office of the registrar of Political parties. It is also important to note that that the fund targets activities of the political parties that promote democracy.

In light of the attempts aforementioned of promoting women's participation and representation in political parties, the Act goes on to stipulate that 30% of the fund should be utilized towards promoting participation of marginalized groups in politics.[153] This marginalized group can be understood to include, women, youth and people with disabilities.

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[152] UN Women. "Report on the Regional Dialogue on Women's Political Leadership. Championing Women's Political Leadership: Delivering the One-Third Promise in Kenya." (2012)
[153] Political Parties Act Kenya, 2011.

This piece of legislation aimed at improving democracy and the rule of law. It aimed to do so using a holistic approach. However, looking at the general elections that followed in 2013, this act had very little impact. In August 2011, a consultative forum was held regarding the political parties' fund. A number of challenges were highlighted by relevant parties that took part in that forum. Some of the stakeholders were: the Federation of Women Layers (FIDA), National Gender and Equity Commission (NGEC), Uraia Trust, Youth Agenda, Crawn Trust and International Commission of Jurist. These actors have had significant roles in as far as championing the rights of women and promoting their empowerment is concerned.

According to Mariam Kamunyu of FIDA, some of these challenges included: lack of guidelines on how the fund should be utilised, lack of human capacity to develop the guidelines, patriarchal ideologies in the parties, genuine lack of knowledge of the said fund.[154] Where lack of guidelines is concerned, this is a problem that continues to haunt the country in as far as implementing legislation goes. The two third gender rule is also currently suffering the same fate. Despite it being law that not more than two third of the same gender will take up public office, legislators have not yet figured out how to go about implementing this law. This has consequently agitated groups that were fighting for increased women's participation in governance in the country

The patriarchal ideologies still play a crippling role in the participation of women in these political parties. In Africa and consequently Kenya, there are occasions where patriarchal norms supersede written laws. They do so in the sense that they inform customary law which often doesn't promote gender equality and equity. It often subordinates the role of women in the society. This doesn't make the customary law right in the eyes of the law, but the law enforcers who are also guided by these norms tend to make a bias decision. It is also important to note that the two laws (statutory and customary) exist side by side in Kenya.

It is important to note that while more women have been taking part in politics and even be nominated over time, their impact in the political parties is still wanting. These women find themselves forming groups with which they can have a voice and even then, very little can be heard.

Membership fee for political parties

Each party has a membership fee which one has to pay before becoming a member. These fees however vary from party to party with some estimating it at kshs 200,000 for men and 100,000 for women. The

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[154] Consultative Forum On Political Parties Fund Held On August 13, Nairobi. 2013

reason for this difference is so that more women are encouraged to join the parties. Despite these fees being reduced for women, they are often still very high and unaffordable.

According to some respondents, parties sometimes waive this fee so that women and youth can participate. The only catch is that they have to pay the nomination fee which is often very high and out of the reach of many. As was mentioned when discussing about nomination earlier, a lot of money goes into lobbying for the certificate and bribing the electorate as well. It is indeed an expensive affair. This is contradictory to one the function of the parties mentioned above. Where the party should help the candidates with the relevant resources in as far as campaigning is concerned, one instead has to use a significant amount before he or she has the backing of the party. This is partly one of the reasons why some candidates contest as independent candidates.

These dynamics do not prove favorable to women. In developing countries poverty is engendered. This means that more women than men are susceptible to poverty as a result of combined factors be it cultural, political, economic or social.

Where it is proven that more women are more likely to be poor as opposed to their male counterparts, it therefore becomes very difficult for these women to raise these fees for them to join the relevant political change and vie for office. This is automatically locks them out of potentially vying for whatever position they were eyeing.

Patriarchy in political parties

Patriarchy is still rife in political parties. Men are still guided by the belief that women are not fit for public life and a result very few female representation. Political parties are often termed as the real gate keepers when it comes to participation. This means that in as, far as the political parties don't have the right policies in place to enable women's participation in their parties, there will be a small number of women who will be able to present themselves to the public as viable candidates. The curious position however is that these parties have provision for gender inclusivity in their manifestos but they do not go ahead to make it a reality. Some of these provisions will be discussed at a later stage.

These parties also have 'old boys' networks. Men have forged relationships among themselves thus making a new entrant in the party very difficult. This is especially so when the women eye positions that veteran male candidates have had. The veterans will be nominated to vie for the said positions because of the existing networks with the party officials.

