UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

WOMEN AND THE POLITICAL MOSAIC IN KENYA: PATTERNS AND TRENDS OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN POLITICS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

BY

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2016
DECLARATION

Declaration by Student

I hereby declare that this research project is an original work which has not been presented before for assessment by any other candidate for the award of any certification in the country.

Signature…………………………… Date…………………………

Mary Kabugi

C50/8957/2006

Declaration by Supervisor

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor in University of Nairobi.

Signature…………………………… Date…………………………

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
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<tr>
<td>CoK</td>
<td>Constitution of Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICW</td>
<td>International Conference of Women</td>
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<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human immunodeficiency virus</td>
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<td>HRMs</td>
<td>Human Resource Managers</td>
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<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<td>KWPC</td>
<td>Kenya Women Political Caucus</td>
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<td>LEGCO</td>
<td>Legislative Council</td>
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<td>LKVV</td>
<td>League of Women Voters of Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG’s</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMD</td>
<td>Movement for Multi-Party Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPs</td>
<td>Members of Parliament</td>
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<tr>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>Maendeleo ya Wanawake</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCWK</td>
<td>National Council for Women in Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDG’s</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<td>US</td>
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<td>WPAK</td>
<td>Women Political Alliance of Kenya</td>
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ABSTRACT

Kenyan women constitute a vital national resource whose ideas, creativity and concerns for social cohesion can help bring about positive change in all spheres of the society. Even though a number of women have made great strides in politics in the country, women representation is far below the minimum one third public service requirement of Article 27(3) of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The main objective of the study was to analyze the women and the political mosaic (patterns and trends) of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Specifically, this study sought to; establish the patterns and trends of women participation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya parliament, examine the effectiveness of Constitution of Kenya 2010 in supporting women participation and representation in political process and to determine the perceived benefits and challenges of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya.

This study used a qualitative research design. The study population comprised of all the women who have been involved in politics in post-independence Kenya parliament and county assembly. The study used a non-probability sampling technique whereby the study used purposive sampling to select 14 key informant interviewees guided by the geographical representation and the political periods. Similarly, the study purposively sampled 32 participants for focus group discussion. Participants for the FGD were drawn from two counties namely Nairobi to represent the urban region and Nyandarua to represent the rural region. The study used secondary data which was quantitative in nature and primary which was qualitative in nature. To collect secondary data, the study used a check list. To collect primary data, the study used a focus discussion group and a key informant interview guide. Specifically, the study held 4 focus discussion groups, 2 in Nairobi County and 2 in Nyandarua County. Each FGD comprised of 8 women who have been involved in politics. Further, the study conducted 7 interviews in each county.

The study concluded that women participation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya is very low compared to the demographic reality. The study concluded that there has been a gradual increase in the level of women representation in parliament. The study also concluded that women do not have a full understanding of the constitution since their responses were not in tandem with what the Constitution of Kenya 2010 states. It was evident that the new constitution has benefited women by improving their status even though they are faced with a myriad of challenges.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Political investment in a greater part lead government can take many structures, stretching out from voting for agents at general breaks to voting on methodologies in referenda, surrounding political social events, and participating in honest to goodness or unlawful contradiction. The general population involved with such venture likely expect - or potentially trust - that these exercises will have some impact on the substance of government courses of action (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003). As showed by Igwee (2002) political support is the degree and sorts of consideration of inhabitants in organization and related establishments of society, for instance, the economy and culture. It thusly incorporates enthusiasm for political campaigns and open considerations, going to methodology social occasions of political get-togethers, voting in the midst of races, contending as contender for races, and holding of key government and political get-together positions.

By representation of ladies, researchers have recognized two types of representation, enlightening and substantive representation (Celis and Childs 2008). Elucidating representation is described as “standing for constituents” because of shared social characteristics, in this case, women standing for women. Substantive representation on the other hand, is “acting for constituents”, in this case women acting for women.

Women's representation and participation in politics has been an uphill task throughout the world. Since Ester Boserup's (1970) spearheading work of ladies and advancement in the Third World, ponders keep on confirming her finding that ladies are not equivalent recipients with men of the products of alleged modernization and improvement. Campbell (2010) concurs that over the world there appear to be hindrances to ladies' cooperation in politics than men. This is demonstrated by underrepresentation of women in the political arena. In cases where women get a chance to lead, they are often seen as unreal men. For instance, Margaret Thatcher of Britain as “Iron Lady” or Golda Mier of Israel as “the only man in the cabinet” (Campbell, 2010). Yoon (2004) observes that on a global survey, only about 39 states have chosen a lady president or leader.
As per the UN report titled, "The World's ladies 2000: Trends and insights", ladies contain "... short of what one-tenth of the world's bureau priests and one-fifth of all sub-pastoral positions", United Nations (2000). In this report, sub-Saharan Africa is ranked lowly number five in the ranks, while Nordic regions followed by the Americans are rated comparatively high. The reports indicate that rate of ladies in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa is just underneath the worldwide normal.

This report seems to be corroborated by the fact that women in Africa have been excluded from most of the important positions until 2003 when Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected president of Liberia (Hay & Stitcher, 1995). Even though they have been represented in the legislative organs their number has remained minimal compared to their male counterparts. This is despite the resolutions passed in the UN Decade Conference of Nairobi in 1985 and the Abuja Declaration.

The Beijing Declaration in the year 1995 also identified basic ranges of concern and laid out moves to be made in each of these zones with a specific end goal to make a superior world for ladies. The part of ladies in power and basic leadership was among these ranges of concern. In calling for 'sexual orientation adjust' in 'legislative bodies', 'open organization substances' and 'the legal', two wide destinations were plot: take measures to guarantee ladies' equivalent access to and full investment in power structures and basic leadership; and increment ladies' ability to take an interest in basic leadership.

In the later past, the political field of some Eastern African nations have made a few walks as far as ladies consideration in political cooperation (Okoth, 2000). Meena (1992) states Tanzania was the principal African nation in 1998 to incorporate 30 percent standard representation in her national constitution. Tanzania was taken after by Rwanda and crossed the gender parity in women participation in politics as UNIFEM (2008/09) illustrates. Kenya is one of the countries with observably low participation of women in political processes. Kariuki (2010) observes that even though women make up to about 52 percent of the population, decision making organs have remained largely minimal and marginal to women since independence. This has been attributed to a number of factors. Instead of using their vote to bring change for women in society, the women’s vote has often been manipulated by male politicians (Datta-Sandhu, 1979). She adds that, this is especially noticeable in
African countries such as Kenya where the largest women’s organization, ended up supporting a KANUs male candidates rather than putting up female candidates. Karuru (2001), identified, cultural factors, economic empowerment and political party structures and institutions as a portion of the variables impacting ladies' political cooperation.

It is evaluated that the rate of ladies' representation in the council ranges from 16.8 percent in the European parliaments to 4.6 percent in the Arab States (Randall, 1987). In Africa, the normal rate of seats possessed by ladies parliamentarians was 12.8 percent in 2002. This unmistakable difference a glaring difference with different measurements on ladies. In Africa ladies constitute marginally more than 50 percent of the total populace. They also account for 65 percent of the world working hours. In the economic front, women make vast contributions through agricultural work, marketing and wage labor, contributing 80 percent of productive agricultural labor worldwide. In rural areas of Third World countries such as Kenya, women give 60-80 percent of horticultural work (Boserup, 1970). However ladies get under 10 percent of the world's pay rates and possess under 1 percent of the world's land (Brydon, 1989). Truth be told, just 14 percent of chose individuals from parliament (both upper and lower houses) on the planet are ladies (Halley, 1996).

The obvious intangibility of ladies in legislative issues is an overall wonder (Gugin, 1986). Poor representation and low level support is not a late pattern in Kenya: ladies make up to around 52 percent of the populace and they are dependably the lion's share voters with a turn out surpassing 55 percent in surveying stations countrywide (Angelique, 1993). Regardless of these measurements ladies cooperation has been insignificant at the general population arrangement and basic leadership levels. For instance, during the drafting of Kenya’s independence constitution at the Lancaster conference, out of the 70 Kenyan legislative council members who were appointed to participate, only one, Ingasiano Abwao, was a woman. She was a nominated member of the Legislative Council (LEGCO). Even then, her role was not clearly established and documented. The first post-independence parliament had no woman elected representative (Ndegwa, 1996).
1.2 Problem Statement

Women’s engagement in political participation and representation is a global concern because in virtually all societies political participation and representation is male dominated. Kamau (2010) posited that level with political support of both sexes is one of the basic mainstays of good administration which involves opportunity of expression, flexibility of relationship among other key rights. Nyakwaka (2012) additionally noticed that Kenyan ladies constitute an imperative national asset whose thoughts, inventiveness and attentiveness toward social union can realize positive change in all circles of the general public. In any case, in spite of the way that ladies assume an imperative part in the general public, ladies in Kenya have been minimized and underrepresented in organs of basic leadership and in administration structures of the nation since freedom. Kenya's Constitution (2010) offers a structure to address this chronicled minimization. Despite the fact that various ladies have made awesome walks in governmental issues in the nation, ladies representation is far underneath the base 33% open administration prerequisite of Article 27(3) of the Constitution of Kenya (2010). The underestimation can be ascribed to customary convictions, observations and generalizations which portray ladies as being substandard (Kivoi, 2014). What’s more, regardless of subscribing to universal duties to enable ladies, Kenya still lingers behind as far as ladies representation in governmental issues and basic leadership in East African area (Kamau, 2010).

Several studies focusing on women participation and representation in political process have been conducted. For instance, Oedl-Wieser (2008) who noted representation of women in the Austrian political arena differs considerably across level and place, Pettygrove (2006) who conducted an analytical research on the hindering political challenges encountered by the Jordanian women, Ogbogu (2012) who scrutinized the role of women’s political role in Nigerian society. The study focused on the latest political developments in Nigeria, and presented the composition of women in the Nigerian councils. Khadar (2013) sought to determined women’s political investment and basic leadership in Hargeisa Somaliland. Ponge (2013) tried to decide the status of ladies inside key political gatherings in Kenya. Comes about uncovered that balance of access to and accomplishment of instructive capabilities is important for more ladies to wind up operators of progress while Kivoi (2014) tried to
decide the components obstructing political investment and representation of ladies in Kenya. A basic audit of past writing demonstrated that few applied and logical research crevices about the women and the political mosaic (patterns and trends) of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya exist. Existing literature reveals gaps in data, leading to failure in informing the political mosaic (patterns and trends) of women’s participation and representation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya. This study thus sought to investigate the patterns and trends of women’s participation and representation at all levels of civic participation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya from a gender perspective. Therefore, the study sought to fill existing gender gaps by assessing how gender relations, power and control over political platforms impact on women access to political leadership.

1.3 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

i. What are the patterns of women participation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya parliament?

ii. What are the trends of women representation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya parliament?

iii. How effective is the Constitution of Kenya 2010 in supporting women participation and representation in voting and vying in the political process since independence?

iv. What are the perceived benefits and challenges of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

1.4 Broad Objective of the Study

The purpose of this research was to assess and analyze the political mosaic (patterns and trends) of women’s participation and representation in post-independence Kenya.
1.5 Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

i. To establish the patterns of women participation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya parliament.

ii. To assess the trends of women representation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya parliament.

iii. To examine the effectiveness of Constitution of Kenya 2010 in supporting women’s participation and representation in the political process since independence.

iv. To determine the perceived benefits and challenges of women participation and representation in political leadership since independence in Kenya.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Women are grossly underrepresented in political participation and representation in most African countries. The World has progressively paid attention to women participation and representation in political leadership. The first International Conference of Women (ICW) was held in Mexico in the year 1972. It brought about the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace. The second ICW was held in Copenhagen in the year 1980. The gathering concurred that the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was a critical breakthrough. The Copenhagen gathering likewise recognized the hole between rights being secured for ladies and ladies’ capacity to practice those rights. It was likewise concurred that it was activity on the three territories of: equivalent access to training; work openings; and sufficient social insurance administrations are fundamental to accomplish the objectives set out in Mexico. The third ICU was held in Nairobi in the year 1985. The Nairobi gathering set out ranges by which advance in ladies’ balance could be measured: sacred and legitimate measures; equity in social investment; equity in political interest; and basic leadership. The gathering additionally recognized that ladies need to take an interest in every aspect of human movement, not only those territories that identify with
The fourth ICW was held in Beijing in the year 1995. The gathering recognized the voices of all ladies all over and observed the differing qualities of ladies and their parts and conditions, respecting the ladies who made ready and enlivened by the trust exhibit on the planet's childhood. The meeting additionally perceived that the status of ladies has progressed in some critical regards in the previous decade yet that advance has been uneven, disparities amongst ladies and men have persevered and significant deterrents stay, with genuine outcomes for the prosperity surprisingly.

