

**DETERMINANTS OF WOMEN POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT IN
KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI COUNTY (1992-2017)**

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**A Research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration,
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for an academic award.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to all women who struggled and others who are still in the fight for gender equality in Kenya and the world over. May God always guide and protect you throughout this tedious journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Dedication	iv
Table of contents	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations/Acronyms	ix
Abstract	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the research problem.....	4
1.3 Research questions.....	5
1.4 Objectives of the study.....	5
1.5 Justification of the study	6
1.6 Scope and limitations of the study	6
1.7 Literature review	7
1.8 Theoretical framework.....	14
1.9 Definition and operationalization of key concepts	16
1.10 Research Hypothesis.....	16
1.11 Methodology	17
1.11.1 Research design	17
1.11.2 Study site.....	17
1.11.3 Target population	17
1.11.4 Sampling technique and sample.....	18
1.11.5 Data collection	18
1.11.6 Data analysis	18
1.11.7 Validity of the instruments.....	19
1.11.8 Reliability of the instruments.....	19
1.12 Ethical considerations	19

CHAPTER TWO	20
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN KENYAN POLITICS ..	20
2.0 Introduction.....	20
2.1 Women Political Participation during the pre-colonial period	20
2.2 Women Politiltical Participation during the colonial period	21
2.3 Women Political Participation during the post-independence period	22
2.4 Women trailblazers in Kenyan politics.....	25
2.5 Women in current leadership in Kenya	26
2.6 Women participation in Nairobi County politics.....	29
2.7 Conclusion	30
CHAPTER THREE	32
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION.....	32
3.0 Introduction.....	32
3.1 Response rate	32
3.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents	32
3.3 Influence of financial resources on women political participation in Nairobi County.....	36
3.4 Role of political parties in increasing women political participation in Nairobi County	41
CHAPTER FOUR	52
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	52
4.0 Introduction.....	52
4.1 Summary of findings	52
4.2 Conclusion on the findings	53
4.3 Recommendation	54
REFERENCES	56
APPENDICES	64
Appendix I: Questionnaire.....	64
Appendix II: Interview guide.....	67

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Sample size	18
Table 2.1: Women historical representation in Kenya’s parliament	22
Table 2.2: Women elected deputy governors (2013-2017)	27
Table 2.3: Women elected members of parliament (2013-2017)	28
Table 2.4: Women parliamentary elections in Nairobi County (1992-2013)	29
Table 2.5: Women parliamentary elections in Nairobi County (2013-2017).....	30
Table 3.1: Distribution of respondents by age	32
Table 3.2: Distribution of respondents by religion	33
Table 3.3: Distribution of respondents by marital status	34
Table 3.4: Distribution of respondents by level of education.....	35
Table 3.5: Distribution of respondents by number of years in politics.....	36
Table 3.6: Distribution of respondents by level of participation	36
Table 3.7: Jubilee party nomination fee.....	38
Table 3.8: Orange Democratic Movement nomination fee	38
Table 3.9: Information on political parties’ policy documents.....	41
Table 3.10: Elected women and men MCAs 2017	44
Table 3.11: Total number of women in NEC of interviewed political parties	45

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Counties of Kenya Map.....	xi
Figure 2: Map of Nairobi County	xii
Figure 3.1: Women views on what has contributed to their increased numbers in politics	40
Figure 3.2: Gender representation in the National Assembly 2017	42
Figure 3.3: Elected women MPs 2017 per interviewed party	43
Figure 3.4: Elected women MCAs 2017 per interviewed party	44

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ANC	Amani National Congress
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CORD	Coalition of Reforms and Democracy
FORD-K	Forum for Restoration of Democracy Kenya
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IPU	Interparliamentary Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LegCo	Legislative Council
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
NASA	National Super Alliance
NEC	National Executive Council
NDI	National Democratic Institute
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PNU	Party of National Unity
TNA	The National Alliance
URP	United Republican Party
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WDM-K	Wiper Democratic Movement Kenya

ABSTRACT

Women in Kenya comprise an important national resource whose ideas, creativity and concerns for social cohesion can help bring about positive change in almost all spheres of the society. Even though a number of them have made great strides in politics in the country, their representation is still 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 examine the determinants of women political empowerment in Kenya with Nairobi County as a case study. Specifically this study sought to determine how access to financial resources influences women political participation and establish the role of political parties in increasing women political participation. The study was conducted through a descriptive survey. Data was collected using a questionnaire and interview guide; responses from 80 individuals purposively sampled from the targeted number (100) were received. Data was analysed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and presented in pie charts, tables in form of frequencies and percentages. The study concluded that women political participation is affected by lack of adequate resources such as vehicles, money to sustain campaigns, high nomination fees and lack of possible sources of funds. In addition, it was established that there is a limited number of women holding positions within the parties governance or NEC due to the failure of political parties to comply with gender principles in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011, lack of institutional laws within political parties, lack of political parties' proportional representation, and male dominance within the parties. The major recommendations of the study are: education policies should promote the education as well as political training for the girl child; concerted effort should be made to empower women economically through access to professional jobs and affordable loans; political campaign process should be decommercialized; and the government should put in place laws to compel political parties to ensure that their objectives, values and principles comply with gender equality principles in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011, and that their nomination fees are made affordable.

COUNTIES OF KENYA MAP

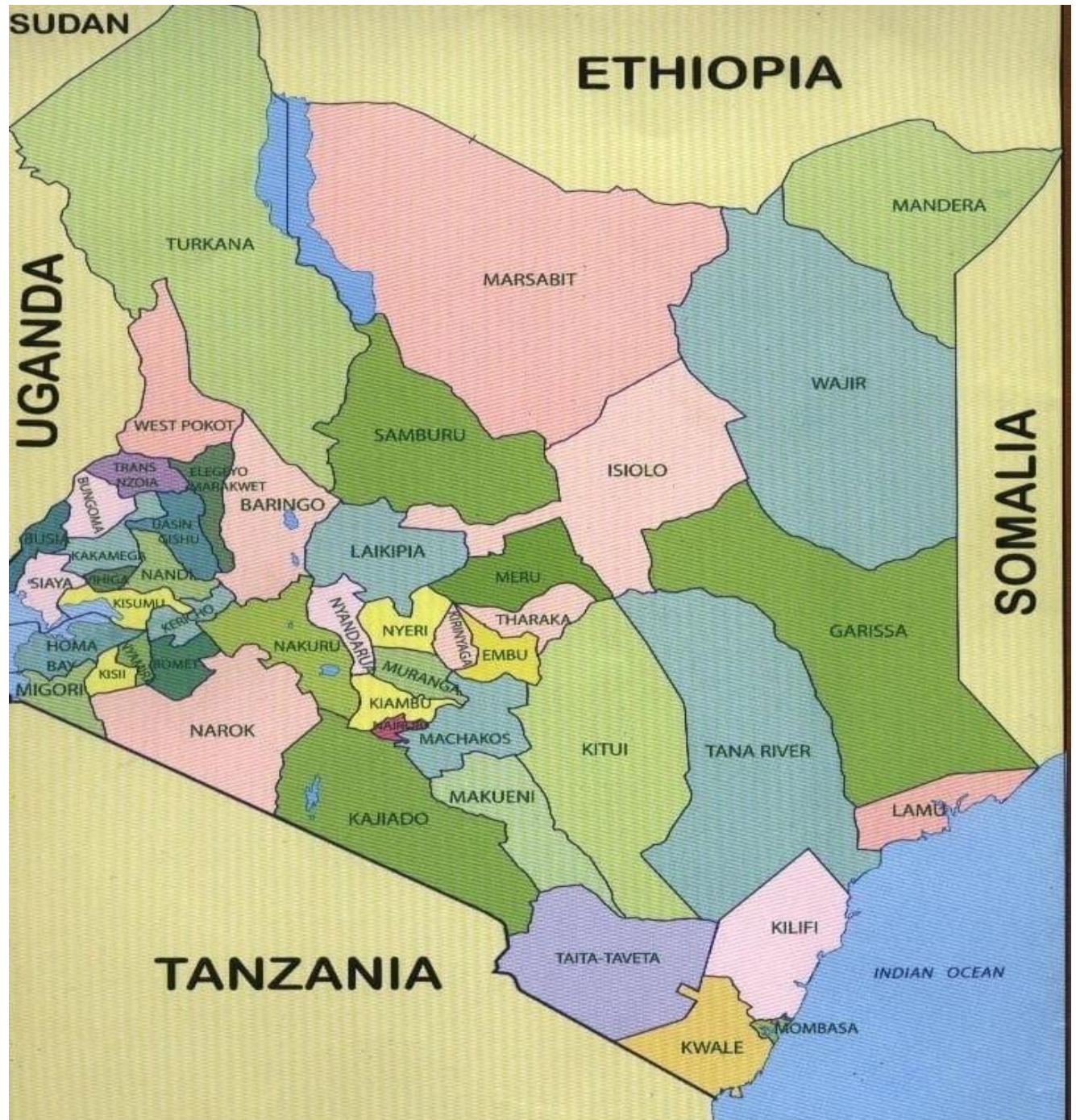


Figure 1: Kenya Counties Map

Source; <http://www.google.co.ke/#q=kenya+counties+map>

CONSTITUENCIES OF NAIROBI COUNTY MAP

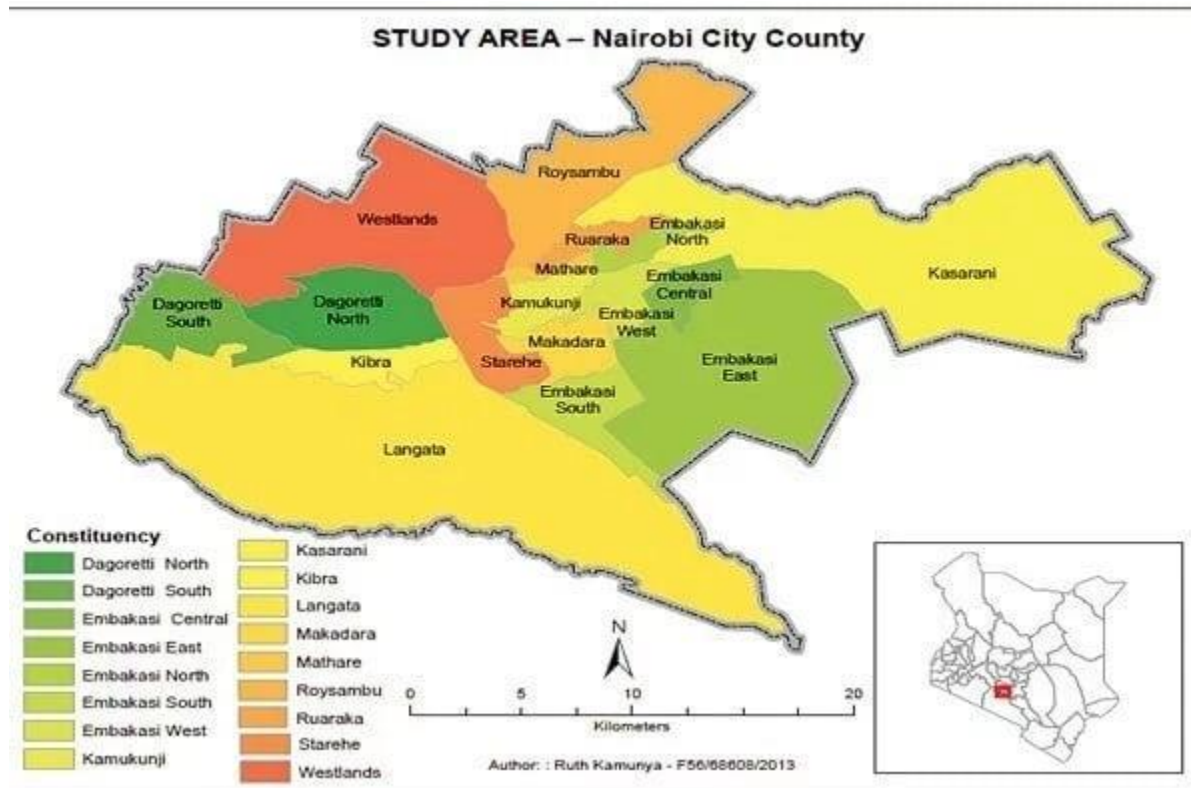


Figure 2: Nairobi County Constituencies Map

Source; <http://www.google.co.ke/#q=nairobi+county+map>

1.1 Background of the study

Political empowerment of women has become a global concern in current times. It refers to increasing women interests and involvement in all areas of political matters (Batliwala, 2001). According to (Karl, 1995), political empowerment of women is the procedure of creating women consciousness and increasing capability for their inclusion in leadership and representation. United Nations (1995) defines it as the inclusion of women in full engagement in politics and the acquisition of authority for gender equity and coexistence. Devi and Lakshmi (2005) relate women political empowerment to the redistribution of power between men and women that challenges patriarchy.

Recognizing the importance of women political empowerment many countries across the globe have tried to make some effort in increasing the number of women in politics. For instance, USA has women empowerment strategies in the form of fundraising for women candidates, training programs and awareness done by civil society groups and university institutes (IPU 2017). In addition there is compulsory target for political parties and well-funded strategies to increase women support in politics (Saskia, 2018). This has led to an increase in women numbers in political leadership in lower house from 10.9% to 19.3% in the last twenty years.

In European, in order to enhance gender equality, countries like France and Portugal have imposed regulations on public funding to ensure that political parties comply. This has strengthened the role of women within parties and increased the number of women in parliament (Bruter and Harrison, 2009). In 2012, the European parliament introduced the parity systems or gender quotas to facilitate equality in politics (Kantola, 2010). These mechanisms led to a gain in numbers of women representation in the European legislature to 27.2% in 2017 from 26.3% in 2016. Additionally, parliaments have also been compelled to create women friendly environment by putting mechanisms to reduce sexual harassment. In Swedish women political empowerment has been enhanced through the mobilization of parties to take up formal and informal quota in nominations of individuals, this has been instrumental in the improved women numbers in parliament to 43.6% in 2014 (Svaleryd, 2007). Similarly, in Britain women representation has been increased through the use of quotas within parties (Eagle and Lovenduski, 1998). For instance, in 2017, women representation in UK parliament increased to 26.1% in both houses (House of Commons and House of Lords) (IPU, 2017).