Majority of the party officials are male. This means that the male agenda will always carry the day. It is very unlikely that the officials will advocate for favourable conditions for women to participate in political parties. As has been mentioned before, it is the women who table a bill to promote women's participation in political arena. However these bills have failed due to lack of support. These bills are tabled in front in committees that are largely constituted of men who have no interest in changing the status quo hence lack the required support

Hardly do incumbents groom female candidates to succeed them. In Kenya for example men in power are always grooming fellow men to take up power. This is hardly seen with women. Once one is taken under the wing of an incumbent, it becomes very difficult to beat them as they often garner support of the incumbent's supporters. Others factors that also contribute to the winning streak is the amount of resources that are made available to candidate being groomed. An important example here is where Moi groomed Uhuru for the 2002 elections. Despite Uhuru not winning the elections it was made clear that he was the preferred candidate to succeed the then president.

Orientation is another important thing. Once men and women become members of the party they are given an orientation of the political party. This orientation is a very important bit as it helps new members to understand the Do's and Don'ts of the party. The unfortunate bit is that the parties are guided by patriarchal values hence when induction is taking place, the patriarchal values are further embedded in the new leaders.

Are there quotas?

Are their quotas in political parties that promote women's participation?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	All parties have quotas	8	36.4	36.4	36.4
	some parties have quotas	5	22.7	22.7	59.1
	all parties don't have quotas	3	13.6	13.6	72.7
	Not sure	6	27.3	27.3	100.0

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	some parties have quotas	5	22.7	22.7	59.1
	all parties don't have quotas	3	13.6	13.6	72.7
	Not sure	6	27.3	27.3	100.0
	Total	22	100.0	100.0	

This was especially a challenging question to the respondents and it got an array of responses. The general view from the majority of the respondents was that there are quotas in the different political parties in Kenya. 36.4% of the respondents were in agreement that all the parties have quotas that promote women's participation. According to them these parties have gender responsive policies in their manifesto that ensure proper participation of women in the constitution.

27.3% of the respondents are unsure as to whether there are quotas in political parties that give provision for women to participate in politics. They however cited the constitution indicating that not more than two thirds of either elective or appointive seats will belong to one gender. This in its own right should cause political parties to have policies in place that promote the participation of women in the parties.

22.7% of the respondents however indicated that there are indeed some parties that have quotas other than the positions such as the women representative which came about when the new constitution was promulgated. According to them, there are some seats that are designated specifically for women in some parties. An example of these positions is that of treasurer.

Quotas have improved women's participation in the world over. Not all quota systems however will be effective in every environment. It is important to assess the nation before introducing the quota system. According to a report compiled by Ballington, in order to choose an effective quota system one has to

know the electoral system of the specific country.[155]Also when implementing quota systems, enforcement mechanisms are very important as they determine the success of the system.

Countries such as Sweden, Rwanda and Uganda that have quota systems have recorded increased number of women who take part in politics (ibid).

While some parties do not have clear quotas to ensure that more women participate in politics, they have been manifestos which they seek to realise once they become the ruling party. The gender component is what we are interested in here. We will look into an assessment done in 2002 and while a more recent assessment of the same would be ideal, the information below will still be relevant.

According to an assessment done by the Women Shadow Parliament in 2003 some of the policies were:

KANU

In their manifesto, they recognized the need to increase women in decision making structures. They also promised to ensure gender equity by increasing education and training opportunities for women, harmonise customary law too secure women's right to land ownership and inheritance as well as take affirmative action aimed at increasing the number of women in active employment. The mode realization of this was however not clear as the party did not have a gender policy in place. At least at the time the assessment took place. Only one woman vying under the KANU ticket, Naomi Shaban, was elected in 2002. Three women were nominated under the KANU ticket bringing the total to a dismal 4 women in the 9th Parliament.[156]

NARC

This is the coalition that ousted KANU from power in 2002. Their mission was to achieve one-third representation of elective posts by women. They intended to achieve this through civic education. This however did not happen when they were in power. The current constitution which now has this principle, was accepted through a referendum and was promulgated in 2010- three years after NARC was no longer the ruling party. We can however say that they created the foundation for this. In 2002, eight women were elected under the NARC ticket while 5 were nominated under the same ticket.