In Kenya for the most part, ladies constitute the greater part of the populace and they assume a basic part in the advancement of the nation and the region so far as that is concerned. Ladies shape the majority of the voting populace subsequently drawing in colossal enthusiasm amid constituent procedures over their male partners, they are yet to change over these numbers and realize self-liberation. Disregarding Kenyan ladies having been at the front line in championing the talks and methodologies that bolster ladies' privilege and sexual orientation uniformity – strengthened apparently by the facilitating of the third World Conference in Nairobi in 1985, the status of ladies keeps on being troubling. However no advancement can be accomplished without the incorporation of half of the populace. The exploration was convenient since political investment and representation of ladies is yet to achieve the base 33% established necessities.

The result of the examination would be of importance to the administration arrangement producers on the upsides of including ladies' cooperation and representation in political authority at all levels. It means to serve as an instrument for reference to each one of the individuals who might work to build ladies investment and representation in political administration parts in different nations. This study would likewise empower arrangement reorientation towards expanded sex mainstreaming. This would prompt to formation of open attention to the electorate on the significance of equivalent sex representation in the nation. It is trusted that this exploration would prompt to further strategy measures that illuminate enactment to upgrade the representation of ladies in political administration and sex mainstreaming as visualized in the Constitution which advocates for equivalent sex cooperation and representation. The study would likewise prompt to the acknowledgment of the
Millennium Development Goals (MDG's) and in addition the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to end destitution, battle imbalance and treachery, and handle environmental change by 2030.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study analyzed the political mosaic of women participation and representation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya. The time frame was guided by the fact that it is within this period that there has been huge proliferation of women’s organizations championing for women’s participation in politics. It was also within this period that the Kenyan government was forced to include other actors in the political process to be in tandem with the international political happenings. Reference was also made to events and data that date back to 1963, with the purpose of comparing and effectively analyzing the political mosaic of women’s levels of political participation and representation in political leadership in post independent Kenya.

However, the study only analyzed secondary data relating to descriptive representation of women in Kenyan parliament between 1963 and 2013. In collection of primary data, the research was limited to two counties only, Nairobi and Nyandarua. The sample population included the elected women in the old constitution, elected women in the current constitution, women who voted in the 2013 elections.

Further, the study had a restriction as it depended for the most part on meetings led utilizing an organized guide that could have delivered predisposition. The study endeavored to minimize the level of inclination through the work of numerous wellsprings of data like diaries, daily paper, and phone discussions with friends of the intended key informants and media reports whenever it deemed necessary.

Further, there was lack of enough resources in terms of time, materials and personnel required. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) officials, for example, claimed they had no data of the period before they took office in 2011.
1.8 Definition of Significant Terms Used in the Study

**Political Mosaic** – for this study this will be considered as the patterns and trends of women participation and representation in political leadership since independence.

**Political Participation**: For this study political investment alludes to engagement in political exercises and activity. It is the contribution of ladies in political issues of the nation extending from taking dynamic part in all political exercises, for example, municipal instruction, exhibitions, going to energizes and political gatherings, voter enlistment, party battles, party decisions, national crusades, national races, to their dynamic inclusion in the authoritative open deliberations. Political interest will be said to have succeeded if the ladies achieve the right to speak freely, on the off chance that they are listened to and are kept educated and if the ladies are offered energy to make (genuine) choices about themselves and the general public on the loose.

**Political Representation**: A circumstance of one or couple of people being talked, ponder and settle on choices in the interest of others. The command is given by the general population and is perceived as authoritative. This command is given through decisions, arrangement or assignments to a place of power.

**Political Patterns** – this is the breakdown of representation and participation in various regions over a certain period. In the context of this study, it is the breakdown of the representation and investment of ladies in political initiative in different parts of the nation since autonomy.

**Political Trends** – this is the example of steady change in a condition, yield, or handle, or a normal or general inclination of a progression of information focuses to move in a specific course after some time, spoke to by a line or bend on a diagram. With regards to this study, it is the continuous change in ladies representation and cooperation of ladies in political authority in post-autonomy Kenya.

**Post-Independence** – this is the period of time since Kenya attained independence (1963 to date).
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter sought to review literature on the women and the political mosaic of women participation and representation in political leadership in post-independence Kenya. In order to meet this purpose this chapter reviewed general and empirical literature in line with the study objectives. The study also identified theoretical framework in relation to women and the political mosaic of women participation and representation and developed a conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 Women and the Political Mosaic in Kenya

The free state in Kenya rose up out of a patriot development that included ladies in chivalrous parts. The vast majority of these ladies drove battles against provincial control, challenged frontier mistreatment, bolstered and ensured veterans amid the fight for Uhuru, drove areas of the resistance military against government, and viably took part in the political transactions prompting to freedom. Be that as it may, the frontier structure was never destroyed and its surviving types of class and sexual orientation separation and abuse endured. At autonomy, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta definitely de-racialized the structures of the creating state, yet these were never gendered. Regardless of what may be normal, the state was further masculinized and ethnicized. The moving toward activity was, all things considered, male and there were no females in the first Cabinet that Kenyatta cobbled together. Actually, enter figures in the Kenyatta government communicated their conviction that women could never make incredible pioneeers of (Likimani, 1985; Wambui Otieno, 1998).

The view that women could never be awesome pioneers was firmly held by far most of the male pioneers in Kenya, whether inside Kenyatta's circle or not. This frequently found expression in parliament among by and large respectable pioneers, for instance, Martin Shikuku. A firm follower to the "consecration" of polygamy, Shikuku much of
the time considered women adolescents who must be addressed by men. What was surprising about Shikuku's assumption was that the inner float of Kenyatta's Cabinet considered women and the non-Kikuyu as people who were seriously arranged for activity, a conviction that still charges honest to goodness influence among Kibaki's supporters. For Kenyatta, concerning Kibaki, authority had a place with the place of Mumbi, yet in the first occurrence just to the children of Mumbi. The two administrations supported an extremely pessimistic state of mind towards ladies and different ethnicities in Kenya (Nyong'o, 1989).

Valiant Kikuyu ladies pioneers have not thought that it was anything but difficult to connect with completely as political pioneers in Central Kenya. The instance of Wambui Otieno and Prof. Wangari Maathai layout this. A better than average number of them get bewildered into ceasing the fights at the level of social occasion assignments. It is no enormous amaze that the late explanation by Martha Karua of her presidential desire has become such sexist reaction from an unfathomable bit of Central Province authority. A significant number of them have congregated at very much choreographed open mobilizes to reprove the individuals who need to part the Kikuyu people group in the 2012 general races. This, obviously, is a not so subtle assault on Martha Karua. As indicated by columnist Emeka Mayaka Gekara, Karua is seen by the rich specialists and government authorities 'as jeopardizing what Central Kenya tip beat call gucokia ruui mukaro — giving back the conduit to its course, or returning impact to the Agikuyu people's in 2012 (Daily Nation, 6 April 2009).

The experience of Martha Karua mirrors that of various women. A relationship of women political venture and representation in the Kenyan parliament since independence successfully diagrams the weakness of Central Province. Overall, women representation in parliamentary activity has been insignificant, staying at 9.8 for every penny at its peak in the tenth parliament. Numbering 22 female people from parliament, 16 were picked while 6 were chosen. A large portion of the women parliamentarians are from the Rift Valley Province, with Central Province having only 2 women while Nairobi had 3 female parliamentarians (two of whom are of Kikuyu ethnicity). For the most part, Western Kenya has had the most important number of female representation in parliament as is exemplified in the stories of Grace Onyango
(the first picked female Member of Parliament) trailed by illuminators, for instance, Dr Julia Ojiambo, Phoebe Asiyo and Grace Ogot. The fundamental other saw yet uncelebrated gutsy lady was Philomena Chelagat Mutai from Rift Valley Province.

A perceiving segment of the women pioneers who made it to parliament or any related position of representation in Kenya is their unusual measures of master achievement. Most were master scholastics, having accomplished the summit of their reasons for living. Others, for instance, Nyiva Mwendwa were sharp lawmakers in their own benefit. For a respectable number of these women, and this is a minute perceiving component, their family establishment was a significant help to their aspirations for political investment and representation, large portions of whom call attention to that their instructive foundation owed a considerable measure to the reinforce they got from their families. As a general rule, the steadfast support of their fathers numbered an extensive measure since this addressed the fundamental section against which to break the patriarchal bunches constrained by their gatherings. This, without a doubt, was the circumstance for Grace Ogot.

In addition, the support of companions and the open entryways gave through related frameworks have been useful venturing stools whereupon to create an authoritatively sterling execution by these female government authorities. In this way, Nyiva Mwendwa got the support of Kitili Mwendwa who agreed that she was an unrivaled administrator than he was. Because of Dr Julia Ojiambo and Grace Ogot, regardless, their political employments depended on a gathering of accomplishments, with spouses who were themselves unequivocally ensured of the excellencies of their life accomplices' political callings. This can be upheld by the message one gets from Prof. Bethwell A. Ogot's reflections in his life account (Ogot, 2006). There is, then again, those ladies who have battled against various chances and with no solid strong family structure. The account of Prof. Wangari Maathai is a decent illustration. Her achievements and longing were undermining to the folks around her.

It is instructive that family establishment is a useful microcosm for perceiving how setting, whether societal or family, in like manner structures administrative issues and influence potential results for ladies' political investment and representation. Free Kenya organized governmental issues in a way that avoided, if not restricted, the potential for ladies political support and representation. It didn't give space to a
comprehension of political interest and representation from a sex point of view. Governmental issues and the state was overpowered by a male choice political class that was in like manner gladly masculinist. While there has been a sprinkling of women, these were either related in a male-driven political ethos, were unnecessarily related, settling on it difficult to the choice class through vote based framework to be of significant use to the greater bigger piece of women, or were too much few, making it difficult to have any sort of impact. The essential ladies' extremist voice anticipated that would exhort and change the current political intrigue and representation culture was, in this way, either lost or choked. One study that met 68 women occupants and 19 women hopefuls running in the 1997 general races cautions that 'the suggestion that picking women candidates would create a women's inspiration is questionable in the Kenyan case.' The study demonstrated political and sexual introduction socialization as essential deterrents to the craving that ladies government officials essentially express a ladies' plan once chosen (Lawless & Fox, 1999).

2.2 Overview of Women Participation and Representation

Ladies have both a privilege and a commitment to dynamic cooperation in political authority. Notwithstanding this human right and duty, political analysts and researchers from different regions of the world (for example Clinton-Rodham, 2003; Neuman, 1998; Maathai, 2006; Thomas and Wilcox, 2005; Wanjohi, 2003) have watched that when women get into power and organization, they bring a substitute perspective of political activity. These analysts and researchers have battled that having more women in administrative issues would take care of issues connected with ceaseless destitution, particularly as it influences ladies. Ladies' political investment and representation helps in building countries as well as parities up basic leadership forms (Epstein et al., 2005). Neuman (1998), expounding on ladies officials in the United States, watched that choices worried with issues of instruction, wellbeing, sexual orientation brutality, ladies' financial strengthening, peace, rights, nobility, and vote based system are normally of incredible worry to ladies pioneers.