Countries in Asia have experienced increased women representation in national parliaments. Their aggregate average acceleration saw an increase from 13.2% in 1995 to 18.5% in 2015 (IPU, 2017). This increase has been attributed to the adoption of gender quotas. For instance, in the case of Indonesia, the gender quota system was introduced through legislation (Law No. 12/2003) which stated that each political party must nominate women for the National House of Representative and People Representatives council, Provincial and District level in order to increase women representation to at least 30% (Wardani, 2009). China too has made a recognizable advancement in the implementation of mechanisms in increasing women political participation. Mechanisms like gender quotas by political parties have led to an increased female representation in positions of authority and government. For instance, by 2013 representation of female in the legislature saw an increase to 24.2% (Huang and Ding Li, 2010).

Women participation in politics in Latin American countries has seen an increase in the past 15 years. The number of women represented in Latin American parliament increased from 13% in 2000 to 18% in 2010 and 20% in 2014 (Htun, 2001). Argentina was the first among Latin American countries to use gender quotas in 1991 and by 2014 a total of 16 out of 20 Latin American countries had started using gender quotas for their national parliament, municipal and provincial assembly elections. It even spread to the executive and judiciary as well as civil society organizations. In addition, elected women have also formed women association within parliament to raise their consciousness and create initiatives to cater for women rights (Htun and Jones, 2002). Brazil also adopted quota system in 1997. This increased women representation to the legislature to 9% in 2005 from 7% in 1999 and to 11.27% in 2017 (IPU, 2017). Chile adopted gender quotas in 2015, this increased women representation in the legislature to 18.5% in 2017 (Htun, 2001). Whereas, the adoption of the quotas by Mexican country increased women representation in parliament to 41.4% in the 2015 elections (IPU, 2017).

In the last two decades, Africa has witnessed an increased women representation in parliament. By 2017 the number of women seats in the legislature was 21.9% from 20.4% in 2011. This surge is attributed to gender quotas adopted by most African countries. Ghana was the first African country to adopt gender quotas in 1960, Tanzania in 1975, Egypt in 1986, Senegal in 1982, and Uganda in 1989 (Trip et al, 2006). The stipulation is that women must have at least a third of representation of list of candidates, parliament or national positions (Dahlerup, 2005). The aim is to eliminate obstacles to women involvement in politics. Rwanda has the highest women representation of 55.6% in the legislature. This surge originated from the adoption of quotas by parties, quotas in the legislature and special seats for women which became effective

in 2003 elections (Longman, 2006). South Africa is also doing very well in empowering women. Women representation in parliament is 41.2%. In South Africa political gender equity is contained in the constitution of 1996. Article 1 of the constitution stresses everyone's right to vote, gender equity and zero bias on sex (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Kenya recognizes the importance of women empowerment. This is supported by the country's constitution and legal framework that has its basis on gender equality in leadership and government. According to the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Article 27 (8) states that no elective body shall be represented with two thirds or more of members of the same sex. Moreover it is supported by electoral laws and political parties Act, court procedures and upheld by treaties and conventions like Conventions on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and Beijing Platform For Action (BPFA, 1995). Despite the existence and commitment of these elaborate national, regional and international instruments for the promotion of gender equality in politics and decision making, trends and levels of women representation and participation in political structures of the country have largely been dismal. Women comprise more than half of the Kenya population, but have consistently been under-represented in political leadership positions in the country.

The forces that shape Nairobi politics are more or less similar to those in other parts of Kenya. However, a number of mediating factors such as the local political rivalry and the regions influence in national politics, real or perceived, accord, its electoral practice some peculiarity. Electoral politics in Nairobi since independence was dominated by Kenya African National Union (KANU) until 2002 when National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) came into the scene and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU) in 2007. Other parties such as The National Alliance (TNA), United Republican Party (URP), WIPER, and Forum for Restoration of Democracy Kenya (FORD-K) among others have all tried their influence in Nairobi politics occasionally capturing two or more parliamentary and civic seats. Like in other parts of Kenya, electoral politics in Nairobi has been run by a number of 'big' men who could never imagine being led by a woman, but women often based their political clout on the mobilization of women groups and organizations for their own support. This study will identify and suggest empowerment measures and strategies to tackle the problem of access to financial resources and find means to enable political parties adhere to laid stipulations in order to increase women political participation and governance in Nairobi County and Kenya in general.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

Women have faced subordination in politics and government in Kenya since independence. Despite the fact that some women have been involved in political matters, their engagement in governance is still short of the stipulation in Article 27 (3) of the Constitution and the resolutions passed in the CEDAW (1979) and BPFA (1995). Statistics of the 2017 general election on the number of elected women in the country, for instance; governors (3), senators (3), members of parliament (23), members of county assembly (96) and those in government positions is still low; The situation is even worse in Nairobi County given that out of the 17 constituencies only one is represented by an elected women that is; Kasarani and out of the 85 wards only 5 are represented by women this equals to 7 women elected in total (NDI, 2018). This depicts gender parity in political governance as a serious problem in Kenya. Therefore, it becomes a great concern to address this inequality in politics and leadership for the country to achieve social and political development.

The above data indicates that women are inadequately represented in political positions within the government. The possible explanation for this scenario could be that gender issues in electoral politics have not received due attention and redress; hence this gives men a head start. Women are always relegated to the peripheries of political leadership. Women are marginalized first because they are women and secondly because they lack a voice in matters politics. Frequently, women are not always considered for political positions because of lack of strategies on access to financial resources to uplift them on how to go about in securing elective seats. For instance, in the 2017 general elections many women aspirants were locked out at the nomination stage due to lack of measures and strategies to curb unscrupulous process of nomination within the political parties and failure to arrest the problem of inadequate finance which is a hindrance to their political rights. In their public and private lives, women have to struggle to articulate their desires and to find their own voices. For a long time, women have been seen as extensions of men; as people who cannot politically stand on their own, but have to be propped by men.

Women empowerment in political governance particularly Kenya, would lead to better policy making and therefore good governance. Few numbers of women in Kenyan politics has discouraged inclusive discourses to emerge around the rights of ethnic and racial minorities, socially excluded, marginalized or persecuted groups (Kenya Women Manifesto, 2005). Women empowerment would be seen as important in terms of socio-economic and political development. For example, women in legislature are seen to have greater concern with the problems of the

community; they are also responsive to the needs of their constituents, such as water, electricity, education among others (Reingold and Camissa, 2004). The presence of women in leadership represents equality at work, which leads to great achievement to the country economically. Most states for instance, Rwanda with many women in leadership and authority have low gender inequality via resources, knowledge and opportunities. Furthermore, women naturally are peaceful and are always geared to preserving peace. Therefore in conflict situations they are inclined to peace building and they also tend to bring definite and important issues for negotiation, this can help to stabilize the country and help initiate prosperity.

The above synopsis of the problem of women political participation in governance creates a ground for examining determinants of women political empowerment in Kenya with a specific reference to Nairobi County (1992 - 2017), by suggesting measures and strategies to counter the problem of inadequate access to financial resources and too, suggest policies to be incorporated within the political parties in order to increase the number of women in politics and governance.

1.3 Research questions

This research sought answers to the following questions:

- i. How does access to financial resources influence women political participation in Nairobi County?
- ii. What is the role of political parties in increasing women political participation in Nairobi County?

1.4 Study objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1.4.1 The major objective

The main objective of the study was to examine the determinants of women political empowerment in Kenya with specific focus to Nairobi County (1992 – 2017).

1.4.2 Specific objectives

This study's specific objectives were:

- i. To determine how access to financial resources influence women political participation in Nairobi County.
- ii. To establish the role of political parties in increasing women political participation in Nairobi County.

1.5 Justification of the study

This study was driven by the inadequate literature on the efforts to increase women political participation in Kenya. The study focused on inadequate access to financial resources and its influence on women political participation and the role of political parties in increasing women political participation. It intended to suggest measures to enable women to access elective positions through empowerment strategies to help them realise their endured fight for equal political space in Kenya. Not much has been done on women empowerment in Nairobi County. This study has shown that the massive problems women experience in their involvement in politics is rooted in lack of empowerment strategies.

This research sought to improve on existing knowledge on women and politics by examining women political empowerment through suggestion of measures to enhance women political representation and leadership. This is not only from its ability to determine the level of participation of women in electoral politics but also its suggestion of the empowerment strategies for women effective participation. The scholars will learn a lot from this study criticize it and use it for further research. The study will therefore be of benefit for future studies by providing ways and means to tackle inadequate access to financial resources in order to increase their political representation. Solving such problem of underrepresentation of women will impact positively on the lives of women and the marginalised groups, hence an opportunity for growth and development.

The study will benefit policy makers within government and political parties interested in equity in politics. For the government it will help in providing crucial recommendations which can enable them formulate policies to nurture and encourage democratic practice and enhance further affirmative action policies that may improve gender mainstreaming and equal participation in all leadership and development processes. The leadership of political parties will find the research informative on what works and what doesn't in the policies and rules they will generate after and adopt to ensure more women are elected or represented through their parties for equal political participation.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

The study sought to examine determinants of women political empowerment in Kenya with a specific focus to Nairobi County. The study covers the period in Kenya's history between 1992 and 2017 because it highlights the 21st century events that have seen most women fight for equal

treatment in politics. This period, 1992 is significant because it marks the period in which multiparty politics came into force after the removal of part 2A of the 1963 constitution in 1991. The year 1992 is taken as the starting point for analysis in order to capture the affirmation of Nairobi as the capital and the epitome of Kenyan politics. The year 2017 refers to a period that has seen the expansion of the political space after Kenya had adopted the new constitution in 2010, with its legislative measures of two thirds gender rule.

In terms of study locale, the study will be limited to Nairobi County. Logistically, the county has a multiplicity of Kenyan communities. This cosmo-ethnic nature of the county provides an ideal case study of how politics have been replicated on Kenyan women at the local level. Nairobi has a long history dating back to colonial period, making it an ideal case study in helping to analyse the trends of politics in Kenya.

1.7 Literature review

This section reviewed literature available on how access to financial resources influence women political participation and the role of political parties in increasing women political participation. In addition it sought to elaborate on theoretical framework that was be utilized in the study. From this, hypotheses were generated.

1.7.1 How access to financial resources influence women political participation

The study sought to determine the influence of access to financial resources on women political participation and representation in Kenya. The literature reveals that there are various influences attributed to financial issues. For example, a study conducted by Githinji (2010) in his review of Kenya's Vision 2030 found that continuing sexual biasness 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. Oduol (2011) states that women are not represented in institutional political social structures with which to enhance women's participation coupled with political get-togethers. Absence of women in Political get-togethers limits acquisition of political ideas that can increase their consciousness on political issues (Nyanjom 2011). Though these studies are cross-cutting in different countries, this study investigated this gender biasness and its effect on financial capability of women in Kenya and suggested ways to reduce its influence on women seeking political leadership.

Johnson and Arriola (2014) blame women's dismal performance in the political arena on weak financial muscle. This is supported by Karl (2001) who identifies lack of access to financial resources, as a hindrance to women political participation worldwide. As observed by Kabaji (1997), low economic empowerment leads to the subordinate status of women. According to Odongo and Wanjala (2010), women make up 23 percent of labour force in most of parastatals, since such jobs are associated with provision of easier access to credit, it means that women have limited economic access hence low political capability. Similarly Bary (2005) links lack of capital to low women participation in politics. Economic disadvantages suffered by women create inequality and unfair game play in political participation and leadership when compared to men (Otieno, 2012). Economic disempowerment reduces the capacity of women to advance political careers and women are relegated to the political back scene (Tundi, 2013). Such disempowerment affects other variables such as education and health that further fuel lack of political participation and leadership (Kivoi, 2014). The study has investigated how far these financial difficulties affects political participation of women in Kenya and suggested ways to enable them cope with financial difficulties thereby increasing their political leadership and decision making.

Analysis done by Barret and Browne (1991) identified lack of education as a contributor to inadequate access to financial resource which limits most women's political participation. This is an indication that women with low levels of education have limited chances at well-paying jobs which are normally at leadership level. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Kenya Report (2015), goal number three provides an attempt by the state to improve women education. The intention is to achieve this through introduction of free primary education programme to provide equality in opportunities for both genders. To ensure a big number of women students are admitted to public universities, entry points for girls were lowered. Yoon (2004) explains that education increases interest in politics and educated women would have a greater opportunity and confidence to go for an elective post. These studies provide useful insight in advancing women political empowerment but this study has recommended facilitation of free education and civic education to empower adult women to alter status quo to increase women numbers in authority and government positions.

According to Women Direct Service Center (2006: 11), absence of assets conflicts with the yearnings of numerous women to keep running for political office. For women to take an interest successfully in the political procedure, generous measures of assets are required. Of the assets required, finances are the most difficult to get to. Karl (2001) likewise

distinguishes low training and proficiency levels, low access to finances as affecting women representation in political offices. Cooper and Karl (1992) found that women face many biases while at work, home and in social situations. Women 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. These studies apply to Kenya's situation; therefore the study suggested means and methods for women to access assets in order to increase their political bargaining power.

Financial incapability, lack of support by their spouses, families and the community at large and lack of support by fellow women limits women political participation. These results are consistent with a country-level research in Brazil by Teresa Sachet and her associates. The study demonstrated that women in political organizations get less budgetary support from the organizations than their male partners' (Sachet 2011: 32). Furthermore, Campbell (2010) concurs that over the world there appear to be hindrances to women investment than it is to men. A study by Seyedeh et al (2010) discovered that many women depend on their households for financial services. This limits their chances of even paying for nomination fees to a political party. This study examined women battles financially and suggested budgetary allocation for their political struggles in order to reduce its hindrance to women seeking leadership positions.