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[155] Ballington, Julie. "The implementation of quotas: African experiences." (2004).
[156] Murunga, Godwin R., and Shadrack W. Nasong'o. *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*. Zed Books, 2007.

Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K)

According to the assessment aforementioned, this party had a very superior stand in as far as women's participation in politics and political parties was concerned. In their manifesto, they sought to do away with archaic practices which oppressed women and review all discriminatory laws in the different spheres of life that are against women. The superiority of the party in as far as these issues are concerned were because the statements made were that of intent and not just passive as was the case with other parties.

The party was also well informed about women's needs in general and the hindrances they face within political parties

In the time the assessment was taking place, there were already two programmes ongoing that were specific to women. There was an exchange program with the Norwegian Women Party and a women's leadership programme on participation of women in politics in collaboration with the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The main purpose of these programmes was to enhance women's participation in elective politics as well as source of funding for female candidates.

Once of the factors that affect women's participation is elective politics is the lack of training and empowerment. Having such programmes therefore would inform women of their rights and give them the adequate training with which they will have confidence and skill when vying and eventually taking up office.

The only shortcoming in this party as was the same with KANU, there is no clear guide on how they would go about realizing their goals. This was coupled with the fact that the party lacked specific budget line for women activities.

Democratic Party (DP)

The party declares in its manifesto that there have been discriminatory policies in as far as education, employment and access to various institutions is concerned and that the party is committed to make fundamental changes.

The party's constitution gives provision for full participation of women and youth in the party's hierarchy and significant representation of women and youth in all party organs

Liberal Democratic Party

The party like the others recognises that women have not been on an even platform when it comes to political participation among other spheres of the society. The party in its attempt to boost women's participation has women wing which is known as the LDPP Women's League. Women who are members of LDP are eligible to join.

In so doing LDP seeks to ensure that women are adequately represented in decision making structures.

What Criteria is used for nominating candidates in political parties?

The issue of nomination is riddled with two things that act as impediments to women's participation in politics in Kenya. To start with, women are underrepresented in the organs that are tasked with nomination of candidates. This underrepresentation means that there's only a few people who can advocate for the rights of women and voice the challenges that women are facing when participating in politics. The other is financial constraints.

Where nomination is concerned, parties in Kenya still have a long way to go. Ideally, nomination to vie for a seat would be dependent on the competence of the individual vying for the said position as well as the candidates sharing the same ideals as that of the party. This competence can be drawn from the professional qualification of the candidate and experience in the field as well.

The respondents however were of a different opinion. A significant majority of the respondents said that competence was not the main factor in as far as nomination of candidates is concerned. They cited finance, nepotism, popularity and patron client relationships as influencing the nomination of a candidate.

It is therefore important to interrogate these issues on their own and analyse what the trend has been in the past.

Finance

Finance plays a huge role in as far as nominations is concerned. According to a survey done by Coalition for Accountable Political finance, politicians and their parties spent an enormous sum of money in the nomination week. The amount is estimated to be Kshs 5 million in each of the 210 constituencies. This

money was mostly used for bribery purposes.[157] Where such amounts are directed into nominations alone, the cost becomes too much for the women who cannot afford this amount. The result is more men than women will be nominated to vie for seats and at the end of the day we'll have more men than women in office.

In the same survey, only 10% (73) of the people who participated in nominations in Party of National Unity (PNU) were women. Out of these 73 women, only 13 managed to clinch a nomination ticket to vie for a parliamentary position. Their main rivals ODM also registered a dismal figure. Out of almost 2,000 parliamentary aspirants, only 59 were women. Out of these 59 only 9 managed to get a party ticket.

Popularity

This issue of popularity explains why we have some legislators in office. In 2013 for example, in the run for Governor of Nairobi, businessman Jimnah Mbaru sought to vie for this seat using a Jubilee ticket. Despite the fact the business man has a wealth of experience and is competent the party decided to vote in Ferdinand Waititu simply because he was more popular. Waititu has stirred up controversies in the past in the constituency in which he was representing. He has been demonstrating with the masses and engaged in running battles with the authority. Waititu was also on record inciting members of the constituency he represented to evict members of the maasai community. He later denied this and issued a public apology. In his term as Member of Parliament, his conduct was questionable and therefore when he was nominated to vie for Governor under the jubilee ticket in 2013, the criteria under which parties nominate their candidates could not go without being questioned.