Global understandings and traditions have relentlessly worried on the significance of ladies' equivalent political cooperation and representation. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, for instance, underscored that 'ladies' equivalent cooperation in basic leadership is an interest for equity or majority rule government, as well as be viewed
as a vital condition for women's interests to be considered. Without the perspective of women at all levels of essential initiative, the destinations of correspondence, headway and peace can't be proficient.' The Platform defined two fundamental objectives: (i) to ensure women's identical access to and full participation in all power structures and essential administration; and (ii) to fabricate women's capacity to partake in essential authority and power. Basically, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), in Article 7, called upon state get-togethers 'to take each and every fitting measure to discard exploitation women in the political and open presence of the country.' similarly, the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security moreover reaffirmed the hugeness of identical support and full commitment of women in all attempts for the upkeep and headway of peace and security, and the need to manufacture women's part in fundamental initiative (Nzomo, 2010).

The end of the twentieth century and the begin of the 21st century has seen a persisting addition in women's political support in Africa. In an UN report 'Africa and the Millennium Development Goals–2007 Update', it is seen that the share of parliamentary seats held by women in Africa extended from 7 percent in 1990 to 17 percent in 2007, which is close to the overall ordinary. As at 2007, women held 48.8 percent of seats in the Lower House in Rwanda, the most raised rate far and wide. In January 2006, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf got the chance to be President of Liberia and Africa's first picked woman president. Prior to the end of the twentieth century, two or three African countries, for example Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa had set amounts for women in national and adjacent regulatory bodies, a sign of a restored obligation to have more women in political speculation and representation. Permitting of such shares is additionally acknowledgment of the verifiable treacheries that ladies have encountered, and which make it more troublesome for them to contend similarly with men. By 2009, Kenya had not yet enacted for governmental policy regarding minorities in society for ladies; a bill bolstered by Martha Karua in 2007 fail to get enough support. Regardless of the progress made in a few nations, genuine and steady obstructions still impede the headway of ladies and their interest in political basic leadership forms. A portion of
the primary obstructions are identified with relentless destitution; absence of equivalent access to wellbeing, instruction, preparing and work; social boundaries; political structures and establishments that segregate on ladies; and at times the effect of furnished conflict and regular catastrophes, which has likewise added to ladies' lower support because of different difficulties that go with conflict (UN report 'Africa and the Millennium Development Goals–2007 Update).

2.2.1 Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

Worldwide progresses have been made towards the affirmation of the rule of women's political, budgetary and social uniformity. Following more than two many years of sex activism, sexual orientation refinement, limit assembling, campaigning and activating Kenya ladies to take up different political cooperation and representation positions, urban, sex and human rights mindfulness has amazingly enhanced, close by procedures for strategy and backing mediations. Arrangement producers have additionally aced the sexual orientation dialect and can logically express sex balance standards. Kenya, nonetheless, remains enormously tested with respect to ladies' authority into open political interest and representation positions (Kamau, 2010).

As indicated by a 2009 study by the Ministry of Gender, only 30.9 percent of those used in Kenya's open organization are women, 72 percent of who are in the lower units. This same irregularity exists in the legitimate and in the political venture and representation: Women held just around 10 percent of the seats in the tenth Parliament. This representation trails a long ways behind the worldwide normal of 18.8 percent ladies representation in parliaments. In the momentum house (eleventh parliament), ladies hold 19 percent of seats in the National Assembly and 27 percent of seats in the senate. Some African nations have effectively accomplished the minimum amount edge of 33 percent ladies' representation in basic leadership. Humorously, Kenyan ladies have been at the front line in championing the discussion and techniques that support women's rights and sexual introduction equality—reinforced clearly by the encouraging of the third World Conference of Women in Nairobi in 1985. Lamentably, this pioneer soul has not quite recently bombarded in achieving suitable political interest and representation positions in Kenya itself, yet ladies have likewise just served to support and watch the development and achievement of ladies' developments in neighboring Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania.
who now lead overall bits of knowledge on women's representation in elective administrative issues at 56.3, 31 and 30 percent, independently (Ministry of Gender Survey, 2009).

The low intrigue and representation of women without trying to hide and political foundations of the country like the Senate, National Assembly and County Assemblies invalidates the esteem that is guaranteed in the constitution. Kenya assented to the sexual introduction reasonableness organize with respect to its obligations to various United Nations (UN) resolutions, for instance, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) (Nyanjom, 2011). It furthermore maintained the 1966 contracts on Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In 1985, the country was at the point of convergence of sexual introduction adjust exercises when it encouraged the arrangement of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, and was at front line of territory game plans for the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, a development grasped by Parliament in 1996. In any case, regardless of Kenya acquiescing to all these worldwide revelations, sexual orientation mainstreaming has stayed slippery.

The dreary execution of Kenya with respect to ladies' political cooperation and representation, in spite of having spearheaded and given authority to the post-1990 multi-party ladies strengthening programs in the East African district, keeps on raising concern both at the level of hypothesis and praxis. All inclusive, the fundamental requirements ladies confront as they endeavor to take an interest in legislative issues, however happening in shifting sizes in various nations, have a tendency to be extensively comparative. It has been contended that Kenya has some one of a kind perspectives that keep on keeping the quantities of ladies in governmental issues low, for example, absence of an affirmative action law, and the sex merciless male political culture, which continues administering key social and political establishments (Nzomo, 2010).
2.3 Trends of Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

The first decade of Kenya's self-rule under Jomo Kenyatta was depicted by money related improvement and diversification. Adolescents who had become some guideline in the midst of the commonplace time period had most by far of the senior positions left by the British. Given that various women had not got a kick out of as awesome a guideline as men, by far most of these positions were taken up by youthful colleagues. From this time forward, the first Kenyan parliament did not have any woman picked or even appointed. In any case, in spite of the way that guideline level may have expected a section, the male quality obtained from both the outskirts and a vast segment of the traditions of the all inclusive community of Kenya suggested that women would not be the first choice as pioneers. Despite the fiscal improvement that depicted the first ten years of post-self-governance Kenya, the period was in like manner set apart by civil argument among ethnic social occasions, and enormous gaps between the rich and needy individuals. In spite of the way that the certification given to Kenyans by the new pioneers was to obliterate dejection, deadness and ailment, this has not yet been recognized to date, and women and children have persevered through the brunt of the issues that are associated with these three shades of malevolence (Kamau, 2010).

After Kenyatta's death in 1978, Daniel arap Moi succeeded him. When he delved in himself, Moi rejected solicitations for democratization and smothered resistance. All through the 1980s, Moi consolidated power in the organization under a proficient single social affair, Kenya African National Union (KANU). Revolting transmitted in 1990 after a couple of clear supporters of multi-social occasion greater part runs framework were caught. Bowing to weight at home and abroad, in 1991, parliament passed a hallowed change approving multi-party lion's share administer government. In 1992, Moi was re-picked president in Kenya's first multi-party race in 26 years. Enemies denounced the race as fake, and the lawmaking body was thusly rebuked for human rights encroachment. Moi was re-picked in 1997, however KANU lost a couple situates in parliament. In the midst of these years of turbulence and ethnic
fighting, women who endeavored to campaign for women's rights or continue running for open offices were troubled and quieted (Oduol and Kabira, 2000).

Obliged under the constitution to leave, Moi was in 2002 winning by Mwai Kibaki, who was picked president, with his National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) winning a lion's share of seats in parliament. His organization ensured to pass on another constitution that would diminish presidential powers and make a more far reaching government (especially one that would join women) inside 100 days. This did not happen and it was just in August 2005 that a draft constitution got the chance to be arranged and was put to the vote in a national decision on 21 November 2005. The organization side, which was supporting the draft, lost and along these lines the old constitution with an omnipotent president was held. Given their little number in parliament, women ended up being to an awesome degree calmed in the midst of the constitution campaigns. A couple of women, for example Jebii Kilimo, who had vehemently supported the draft for its element stay on sexual introduction issues, changed their conclusions as they feared for their political survival. Magnanimity Ngilu, a fundamental woman administrator who tested for the organization in 1997, was represented in the press as an 'obscurring star' in the constitution perplexity (Sunday Nation, 6 November, 2005).

Once the organization lost in the decision, another Cabinet was assigned, which appallingly watched the amount of women Cabinet ministers diminish from just three to two. Shockingly, a comparative president who had been supporting a constitution that would see 33% of each and every vacant position put something aside for women pulled back from his own assurance. This implied the political intrigue and representation had no commitment to sexual introduction correspondence and esteem. As of May 2007, Kenya's parliament had 222 people, 210 of whom were picked and 12 assigned by the political social events addressed in parliament. There were a total of 18 (7.7 percent) women parliamentarians, 10 of whom were clearly picked and 8 named. Of the 35 Cabinet ministers, only two were women, down from three in 2005, which had been the most shocking representation of women in parliament since
flexibility, yet it was far underneath the neighboring countries of Uganda at 24.7 percent and Tanzania at 22.3 percent (World Bank, 2003).

In the March 2013 choices, beside the 47 region women operators who were picked by decency of them being women, only 16 bodies electorate out of the 290 supporters are addressed by picked women. Of the 1450 territory wards tested in the 47 locale, only 88 are addressed by women. This is a pointer to the way that the underestimation of women that has been there in past in the united organization shows up now to work out as intended in regions where none of the 47 County governors picked is a woman. Regardless, it is fundamental to note that, there are eight women assign governors in the country. The dismissal of women from essential authority and political representation is counterproductive for the entrenchment of the guidelines of prominent government and sexual introduction esteem (Kivoi, 2014).

2.4 Mechanisms that Support Women Participation and Representation

The absence of a sexual orientation bolster structure that could expand Kenyan ladies' perceivability regarding voicing their worries and incorporation in arrangement and basic leadership can be ascribed to an absence of a supported ladies' development (Kiragu, 2006). This has been the situation notwithstanding the way that there have been a few ladies' arranging developments from the pre-pioneer period.

The most established ladies' association, Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYWO) (Development of Women' in Swahili), was confined in 1952. MYWO was set up as a non-political NGO in the midst of the wilderness time. It had branches countrywide and it has continued getting a charge out of national representation to date. The purpose of MYWO was to upgrade women's welfare with a fundamental grouping of strengthening women's capacity to make pay and manage their families (Kiragu, 2006). Kiragu (2006:18) notes 'MYWO at its introduction did not challenge patriarchy, rather it looked to find ways and means through which women would weave around the unevenness of vitality to improve the way of their lives and that of their families'. Consistently, MYWO changed from just a welfare affiliation and ended up being for all intents and purposes like a women's wing of the choice party KANU. This status was hardened in the midst of the 24 years of Moi's run the show.
MYWO expected a critical part as a grassroots relationship for Kenyan women. Regardless, it could have done significantly more in propelling women's political bolster in light of its national angle and generous enlistment, as it had more than three million people countrywide by the year 2000 (Maendeleo ya Wanawake, 2000). Political hindrance almost rendered the affiliation insufficient, making it a reference point on how women couldn't manage their own specific issues. MYWO did not hold races for over 10 years. When they were at last held in 2006, political impedance suggested that those picked were not so much the most surely understood pioneers. The lawmaking body misused the choices to put in political collaboration and representation women who may help it in the 2007 general race. Given the unfavorable amounts of Kenyan women who have made sense of how to get to parliament since self-rule, the affiliation did not fulfill much yet it helped an impressive measure of men get picked.

YWO's record of political venture and representation made a negative perspective towards women's power, an issue that would in like manner influence the general perceivability of women as unable pioneers. By far most of the media pictures of MYWO were of women fighting over political support and representation positions and calling each unique names. More unfortunate still, the woman who served this relationship as Chair for more than 10 years was refered to in the press requesting that women leave senior political positions, for instance, the organization to their fathers and mates as a sign of respect.