While it's natural to expect people of higher socio-economic status to participate more fully than people of lower status. Frey has argued that voting and standing for an elective office entails actions that people who occupy higher social economic status do in their daily business (Bruno, 2001). It can therefore be said that members of society who are relatively wealthy find voting and being voted for a natural part of their existence. Moreover, the occupations prevalent among the higher income group require higher mental and lower physical effort compared to those of lower income occupations (Russell et al., 2002). It therefore becomes self-evident that higher income individuals opt to have more non-work activities including voting and being voted for, a privilege absent in those who occupy low income jobs, these people would rather be earning than participating in politics (Buchanan M, 2000). The study suggested measures to elevate women to higher paying jobs in order to improve their interest in politics.

Patriarchal norms have played a crucial role in the economic sphere which eventually affects political participation. According to Fredrick Engels, women subordination began with the privatization of property. When capitalism was introduced and hence privatization of property, men wanted to maintain their power (Engels F. et al., 1978). Women are believed to be more

predisposed to poverty compared to men. This has led to what is called the feminization of poverty. According to a publication by the United Nations Development Programme, 70% of the world poor are women (UNDP, 1995). Women are forced to be dependent on their husbands or anyone who would alleviate them from their situation. Once women are in such a desperate state, their priorities are different (Chant S. 2006). The priorities for a woman who is the head of her household and has very little skills are not to participate in politics but to feed her family. This is supported by Afifu (2008) who states that poverty has limited the rural women's ability to join politics. The present poor state of women tends to limit women numbers in politics because men are not willing to compete with women for political posts. Therefore; this study has suggested measures to alleviate women from poverty and increase their income for an improved political participation.

The Beijing platform for Action (1996) in its report states that although women are primary producers of food and contribute significantly to economic life everywhere, they are largely excluded from economic decision-making. In most societies, they lack equal access to and control over various means of production, including land, capital and technology and their work is underpaid and undervalued. Women comprise about 32 per cent of the world labour force. This is, however, not reflected in top decision-making positions where they comprise 6.2 per cent of all ministerial Positions, this equals 6 per cent in the economic ministries (U.N., 1995). The study has suggested measures and strategies to enhance gender equality in different sectors and indulge women in full economic decision making to increase their political participation.

The impact of changing from the traditional economies to modern ones has resulted in limited financial capabilities in many African countries where women are the most hit. Naturally lack of resources is felt hardest at the household level. One of the impacts of this is that it restricts the making of choices (Njiru, 1996). This is particularly true among women. A study conducted by Ndungo (1996) indicates that women are manipulated mainly on account of inadequate resource. The author asserts that women "claim that they can vote for anybody who can give them something to feed their children, give them *lesos* or promise to bring piped water to their constituencies" (Ndungo, 1995:145). Because of the patriarchal nature of society where property essentially belongs to men, women lack the economic base which would enhance their political participation (Suda, 1996). In terms of their contribution to the labour force, women spend the larger part of their time in unpaid work. Of the total hours worked by women, 56 per cent are in subsistence or unpaid labour, only six per cent is spent in Paid labour where cash payment is in the form of wages. In contrast, men allocate only 12 per cent of their total working hours to

subsistence or unpaid labour (Njiru 1992). This study has suggested strategies to increase women political participation through reduction of patriarchy thereby enhancing equal distribution of property to increase women economic base.

Women's historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantage economically. Over the years, sexual division of labour and job opportunities offered on sex basis has given men productive gender roles, enabling them to possess more purchasing power over their female counterparts. As an implication, the Nigerian labour market has about 75% of labour being supplied by men. This economic disparity favour men to the disadvantage of women. Only few women that are affluent possess the economic power to bankroll political campaigns (IPU, 2009). Societal value assumes that political activities are masculine and this makes it worse as financiers and sponsors of politicians prefer male candidates over female ones, since they believe they stand a better chance. Most success achieved by women in politics has been through women movements that sponsor women political aspirations financially and otherwise. As a result, women political aspirations have been grossly hampered by lack of financial bedrock to subsist their endeavour. Women's socio-economic condition is another factor identified by Fisher (1997). Women according to Fisher constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate in both urban and rural areas in Africa and many young women between the ages of 15 and 25 have been pushed into sex work and face the risk of HIV/Aids infection. The problem is exacerbated by the current trend towards institutionalizing money-politics as well as high registration and nomination fees. Although waivers are granted to women with regards to nomination fees, the absence of a ceiling on campaign expenditure, however, undermine the efficacy of such gesture (Cassirer and Addati, 2007). Though these financial issues are global and not specific, this study has tried to establish their existence in Kenya and suggested solutions to enable women advance their political careers.

Empirical studies in the USA carried out by Inglehart and Norris (2002) show that, when women are economically disadvantaged, it is much more difficult for them to break into electoral office because they do not have access to necessary resources in the realm of public decision making. The economic crisis in countries with the so –called “developing democracies” has intensified the risk of women financial inadequacy, which is likely to be increasingly feminized (Bari 2005). Economic conditions play a significant role in women's legislative recruitment within both long standing and new democracies. It goes without saying that the social and economic status of women in the society has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies (Shvedova 2007). Studies in Tanzania by Bari (2005)

show that politics is increasingly becoming commercialized .More and more money is needed to participate in politics .Women lack access to and ownership of productive resources limiting the scope of their political work. This study has suggested mechanisms to increase income to women in order to enhance their political participation.

Elections have become a lucrative business where the only people who venture into and thrive are the wealthy men and few wealthy women (Kassily & Onkware 2010). Empirical studies in Kenya by Kamau (2010) suggest that financing the campaign process is an uphill task for most aspiring women politicians. Mutullah (2003) reports that two of the women elected in Kenya's 9th parliament indicated that they had spent Kshs 800 000 and Ksh 1.3 million respectively for the campaigns. According to CAPF Report (2012) in The Standard (Tuesday,10th July 2012) on average most parliamentary aspirants in Kenya spent between Ksh 7 and 8 million during the 2007 General elections. Campaign expenditure which as noted by Mutullah (2003) , include nomination expenses ,printing of fliers and hand bills, hiring of public address systems, mobile phones ,agents' fees, campaigners expenses, hospitality ,transportation, accommodation and subsistence for candidates team must be met. He notes that in addition to maintenance of vehicles and transport costs, entertainment, propaganda, buying of votes and bribing of voters take a large proportion of a candidates' budget. According to Okoth (2012), in Kenya monitored campaign expenditure tracking data estimates that in 2007 candidates could have spent between 2 million and 3 million on voter bribery. This study has suggested means of improving women financial base to reduce the economic burden of campaigns in order to increase their political participation.

Women in politics especially participation and leadership has been a subject of University projects. Karuru (2001) examines the factors influencing women political participation. She identifies key factors; Low income to women, cultural beliefs and discrimination in education. In addition lack of women economic empowerment, influence of the media, male domination and men side-lining women. Otieno (2015) examines the challenges women face in pursuit of their political engagement in Government in Africa specifically in Kenya. She identifies patriarchy, political parties, masculine political models, socio-economic sphere etc. as challenges to women political participation. It becomes crucial to pinpoint that most of the above highlighted factors affects every day women in their pursuance of political rights. While appreciating the revelations of the factors and challenges, these studies do however fail to represent the measures and ways to advance women participation in politics and leadership. This study has capitalized on the identified gaps in informing the need to increase the number of women in governance by

suggesting measures and strategies to counter the problem of access to financial resources in order to increase women political participation and their representation to enable them gain from the enhanced legal measures for effective political equality.

1.7.2 Role of political parties in increasing women political participation

Political parties are important in improving or reducing women involvement in politics as depicted by various scholars. According to Oduol (2011), the small number of women within party structures and limited women participation in politics is due to lack of institutional political party structures. However the level of reaction of political parties to gender equality is impinged by external factors like structures in parties at the national level (Tarrow, 1994). This is supported by Malami and Ken Worthy (1999) who note that political structures internationally influence national structures. Matland (1999) also views cultural political structures as a hindrance to women political participation. Reynolds (1999) explains that socio-economic structures can either help in achieving legitimate gender requirement or they can be an obstacle in their way. Some of the above studies do not explain how political party structures can be used to improve participation of women, a gap that has been filled by this study.

Jonyo (2013) argued that political parties are agents of socialization into politics and this ensures individuals entry into society's political culture. Kajirwa (2008) observed political parties as important in the recruiting of women to parliament. For example, Kenyan politics is associated with men and their dominance in political parties which becomes a hindrance to the recruitment and political mobilization of women. Owiti and Mittulah (2011) relate minimal women involvement within political parties to low support by men in political offices. These studies in particular refer to Kenya; therefore the study has come up with suggestions and mechanisms on policies within parties to accelerate women involvement in political matters.

According to Bary (2005), men dominate every position of political parties and issues discussed are generally associated with men. These alienate women as their ideas are not articulated and not even depicted in party politics. Randall (2003) explains that women do not always rise in hierarchy within political parties because of gender bias enhanced by men as leaders. Taylor and Matland (1997) attribute women low participation in politics to subjugation within parties that are dominated by men. This is evidenced as women make up less than 11% of political party leadership in the world (Shvedova, 1998). The selection and nomination processes within the political parties' favours men than women. In Africa men as the holders of power have used

parties as instruments of political control, because party posts are distributed depending on the willingness of those seeking power towards the political organization. Though the above studies focus on political parties of the leftist's countries like Latin America and Soviet Union, the discussions still provides impetus to this study's objectives. Therefore they acted as catalyst in the formulation of strategies within Kenyan political parties to enhance equality in political participation.

Malami and Kenworthy (1999) have suggested that the best way to improve political party representation is to use proportionality systems using party proportional representation. Using proportional representation list systems where the lists of candidates are published will put pressure on the parties to balance their party tickets (Matland 1998). However in most cases, political party selection of candidates is done in secret with minimal involvement of women (Gallager and Marsh, 1992). Reynolds (1999), Caul (2001) and Dahlerup (1998) explain that quotas at political party or at the legislature acts as mandatory in the improvement of women in political leadership. The adoption of quotas by parties to increase representation of women is also supported by Kang and Tripp (2008) and Krook (2009). This study has suggested means to influence political parties to create machineries to operate with transparency in the nomination of candidates in a free and fair manner.

1.8 Theoretical framework

This study was anchored on the Feminist political theory.

1.8.1 Feminist Political Theory

According to the American writer Betty Friedan (1921-2006), in her book 'The Feminine Mystique - 1962' she explained that; Feminist political theory has its origins in the 20th century with the major aim of having equality in the society because it is inclined to the standing rules, norms and dogmas in society. This theory is associated with the need to recognise the equality and rights of women and also question women exploitation, oppression and subordination (Popova, 2016). It support laws in favour of women on matters related to unhealthy occupations and professions and subjection to long working hours, this is done through initiating policies that improves gender equality in areas such as political participation, education, employment and equal access of the law.

As a political theory, feminism perceives the real world in terms of women. An outstanding element of this theory is the patriarchy which is known as a social system in which men

dominates, oppresses and exploit women. This element is applied through the established institutions in different spheres of public life including economic, political, social and cultural. Feminist political theory developed as a critic to women marginalisation and vows to eradicate its imperial tendencies through development of strategies aimed at emancipating women in the society (Mclean, 1996). The ideals of feminist political theory have connections to the traditions and belief of gender inequality exercised in different societies of the world. This status is not naturally determined but is socially constructed through biological differences; hence there is need for its resistance and change. In addition, feminism and politics are connected through gender inequality and therefore gender is placed at the centre of all political processes.

Feminist political theory argues that we live in a world in which the standards for what is normal have been set by men. As a result priorities, practices and perspectives of women are subordinated and considered inferior and different, a status which needs to be altered so that women can be equal to men in terms of work, thinking and as citizens (Ali et al, 2000). Most of the societies are arranged in a way that imposes gender upon us in different forms such as; roles, behaviours and identities. This theory explains that for women to be able to understand their status and outsmart the real oppressions and inequalities, they must be in a position to challenge both the man-made perceptions and address different ways in which gender is constructed.

Feminist political theory states that (a) The unequal gender relation that has existed between men and women is constructed and subjugates women, therefore has to be changed, (b) societal beliefs which seems usual but depicts women as secondary to men has to be abolished and be placed on the perception of equality of all with the same abilities (Mclean, 1996).

1.8.2 Relevance of feminist political theory to the study

The relevance of this theory is that it supports women rights and equality, it in-cooperates legislation and policies that support women's fight for political participation and too singles out patriarchy, biological structures and gender as the source of men dominating almost all structures of the society, all these forms the main idea behind women's subjugation. In a country where 52 percent of the population are women and only 10 percent sit in parliament, there is urgent need to increase their numbers. Men and women are equal but different; it is therefore not uncommon for men not to culturally articulate issues that directly affect women. In regards, this theory becomes important in delivering the connection between women empowerment and political participation.

1.9 Definition and operationalization of key concepts

Empowerment refers to the procedure of enhancing the ability that the people lack and to make choices and convert them into required results (World Bank, 2001). It is a procedure that enables individuals to achieve power and plan for their future. (Page and Czuba, 1999). It is the process of giving authority to individuals or group do something (OALD, 2010). For this study the concept will mean enhancing women political representation.

Political Empowerment refers to including less privileged in government, public policy and debates (Brill, 2000). It refers to the spread of ability which disputes patriarchy (Chandra, 1997).The providing equal status to less privileged in political matters (Gangrade, 2001). In this study the concept will mean increasing women political participation.