The other bone of contention was the credibility of Waititu's academic certificates. Waititu claimed to have gotten his certificates from India but their authenticity was questioned as the documents had different names compared to that which he is legally known by. In the end, he was allowed to vie.

In the same breathe, Mike Sonko who is currently the senator of Nairobi was nominated to vie for the seat in 2013 on the jubilee ticket. Sonko formerly known as Gideon Mbuvi was first elected as the Member of Parliament of Makadara Constituency in 2010 through a by-election. His time in parliament was also not without its controversies. In 2011, he was kicked out of parliament in 2011 because of his

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[157] Coalition for Accountable Finance, "Election Monitoring Initiative, Election 2007: Interim Report on Voter Bribery Survey. Nairobi CAPF." (2008)

dresscode[158]. His flamboyant lifestyle earned him his name Sonko. Sonko has also helped his constituents mainly the youth, in one way or the other. Be it from sponsoring poor children to attain education, to women and youth to be a part of gainful employment, Sonko's popularity soared and that is why he succeeded in the Nairobi senatorial race.

These are but two examples of leaders in Kenya who have been nominated to vie based on their popularity rather than their competence.

Nepotism

Candidates in Kenya have been elected based on their relationship with party leaders.

The most recent example is the nomination of Moses Kajwang' to be the senator of Homa Bay County following the death of his older brother and very popular Otieno Kajwang'. Moses nomination was very contentious as the other candidates who were interested in the seat under the ODM ticket claimed that the issue ought to be treated as a political affair and not a family affair. Raila Odinga who is the leader of ODM was accused of imposing the candidate on the people of Homa Bay and that the process was very undemocratic.

This issue of nepotism is closely tied with patron client relationship. Otieno Kajwang was a very close ally of Raila Odinga and Raila endorsing his younger brother could easily be a way of maintain close ties with the Kajwang's as well as the support from the area. This caused a rift within the party but the party was able to maintain the seat at the end of the day through Moses Kajwang.[159]

This was however not an isolated case. There has been a trend of members of family being nominated when their loved ones perish while still in office.

Lorna Laboso was the Assistant minister in the office of the vice president in 2008. Her time was however ended abruptly when she and the then lands minister Kipkalya Kones died in a tragic plane crash. This was a tragedy as Lorna was a budding politician with a lot of promise. ODM sought to keep the seat in the family to reward them for the support they had accorded the party in the period leading

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[158] http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/03/03/kenyan.lawmaker.attire/index.html?iref=allsearch
[159] http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Kajwang-takes-early-lead-in-Homa-Bay-poll/-/1064/2622282/-/lyn7a3z/-/index.html

upto the 2007 elections.[160] They approached Lorna's sister, Joyce Laboso, who was a lecturer at Egerton University to vie for the Member of Parliament of Sotik Constituency.

Although she did not have her eyes set on politics, Joyce finally bowed to the pressure from friends, the party and constituents at large. She went on to emerge victorious in a by election under the ODM ticket and has gone on to rise in politics. In 2013 she was voted as deputy speaker of national assembly.

Kipkalya Kones who died in the crash with Lorna Laboso was succeeded by his wife, Beatrice Cherono Kones in a by-election that was held in 25th September 2008.[161] Beatrice holds the position to date.

Conclusion

It was hypothesized that the nature of political parties' structure hinders women participating in governance and politics in Kenya. From the narrative, this holds true. The manifestos that are mostly gender inclusive are not implemented within the parties. Women are often bulldozed by men who know their way around the party and given that there are very few women actively involved in these parties, the number of women who can act as mentors to aspiring female candidates is very low. Parties need to reform so as to promoted women's participation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Following the discussions in the preceding chapters, Kenya still has a long way to go in as far as women's participation in governance is concerned. While there has been steady progress since independence, this has been particularly slow. Our neighbouring countries such as Rwanda and Uganda are miles ahead in as far as women's political participation is concerned. Some of the reasons given for this for example is the introduction of quota system.

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[160] http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/thecounties/article/2000082161/the-rise-and-rise-of-joyce-laboso
[161] http://eastandard.net/InsidePage.php?id=1143995671&cid=4

When reviewing the role that women play in the political environment in Africa what emerged clearly is the will of women to take part in political activities which is countered by a chauvinistic group that wants to maintain the status quo. It has also been established that women do indeed play an important role in governance and when given the chance and the right environment their accomplishments are significant.