Another women's affiliation that had a national representation was the National Council for Women in Kenya (NCWK), which was developed speedily after Kenya's opportunity in 1964. Its essential goal was to fortify and join women's relationship at the area, national and all inclusive levels (Kiragu, 2006). NCWK accepted a basic part in sorting out NGOs in game plan for the Beijing Conference of 1985. Regardless, NCWK can't claim to have finished much in its years of nearness, given that women's political representation is still far underneath 30 for every penny.
2.4.1 Constitution of Kenya 2010 and Women Participation and Representation

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (CoK) perceives ladies, youth, people with incapacities and ethnic minorities as unique gatherings meriting sacred security. The CoK embraces the privileges of ladies as being equivalent in law to men, and qualified for appreciate break even with circumstances in the political, social and monetary circles. Article 81 (b) which alludes to the general standards of Kenya's constituent framework expresses 'the discretionary framework should conform to the accompanying rule - (b) not more than 66% of the individuals from elective open bodies might be of a similar sexual orientation. Article 27 goes further to commit the legislature to create and pass arrangements and laws, including governmental policy regarding minorities in society projects and strategies to address the past segregation that ladies have confronted. The legislature is required to create approaches and laws to guarantee that, not more than 66% of elective or representative bodies might be of a similar sex. In spite of Article 177 guaranteeing that Articles 81(b) and 27 (8) of the CoK are consented to at the County level through the assignment of extraordinary seat individuals, the same has not been ensured at the National Assembly and the Senate.

The Public Service Commission, as a team with Human Resource Managers, have thought of new rules and ways to deal with understanding the 33% control for ladies and ethnic gatherings, inside which every one of the districts are given an arrangement of seats of their own. Enlistment hones into top positions in the common administration now take after the minimization and sexual orientation manage, so that the circumstance is enhancing well ordered.

Races are a critical part of majority rules system any constitution ought to guarantee that the appointive framework is illustrative, as well as comprehensive. The old constitution had various elements that hindered reasonable and comprehensive representation. In the first place, its constituent framework, the First Past the Post System, encouraged hopefuls with minority votes being pronounced victors. Second, it didn't state what number of voting public there must be in the National Assembly prompting to gerrymandering by decision parties. Third, the old constitution did not have held seats for exceptional gatherings, for example, ladies, the incapacitated and minorities. The new constitution has tended to some of these issues; in any case, we contend in this paper more enactment on the discretionary framework is required, if
Kenya's appointive framework is to be really illustrative and comprehensive. These incorporate the appropriation of a blended appointive framework and enactment on graphic representation to guarantee that all minorities have a voice in the agent bodies (Oloo, 2011).

2.4.2 Benefits of Women Participation and Representation

Having somewhat number of women in the technique making associations is awful for Kenyan women and the country. There are various cases from wherever all through the world which exhibit that women bring an alternate point of view into political cooperation and representation (Kamau, 2003; Epstein et al., 2005; Kamau, 2007). In the United States, for instance, a few ladies lawmakers have called attention to that it was simply after they had their spot in Congress that ladies' issues, for example, social insurance, childcare and support, lewd behavior, abusive behavior at home and sexual orientation based pursued differentials, among others, were given need (Neuman, 1998; Epstein et al., 2005). As Epstein et al. (2005) notes, focuses on in the US have dependably shown women directors to be more liberal and ladies’ extremist than their male accomplices. Epstein et al. (2005) introduce information gathered in 1999 and 2002 from lawmakers in 50 conditions of the US. In general, the information demonstrates that ladies lawmakers are deliberately unique in relation to their male partners regarding their levels of political desire, professionalization, administrative exercises, and philosophy and in specialization. The information from these two studies for the most part propose that, both in conduct and mentalities, ladies and men uncover contrasts in their way to deal with authoritative errands.

Contemplates cited by different researchers on ladies government officials and political nominees in the US and different parts of the world demonstrate that ladies contrast in various courses from their male partners. Kelly et al. (1991: 78) note, for instance, that while a few studies done in the US demonstrate no significant sex contrast in power striking nature, control drive, control nervousness, control satisfaction or power style, sex contrasts have been found in the apparent motivation behind practicing power. Ladies see control as a way to advance change, while men see control as a method for having influence over other individuals. Geisler (1995: 560) additionally insinuates these distinctions when reporting the assumptions of two ladies legislators in Zambia, who were effectively required in the battle for multi-
partyism in their nation in the mid-1990s. Both ladies, who went ahead to end up MPs in the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) government that expelled Kenneth Kaunda, communicated a feeling of dissatisfaction when they found that the MMD standards, which had impelled them into looking for political office and for which they had crusaded so energetically, were soon sold out by the (for the most part male) MMD political cooperation and representation when it came into power. These beliefs included disposing of defilement and medication trafficking, and changing the lives of conventional individuals by enhancing their ways of life.

A moment route in which ladies pioneers have a tendency to contrast from their male partners is that they are more strong of liberal enactment expected at making a more comprehensive society. Kelly et al. (1991:81-82), for instance, cite considers done in the United States, which demonstrated that female individuals from Congress had bolstered the Civil Rights Act of 1964 more than their male associates, and that more female individuals co-supported the Equal Rights Amendment than did male individuals. Dolan (2001:214) likewise noticed this propensity among female political nominees, taking note of that 'studies of presidential and gubernatorial representatives demonstrate that female Republican and Democratic deputies were more steady of childcare, premature birth rights and the Equal Rights Amendment than their male partners.' Geisler (1995:555-556) confirmed this inclination when she notes in her study on how ladies government officials have fared throughout the years in Southern Africa that when a Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs was made in Zimbabwe in 1981 headed by a lady, it attempted some aggressive law changes, which brought about some ace ladies enactment being passed. Cases of these were the going in 1982 of the Legal Age of Majority Act, which presented on ladies legitimate lion's share status at 18 years old, and the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1985, which adjusted the separation law and recognized a spouse's commitment to conjugal property.

Female pioneers likewise contrast from their male associates because of their more prominent level of worry with group objectives at the nearby level and support of social welfare enactment at the national level. Kelly et al. (1991:82) watch that studies led on ladies out in the open office in the United States at the state and neighborhood level uncovered that 'ladies administrators, rather than men, were more worried with
their duties to the group and invested a lot of energy required in municipal objectives'. They facilitate cite a study done at the congressional level, which found that 'female individuals were more strong of social welfare enactment and less steady of resistance spending and interventionist remote approach than were the guys.'

Ladies pioneers likewise have a tendency to be more majority rule and advance vote based standards more than their male associates. Richter (1990: 536) in concentrate South and South Eastern Asian ladies political pioneers takes note of that previous President Corazon Acquino of the Philippines, previous Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, and Burmese resistance pioneer, Aung Sang Suu Kyi, were seen by some of their kinsmen to be frail in light of their inclination for fair run the show. Richter (1990) noticed that this view of shortcoming was available, despite the fact that these ladies had assumed control from tyrant administrations that had been disdained. Their 'resilience of contradiction, ability to bargain, emphasis on law based methods and even political pardon towards adversaries were seen as 'the consequence of hesitancy as opposed to valor, and shortcoming as opposed to quality.'

Aside from contrasts showed by male and female pioneers in their states of mind and needs, female pioneers affect the way the issues of the representing bodies in which they sit are run. Jewell and Whicker (1993:710-711), for instance, led a study on the effect of expanded appointive investment by ladies in state lawmaking bodies in the United States, and found that expansion in the quantity of ladies that happened in State Houses in the 1980s had brought about the "feminization" of state authoritative pioneers. One of the courses in which this had happened was that ladies had floated towards a "female" political cooperation and representation style that accentuated accord and framework worries instead of a male style that underscored control, charge and limited individual aspirations.

Locally, it has been contended that ladies' cooperation in administration will benefit society since ladies will probably press for laws that benefit families, ladies, kids and minimized gatherers (League of Kenya Women Voters, not dated:5). This contention is bolstered by the way that in Kenya, some authoritative changes for ladies were recognizable in the ninth Parliament, which appreciated the most astounding number of ladies since autonomy. A few illustrations incorporate duty waivers for sterile wear and diapers, going into law of the Sexual Offenses Bill, audit of the Employment Act
prompting to increment in maternity leave to four months (three months’ real maternity leave and one-month yearly leave), and an expanded concentrate on sex issues and HIV and AIDS, particularly by the Minister of Health, who was a lady.

Researchers like Tremblay (1998), Devlin et al (2008) among others have contended that there is a solid connection between expanded nearness of ladies in parliament and the representation of issues influencing (ladies issues). Tremblay (1998) encourage contends that female individuals from parliament speak to the requirements, wishes and interests of female individuals from the masses in a nation. As indicated by Carroll (1994) arrangements concerning ladies will probably have progressively and more extensivfrom their male accomplices. Kelly et al. (1991: 78) note, for example, that while a couple contemplates done in the US show no significant sex differentiate in power striking nature, control drive, control anxiety, control fulfillment or power style, sex contrasts have been found in the clear inspiration driving rehearsing power. Women consider control to be an approach to propel change, while men consider control to be a technique for having influence over different people. Geisler (1995: 560) furthermore intimates these qualifications when reporting the suspicions of two women lawmakers in Zambia, who were adequately required in the fight for multi-partyism in their country in the mid-1990s. Both women, who proceeded to wind up MPs in the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) government that ousted Kenneth Kaunda, imparted a sentiment disappointment when they found that the MMD gauges, which had induced them into searching for political office and for which they had waged holy war so vivaciously, were soon sold out by the (generally male) MMD political participation and representation when it came into power. These convictions included discarding pollution and prescription trafficking, and changing the lives of traditional people by improving their lifestyles.

A minute course in which women pioneers tend to differentiate from their male accomplices is that they are more solid of liberal establishment expected at making a more exhaustive society. Kelly et al. (1991:81-82), for example, refer to considers done in the United States, which showed that female people from Congress had reinforced the Civil Rights Act of 1964 more than their male partners, and that more female people co-upheld the Equal Rights Amendment than did male people. Dolan
(2001:214) similarly saw this penchant among female political chosen people, observing that 'investigations of presidential and gubernatorial delegates show that female Republican and Democratic agents were all the more enduring of childcare, untimely bequests and the Equal Rights Amendment than their male accomplices.' Geisler (1995:555-556) confirmed this slant when she notes in her study on how women government authorities have fared during the time in Southern Africa that when a Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs was made in Zimbabwe in 1981 headed by a woman, it endeavored some forceful law changes, which realized some expert women establishment being passed. Instances of these were the going in 1982 of the Legal Age of Majority Act, which displayed on women true blue lion's share status at 18 years of age, and the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1985, which balanced the partition law and perceived a life partner's dedication to marital property.

Female pioneers similarly differentiate from their male partners as a result of their more noticeable level of stress with gathering destinations at the close-by level and support of social welfare institution at the national level. Kelly et al. (1991:82) watch that studies drove on women out in the open office in the United States at the state and neighborhood level revealed that 'women chairmen, instead of men, were more stressed with their obligations to the gathering and put a ton of vitality required in city targets'. They encourage refer to a study done at the congressional level, which found that 'female people were more solid of social welfare order and less enduring of resistance spending and interventionist remote approach than were the folks.'

Women pioneers in like manner tend to be more greater part govern and propel vote based measures more than their male partners. Richter (1990: 536) in think South and South Eastern Asian women political pioneers observes that past President Corazon Acquino of the Philippines, past Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan, and Burmese resistance pioneer, Aung Sang Suu Kyi, were seen by some of their family to be delicate in light of their slant for reasonable run the show. Richter (1990) saw that this perspective of deficiency was accessible, in spite of the way that these
women had expected control from despot organizations that had been abhorred. Their 'flexibility of disagreement, capacity to deal, accentuation on law based strategies and even political acquit towards foes were viewed as 'the outcome of aversion rather than valor, and inadequacy instead of value.'