Politics is a peaceful, cooperative and conflictual social engagement (Gelman and Cortina, 2009).It is the acquisition and use of power in public sphere that has decisional influence on the affairs of the state (OALD, 2010). It is an act of controlling the society through initiation of actions and execution of corporative decisions (Leftwich, 2004). For this study politics will mean positive involvement in political matters in government and the society.

Women Empowerment means power granted to women to manage their normal lives socially, politically and economically (Bhuyan, 2006). It is the capability of women to make life's choices unlike before (Malhotra et al., 2009). It is gender equality in authority and ability to avoid domination and suppression (Kapur, 2001). For this study the concept will mean increasing women involvement in politics in and leadership.

Women Political Empowerment is equality in involvement in political parties, government (USAID, 2015). It is the equal political engagement of male and female (Narasimhan, 1999).It is the distribution of power and authority to female to participate in politics (Sahay, 1998). In this study it will mean the process of increasing women political representation, decision making and leadership.

1.10 Research Hypotheses

H₁; Women political empowerment increases women political participation in Nairobi County.

H₂; Political Parties can increase or decrease women political participation in Nairobi County.

1.11 Methodology

This section covers the methodology and procedures used to carry out the study. It consists of the research design, study site, target population, sampling technique and sample, data collection methods and analysis. The section concluded with the discussion of the ethics that were considered by the study.

1.11.1 Research design

The research design used in this study is a descriptive survey which involved both qualitative and quantitative approach. A survey is a research strategy used to obtain information from a large population (Taylor et al, 2008). Survey was suitable for this study because it allowed many variables to be studied. It is an efficient way of collecting information from a large number of respondents which this study targeted. Survey is also flexible because a wide range of information such as; attitudes, beliefs, values and past behaviour, can be collected. Due to the nature of this study a lot of information was collected ranging from the background information of the targeted population and influence of access to financial resources on women political participation. The strength of survey was that it generated a good and general data.

1.11.2 Study site

The study took place in Nairobi County. It is the largest city among the states within East Africa and it is the capital of Kenya. It borders Machakos County to the East and South East, Kiambu County to the North, North West and North East and Kajiado County to the West, South West and South and covers an area of 695.1 square kilometres. The city is composed of people from almost every corner of the republic and other countries. According to the 2019 population census, Nairobi has a population of 4,397,073 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). This city is portioned into sub counties to enhance effective administration. This site was not that large for the findings but it acted as a representative of the national situation since the findings could be used as basis for further research.

1.11.3 Target population

The study had two target population based on the two objectives of the study. For objective one the target population was the elected women leaders and women who had vied for political positions but never succeeded. For objective number two the target population was six major political parties in the County of Nairobi.

1.11.4 Sampling Technique and Sample

The study population included elected women leaders, women who vied for political positions but never succeeded and political parties. Relevant samples were drawn from different entities. The samples were selected purposively. Purposive sampling was used to identify individuals based on their position, knowledge and experience on women and politics. Purposive sampling was used to investigate location of units of observation that have required characteristics. The choice of the sampling technique was informed by the very nature of the study. Interviews were carried out with different selected samples as shown in TABLE 1.1.

Table 1.1: Sample size

Strata	Sample Size
Elected women leaders	40
Women who vied and failed to win electoral seats	40
Political parties (6)	20
Total	100

1.11.5 Data collection

Data included both primary and secondary sources. The primary source was data from field research. It involved qualitative and quantitative data with the use of questionnaires and interview guide as the data collection instruments. Questionnaires (objective number one) and Schedule interview guide (objective number two) were constructed by the researcher (see appendix I and II). Secondary data included published books and articles as well as documented literature in library and internet. This helped in capturing available literature on women and politics from a worldly, regionally and stately view.

1.11.6 Data analysis

Data analysis involved both qualitative and quantitative methods. The use of the two approaches allowed the researcher to obtain more comprehensive data. Qualitative data was analysed inductively, entailing organizing, transcribing the obtained data, coding, categorizing, developing patterns (content analysis) and concepts which resulted to narrative structures. For quantitative data, the study employed descriptive statistics entailing tabulating, computing frequencies and percentages in ensuring distribution of responses. Data was analysed by the use of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 16, as meaningful data chunks were identified, retrieved, isolated, grouped and regrouped for analysis. Data collected was presented in tables,

pie charts and in form of frequencies and percentages. Categorizing, tabulating and drawing of inferences were engaged as analysis required such related functions.

1.11.7 Validity of the instruments

Validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it is expected to measure and performs as it is designated to perform. In this study, the validity of the tool was measured by simplifying the language for the respondents to easily understand. The validity of this research's instrument was tested by giving them to experts in the study area, who tried to answer the questions that were under investigation.

1.11.8 Reliability of the instruments

Reliability refers to the degree to which a quantifiable tool produces coherent, static and same outcome even after repeats of measurements under similar status (Bowling, 1997). In this study the tools for measurements were pre-tested within the same status to 10 different people. During the research process, reliability was determined for coherency and similarity of the outcome that were yielded after testing. Afterwards the study carried out scoring to determine the exact number of components that were answered. Reliability for this study was ascertained via test, retest method.

1.12 Ethical considerations

The researcher explained to the respondents the purpose of the research and this avoided any kind of bias in the cause of the study in order not to harm his respondents. Some respondents became suspicious and uneasy to volunteer information at some point. To counter this setback, the researcher made it clear that the research study was for scholarly purposes only and observe confidentiality in the interviews. Confidentiality of the study procedures and findings was highly ensured and emphasized. None of the participants was hammed or exploited by the conduct of the research. Key participants of the study received prior briefing on what is required of them before the interviews were carried out.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN KENYAN POLITICS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the Kenyan women journey in their political participation from the pre-independence period through post-independence period to current time. This is to establish ways in which women political participation has developed and the conditions under which women have been participating. This chapter also highlights attempts that have been made by women and other stakeholders to reduce the gender inequality gap in their political participation.

2.1 Women Political Participation during the Pre-colonial period

In the pre-colonial period in Africa, there existed many institutions in which women's authority and political power were exercised, but these varied from society to society. Some societies had women in high positions as paramount chiefs for instance the Mande in Sierra Leone; others also had women's roles limited like among the Igbo of Nigeria where women undertook domestic chores. O'Barr (1984) further indicates that prior to the coming of the Europeans and their colonial system; African women were involved in making decisions. Typical southern African hunting and gathering depicted political equality between men and women. Furthermore, leadership roles were exercised continuously and both genders majorly concentrated on their area of activity. In agricultural communities of African societies whether patriarchal or matriarchal, women's power originated from the role they played in different sectors such as trading, marketing, farming or household. Women too had different institutions which enabled them to limit men's control and initiate autonomy.

Kanogo (2005) explains that apart from having the same gender characteristics in the pre-independence period, women were categorized in terms of class, social status and race. The major difference between pre-independence and post-independence is that women had access to means of production and the prevalent means of resource distribution. Before coming of the British to Kenya in 1895, communities were ruled by council of elders. Women and girls were majorly involved in farming, harvesting, child care, home care and supporting their husbands. Women empowerment was economic through selling of foodstuffs and other farm produce in the markets. However, decision making in most communities were left to men and the council of elders (O-MakDwallo, 2010). However much the women in Kenya had annexed some powers in the pre-colonial period, the traditional Kenyan culture was patriarchal, this situation still made

men to dominate the society. To this extent, the argument is that social stratification subjugated, overworked and placed women in minimal positions in the pre-colonial period.

2.2 Women Political Participation during the colonial period

Colonialism brought gender inequality and increased women invisibility which has extended to the present day politics. British colonial rule introduced repressive policies in economic, political and religious spheres, these policies introduced the ideology that the place of a woman is in the home and that the minds of women were not that strong to master the men's subjects such as business, science and politics (Onsongo, 2004). This led to appointments of men in the newly created positions of administrators and chiefs which increased their privilege and power at the expense of women. Colonial government administered their authority through patriarchy; as a result nearly all administrative roles were conducted by men. According to Midamba (1995), the condition of Kenyan women worsened in the colonial era. In the pre-independence, even though women were in a subordinate position under the traditional norm, gender roles complemented each other. But the coming of British rule led to transfer of communal land ownership to men and this denied women property rights. Onsongo, (2004), adds that colonial rule dismantled and changed the role of women through formal education, cash crops and monetary economy. Men got employed in farms or even as clerks in offices whereas women remained in rural areas involved in the production of food.

Formal education made men literate and women remained illiterate, this reduced their chances of being involved in modern economic transactions. Domestic work was considered unsuitable to be embraced into system of the colonial rule. Migration of men into the cities and towns as labourers left women as heads of most families in the rural; this increased the level of poverty. Maathai, (2008) explains that women were denied access to the cities through repressive colonial policies. The unmarried who tried their lack were considered to create troubles by de-stabilizing families and antagonising traditional values. The early stages of colonial rule restricted the movement of unmarried women in order to keep them in rural areas so as to enable men's movement to rural areas. The end result was constant supply of labour both in town and in rural areas. This division of labour succeeded in making men source of income and women dependants (Kamau, 2008).

The colonial formal education had a great impact on Kenyan men and women. Girl's education was perceived as bad idea, because the elders had in mind that boarding or mission schools would make young girls engage in bad behaviours. They believed that educated girls would not

make good wives. Though education faced a lot of criticisms it had some positive values on girls, the syllabus was to initiate some skills in domestic work for their future roles as mothers and wives. Within the mission and in the villages women were not allowed to be married and have a career at the same time. These policies have continued to challenge women in their careers for instance how work place and politics are structured (Maathai, 2008). Even though Kenyan women might be that educated, they are still expected to play the traditional roles of mothers and submissive wives, and at the same time trying to develop their careers. The unfortunate thing is that the political and work place norms do not accommodate the combination of public and domestic roles, this normally creates a problem for professionally acquainted women who manage to balance the two (Onsongo, 2004). These traditional norms place women in conflictual situations when they venture into politics either; the way they are perceived or in the discharge of their duties in legislature.

2.3 Women Political Participation during the post-independence period

Table 2.1: Women historical representation in Kenya’s parliament.

Parliament	Period	Total No. of Constituencies	Total no. of elected women	Total. No. of slots for nomination	No. of nominated women
1 ST Parliament	1963-1969	158	0	12	0
2 nd Parliament	1969-1974	158	1	12	1
3 rd Parliament	1974-1979	158	4	12	2
4 th Parliament	1979-1983	158	5	12	1
5 th Parliament	1983-1988	158	2	12	1
6 th Parliament	1988-1992	188	2	12	0
7 th Parliament	1992-1997	188	6	12	1
8 th Parliament	1997-2002	210	4	12	5
9 th Parliament	2002-2007	210	10	12	8
10 th Parliament	2007-2012	210	16	12	6
11 th Parliament	2013-2017	290	16	12	3
12 th Parliament	2017-2022	290	23	12	5

Source: Nyokabi, Kamau (2010), Women and Political Leadership in Kenya, Ten Case Studies, Heinrich Boll Foundation and current parliament records.

Women's lack of recognition was not only in the colonial era, but it also extended into the post-independence period. Even though they contributed immensely to the struggle for independence, Kenyan women were and are still not recognised in political leadership. The immediate years of independence until 1970, women did not achieve much in political leadership (Maathai, 2008). During the colonial rule, women got at most one or two elected seats. In addition introduction of a bill by the opposition to protect women rights in 1963, led to a miserable defeat in parliament. In Kenya, between 1963-1969 in the first parliament, no woman was neither elected nor nominated. A change came in 1969 when Grace Onyango became the first woman to be elected to parliament and another woman was nominated. Of the special seats preserved for women in 1965, women did not get any. The preceding years of 1970 until early 1980 experienced more women elected to parliament, five elected and two nominated, but the number was still not representative because it was in the ratio of 3:18 percent compared to men's 96:82 percent up to 1983 (Midamba, 1995). In the year 1983, only two women were elected to parliament in comparison to 198 men, this depicts that in twenty years of independence, the country still had a total of 10 women in the legislature.

Much was anticipated in the 1992 December multiparty elections following the repeal of section 2A of the independence constitution which had averted Kenya to single-party rule a decade before. Many organizations came up and got the support of local and international community to drum up support for gender parity. The removal of section 2A accelerated women's spirit of representation, because democratic space was expanded and societies restructured to accommodate more women (Yambo, 1994). Contention was that women limited political participation had deprived them of important societal opportunities and rights and that politics would help open up historically denied opportunities. In the election of 1992, 19 women got political parties nomination for parliamentary elections and 120 for civic seats. On the other hand, increased women influence made men to devise different tactics to counter it. They accused women of family neglects for political gains; widows were accused of killing their own husbands and divorcee were labelled as lacking morals. While men were concentrating on such petty issues, women dwelt on social problems that had affected the common citizen for over thirty years (inadequate health facilities, clean water for all, access to education for the poor and the ailing agricultural sector). In their campaigns women explained that the above conditions persist because male dominance in politics had neglected citizens' affairs (Yambo, 1994).

Despite the intimidation and abuses, election results of 1992 proved much better. A total of 6 women got elected and about 50 others won civic seats. This indicated a slight improvement in

women representation than in past years, out of the 6 elected women in parliament, 1 got a full ministerial cabinet position and 1 got a position as an assistant minister. The improved numbers in 1992 general election led to increased women numbers for parliamentary and civic posts in the 1997 elections. As a result many joined women groups and NGOs which conducted workshops on voter and civic education through creating awareness on women rights as voters and contestants (African Woman and Child, 2013). Despite all these women education and sensitization, electoral politics in that very year (1997) did not swing their way. Charity Kaluki Ngilu who is the current Kitui County Governor lost in the presidential race, and World famous environmentalist, Wangari Maathai lost both presidential and parliamentary election. In addition Kenya's first and only woman cabinet member, Nyiva Mwendwa did not even go past the party nomination stage. The justification was that the then president Daniel Arap Moi was still even reluctant in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action to help in fighting for women political right.