Patriarchy still deeply embedded in the social norms of the different societies. Throughout the research, what was evident was the fact that both men and women regardless of their background (origin) still believed that people's mind-sets were still ruled by the different roles that both men and women ought to play. Looking at the example of Kenya, patriarchy is still deeply rooted. The country has both the customary and civil laws operating concurrently. Customary law is deeply informed by patriarchal norms and as long as they are used to guide Kenyan patriarchy will still prevail.

It is also important to note that all forms of patriarchy is bad. Where one identifies themselves with their father's lineage for example, it is only a form of identification. As human beings we have inherent need to belong. When however this patriarchy is used to oppress one group for example when women are not allowed to own land because it is not in their place to do so, then it becomes negative. It is this form of patriarchy that we are fight against and once the people's minds are not colonized by such thoughts then women will be free from oppression.

It is also important to note that there are instances where women have been accused of being their own worst enemy. In this regard they are accused of not supporting their fellow women when they vie for office. I will however like to bring to light that women should not be blamed for this rather they should blame the norms that women have been forced to live by.

Political parties play a very crucial role in as far as women participation in governance is concerned. While some recognise the importance of incorporating the gender aspect in their manifesto, many have only written their position in as far as gender and political participation is concerned but very few walk the talk. Women are still encouraged to take part in lowly positions as opposed to those that might attract strong competition.

The political parties are still structured such that it is only men who have easier access to leadership roles. Men are given preference when vying for certain posts for example. Men have old boys networks

which they rely on heavily to get support for their ambitions. This is however the opposite for women who have no established networks within the party for them to lobby.

The nomination criteria for example does not favour women. The fee that is associated with nomination process is high and women who do not have adequate means cannot be nominated. As was mentioned before, a lot of money goes not in the nomination fee but in the bribing of officials and the voters. It is important to note that this nomination is at the primaries and gives the candidates access to vying officially on the party ticket in the main elections. As long as the primaries are synonymous with voter bribery and exorbitant nomination fees, women will continue to be locked out.

These parties are still ruled by patriarchal norms. It is okay for men to act in a certain manner and get away with it despite the said actions being contrary to what leaders ought to do. This is why we have unruly set of leaders re-elected every five years as people are quick to forget with some accepting their behaviours as the norm.

A lot has to take place for Kenya to be on the same level as its neighbours in women's political participation top of the list being political will. Other recommendations are discussed below.

Recommendations

Women empowerment. Patriarchy is the number one problem plaguing women's participation. As it is difficult to change people's culture from outside, it is better to do so from within. This means that the government are relevant stakeholders should ensure that women are empowered. This can be done through ensuring that all children and especially girls, go to school and get an education. For those who are adults, the government should focus on civic education that will also empower the women and trigger them to challenge the status quo. This civic education however should not be timed too close to the general elections as the civic educators will be competing with the politicians for the voter's attention and seeing as the politicians always have incentives, little progress will be made with civic education. It is only through empowerment that women are able to make independent decisions about their choice candidates and consequently hold them accountable.

Policy change. It is not enough to come up with the two third gender rule, the government must come up with a mechanism to implement it. The president of Kenya- Uhuru Kenyatta- set a good precedence

by nomination six women to cabinet positions out of eighteen positions. This was an attempt at meeting the two thirds gender rule.

Party reforms. Reforms should take place within political parties such that they don't just talk the talk in ensuring gender parity but walk the talk as well. They have manifestos to start with which are cognizant of the issues that women face. They should however go the extra mile and try to implement these policies within the parties. It would be worthwhile to see the effect this would have in the next general elections should parties restructure their systems.

Media has played an important role. In the past some have recommended that the media stop portraying women as being soft. I think there is nothing wrong about being soft, the media should instead exercise neutrality when covering both men and women. The media should be neutral such that the masses are able to focus on the policies and ideas of individual rather than their biological make up and what they ought to do as a result of this make up.

Women's organisations. Women should come together and speak with one voice. This gives them stronger bargaining power and that way they are able to achieve more. Women also know the problems that their fellow women are facing and it is only through these organisations they will be supported accordingly either through mentorship or networks with which they can work in.

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