Beside complexities appeared by male and female pioneers in their perspectives and requirements, female pioneers influence the way the issues of the speaking to bodies in which they sit are run. Jewell and Whicker (1993:710-711), for example, drove a study on the impact of extended representative venture by women in state lawmaking bodies in the United States, and found that development in the amount of women that happened in State Houses in the 1980s had realized the "feminization" of state legitimate pioneers. One of the courses in which this had happened was that women had skimmed towards a "female" political collaboration and representation style that highlighted accord and system stresses rather than a male style that underscored control, charge and constrained individual goals.

Locally, it has been fought that women's collaboration in organization will benefit society since women will presumably press for laws that benefit families, women, kids and minimized get-togethers (League of Kenya Women Voters, not dated:5). This conflict is reinforced by the path that in Kenya, some definitive changes for women were conspicuous in the ninth Parliament, which valued the most dumbfounding number of women since self-sufficiency. A couple of outlines consolidate obligation waivers for sterile wear and diapers, going into law of the Sexual Offenses Bill, review of the Employment Act inciting to increase in maternity leave to four months (three months' genuine maternity leave and one-month yearly leave), and an extended focus on sex issues and HIV and AIDS, especially by the Minister of Health, who was a woman.

Analysts like Tremblay (1998), Devlin et al (2008) among others have fought that there is a strong association between extended closeness of women in parliament and
the representation of issues affecting (women issues). Tremblay (1998) energize fights that female people from parliament address the necessities, wishes and interests of female people from the masses in a country. As demonstrated via Carroll (1994) courses of action concerning women will presumably have continuously and more broad direct impact on the masses than those of men in a country. Among the issues join family organizing, maternal prosperity, guideline, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), fierceness against direct effect on the populace than those of men in a nation. Among the issues incorporate family arranging, maternal wellbeing, instruction, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), brutality against ladies

2.5 Challenges facing Women Participation and Representation

Omtatah (2008) calls attention to retrogressive social and conventional practices, for example, child inclination philosophy, absence of faith in the significance of teaching young ladies, constrained relational unions, female genital mutilation, lady of the hour value gathering, widowhood customs and exclusion of young ladies and ladies as a portion of the ills that obstruct the mission for ladies' political support and representation in Kenya. Omtatah (2008) facilitate takes note of that poor socialization where young men are set up for authority and young ladies for residential parts likewise conflicts with ladies' power to political support and representation.

Absence of assets likewise conflicts with the goals of numerous ladies to keep running for political office. For ladies to take an interest viably in the political procedure, generous measures of assets are required. These join finances, time, establishment and people (Women Direct Service Center, 2006:11). Of the benefits required, finances are the most difficult to get to. Karl (2001) recognizes a few deterrents that frustrate ladies' support in political undertakings around the world. They incorporate low instruction and education levels, low access to money related assets, social mentalities and generalizations, religion and socialization, among various factors. Cooper and Karl (1982) found that women go up against push while at work, home and in social circumstances. Women are similarly anticipated to obtain manly political support and representation qualities and administration abilities like forcefulness and confidence among others to exceed expectations in their vocations.
Another component that cripples women from running for political office or clashes with the people endeavor's personality the threat of constituent violence (Mitullah, 2003). On politically incited brutality, Omtatah (2008:59) is of the view that in Kenya, at present, 'law based choices are fairly like submitting to the lack of consideration and translation of a group.' Mitullah (2003) furthermore watches that women's slight game plan and wheeling and dealing aptitudes struggle with them as to searching for political office. Correspondingly, Omtatah (2008) battles that various women come into legislative issues without the upside of having had quality mentoring and hands-on-planning, which may clear up this nonappearance of capacities. Despite for the people who have made them guide, this is every so often from different women administrators, since couple of women have winning in designated legislative issues in the past and in this way have the basic experience. Omtatah (2008:59) progress raises, countless women are not all around orchestrated the '… issue that is Kenyan administrative issues'.

Nonappearance of media detectable quality in like manner clashes with women. It has been seen that the '… constrain of the media in building trustworthiness and influence in administrative issues is amazing' however then '… women fight to get media degree and credibility as per general society' (Women Direct Service Center, 2006:10). This may need to do with the way that the media may not see women issues as newsworthy. The media clashes with the interests of women when it fails to offer centrality to matters that stress them and their achievements, moreover when it focuses just on their inadequacies as pioneers. On this, Omtatah (2008: 60) watches that the media gets the chance to be uneven against women 'when it fails to get a handle on sexually fair vernacular that does not propel limits against women, for instance, glorification of conflict, threatening, negative perspectives, and speculations by society and nonattendance of support from the electorate'.

Likewise, Nzomo (2003) battles that the undeniable political nonappearance by women ought to be appreciated inside the helper obstructions that women globally and at the national level continue confronting as they attempt to participate in each part of administrative issues. Nzomo (2003) observes that studies on women's participation in administrative issues and open essential initiative globally continue demonstrating that the chosen playing field has reliably been tilted seriously for men,
more so in countries, for instance, Kenya that are extremely patriarchal and don't have a lion's share manage constitution, and optional laws to support a free and sensible constituent process. Nzomo (2003) presumes that women are obliged from setting the political measures of representation and thought in a way that reflects their specific experience and vision. Indeed, male political reasoning continues to define the standards of evaluation of women's political execution and venture. Under the joined states of a feeble and broke women's political passage and sexual introduction imbalanced political playing field, women hopefuls in constituent administrative issues are, therefore, not ready to shape optional social event decisions, especially at the assignment organize. Diverse troubles fuse dejection, absence of instruction, HIV and AIDS, an extensive variety of evident and express isolation, sex based violence and sexual introduction parts that still bolster men, among various challenges.

2.6 Empirical Literature

A study by Oedl-Wieser (2008) noted representation of ladies in the Austrian political field contrasts impressively crosswise over level and place. At high political level more ladies are taking an interest yet at territorial and nearby level not very many ladies are dynamic in legislative issues. Around 40 percent of the Austrian individuals from the European Parliament are ladies – this is a top position in the positioning of the EU-25. At the national level 33 percent of the individuals from the National Council and 27 percent of the Federal Council are ladies. At commonplace level in Austria 18 out of the 72 individuals (25 percent) of every single common government are ladies. At metropolitan level the most reduced rate of ladies' interest rate in political capacities can be watched. Being a leader in Austria is a "run of the mill male" position. In 2006 just 3.2 percent or 74 of the 2,359 chairmen are ladies and in the metropolitan committees just 14 percent of the representatives are female.

Pettygrove (2006) led an investigative research on the preventing political difficulties experienced by the Jordanian ladies. The study concentrated on sex parts in Jordanian culture, and underlined the tribal structure as one of huge components that affected ladies out in the open and privates circle. Out in the open circle, it was observed that that tribal social structure impacts women political activity and women's abilities to appreciate the political activities. As the significant building square of the tribe, the essential parts of tribal structure can be taken after down to the family, it is by and
large understood that the family structure in Jordanian culture make basic and social and key impediments to women’s fortifying and enthusiasm as a pioneers in the overall public circle. Despite when women think about their rights and have tasteful resources, the family structure keeps women from taking an intrigue totally in the overall population. The focus furthermore found that inside the family, women generally are excluded in choosing, as sexual introduction parts inside the family rely on upon patriarchal qualities.

Ogbogu (2012) investigated the part of ladies' political part in Nigerian culture. The study concentrated on the most recent political improvements in Nigeria, and displayed the organization of ladies in the Nigerian committees. The study uncovered that most of the females' respondents demonstrated that shirking from political is emphasized by the way that most political social occasion frameworks organization and board meeting are held in the evenings. Also, the respondents demonstrated that governmental issues are portrayed as a "grimy diversion" which is utilized as an affection to avoid ladies from political gathering system. The study reasoned that economy is basic consider to ladies' investments governmental issues. Encourage, the study presumed that exclusive couple of ladies who prevailing to remain for the decisions have turned into the casualties of their separate monetary failures, since 56 percent is distinguished as the significant obstacle for securing triumph at surveys. This infers apparatus and absence of straightforwardness in the discretionary procedure influences ladies.

Khadar (2013) looked to decided ladies' political speculation and fundamental initiative in Hargeisa Somaliland. This study was coordinated through illuminating illustrative study layout by utilizing both quantitative and subjective research techniques with two sections poll and one-section talk with calendar for gathering information from the respondents. The study used basic self-assertive testing systems to pick a case of (128) from a people size of (189). The study utilized frequencies and rates; tables were used as a part of the presentation of data. Despite that, data collection was inspected using subjects and elucidations while investigating the revelations with the composition review part of the study. The study found that, women have no idea in political support and representation and fundamental authority in Hargeisa Somaliland. The study reasons that, women stand up to bona fide troubles
in their political callings of essential initiative, organization and state working in Hargeisa, Somaliland. The study recommended that the lawmaking body, regular society and women activists need to work towards refinement and care creation among the gathering to comprehend the need of the Women to appreciate legislative issues and organization. The men need to comprehend the women's necessity for political power and change the way they look at the women and the organization should leave on activities which support women's political exercises. The organization should similarly familiarize a standard structure with support women's enlistment in either places of parliament and close-by boards of trustees. The think moreover endorses these regions to be further considered including: a study that could examines the dedication of basic culture relationship in headway of women political intrigue and human rights, a study that could study the game plan gaps concerning sex esteem in organization and legislative issues for women fortifying and other study could be coordinated in the field concerning consequences of culture on women's political support and fundamental initiative.

Kivoi (2014) hoped to choose the parts blocking political support and representation of women in Kenya. The study found that data on the amounts of picked Parliamentarians (tallying Senators, Governors and County Representatives) and holders of senior government positions shows that sex esteem is still a mind flight. The focus moreover revealed that social obstructions to women's budgetary freedom have in like manner denied them political representation in the Legislature. Encourage, the study revealed that Kenya has the trial of perceiving and completing instruments – methodologies and sharpens - keeping in mind the end goal to finish sexual introduction esteem. The think moreover saw that political get-togethers rush to endeavor and execute the base 33% secured necessities for their plans of rivals assigned to endeavor in races. The study endorsed that driving the support of women in relapsed organization structures requires honest to goodness thought by setting up methodology measures and interventions that would propel this cause since equal sex collaboration is adored in the Constitution. It gave the possibility that nonattendance of political will is the best obstacle in tending to sex ungainliness in the country. Thusly there is more conspicuous need to address sexual introduction difference in political representation and fundamental initiative in the country.
Githinji (2010) in his review of Kenya's Vision 2030 found that continuing on sexual unbiasedness has kept women in lower paying vocations even as their share of the work drive has extended from 18 percent in 1966 to 30 percent in 2006, and a probable 55 percent by 2016. It should be seen that finishing sexual introduction esteem as stipulated in Vision 2030 won't be straightforward. Oduol (2011) sees nonattendance of institutional political social occasion structures with which to enhance women's participation, which he blames for the low levels for women in legislative issues consequently their limited representation in Parliament besides inside political get-togethers. Political get-togethers have all the earmarks of being a waterloo for extended women representation since stringent get-together guidelines, viciousness apportioned against women; social limits among various obstacles reliably appear to end extended women collaboration in element administrative issues and fundamental authority. Kenya's social feelings and practices, for instance, patriarchy and senior love have as a general rule clashed with women fortifying. That is the reason Kenya's expansive obligation to various sexual introduction consistency traditions have barely restricted the unevenness gap (Nyanjom 2011).

Ponge (2013) hoped to choose the status of women inside key political social occasions in Kenya. Occurs revealed that adjust of access to and satisfaction of informative capacities is fundamental for more women to wind up administrators of advance. Comes to fruition in like manner revealed that development of women closeness in the key essential initiative organs has not came to fruition into key effect inside the social affair chain of significance and has not been accepted to impact on get-together endeavors and activities as this is still under the tight handle of men. The study assumed that more sexual introduction correspondence with respect to collaboration in direction has not realized more sex adjust in the locales of political economy.