Since 1969, when Kenya elected the first woman to parliament, the highest representation is the 12th parliament which saw an increased number of women elected in different positions with the exception of the presidency. In spite of all these positive changes, women representation is still below the requirement of United Nations target of 30% female representation of 2005. According to the recommendation of the African Regional Congress of women in politics of 1995 is that the Kenyan statistics and the rest of Africa indicates a low number of women in decision making positions, this calls for support in girls education as well as increased women political participation. It calls for rearrangement of local politics in order to reduce gender parity by identifying challenges to women political participation and afterwards offer recommendation for empowerment (Were and Jane, 2003). Between 2002-2003 sessions of parliament, of the 17% of members who introduced motions in the August house, 18% of the bills were from men compared to women's 5.6%. In matters of motion contribution in parliament, of the 90.8 percent MPs contributions, 94.4% were women MPs compared to 90.5% male counterparts. This indicates that women contributed to more bills in the house than men. Another area that they excelled more than men is in the point of orders raised in the house which they almost equalled men, 61.7% for women to 69.7% for men (Mwangi, 2008).

The above success could be attributed to women lobbies for political success. For instance in November 2002, a coalition of NGOs which were close to Kenya Women's Political Caucus, activists and professionals organised a forum (NARC Women Congress) to ensure that NARC

won the 2002 elections. It availed presidential and party campaign materials, organized and even carried out trainings for party agents, got involved in presidential campaigns and election monitoring (Mwangi, 2008). The deal was to incorporate women as equal partners in a power sharing deal in order to include gender equality in their new constitution and in the governance of the country. Unfortunately, this pledge was never adhered to and the only achievement for women was the 5 nomination slots accorded to them out of the 7 NARC had nominated (Nzomo, 2003).

In summary, women have been active in effecting democracy through different lobbying activities in Kenya since the coming of age of multi-party politics, but they lost an important political cleavage in 2002, this led to a big failure to influence political strategies in the pre and post-election negotiations for major political posts and involvement in different decision making in the country. This resulted in their low voice in politics for the better part of 2002 and later influenced their hope of performing better in the subsequent elections. The active participation of Kenyan women in parliament is a sign that their political empowerment is good and are ready to equal men in participation. This has been evidenced in their ability to exploit the status of their empowered being to solve communal problems and contribute to bills tackling societal problems of the marginalised groups (Nzomo, 2003). This was accelerated by the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action in November 1996, a motion which was moved by Hon. Charity Ngilu (then Health Minister), this motion elevated her to be the first Kenyan woman to have moved a woman friendly motion. This achievement made the government to initiate the translation, interpretation, simplification and clarification of this Platform for Action to women by use of workshops, seminars and funds allocation to improve the social well-being of women. Women have also been able to not only table different motions but ensures a few to be passed for example; Affirmative Action Motion of 1997 and 2000, Sexual Offences Bill of 2005 and Equality Act Motion of 1999 (Nzomo, 2003). However much women are few in numbers in parliament, to a larger extent they have managed to almost equal men in house proceedings and tabling of motions.

2.4 Women trailblazers in Kenyan politics

The participation of Kenyan women in politics and leadership is tabulated historically from pre-independence era through to post-independence period. In 1901 – 1909, Wangu wa Makeri, the first Kenyan woman to become chief went against all cultural traditions and rose to become an advent leader, whom history singles out to have brought peace and helped to develop her community. Many women also accomplished the same roles and became unsung heroines for

instance; Mekatilili wa Menza, a woman from Giriama, played an important role in resisting the British rule (1912-1914). She urged her community to ignore any attempts by the British to send Giriama men into forced labour. She majorly succeeded in influencing other women to join her effort in the fight against the colonial rule (Wanyoike, 2002). The women of the likes of; Moraa Moka Ngiti, a woman freedom fighter from Kisii, Nyanza; Field Marshall Muthoni, A freedom fighter from Central; Eiokalaine O-M'barugu, an assistant chief in pre-colonial Kenya in Eastern, also helped in the fight for gender equality. Others who also helped in this struggle are the likes of; Jemima Gecaga, the first nominated woman in the Legislative Council (LegCo), Priscilla Ingasiani Abwao, also elected to LegCo in Lancaster House.

Other notable women figures are; Wambui Otieno, Nyiva Mwendwa, Phoebe Asiyu, Professor Wangari Maathai, Grace Ogot, Martha Karua, Charity Ngilu etc. They supported the increase in the participation and representation of the interests of women and that of their regions. These women played a vital role in offering leadership to women in their political struggle from post-colonial period through to the fight for multiparty democratic ideals and afterwards. They helped in the fight for women liberation, however much there was the hindrance of patriarchal values in Kenya's electoral politics. Furthermore, the nature of Kenyan politics was distinguished by subordination, women political banishment and reduced women political activities. The certainty was that the coming crop of women leaders would prosper politically, but the following elections revealed gravious and more gaps in women participation in politics (Wanyoike, 2002).

2.5 Women in current leadership in Kenya

The general elections of 2017 replicated the world statistics in terms of women representation in the legislature of less than 30 percent. However, the affirmative action has enabled a slight increase in Kenya's women representation because of its enshrinement in the constitution otherwise women would have been at a worse position with at most 10%. The 2017 election results indicate that 23 women were elected to the national assembly, 3 women became governors (Charity Ngilu, Anne Waiguru and the late Joyce Laboso) compared to none in 2013.

Table 2.2 Women elected deputy governors (2013 – 2017)

County	2013	2017
Embu	Dorothy Nditi Muchungu	
Kericho	Susan Chepkoech Kikwai	Susan Chepkoech Kikwai
Kisumu	Ruth Odinga	
Kitui	Penina Malonza	
Kwale	Fatuma Achani Mohammed	Fatuma Achani Mohammed
Makueni	Adelina Ndeto Mwau	Adelina Ndeto Mwau
Mombasa	Hazel Katana	
Nandi		Yulita Mitei Chebotip
Narok	Evalyn Chepkurui Aruasa	Evalyn Chepkurui Aruasa
Nyandarua		Cecilia Wanjiru Mbutia
Taita-Taveta	Mary Ndiga Kibuka	Majala Mlagui Delina

Source: National Democratic Institute (2018), *a gender analysis of the 2017 General Elections and Ndeto H, (2013), Kenya Has Only Five Per Cent Women in the House, The Star Daily Newspaper, Thursday March 14th 2013.*

From the table 2.2 above, a total of 7 women became deputy governors in 2017, which is a drop from 9 in 2013, 3 women became senators; Hon. Susan Kihika (Nakuru), Hon Margaret Jepkoech Kamar (Uasin Gishu) and Hon. Dullo Fatuma (Isiolo) compared to none in 2013. In addition 96 women got seats as members of county assemblies’ vs. 82 in 2013. Some women also got elected as independent candidates for the first time. A total of 6 women got cabinet positions with reference to a total of 22 spots available, which is not a bigger change from 2013 despite an addition of two more spots. In the National Assembly and the Senate women consist of just 24% in representation within the committees. Even though they hold a few leadership positions as chairs of committees and even positions as speaker, they chair only 3 out of 27 committees in the National Assembly and none in the Senate (NDI, 2018).

Women hold only 3 leadership positions in the Senate; Majority whip (Susan Kihika), minority deputy whip (Senator Petronilla Were), deputy majority leader (Senator Fatuma Dallo) and one position in the National Assembly, deputy chief whip (Hon. Cecily Mbarire). Women representation at the county assemblies is also limited, out of the 47 county assemblies, 5 elected women as county assembly speakers; Florence Mwangangi (Machakos), Catherine Mukenyang (West Pokot), Hasna Mmbone Mudeisi (Vihiga), Elizabeth Atieno Ayoo (Homabay) and Beatrice Elachi (Nairobi) compared to 2013 which had only 3 women as speakers. Even so some of them still face impeachment motion which would reduce women numbers in leadership.

Table 2.3 Women elected members of parliament (2013 – 2017)

Constituency	2013	2017
Baringo South	Grace Jelagat Kipchoim	Grace Jelagat Kipchoim
Bomet East		Beatrice P. Cheron Kones
Gatundu North		Anne Wanjiku Kibeh
Gilgil		Martha Wangari
Ijara		Sophia Abdi Noor
Kandara	Alice Muthoni Wahome	Alice Muthoni Wahome
Kabondo Kasipul		Eve Akinyi Obara
Kajiado East	Peris Pesi Tobiko	Peris Pesi Tobiko
Kasarani		Mercy Wanjiku Gakuya
Kibwezi East	Jesica Nduku Kiko Mbalu	Jesica Nduku Kiko Mbalu
Kigumo		Ruth W. Mwaniki
Kilome	Regina Ndambuki	
Kitui South	Rachael Kaki Nyamai	Rachael Kaki Nyamai
Laikipia North		Sarah Paulata Korere
Likoni		Mishi Mboko
Malindi		Aisha Jumwa Karisa Katana
Maragwa		Mary Wamaua W. Njoroge
Mogotio	Hellen Jepkemoi Sambili	
Naivasha		Jayne Njeri Wanjiru Kihara
Njoro		Charity K. Chepkwony
Nyeri Town	Esther Murugi Mathenge	
Othaya	Mary Wambui	
Rangwe		Lilian Achieng' Gogo
Ruiru	Esther Nyambura Gathogo	
Runyenjes	Cecily Mbarire	
Samburu West		Josephine Naisula Lesuda
Sotik	Joyce Cheron Laboso	
Suba North (Mbita)	Millie Grace Odhiambo	Millie Grace A. Odhiambo
Taveta	Naomi Namsi Shaaban	Naomi Namsi Shaaban
Teso South	Mary Emmase Otuch	
Thika Town	Alice Ng'ang'a	
Turbo		Janet Sitienei

Source: National Democratic Institute (2018), *a gender analysis of the 2017 General Elections and Ndeta H, (2013), Kenya Has Only Five Per Cent Women in the House, The Star Daily Newspaper, Thursday March 14th 2013.*

In 2013 general election, a total of 16 women were elected to parliament, whereas in the general elections of 2017, 23 women were elected. According to the elected women list above, not even a single woman was elected in Nairobi County in 2013 but only one of a kind in 2017.

2.6 Women participation in Nairobi County politics

Nairobi politics has dictated the centre of power in Kenyan politics since independence. In spite of all the struggles to capture elective seats in the County, a number of women have tried to wrestle men in pursuit of the City's 8 pre-2010 and 17 post 2010 constitution parliamentary and the 85 elective civic seats. KANU had ruled Kenyan politics and Nairobi politics since independence until the emergence of NARC in 2002, ODM and PNU in 2007, TNA, URP, WIPER (2013) and lately the coalition of parties such as CORD, Jubilee Alliance, ANC and NASA (2017). The TABLES 2.2 and 2.3 indicate how women have been represented in Kenya's parliamentary elections in Nairobi County from 1992 to date (2017).

Table 2.4 Women parliamentary elections in Nairobi County 1992 – 2013

CONSTITUENCY	YEARS			
	1992-1997	1997-2002	2002-2007	2007-2013
Dagoretti	Chris Kamuyu-M	Beth Mugo-F	Beth Mugo-F	Beth Mugo-F
Embakasi	Henry Ruhiu-M	David Mwenje-M	David Mwenje-M	Mugabe Were-M
Kamukunji	George Nthenge-M	Norman Nyaga-M	Norman Nyaga-M	Simon Mbugua-M
Kasarani	Muraya Macharia-M	Adolf Muchiri-M	William Omondi-M	Elizabeth Ongoro-F
Langata	Raila Odinga-M	Raila Odinga-M	Raila Odinga-M	Raila Odinga-M
Makadara	John Mutere-M	Paul Mugeke-M	Reuben Ndolo-M	Dickson Wathika-M
Starehe	Kiruhi Kimondo-M	Maina Kamanda-M	Maina Kamanda-M	Margaret Wanjiru-F
Westlands	Amin Walji-M	Fred Gumo-M	Fred Gumo-M	Fred Gumo-M

Source: Nyokabi, Kamau (2010), Women and Political Leadership in Kenya, Ten Case Studies, Heinrich Boll Foundation and current parliament records.

The above statistics indicates that out of the 8 constituencies in Nairobi County in the period between 1992 – 2013, only three constituencies had a woman elected in one or more elections (Dagoretti (1997, 2002 and 2007), Kasarani (2007) and Starehe (2007)).

Table 2.5 Women parliamentary elections in Nairobi County 2013 - 2017

CONSTITUENCY	YEARS	
	2013-2017	2017-2022
Dagoretti North	Paul Simba Arati-M	Paul Simba Arati-M
Dagoretti South	Dennis Kariuki Waweru-M	John Kiarie Waweru-M
Embakasi Central	John Ndirangu-M	Benjamin Gathiru Mwangi-M
Embakasi East	John Omondi-M	Paul Ongili Owino-M
Embakasi North	James Mwangi Gakuya-M	James Mwangi Gakuya-M
Embakasi South	Irshadali Sumra-M	Julius Musili Mawathe-M
Embakasi West	George Theuri-M	George Theuri-M
Kamukunji	Abdi Yusuf Hassan-M	Abdi Yusuf Hassan-M
Kasarani	John Chege Njoroge-M	Mercy Gakuya-F
Kibra	Kenneth O. Okoth-M	Kenneth O. Okoth-M
Langata	Joash Olum-M	Nixon Korir-M
Makadara	Benson Kangara-M	George Aladwa Omwera-M
Mathare	George Mike Wanjohi-M	Anthony Tom Oluoch-M
Roysambu	Isaac W. Ndirangu-M	Isaac Waihenya Ndirangu-M
Ruaraka	T. J. Francis Kajwang'-M	T. J. Francis Kajwang'-M
Starehe	Maina Kamanda-M	Charles Njagua Kanyi-M
Westlands	Timothy W. Wetangula-M	Timothy W. Wetangula-M

Source: National Democratic Institute (2018), a gender analysis of the 2017 General Elections.