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The hypothetical system of an exploration extend identifies with the philosophical premise on which the examination happens, and frames the connection between the hypothetical perspectives and the down to earth parts of the examination attempted. The hypothetical structure hence "has suggestion for each choice made in the exploration" (Mertens, 1998). The hypothetical system understands relationship of the
factors and elements that have been esteemed imperative to the issue gives meanings of the connections between every one of the factors so that the guessed relationship between them can be caught on. This study was guided by strife hypothesis and social trade hypothesis.

2.7.1 Conflict Theory

As demonstrated by strife theory, society is portrayed by a fight for prevalence among parties that look for uncommon resources. With respect to sexual introduction, strife speculation battles that sex is best appreciated as men trying to keep up power and advantage to the weight of women. Along these lines, men can be seen as the prevalent social event and women as the subordinate get-together. As showed by strife theory, social issues are made while winning get-togethers abuse or abuse subordinate get-togethers (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004).

In numerous social orders, men have by and large held most by far of the world's advantages. Until modestly starting late, women in Western social orders couldn't vote or hold property, making them absolutely dependent on men. Men, like whatever other social event with an impact or wealth advantage, combat to keep up their control over resources (for this circumstance, political and fiscal impact). Strife between the two get-togethers made things like the Women's Suffrage Movement and was responsible for social change (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004).

Friedrich Engels, a German humanist, concentrated family structure and sex parts from a Marxist perspective. Engels prescribed that a comparative proprietor worker relationship found in the work urge could in like manner be found in the family, with women tolerating the part of the experts. This was a direct result of women's dependence on men for the achievement of wages. Contemporary conflict researchers prescribe that when women get the opportunity to be laborers, they get control in the family structure and make more prevalence based blueprints in the home, regardless of the way that they may at present pass on a large portion of the private weight (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004). This speculation was noteworthy to our study since it focuses/advocates for sexual introduction reasonableness which ensures women representation.
2.7.2 Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange speculation was introduced in 1958 by the humanist George Homans with the appropriation of his work "Social Behavior as Exchange" (Karen and Erick, 1958). He portrayed social exchange as the exchanging of development, considerable or intangible, and practically satisfying or extravagant, between no under two individuals (Homans, 1961). The speculation highlighted the individual direct of performing craftsmen in correspondence with each other.

Social trade hypothesis sees trade as a social conduct that may bring about both financial and social results (Lambe, Wittmann and Spekman, 2001). Social Exchange Theory has been by and large examined by contrasting human connections and the commercial center. The investigation of the hypothesis from the microeconomics point of view is ascribed to Blau (Karen and Erick, 1958). Under his point of view each individual is attempting to augment his wins. Blazes (1973) expressed that once this idea is comprehended, it is conceivable to watch social trades all over the place, in market relations, as well as in other social relations like companionship. Social trade handle brings fulfillment when individuals get reasonable returns for their consumptions. Not at all like monetary trade, the components of social trade are very differed and can't be diminished to a solitary quantitative conversion standard. As indicated by Stafford (2008), social trades include an association with someone else; include trust and not lawful commitments; are more adaptable; and once in a while include unequivocal haggling.

2.8 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is very important in any research. A concept is defined by Nonaka and Konno, (2009) as an obstruction, a symbol, a representation of independent and dependent variables or of a behavioural phenomenon. The conceptual framework in figure 2.2 showed the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variables. The independent variables are the factors which influence the dependent variable in this proposed study.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Intervening Variable</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
2.9 Chapter Summary

The above part audited the different speculations that clarify the free and ward factors. The part likewise investigated the conceptualization of the free and the reliant factors by breaking down the connections between the two arrangements of factors. Furthermore, an experimental audit was led where past studies both worldwide and nearby is checked on in accordance with the accompanying criteria, title, scope, system coming about into an evaluate. It is from these evaluates that the examination crevice was recognized.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This part gave insights about the strategy received to help with accomplishing the exploration destinations. As indicated by Newing (2011), an exploration philosophy is worried with what you will really do so as to address the particular goals and research questions you have created. Individuals frequently compare "system" with the rundown of individual techniques that are utilized including polls, semi-organized meetings etc. This part secured inquire about outline joining research theory, kind of research, populace, examining strategy, test measure, instruments, pilot test and information examination.

3.2 Site Selection and Rationale of the Study

The study was done in Nyandarua and Nairobi Counties. Nairobi County is the littlest yet most crowded of the regions; its capital is Nairobi, which is likewise the capital and biggest city of Kenya. Nyandarua County is a County in the previous Central Province of Kenya. It fringes five provinces; Laikipia toward the north and north east, Muranga and Nyeri toward the east, Nakuru toward the west and south west, and Kiambu toward the south. The region has a populace of around 596,200 of which 49 percent are male and 51 percent female. The area constitutes five bodies electorate; Ol Kalou, Kinangop, Kipipiri, Ndaragwa and Ol Joro Orok. The County has twenty-five electoral wards. The registered voters are 255,984, of which, 130,311 are female and 125,673 are male. Nairobi County was chosen to represent the urban population while Nyandarua County was chosen to represent the rural population.

3.3 Research Design

This study used a qualitative research design. The common feature of qualitative projects is that they aim to create understanding from data as the analysis proceeds. The justification for using this design is that the study seeks to understand behavior which goes beyond numbers.
3.4 Target Population

The target population comprised of all the women who have been involved in politics in post-independence Kenya parliament and county assembly.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Selection

The study used a non-probability sampling technique whereby the study used purposive sampling to select 14 key informant interviewees guided by the geographical representation and the political periods. Similarly, the study purposively sampled 32 participants for focus group discussion. Participants for the FGD were drawn from two counties namely Nairobi to represent the urban region and Nyandarua to represent the rural region. In each of the county 2 focus discussion groups were conducted.

Table 3.1: Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
<th>Nyandarua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key Informant Interview</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The study used official statistics from the National Assembly library to collect secondary data. To collect primary data, the study used qualitative research methods of focus group discussion and key informant interview. The focus groups allowed direct interaction with individuals in a group setting. Four focus groups were used which added to the breadth and depth of the information. The key informant interviews allowed direct interaction with individuals on one to one basis. A series of open ended questions were used which enabled the researcher to prompt the interviewee to elaborate on their views.
3.7 Tools of Data Collection

The study used secondary data which was quantitative in nature and primary which was qualitative in nature. To collect secondary data, the study used a check list (see Appendix II). To collect primary data, the study used a focus discussion group and a key informant interview guide. Specifically, the study held 4 focus discussion groups, 2 in Nairobi County and 2 in Nyandarua County. Each FGD comprised of 8 women who have been involved in politics. Further, the study conducted 7 interviews in each county. Data collected from the FGD was used to compliment the secondary data.

3.8 Data Collection Logic

The study began by collecting secondary data owing to the fact that the data represented the entire population, which detailed statistics. The study then collected primary data using the FGD. The reason for using the FGD first is due to the fact that it enabled members to expound on thoughts, and the gathering cooperation invigorated recollections and emotions. Also, since every member was identifying with a gathering of individuals with comparative foundations, the probability of members giving answers they think will satisfy the questioner (a typical issue of reviews) was diminished. Assist, the communication amid center gathering examination permitted the mediator to elucidate the inquiries, and there was less probability of inquiries being misconstrued. At long last, the study utilized the Key Informant Interview to gather essential information since the key witnesses are guards.

The study had a restriction as it depended generally on meetings led utilizing an organized guide that could have delivered inclination. The study endeavored to minimize the level of predisposition through the work of different wellsprings of data like diaries, daily paper, and phone discussions with companions of the proposed key witnesses and media reports at whatever point it esteemed fundamental.

3.9 Data Analysis Techniques

The study used a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) to dissect the information. This product sorted out, oversee and dissect data. The upsides of utilizing this product included sparing time, overseeing immense measures of subjective information, having expanded adaptability, having enhanced legitimacy
and auditability of subjective research, and being liberated from manual and administrative assignments.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The discussion in this section is based on the results from two phases of the study. The results are presented in both qualitative and quantitative sources. The first phase of data collection focused on secondary data obtained from the Kenya Gender Audit (2013), parliamentary records and other literature sources using a checklist (See Appendix 1). Phase two mainly involved collection of primary data which was qualitative in nature from sources such as Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KII). The FGDs and KII were conducted in two different counties (Nairobi and Nyandarua) to enable equitable representation of the rural and the urban areas.

4.2 Patterns of Women Participation on Political Leadership

Results show that participation is even lower for regions where marginalized communities live. As shown in the map central and western regions have a better participation compared to northeastern, eastern and coastal regions. It is apparent that Nyanza, Western and Central Kenya have dominated the election of women into parliament as shown in Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 below.
Figure 4.1: Elected Women Members of Parliament (1st to 8th Parliament)
Figure 4.2: Elected Women Members of Parliament (9th to 11th Parliament)
Figure 4.3: Nominated Women Members of Parliament (1st to 11th Parliament)
4.3 Trends of Women Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

Since Kenya's freedom, exactly 53 years back, ladies' representation in the region of parliamentary appointive governmental issues has enlisted minor however continuous increment in the quantity of ladies involved in politics. The study sought to assess the trends of women representation in post-independence Kenya. Results in table 4.1 and 4.2 show that in the first election (held in the year 1963) in Kenya, no woman was elected while in the second election, only 2 women were in parliament one being an MP while the other one was a nominated MP. In the third election, 5 women were in parliament, 4 having been elected as MPs while one was a nominated MP. In the fourth election, 6 women were in parliament, whereby 5 were elected as MPs and 1 was a nominated MP. In the fifth election, 5 women were in parliament whereby 3 were elected as MPs and 2 were nominated MPs. In the sixth election, 2 women were in parliament having been elected as MPs. In the seventh election, 6 women were in parliament having been elected as MPs. In the eighth election, 9 women were in parliament whereas 4 were elected as MPs and 5 were nominated MPs. In the ninth election, 17 women were in parliament whereby 9 were elected as MPs and 8 were nominated MPs. In the tenth election, 22 women were in parliament whereby 16 were elected as MPs and 6 were nominated MPs. Finally, in the eleventh election, 86 women were in parliament whereby 16 were elected as members of the national assembly, 47 as women county representatives, 5 were designated individuals in the national get together, 16 were selected individuals in the senate, 1 was assigned as a youth representative and 1 was nominated to represent the people with disability.

Table 4.1: Trends of Women in Parliament from 1963 to date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Women in Parliament</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Women Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya Gender Audit, 2013
Table 4.2: Trends of Women Elected and Nominated from 1963 to date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Women Elected</th>
<th>Women Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Kenya Gender Audit, 2013*

From the tables above it is visible that the participation and representation of women in politics has been progressive and slow. The sharp increase during the last general elections is attributed to the Constitution and affirmative action.

### 4.3.1 Participation in Politics

The study sought to find out how long the interviewees had been involved in politics. The responses revealed that all the interviewees had been involved in politics in the past, one out of every nine interviewees are involved in politics currently and eight out of every nine interviewees are planning to get involved in politics in future whereby they have intentions to vie for various political seats such as national assembly members, women county representative and MCAs.

### 4.4 Effectiveness of Constitution of Kenya 2010

The study sought to examine the effectiveness of constitution of Kenya 2010 in supporting women participation and representation in political process. To achieve this objective, the study examined various aspects of the constitution of Kenya 2010 that address women participation and representation. This included the understanding of the 2/3 gender principle, effectiveness of the 2/3 gender principle, new constitution and status of women and the perspective of men with regard to the 2/3 gender principle.
The various women groups involved in the FGD had varied perspectives of what the 2/3 gender principle means. The focus group results revealed that the 2/3 gender principle facilitates entry of women into politics. Secondly, the understanding of the 2/3 gender principle is that women should occupy 1/3 of the government offices while others posited that their understanding of the 1/3 gender rule is that 1/3 of all the members holding government offices should be women. Further, the fourth group reiterated that their understanding of the 1/3 gender rule is that not more than 1/3 of one gender should be elected to the government offices. They also explained that the Kenyan Constitution of 2010 has equal chances for both men and women to be elected in the government offices.

The key informant interviewees also gave their views. The results revealed that all the key informant interviewees indicated that in the national government 1/3 women should be elected. One of the key informant interviewee noted that her understanding of the of the 1/3 gender rule is that in the County government 1/3 women should be elected while others noted that their understanding of the 1/3 gender rule is that, in all positions there should be 1/3 space in elective, procurement contracts, school boards and any other institution allocated to women.

In establishing the effectiveness of the 2/3 gender principle the researcher discussed with the FGD members about their understanding of the effectiveness of the 1/3 gender rule. The focus group results revealed that 2/3 gender principle is not that effective in Kenya although we have specific seats for women in parliament. This is because men in parliament are more than 2/3 and women are less than 1/3. Results also posited that the 1/3 gender rule is not fully effective because in Kenya people have not yet accepted that women can lead as men do. Further, the respondents reiterated that the 2/3 gender principle in Kenya is still in the process of being implemented since in the last general elections there were specific seats allocated for women only. Finally, the results indicated that the 2/3 gender principle is not effective in Kenya since in the current government men are more than women. The results revealed that all the focus group members were in agreement that the 2/3 gender principle is not effective.
Results revealed that all the key informant interviewees were in agreement that the 1/3 gender rule is not effective in Kenya. In their explanation they gave various reasons for its ineffectiveness. These included: - parliament was unable to pass the 1/3 gender rule because of few numbers, men are very opposed to the 2/3 gender principle as they fear women may rule over them, elected women are not given funds to initiate development projects, women who are nominated cannot be head of committees, not many women vie for electoral positions, nominations are on nepotism such that most of those nominated are girlfriends and concubines, women in government are not 1/3 of the total numbers and that there is opposition to its implementation.

The study also sought to establish how the sanctioning of the new constitution of Kenya 2010 has helped to raise the status of ladies political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. The focus group results revealed that most of the women in the groups were positive that, the sanctioning of the new constitution of Kenya 2010 has helped to raise the status of ladies political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. The results revealed that women are now able to present their problems in government as a constituency and action is taken. Also, women in politics have encouraged people to start money generating projects and thus women are able to share their own ideas and also generate income. Further, the results showed that women are now able to influence decisions in the parliament according to the challenges they have knowledge about. Finally, the results showed that women are now able to hold seats of the same status, pay and quality as men.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that the new constitution of Kenya 2010 has assisted to raise the status of women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. They gave various reasons to back up their agreement. These included: a number of women came up to vie for posts in the 2013 elections; it has encouraged women because they feel supported by the constitution; the new constitution has created post for women (women representative) only hence creating income and also employment in their offices. This raises the status of women in politics; women are given their own specific seats to vie for compared to the past; women are free to participate in politics without fear; women now feel recognized and appreciated. Women are now able to implement huge
projects; women have been recognized by government and therefore raising their living standards; and women have been empowered to educate their children through the funds donated or raised by programmes initiated by women.

The study sought to establish whether men have embraced the 2/3 gender principle of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The responses from the focus groups disagreed that men have embraced the 2/3 gender principle of the constitution of Kenya 2010. The participants posited that men have not yet appreciated that women can engage in politics. Other participants reiterated that men have not embraced the 2/3 gender principle of the Constitution 2010 as they despise women in politics. For example, men say that women are best fit for home jobs than government jobs. Further, the participants asserted that men have not embraced the 2/3 gender principle since they still underrate women in parliament while other participants reiterated that most men underrate the women in power and they believe that they cannot be led by women.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that men have not embraced the 2/3 gender principle of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 while other responses showed that men have embraced the 2/3 gender principle of the constitution of Kenya 2010. Those who disagreed supported their answer by stating that taking long to pass the bill in parliament, men have not yet accepted that women can be leaders, men believe that women are not supposed to be in parliament, men still hold the belief that they are the heads of everything and men believe that women are not fit to lead in public. Those who were in agreement argued not all men feel threatened by empowerment of women.

4.5 Benefits of Women Participation and Representation

The study sought to establish whether there are benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. The focus group results revealed that there are benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Results revealed that the benefits included: education promotion through provision of bursaries, scholarships and organizing of harambees, girl child empowerment, disclosing of problems facing the community, and writing proposals to the government about the demanding projects. Other benefits included: women are able to
generate income through government support; women are able to make public
decisions which benefit them and their children; and women in politics are able to
promote women rights. Further, the participants stated various benefits which
included: promotes children’s rights like right to education and safety, promote
community development projects like Chama’s and NGO’s; and encourage the
eradication of female genital mutilation FGM. Other participants noted the benefits
which included: women in politics are able to address the challenges confronting
ladies, youngsters and distraught gatherings; expanded number of ladies in politics;
and formation of many NGO’s through linking local campaigns and global actions.

Additionally, the participants indicated other benefits that can accrue from better
women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. These benefits included; giving out great ideas, building of the community through
self-help groups and reinforcement of girl child empowerment and education.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed there are benefits that can be
attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence
Kenya.

The key informant interviewees’ results revealed that, women benefited through
initiation of development projects, a number of women mentioned creation of
employment/ source of income as one of the benefit, while others cited attainment of
donor agents as one of the benefits. Other benefits included; good presentation of
problems facing community to the government as indicated by four of the women,
great decision making in the government was mentioned by four women, improved
living standards of families as indicated by six women, good leadership as women are
more courteous than men, was stated by three women, women empowerment to get
involved in politics as highlighted by one woman, enhanced education to needy
children was mentioned by one woman, appreciation and recognition of women was
given by five women, girl child empowerment was indicated by four women and
ending of bad practices like female genital mutilation, was identified by one woman.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that majority of the participants
indicated that there aren’t other benefits that can accrue from better women’s political
participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. However, a few
informants agreed that there are other benefits that can accrue from better women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. These benefits were that, women issues may be addressed, women can benefit from their day to day chores such as, harvesting tea and coffee and dairy farming, without men denying them the right to get income generated from these projects, and that, women can sensitize others on the importance of electing women. Two women noted that, land inheritance and equal property rights can be enhanced thus empowering women. One woman noted that, women benefit through fund sourcing and having joint activities for income generation and socialization.

4.6 Challenges of Women Participation and Representation

The study also sought to determine the perceived challenges of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. The focus group results revealed that there are challenges attributed to women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Some responses indicated that women experienced challenges such as bias during debates in the parliament, women are viewed as minor, men in politics don’t believe in ideas given by women and some men don’t allow women to give out ideas during parliament sittings. Other responses pointed out the challenges faced by women to include; discrimination by members of the public during campaigns and other women in office, challenge of balancing of family and political life, discrimination in political parties where men are given first priority, as well as, opposition from their fellow women during campaigns. Further, the responses posited that women experienced challenges such as a belief that politics are for men and thus when women engage in politics, some people view it as a weird behavior, noted one woman. In course of the discussion, women pointed out abuse from fellow women who hate their fellow women naturally as a major challenge. Finally, the responses cited challenges such as violence and intimidation by men and the community at large, lack of information about politics and lack of community and family support.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that there are challenges attributed to women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. One interviewee indicated that only women from royal (renowned) families are nominated, either for elections by political parties or into parliament after elections. Another interviewee indicated that, perception makes them not fit because somehow to be a
politician you have to be crooked, while eight interviewees posited that they experienced the challenges of financial incapability. Further, two interviewees reiterated that they faced the challenge of sexual harassment, nine interviewees asserted that they experienced discrimination by the community and the male politicians, while five interviewees argued that, they faced the challenge of lack of support from the fellow women. Other challenges included: lack of support from spouses, family and community as noted by three interviewees; lack of required education as indicated by eight interviewees; false accusation and abuse by men as mentioned by eight interviewees; failure of government to implement women empowerment policies as mentioned by one interviewee; wrong perception that women should not engage in politics was mentioned by one interviewee; cultures denying women participation in politics was highlighted by two interviewee; women stigmatization was given by one interviewee; and underrating of decisions made by women or ideas was indicated by two interviewees.

On establishing that there are challenges attributed to women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya, the researcher was implored to determine whether the challenges are related to some cultural, economic, educational, political or relation beliefs that discriminate or promote women’s political participation and representation. The focus group results revealed that challenges are related to some cultural, economic, educational, political or relation beliefs that discriminate or promote women’s political participation and representation. Some responses indicated that it is a cultural belief that women should be necks but not the head. Other responses indicated that, in some cultures, men are still viewed as superior than women despite them having the same level of education and leadership skills. Again, women belief that another woman can’t lead people well, and this is a culture that has been taking back the women empowerment program. Further, the responses indicated that men don’t belief in being led by women, while other responses indicated that it is a cultural belief that women can’t have more power in the world than men.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that majority of the interviewees agreed that the challenges are related to some cultural, economic, educational, political or relation beliefs that discriminate or promote women’s political participation and representation while a few interviewees disagreed. Those who were
in agreement supported their response with various reasons. These included, culturally, men are born leaders as opposed to women. They are also related to cultural beliefs, for example, one woman noted that, a clergy in the Catholic Church discouraged women from electing her. Discrimination by community is cultural because some communities believe that woman are not supposed to engage in politics and it is viewed as a kind of rudeness.

4.6.1 Suggestions for Participation and Representation

The existence of challenges implored the researcher to establish what can enhance women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. The focus group results revealed that women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya can be enhanced through; encouraging women to engage in politics, educating them on the best strategies of politics, government to effect fully on the 1/3,2/3 gender rule and support programs that encourage women participation in politics. Some responses indicated that women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya can be enhanced through; educating the public that anyone can lead the nation, teaching men that women have power to lead with all due respect observed, and by mentoring young girls to be courageous in life. Other responses indicated that women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya can be enhanced through; women empowerment to engage in politics, give women support both from the government and the community, and holding campaigns to stop intimidation of women in politics. Further, the responses indicated that women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya can be enhanced through; having a program to empower women to engage in politics, educating people the importance of women in politics and the benefits involved such as empowering the girl child.

Results from key informant interviewees revealed that 2 interviewees considered funding women for civic education in relation to importance of electing women for campaigns as a strategy to enhancing women political interest and representation in post-autonomy Kenya. One interviewee proposed that the church should be preaching in support of women political participation and representation as another method for improving ladies political investment and representation in post-independence Kenya. Another interviewee pointed out giving quotas to women by political parties e.g
ensuring that 1/3 of their candidates are women during nominations as another way of enhancing women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Other suggestions cited by the KIIIs included: elimination of discrimination in all stages as pointed out by twelve interviewees; financial support from government, sponsors and family to women in politics as proposed by eight interviewees; women empowerment programs for women to participate in politics was proposed by four interviewees; mobilize for support from spouse, family and community was mentioned by four interviewees; passing of the 1/3 gender rule in parliament as proposed by two interviewees; heavy fines and penalties to men who abuse and accuse women in politics; government to sponsor women to get the desired education as proposed by three interviewees; discourage down rating of women decisions and stigmatization of women as supported by three interviewees; abandon cultures that deny women participation in politics as suggested by two interviewees; and encourage support by fellow women was proposed by two interviewees.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This part displays rundown of discoveries, conclusions and proposals for further study and suggestions from the discoveries in the study. The target of the examination was to investigate the ladies and the political mosaic (examples and patterns) of ladies support and representation in post-freedom Kenya.

5.2 Summary of Findings and Conclusions

The study achieved its objectives as follows.

5.2.1 Patterns of Women Participation in political leadership in Kenya

The principal target of the study was to set up the examples of ladies interest in political administration in post-independence Kenya parliament. Results revealed that women participation in the electoral process is very low. Specifically, results showed that participation is even lower for regions where marginalized communities live. As shown in the map central and western regions have a better participation compared to northeastern, eastern and coastal regions. These results confirm those of Nzomo (2010) who posited that the support of ladies in the appointive procedure does not mirror this demographic reality in Kenya.