The above statistics clearly indicates that no woman was elected in 2013 election, but in 2017, out of the 17 constituencies only one constituency was represented by a woman as an MP; Kasarani Constituency (Hon. Mercy Wanjiku Gakuya), and out of the 85 wards in the county only 5 managed to elect a woman as a representative; Cecilia Achieng Ayot (Kibra–Laini Saba ward), Rose Adhiambo Ogonda (Embakasi South–Kware ward), Milicent Wambui Mugadi (Starehe–Ziwani Kariokor ward), Esther Chege Waithira (Starehe–Nairobi South ward) and lastly Patricia Mutheu Musymi (Mathare–Mlango Kubwa) (NDI, 2018).

2.7 Conclusion

Before independence, women were involved in different aspects of politics in different societies in Africa. In Kenya the status of women declined especially during the colonial administration. The coming of the British rule created male dominance through the change in land ownership.

The chapter goes on to state that; women played an important role in the struggle for Kenya's independence during the British rule. Yet their numbers in the colonial administration was low especially in the selection of members in post-colonial administration appointments. Between the periods of independence 1963 to 1969 not even a single woman was elected as a parliamentary representative and between 1969 to 1974, women representation was less than 1 percent of the total parliament population. An improvement came in 1979 when 5 women were elected and one appointed. In 1983 a total of 2 women got elected and 1 was appointed; this was replicated in the period 1988 to 1992, when women constituted just 3 percent of the total population in parliament. During the 1990's and onwards saw an increased numbers in politics through the removal of section 2A of the 1963 constitution. The chapter reaches a conclusion that, however much women in Kenya have progressed politically since 1992 in the fight for political equality. The gains are slim compared to the vigorous empowerment efforts they have placed to influence their male counterparts and other women to help them in the fight for political equality.

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses, presents and interprets the findings of the study. This chapter begins with demographic background of women respondents and their significance to the study; Age, Religion, Marital status, education, number of years in politics and level of participation.

3.1 Questionnaire response rate

A sample of 100 respondents was used for the study. A total of 80 questionnaires were distributed to elected women leaders and women who failed to win elective seats in Nairobi County. The researcher received 65 questionnaires which were completely filled. He also managed to interview 13 officials from 6 different political parties in the country using the schedule interview guide. This brought the total number of respondents to 78. This sample represented a response rate of 78% of the sampled 100 respondents.

3.2 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

To get a feel of the demographic characteristics of the respondents, they were asked to give information on their age, religion, marital status and level of education.

3.2.1 Age of the respondents

To gauge their age, the respondents were asked to indicate their age by selecting from the age brackets provided. Information on their age was considered important for the study in order to identify which age bracket of women are more interested in politics.

Table 3.1 Distribution of respondents by age.

AGE (YRS)	ELECTED WOMEN		NON ELECTED WOMEN		ELECTED AND NON ELECTED WOMEN	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
Below 20	0	0%	4	6%	4	6%
20 – 29	7	11%	6	9%	13	20%
30 – 39	11	17%	8	12%	19	29%
40 – 49	13	20%	12	18%	25	38%
50 – 59	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
60 and above	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
Non response	1	1%	1	2%	2	3%

Source: Researcher, 2019

A majority of the respondents were within the age brackets of 20-29, 30-39 and 40-49, these representing 20%, 29% and 38% of the samples respectively. Of these 11% of those between 20-29 were elected, while 9% had vied but were not elected, 17% of respondents between 30-39 were elected while 12% were not elected and 20% of the respondents between the ages of 40-49 were elected whereas 18% were not elected. A majority of women respondents (87%) fell in the age bracket of 20-49 years. The age bracket of 20 and below only comprised of 6% of women. This is an indication that a majority of women interested in politics are much older this is because they have time for politics and are well informed as voters. According to Kamau (2010), women prefer to get into politics and get elected when they are advanced in age because that is when they have accumulated enough resources to join politics.

3.2.2 Religion of the respondents

Religion is one of the challenges that tend to alter the way of life of the people in the society. The study found it relevant and asked the respondents to indicate their religious background.

Table 3.2 Distribution of respondents by religion

RELIGION	ELECTED WOMEN		NON ELECTED WOMEN		ELECTED AND NON ELECTEDWOMEN	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
Christian	23	36%	29	45%	52	81%
Muslim	5	8%	6	9%	11	17%
Traditional	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
Non declared	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%

Source: Researcher, 2019

A majority of the respondents were Christians (81%), while Muslim comprised of 17%. Those who belonged to traditional religion were slightly 1%, whereas non-declared had 1%. The implication of this to the study is that majority of women who join politics are Christians and as such religion has a great influence on the choice of leaders being elected.

3.2.3 Marital status of the respondents

To gauge their marital status, the respondents were asked to indicate their status by selecting from the options provided. Information on the marital status of the respondents was as shown in TABLE 3.3.

Table 3.3 Distribution of respondents by marital status

MARITAL STATUS	ELECTED WOMEN		NON ELECTED WOMEN		ELECTED AND NON ELECTED	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
Married	2	3%	5	8%	7	11%
Single	10	15%	16	25%	26	40%
Widowed	9	14%	5	8%	14	22%
Separated	5	8%	2	3%	7	11%
Divorced	7	11%	3	5%	11	16%

Source: Researcher, 2019

Out of the 65 respondents, 11% were married, single 40%, widowed 22%, separated 11% and divorced 16% respectively. Out of the married respondents only 3 percent were elected, 15% of those single were elected, 14% of the widowed were elected, whereas 8% of those separated were elected and of the divorced 11% were elected.

In the Traditional African setting, leaders were presumed to be men, whereas women were to take care of the domestic chores and reproduction of children. One of the aspirants faced this challenge in her political participation, but fortunately she was elected. She explained that her divorce case was used against her each and every time she took the podium to campaign. She tried to convince the electorate that her marital status would not influence her political work as long as she could discharge her duties diligently. The study established that single, divorced and widowed women have enough time to participate in politics because they are able to control their own resources without male influence while the married are preoccupied with domestic chores and thus have less time for politics.

3.2.4 Education level of the respondents

Education is one of the factors that is said to influence women political participation. The respondents were therefore requested to indicate their level of education. The results were as shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Distribution of respondents by level of education

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	ELECTED WOMEN		NON ELECTED WOMEN		ELECTED AND NON ELECTED	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
University	13	20%	10	15%	23	35%
Tertiary	9	14%	10	15%	19	29%
Secondary	7	11%	9	14%	16	25%
Primary	0	0%	5	8%	5	8%
None	0	0%	2	3%	2	3%

Source: Researcher, 2019

The study established that 35% of the respondents had university education, 29% had tertiary education, and 25% had secondary education whereas 8% had primary education while 3% indicated that they never went to school. From the TABLE 3.4, there is a clear indication that elected women with formal education represented 45% of the total number of the respondents. University education is a mandatory requirement for all aspirants aiming for all the elected seats but the law has not been fully complied with in Kenya. In addition the current law requires that for one to be nominated in either county assemblies or parliament one has to hold a degree or diploma from a recognised university or college in Kenya, this becomes a challenge for women.

From the literature review education is considered as one of the distinguished variables that encourages women participation in politics. Yoon (2004) explains that education increases interest in politics and that educated women would have greater opportunity and confidence to go for an elective post and vice versa. It becomes important to note that education predicts the level of political participation because it increases individual's income and women who are educated are in a better position to go for elective positions.

3.2.5 Respondents number of years in politics and on level of participation

Table 3.5 Distribution of respondents by number of years in politics

YEARS IN POLITICS	ELECTED		NON ELECTED		ELECTED AND NON ELECTED	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
0-5 years	2	3%	5	8%	8	11%
5-10 years	10	15%	11	17%	20	32%
10-15 years	15	23%	19	29%	34	52%
15-20 years	1	2%	2	3%	3	5%

Source: Researcher, 2019

The study established that between 0-5 years, 3% were elected and 8% non-elected, between 5-10 years, 15% elected and 17% non-elected, between 10-15-years, 23% elected and 29% non-elected and between 15-20 years, 2% elected and 3% non-elected. This is an indication that a majority of women have been in politics between 5-15 years (95%) 62 women, which is more than half of the respondents. This too implies that the higher the number of times a woman vies, the higher the chance of getting elected.

Table 3.6 Distribution of respondents by level of participation

LEVEL OF PARTICIPATN	ELECTED		NON ELECTED		ELECTED AND NON ELECTED	
	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%	FREQUENCY	%
Parliamentary	1	1%	24	37%	25	38%
Civic	3	5%	37	57%	40	62%

Source: Researcher, 2019

The study found out that out of the 65 respondents, a majority (62%) 40 women were majorly interested in civic seats while a minority (38%) 25 women were interested in parliamentary seats. The reason being civic seat has a small surface area because it is easier to move around during campaigns and does not require much finance unlike parliamentary seat.

3.3 Influence of access to financial resources on women political participation in Nairobi County.

Identified financial influences in Nairobi County include: availability of resources as determinant of women political participation, adequate resources such as vehicles, money to sustain campaigns, effects of high nomination fees within political parties on women political participation, challenges in mobilizing resources to campaign for a political office; and possible sources of fund for a woman interested in politics and the role of political parties in increasing women political participation.

3.3.1 Availability of resources as a major determinant of the participation of women in politics.

The respondents were asked whether availability of resources was a major determinant of their participation in politics. A majority (77%) of the respondents (50 women) said that availability of resources is a major determinant in the participation of women in political leadership while 23% of the respondents (15 women) stated that availability of resources is not a major determinant of participation in politics. A view supported by Shvedova (2007) who stated that economic status of women in society has a direct influence on their participation in political affairs and governance. This concurs with the findings of Bari (2005) that politics is increasingly becoming commercialised. A lot of money and resources is required to participate.

3.3.2 Whether women have adequate resources to sustain a campaign for a political office.

The respondents were asked whether they have adequate resources to sustain a campaign for a political office. The study established that a majority (85%) of the respondents (55 women) think that they do not have the necessary resources to sustain a campaign for a political office, While 15% of the respondents (10 women) believe that women can sustain a campaign because they at least have resources. This supports the assertion of Inglehart and Norris (2003) that women are economically disadvantaged hence it becomes more difficult for them to break into electoral office due to inadequate access to necessary resources in the realm of public decision making.

3.3.3 Whether high nomination fees within political parties hinder women political participation.

The respondents were asked whether high nomination fees within political parties hinder their political participation. A majority of the respondents 53 women (81%) explained that the dominant political parties require large sums of money for nomination; this kind of money becomes too high for women aspirants. For instance for one to run for a position of a governor

on an Orange Democratic Movement ticket, one has to part with 500,000 Ksh as nomination fee, which is way above 100,000 Ksh that is required by Jubilee party (Daily Nation, 8th December 2016). The nomination fees of the two major political parties are indicated in the tables 3.7 and 3.8.

Table 3.7: Jubilee Party nomination fee

POSITION	NOMINATION FEE IN KSH
President	N/A
Governor	100,000
Senator	50,000
Woman Representative	30,000
Member of Parliament	30,000
Member of County Assembly	20,000

Source: www.jubileepamoja.co.ke

Table 3.8: Orange Democratic Movement nomination fee

POSITION	NOMINATION FEE IN KSH
President	1,000,000
Governor	500,000
Senator	250,000
Woman Representative	250,000
Member of Parliament	250,000
Member of County Assembly	25,000

Source: www.odm.co.ke

The respondents went further to associate their financial problems to unfair representation in jobs that can help them generate resources; this renders them incapable of financing their political activities. This view is supported by Odongo and Wanjala (2010), who explained that women make up only 23% of the labour force in most of the parastatals, they further state that these jobs are associated with provision of easier access to credit, meaning that women who have limited economic resources experience low political capability.

3.3.4 Whether women experience a challenge of mobilizing resources for campaigns for political office.

The respondents were asked whether they experience a challenge of mobilizing resources for campaigns for a political office. A majority of the respondents 59 women (91%) revealed that it

is not easy to mobilize resources for a campaign for a political leadership, while 6 women (9%) explained that at least in recent times women are able to mobilize resources hence the current increment in numbers of elected women in Nairobi County. According to Matland and Ballington (2005) quoted in (Women Direct Service Centre, 2006) it is widely accepted that despite their large representation and their significant contribution to countries' economies, women fail to have access to essential development resources and consequently tend to have few resources than men generally.