5.2.2 Trends of Women Representation in political leadership in Post-Independence Kenya

The second objective of the study was to assess the trends of women representation in post-independence Kenya. The outcomes uncovered that there has been a continuous increment in the level of ladies representation in parliament. This can be ascribed to ladies sharpening on their rights to take an interest in legislative issues. For example, different universal understandings and traditions, for example, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, have constantly worried on the significance of ladies' equivalent political investment and representation.
The outcomes additionally uncover that the eleventh decision speaks to the best change in that it has the most elevated number of ladies ever to have been chosen and designated in Kenyan history. This can be credited to major ladies' increases secured under the Constitution is the open door and certification of successful representation of ladies by means of the 66% rule of sexual orientation representation. The 66% rule directs that 'not more than 66% of the individuals from selective and elective bodies should be of a similar sexual orientation.' This guideline has been repeated in two noteworthy parts of the Constitution—the Bill of Rights and the general standards of the appointive framework.

Article 27(8) states: notwithstanding the measures examined in condition (6), the State should take administrative and different measures to execute the rule that not more than 66% of the individuals from elective or selective bodies might be of a similar sexual orientation.

Article 81 states: The discretionary framework should agree to the accompanying standards—(b) not more than 66% of the individuals from elective open bodies might be of a similar sex.

In any case, notwithstanding Article 177 guaranteeing that Articles 81(b) and 27 (8) of the CoK are consented to at the County level through the selection of extraordinary seat individuals, the same is not ensured at the National Assembly and the Senate.

Considering the sacred arrangements and the legitimate prerequisites that put aside different seats for ladies individuals, and in addition the determination of ladies to assigned seats, which was relied upon to prompt to a more sexual orientation responsive house, the execution still misses the mark. In this way, regardless of an empowering constitution and enactment, ladies have kept on persevering through an over the top number of obstacles and a domain bereft of political will, bringing about less than anticipated ladies contending and winning.
These discoveries affirm the UN report titled, "The World's ladies 2000: Trends and insights", ladies involve "... short of what one-tenth of the world's bureau clergymen and one-fifth of all sub-pastoral positions", (United Nations, 2000). In this report, sub-Saharan Africa is positioned humble number five in the positions, while Nordic areas took after by the Americans are appraised nearly high. The reports demonstrate that rate of ladies in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa is just underneath the worldwide normal.

5.2.3 Effectiveness of Constitution 2010

The study sought to examine the effectiveness of Constitution of Kenya 2010 in supporting women participation and representation in political process. The feedback from the FGDs represented the views of women in Kenya, both urban and rural. The results reveal that women do not have a full understanding of the constitution since their responses were not in tandem with what the Constitution of Kenya 2010 states.

*Article 27(8) states: notwithstanding the measures mulled over in provision (6), the State might take administrative and different measures to actualize the rule that not more than 66% of the individuals from elective or selective bodies should be of a similar sexual orientation.*

*Article 81 states: The constituent framework might conform to the accompanying standards—(b) not more than 66% of the individuals from elective open bodies should be of a similar sex.*

This implies that there is a great need for women empowerment programmes meant to create awareness among women (both in the rural and urban areas) on what the constitution says about them so that they can be in position to stand out and fight for their rights.

On the other hand, women involved in the KII had an understanding of the 1/3 gender rule according to the constitution. This can be attributed to the fact that they had been involved in politics in the past and were more exposed to information compared to other women. Results also revealed that the 1/3 gender rule was not effective in enhancing equality since the bill was rejected in parliament and women have continued to face discrimination. However, the women argued that the new
constitution has helped to improve their status as they have been given particular seat (women representative seats) in the national assembly in addition to being encouraged which has improved their living standards. It is also important to note that despite the fact that the new constitution has helped in addressing some of the women plights, men have not yet embraced the 1/3 gender rule which can be explained by the failure to pass the bill in parliament.

5.2.4 Benefits of Women Participation and Representation

The study sought to determine the perceived benefits of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Results revealed that women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya came along with many benefits for the women. This included creation of employment, in that provision of women county representative seats acted as a form of employment; initiation of development projects; great decision making in the government; good presentation of problems facing community to the government; and girl child empowerment.

These results are consistent with those of Kamau, 2003; Epstein et al., 2005; Kamau, 2007 who fought that having somewhat number of women in the approach making foundations is awful for Kenyan women and the country. They incorporated that women bring a substitute perspective into political venture and representation. Kelly et al. (1991: 81-82), for example, refer to focuses on done in the United States, which exhibited that female people from Congress had maintained the Civil Rights Act of 1964 more than their male partners, and that more female people co-upheld the Equal Rights Amendment than did male people.

Specialists like Tremblay (1998), Devlin et al (2008) among others have fought that there is a strong association between extended closeness of women in parliament and the representation of issues affecting (women issues). Tremblay (1998) progress battles that female people from parliament address the necessities, wishes and interests of female people from the masses in a country. More demonstrated via Carroll (1994) approaches concerning women will presumably have dynamically and more broad direct impact on the masses than those of men in a country. Among the
issues consolidate family organizing, maternal prosperity, preparing, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), viciousness against ladies.

5.2.5 Challenges of Women Participation and Representation

The study sought to determine the perceived challenges of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. Results revealed that there are various challenges attributed to women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. These challenges included discrimination by the community and male politicians, abuse by male politicians during campaigns, financial incapability, lack of support by their spouses, families and the community at large and lack of support by fellow women. These results are consistent with a country-level research in Brazil by Teresa Sachet and her associates. Their exploration demonstrated that 'ladies in the gatherings are right when they guarantee that their battles get less budgetary support from the gatherings than the crusades of their male partners' (Sachet 2011: 32). Furthermore, Campbell (2010) concurs that over the world there appear to be hindrances to ladies' investment than it is to men.

As referred to by Women Direct Service Center, (2006: 11), absence of assets conflicts with the yearnings of numerous ladies to keep running for political office. For ladies to take an interest successfully in the political procedure, generous measures of assets are required. These incorporate finances, time, foundation and individuals. Of the assets required, finances are the most difficult to get to. Karl (2001) likewise distinguishes a few impediments that block ladies' interest in political undertakings around the world. They incorporate low training and proficiency levels, low access to budgetary assets, social states of mind and generalizations, religion and socialization, among different variables. Cooper and Karl (1982) found that ladies confront push while at work, home and in social situations. Ladies are additionally expected to procure manly political interest and representation qualities and administration abilities like forcefulness and decisiveness among others to exceed expectations in their vocations.
Comes about likewise uncovered that these difficulties were connected with social convictions whereby it is a conviction that ladies ought not be the head at any one time. This makes it troublesome for them to emerge as they should. The outcomes are steady with those of Omtatah (2008) who called attention to retrogressive social and conventional practices, for example, child inclination philosophy, absence of faith in the significance of instructing young ladies, constrained relational unions, female genital mutilation, lady value accumulation, widowhood ceremonies and exclusion of young ladies and ladies as a portion of the ills that block the mission for ladies' political interest and representation in Kenya. Omtatah (2008) facilitate takes note of that poor socialization where young men are set up for administration and young ladies for local parts additionally conflicts with ladies' power to political support and representation.

5.3 Recommendations

The study suggested various remedies for enhancing women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya. These included;

i. Encouraging women to engage in politics which can be achieved through reliable political support and engagement in administration exercises and preparing to beat ladies' low political socialization.

ii. Educating women on the best strategies of politics. This can be achieved through visit participation at social and political get-togethers where political data is probably going to be shared, and in addition taking part in a wide perusing of any accessible political writing and media articles, with a view to reinforcing one's bank of political data.

iii. Parliament should fast track the enactment of a bill to help effect the 2/3 gender principle fully and develop programs to encourage women participation in politics. The current women in both house should be more aggressive in lobbying the support of such a bill.

iv. Educating people on the importance of engaging women in politics and the benefits accruing from women empowerment.
5.4 Recommendations for Further Research and Policy Making

The study suggested various recommendations for further research. These included:

1. There is a need to explore whether belonging to a certain political party enhances a woman’s possibility of being elected.

2. There is need to assess why the effectiveness of the 2/3 gender principle of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 in enhancing women participation and representation in political leadership has not being achieved in the Kenyan parliament.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

Date…………………..

Dear Respondent,

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR DATA COLLECTION

I am a postgraduate student of University of Nairobi pursuing a degree in Master of Arts in Sociology. I wish to conduct a research titled ‘women and the political mosaic: patterns and trends of women participation and representation in post-independence Kenya’. A questionnaire has been developed to assist gathering relevant information for this study. I wish to seek your permission to be allowed access to your members who will be selected randomly and issued with a questionnaire.

Your grant of permission to conduct the study in your group will be highly appreciated. I wish to guarantee you that all information will be treated with utmost confidentiality and high ethical standards will be observed.

Yours Sincerely,

Mary Kabugi
Appendix II: Secondary Data Check List

**Tool 1**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Constituency</th>
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### Tool 2

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Appendix III: Focus Discussion Group

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<td>Time discussion started:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Time discussion ended:</td>
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</table>

Effectiveness of Constitution 2010

1. Can you tell us a bit about yourself? How long have you been involved in politics?

2. What is your understanding of the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010?

3. In your opinion, describe how effective is the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010.

4. Has the enactment of the new constitution assisted to raise the status of women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?
5. In your opinion, have men embraced the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010.

Benefits of Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

6. Are there benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

7. What are the particular benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

8. In your opinion, are there any other benefits that can accrue from better women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

9. What are the particular benefits?
Challenges of Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

10. Do you experience any challenges in women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

11. What are the particular challenges that you experience in women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

12. Are these challenges related to some cultural, economic, educational, political or relation beliefs that discriminate or promote women’s political participation and representation?

13. In your own opinion, what can enhance women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?
Appendix IV: Key Informant Interview Guide

<table>
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<td>Time discussion started: Time discussion ended:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Profession:</td>
<td>Male/Female:</td>
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Effectiveness of Constitution 2010

1. Can you tell us a bit about yourself? How long have you been involved in politics?

2. What is your understanding of the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010?

3. In your opinion, describe how effective is the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010.

4. Has the enactment of the new constitution assisted to raise the status of women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?
5. In your opinion, have men embraced the 1/3 gender rule of the constitution 2010.

**Benefits of Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya**

6. Are there benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

7. What are the particular benefits that can be attributed to women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

8. In your opinion, are there any other benefits that can accrue from better women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

9. What are the particular benefits?
Challenges of Women Participation and Representation in Post-Independence Kenya

10. Do you experience any challenges in women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

11. What are the particular challenges that you experience in women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

12. Are these challenges related to some cultural, economic, educational, political or relation beliefs that discriminate or promote women’s political participation and representation?

13. In your own opinion, what can enhance women’s political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?
## Appendix V: Characteristics of FGD Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Response</th>
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</table>
| Establishment Year               | Group 1- 2013  
                                      Group 2-2007  
                                      Group 3-2001  
                                      Group 4-2008 |
| County                           | Group 1-Nairobi  
                                      Group 2-Nyandarua  
                                      Group 3-Nairobi  
                                      Group 4- Nyandarua |
| Number of Members                | Group 1-22  
                                      Group 2-23  
                                      Group 3-21  
                                      Group 4-24 |
| Agenda                           | Group 1- Mobilize monthly savings of Kshs 2000, lend money to each other and engagement in politics.  
                                      Group 2- Mobilize monthly savings; lend money to each other and engagement in politics.  
                                      Group 3- Empower children education by lending out loans to the parents to cater for school fees and pay with particular amount of interest within a specified period of time.  
                                      Group 4- Mobilize monthly savings and lend money to each other. |

*Source: Study Findings from FGDs, 2016*