3.3.5 Whether there are possible sources of fund for women interested in politics.

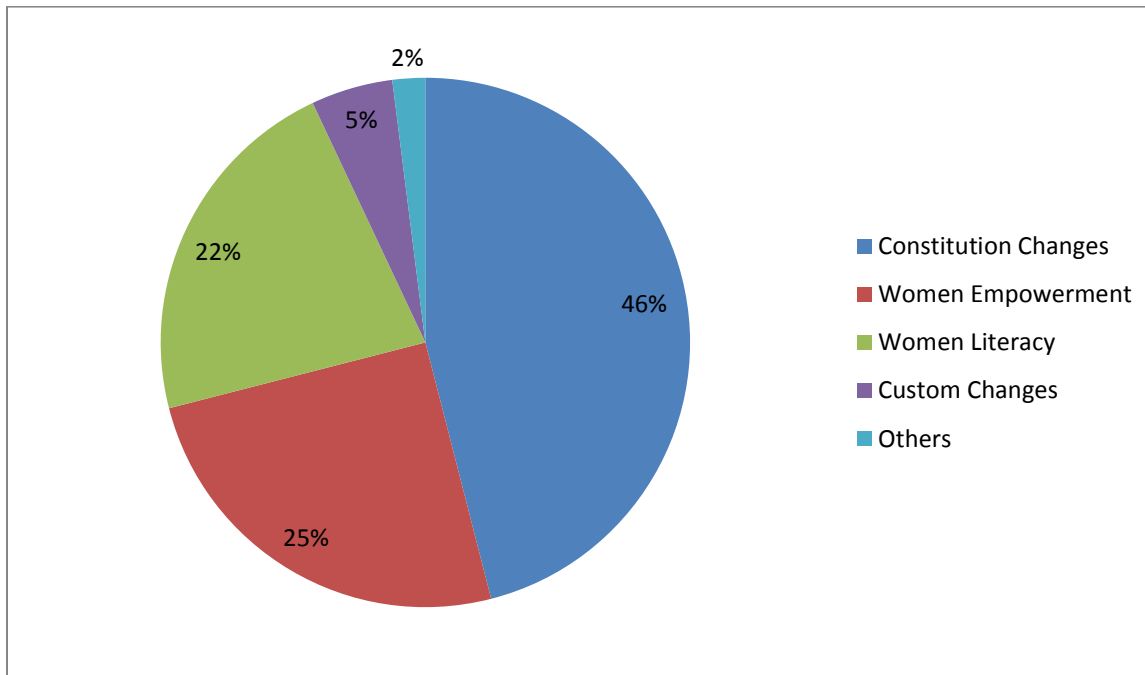
The study sought to find out whether there are possible sources of fund for women interested in politics. A majority (80%) of the respondents (52 women) said that there are no any sources of fund for women to uplift them into political leadership, while 20% of the respondents (13 women) explained that women manoeuvres their ways into politics through employment and personal businesses, an indication of sources of fund for their participation in political affairs. A study by Seyedeh et al (2010) discovered that many women depend on their households for financial services meaning that no source of fund for politics. This limits their chances of even paying for nomination fees to a political party.

3.3.6 Resources and the possibility of vying for a political office.

The study sought information on whether women would vie for political office again if they had the adequate resources. From the analysed women responses, a majority 57 women (87%) stated that they would not vie for political office even if they had the necessary resources because the risks of losing are higher and so they would rather invest than engage in politics. While 8 women (13%) said that they would vie for political positions if they had the resources because they could even be nominated if they don't succeed.

3.3.7 Respondents opinion on what has led to the increase in the number of women in politics as opposed to the past?

Figure 3.1 Respondents views on what has attributed to their increased numbers in politics



Source: Researcher, 2019

From the findings as indicated above, majority of women both elected and those who never succeeded attribute their increase in politics to constitution changes 30 women (46%), followed by women empowerment 16 women (25%), women literacy 14 women (22%), custom changes 3 women (5%) and unspecified 2 women (2%). The findings from the respondents revealed that two-thirds gender rule encouraged majority of women to contest in 2017 general elections in Nairobi County and Kenya at large.

3.3.7 Respondents suggestions on measures to reduce inadequate financial resources as hindrance to women's political participation in Nairobi County.

31% of the respondents (20 women) suggested that an increase in access to education for women would help them access job opportunities to improve their income, confidence and make it easy to get political information and increase their political networks. Others 15 women (23%) also suggested a change in laws to enable women own property and have equal rights to share marriage properties jointly acquired. Legislation should also include a change in customary laws for distribution of family properties to women. While 17 women (26%) of the respondents went further to suggest non-discriminatory policies or improved affirmative action policies in job recruitment to enable women get positions in jobs with high pay. Furthermore, 13 women (20%) suggested that there is need for creation of special fund for women to ease borrowing for starting

of businesses, because they lack security to give to banks for access of loans, this would help in empowering them economically.

3.4 Role of political parties in increasing women political participation

Political parties are important gatekeepers in political participation in many countries of the world, because they do the selection of candidates who take part in elections, hence eventual holders of political offices. Most parties usually are secretive in conducting recruitment and selection of candidates. On the other hand democratic selection encourages more women participation because they feel accommodated. In addition, Mechanism used by political parties dictates who is selected to carry the party's flag. This role makes political parties both as a hindrance and a means to women political participation. The same parties can encourage representation and participation of women by creating rules and policies that can help in guiding and directing the operations of nomination processes (Erickson, 1993).

The commitment of a political party to gender equality can be indicated by the number of women in its leadership structure, that is; number of positions occupied by women, mechanisms in place to improve women political participation in different strata of decision making and ways the political parties have enclosed principles of gender equality in their policies and documents of operations. Demonstration of gender equality can also be shown by the total number of elected and nominated women by the parties to County and National Assemblies. This study therefore sought data on political parties' policies and documents of operations on their commitment to gender equality and principles of affirmative action as enshrined in the 2010 Constitution, 2011 Elections Act and 2011 Political Parties Act.

Table 3.9 Information on political parties' policy documents

POLITICAL PARTY	POLICY DOCUMENTS		
	PARTY CONSTITUTION	PARTY MANIFESTO	PARTY NOMINATION AND ELECTION RULES
Jubilee	✓		
ODM	✓	✓	✓
Ford Kenya	✓		✓
WDM-K	✓	✓	
ANC	✓		
KANU		✓	

Source: Researcher, 2019

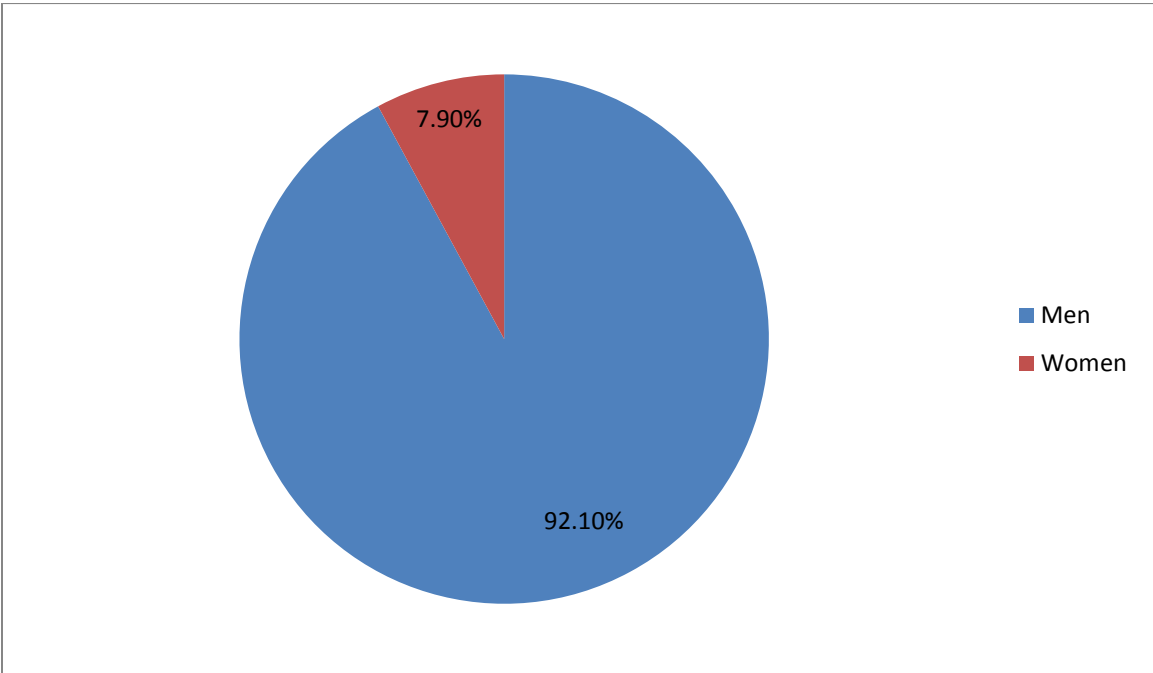
From the table above, five of the political parties (Jubilee, ODM, Ford-K, WDM-K and ANC) availed their party constitution, three parties (ODM, WDM-K and KANU) availed their parties manifesto, whereas two political parties (ODM and Ford-K) provided their party nomination and election rules.

To determine the role of political parties in increasing or decreasing women political participation the officials from the selected parties were asked to indicate: the number of women elected or nominated through their political parties; the number of women in party governance; the number of women in party’s NEC; whether the party’s objectives, values and principles comply with the gender equality principles in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, the 2011 elections Act and 2011 Political Parties Act; whether there are measures in party policy documents to promote equal opportunities for women and men; possible solutions for the problem of few women holding positions in parties; how can parties help to increase the number of women in politics.

3.4.1 Total number of women elected or nominated through the political parties in the recently concluded elections of 2017.

The current 12th Parliament is made up of the Senate and the National Assembly. The National Assembly has 290 elected individuals from the total 290 constituencies brought about by devolved system of governance in 2010 referendum Constitution. The distribution of elected members of parliament by gender in the 2017 general election is indicated in Fig 3.3

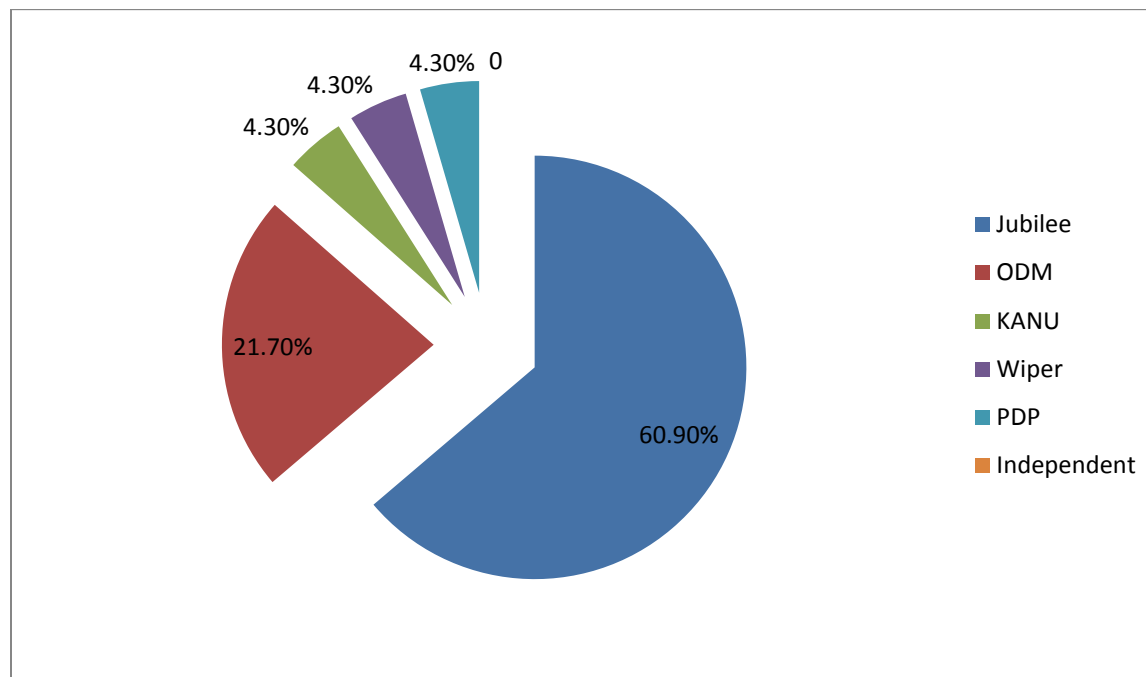
Figure 3.2 Gender representation in the National Assembly 2017



Source: National Democratic Institute, 2018

In the general elections of 2017, a total of 23 women were elected to the National Assembly out of the total 290 elected individuals which is a representation of 7.9% of women, whereas the remaining 92.1% of the seats were occupied by 267 men. Political Parties nominated 5 women (42%) and 7 men (58%) of the 12 nominated individuals in the National Assembly.

Figure 3.3 Elected women MPs, 2017 per interviewed party



Source: Researcher, 2019

The study indicates that out of the 6 interviewed registered political parties only 4 managed to have women elected members of National Assembly (Jubilee (14), at 60.9%, ODM (5) at 21.7 %, KANU (1) at 4.3%, Wiper (1) at 4.3%, Independent (1) at 4.3% and PDP party (1) at 4.3%. This is same as 4 in 2013 (TNA (13), ODM (15), URP (11) and WIPER (6)), before the merger of different parties to form now Jubilee Party. This is an indication that women can only be elected when they contest through famous political parties and in strongholds of the same parties. A total of 6 women got nominated to the National Assembly, out of the interviewed parties, only three parties nominated women to the National Assembly with Jubilee party (3) out of the 10 slots allocation, ODM (2) out of the 6 slots allocation and Ford Kenya(1) out of 1 slot allocation. The rest like KANU, ANC and WDM-K did not nominate any woman despite one slot allocations.

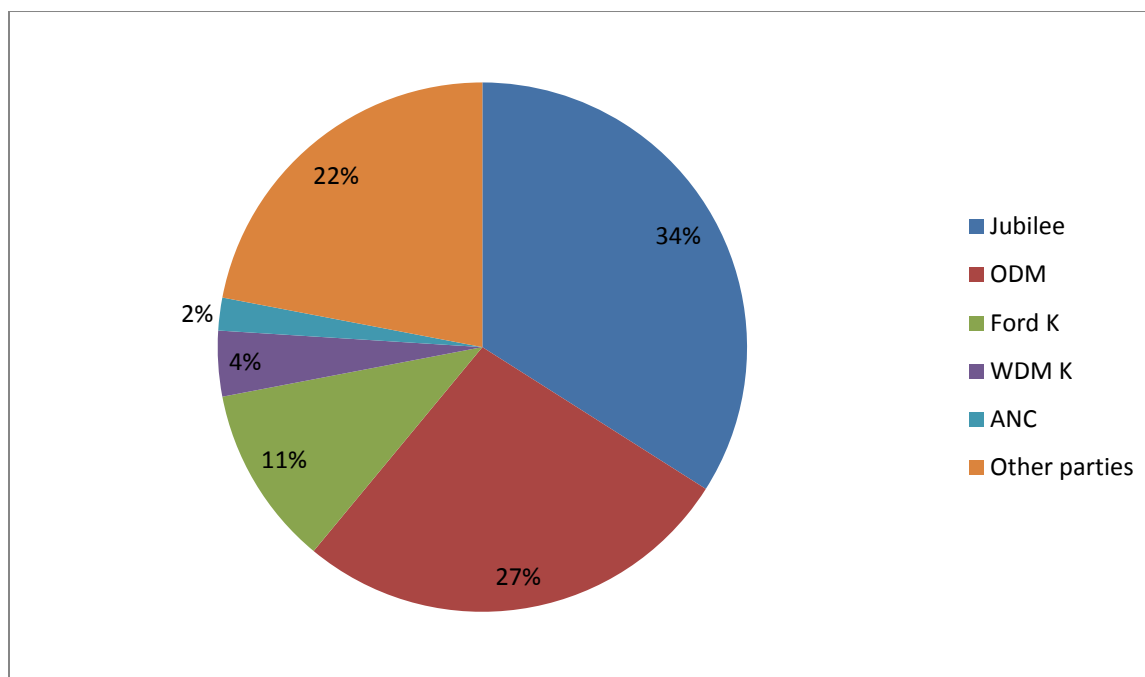
Table 3.10 Elected women and men MCAs 2017

GENDER	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Men MCAs	1334	93.3%
Women MCAs	96	6.7%
Total	1430	100%

Source: National Democratic Institute, 2018

Statistics indicates that in general elections of 2017, a total of 1430 individuals were directly elected as members of the county assemblies, out of this only 96 women (6.7%) were elected as ward representatives compared to 1334 men (93.3%) of the total elected MCAs.

Figure 3.4 Elected women MCAs, 2017 per interviewed party



Source: Researcher, 2019

The study found that; out of the interviewed political parties (6), at least 5 political parties managed to elect women to the county assemblies. Jubilee party had the most elected women 32 women (34%), followed by ODM 26 women (27%), Ford Kenya 11 women (11%), Wiper party 4 women (4%), ANC 2 women (2%) and other parties 21 women (22%). The study further established that even with the lower elective positions like member of the county assembly, women are not well represented and they can only be elected when they contest through famous political parties and in strongholds of the same parties.

3.4.2 Total number of women in party governance and decision making positions.

Table 3.11 Total number of women in NEC of interviewed political parties compared to men

PARTY	TOTAL NEC MEMBERS	MEN	WOMEN	% WOMEN
Jubilee	40	26	14	35%
ODM	16	11	5	31%
ANC	14	8	6	43%
Ford Kenya	75	45	30	40%
WDM-K	20	13	7	35%

Source: Researcher, 2019

In accordance to the Constitutional requirement of two –thirds gender rule, the study established that out of the 6 political parties surveyed, 5 (83%) had adhered to the gender rule within their NEC membership; (ODM-31%, Ford Kenya-40%, ANC-43%, WDM-K-35% and Jubilee-35%), surprisingly one party (KANU) failed to avail information of its NEC membership. The two major political parties in Kenya currently (Jubilee and ODM) have at least met the Constitutional requirement of two-thirds gender rule.

3.4.3 Political party policy compliance with gender equality principles as provided in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011.

3.4.3.1 Jubilee Party Constitution 2012

The study established that the core principles and values of Jubilee party are committed to the promotion of participation and inclusive governance of the people, equality in law and equitable resource allocation. Jubilee party is also committed to protecting the marginalized and minority groups; it does not support discrimination based on sex, ethnicity and different forms of bias.

3.4.3.2 Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) Constitution 2007Manifesto and Election and nomination rules (2007)

According to its constitution, the ODM party is committed to women liberation, eliminate sex discrimination and listens to the voice of women and ensure their representation in different levels of leadership. The party is also committed in protecting and ensuring that human rights are protected as provided in the constitution and other international conventions and treaties that Kenya has prescribed to. ODM also supports gender equality and equitable resource allocation to increase women participation in public decision making and leadership, through supporting

affirmative action and mainstreaming participation of women in party activities in all structures. It bases its values on equity, zero-discrimination and equality and enhanced empowerment of the subordinated people in the society.

3.4.3.3 Amani National Congress (ANC) Constitution 2013

According to its 2013 constitution, ANC is committed to protect, defend and uphold the freedoms and rights of every Kenyan; youth, people with disabilities, children and women and other marginalized people in the society. ANC has youth and women's league within its structures, of which their chair persons also belong to the National Executive Council. The party is committed to support women as candidates in presidential, county, and Parliamentary or other elective positions. It also mobilizes women participation in policy formulation and implementation both at the party and nationally. In addition, it offers advisory opinions to organs of the party on women matters. On a negative note the party lacks articulation on matters of two-thirds gender rule in all its organs.

3.4.3.4 Ford Kenya Constitution (undated) and Nomination rules 2011

The Constitution of the party is committed in promoting and supporting the rights of women and to ensure they are liberated and empowered and to a greater extent ensure gender equality is articulated in all its practices and policies. It is committed in defending the rights of all subordinated group like children, women, persons with disabilities. The party has not stated its position on gender equality in its rules of nomination.

3.4.3.5 Wiper Democratic Movement – Kenya Manifesto 2007-2012 and Constitution

The Constitution of Wiper party is committed to expansion of freedom of individual participation in politics and different areas of decision making by recognizing gender equality, equity in youth opportunities, and other marginalized groups like persons with disabilities. The party is also committed to support affirmative action as an important mechanism in increasing women political participation and ensures formulation and implementation of zero-discrimination on policies to enhance equality in all social spheres. It has commitment on 50:50 ratio for appointing and representing women in public service.

3.4.3.6 Kenya African National Union (KANU) Manifesto 2002

KANU as a party thrives on supporting inclusiveness and gender equity. It is also committed to promotion of equality of gender in political participation and equal opportunities in decision making by getting rid of barriers of culture, discrimination and prejudice.

3.4.4 Existence of provisions and/ measures provided for in the party policy documents to promote equal opportunities for women and men in positions of political leadership and decision making.

3.4.4.1 Jubilee Party

The party provides for none discrimination on membership on basis of gender, marital status. It has also provided for the not more than two thirds gender representation rule in elections of party officials.

3.4.4.2 Amani National Congress (ANC)

The party's structure accommodates the youth and women's league, of which their chair persons also belong to the National Executive Council. The party is committed to supporting all women as candidates in presidential, county, and parliamentary or other elective positions. It also mobilizes women participation in policy formulation and implementation both at the party and nationally, in addition, gives advisory opinions to organs of the party on women matters.

3.4.4.3 Wiper Democratic Movement - Kenya

It has commitments to giving financial assistance to the poor people and in promoting free maternity care through safe motherhood and other healthcare services. The party goes on to confirm that it will make enough efforts to ensure that the youth and women as members of the party will be involved in leadership and decision making through affirmative action.

3.4.4.4 Kenya African National Union (KANU)

It pledges to support affirmative action through gender mainstreaming; by providing special party positions to women. But the means and ways this is to be done was not availed. The party's manifesto lacks strength on areas of developing women, because its main focus is on women welfare and not gender equality.

3.4.5 Possible solutions in addressing the problem of few women holding positions within political parties.

A portion of the parties' respondents 2 political parties stated that the greatest solution is for leaders of political parties to ensure that right policy objectives are adhered to in order to enable women to access parties leadership. On the same note, respondents raised concern on lack of adherence to gender equality and inclusiveness in the political parties' manifestos; most parties don't actuate them to the core.

One of the parties' respondents 1 political party also explained that the forged relationships among men famously known as 'old boys' networks' should be reduced to allow entry for new members such as women to enable them vie in positions that are male dominant.

Further analysis from 1 political party indicated that male incumbents always tend to groom fellow men to succeed them, but do not want to groom women per se. The respondents sought it wise for parties' leadership to embrace equality.

Another respondent 1 political party explained that women are rarely given parties' orientation this leads to lack of knowledge of the dos and don'ts of the parties, coupled by the existence of patriarchy within political parties. In view of this the respondents were of the opinion that the party hierarchy should advocate for orientation that should go hand in hand with reduction of male dominance, this would help in increasing the number of women to parties' leadership.

The study also established that membership fee which parties require individuals to pay is too high for women who in many circumstances struggles even to fend for their families, this gives men the advantage since they own much of the resources to control the parties. For instance, some parties charge between 100,000 Ksh and 200,000 Ksh; even though the fee is reduced for women it still poses a challenge. In view of this 1 respondent explained that political parties' leadership should find means to ensure that the membership fee accommodates women.

3.4.6 How political parties can help to increase the number of women in politics.

A majority of the parties' respondents from 3 political parties explained that political parties should conduct free, transparent and fair nominations. Political Parties should try to avoid direct nominations which many at times favour male candidates. They went further to claim that bribery is rampant within the political parties which at times go up to 5 million Ksh each for the 290 constituencies to political parties. This problem of bribery persists even in the allocation of parties' nomination slots to individuals in which men end up with the most slots than women.

Another party's respondent 1 political party claimed that some political parties fail to popularize female candidates. When a female candidate clinches the party's ticket, she had to contend with campaign issues on her own without the support of the male leaders of the party and even fellow women do not want to associate with their female colleagues. The suggested solution from the respondent is that; the party's hierarchy should learn to support all candidates despite gender affiliation.

On the other hand respondents from 2 political parties noted that nepotism exists within political parties, for instance, the respondent claimed that party tickets are given to close family members and associates to continue friendship and family relation with the party. In these cases nominations are a formality. The respondent suggested that leaders of these parties should be able to tackle this norm in order to allow women participate fully in politics without interference.

3.4.7 The role of the new Constitution (2010) in raising the status of women political participation in post-independence Kenya.

The enactment of the 2010 Constitution with its legal frameworks and policies on gender equality has enabled women to grab opportunities in different spheres of the society. The Constitution and its provisions on gender equality such as; Political Parties Act 2011 and the Elections Act 2011 have ensured a good and enhanced conduct of political parties in the management of their affairs during the elections in 2013 and 2017 which saw an increased number of women elected in different positions. Chapter 4 on bill of rights provides equal opportunities for all citizens regardless of sex, marital status, disability; this is supported in Article 27 (3) which states that women and men have the right to equal treatment and the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, social and cultural.

The 2010 constitution has a provision on affirmative action which has a legal mandate for increasing the number of women in politics and other marginalised groups. These provisions provide advantages for women in their struggle for representation. In addition it has helped in expanding the political space to women in exercising their political and civil rights as indicated in the below provisions.

3.4.7.1 Principles of Equality and Respect for Human rights

The principles and national values of governance, inclusive of equality and respect for human rights are enshrined in the 2010 Constitution. It mandates the state to enact and implement legislation in accordance to international commitment to human rights. This is supported in;

Article 10 (2) (b) which states that; “The national values and principles of governance shall include.....human dignity, equality, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights and non-discrimination.....”

The stated values will guide organs of the state, officers of the state and office holders in conducting their mandates. Furthermore, the Kenyan Constitution requires the state to not only enact gender laws but also create measures to ensure they are fully implemented.

Further explanation is found in Article 21 (4)..... “The state shall enact and implement legislation to fulfil its international obligations in respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.....” Therefore if these laws are fully implemented then women would have equal political opportunities which would help in increasing their numbers.

3.4.7.2 Constitutional provisions on equality of men and women

It is stipulated in Article 27 (1) and (3) of the constitution that; the law should equally protect and benefit everyone, it should also provide equal economic, social, political and cultural opportunities. Article 27 (3); Men and women should be equally treated in cultural, political, social and economic opportunities. Therefore equal treatment of men and women would enhance gender equality in politics only if adhered to the latter by relevant authorities like political parties. The same applies to Article 91 (1) (e) and (f) which requires political parties to respect everyone’s rights in political participation, respect for fundamental freedoms, human rights and gender equality and equity;

Article 27 (5) forbids prejudice based on marital status, sex, health, whereas Article 27 (6) mandates the state to enhance legislations like affirmative action and policies to tackle all kinds of bias directed to groups and individuals as a result of past prejudice. The directive by the government to tackle legislative matters like affirmative action would expand political space for women and this would help in increasing their numbers in politics and leadership.

3.4.7.3 Participation in political leadership and governance: Not more than two-thirds gender representation

The Constitution goes further to mandate the state to implement the legislation of not more than two-thirds gender representation in appointive or elective positions. Many provisions are stipulated in the Constitution to guarantee the increased women political leadership and participation as indicated below; Article 27 (8) “.....in addition to the measures contemplated in clause (6), the state shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two thirds of the members of elective and appointive bodies shall be of the same gender....” Article 177 stipulates for increment of women and other historically subordinated groups in the decision making of the counties assemblies, executive committees and county public service boards. It goes further to explain that County Assembly shall consist of special seat members to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the assembly membership is of the same gender.

3.4.7.4 Representation of the marginalised groups

The Constitution has stipulation on equality of everyone in political governance including the historically subordinated groups like women. It also mandates the state to enhance effectiveness of affirmative action to support subordinated groups in their participation in politics and government. Article 97 (1) (b) and 98 (1) (b) (c) (d) states that there are existence of special seats for women, persons with disabilities and the youth both in county assembly and parliament stressing on principle of gender equality.

3.4.7.5 Political parties Act 2011

The Political Parties Act (2011) has a stronger provision on gender equality which is streamlined to the constitution and principles of affirmative action. Article 4 (2) of the Act states that a political party can only be registered when it has the requirements like; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, gender equality and respect for the right of all people to be involved in politics. This helps in assisting women and other subordinated groups to participate in political leadership as candidates and as voters. Article 7(2) (b) states that gender balance in representation should include marginalized and minority groups. Article 7(2) (c) (d) Gender balance and representation of marginalized and minority groups must be reflected in the governing bodies of political parties.

3.4.7.6 Elections Act 2011

Elections Act has a stipulation on the procedure and conduct of referendum, elections and dispute resolution related to election in accordance with the constitution 2010. There is also existence of affirmative action measures for increasing the number of women in politics. The Act allows for young women political participation from the age of 18 years either as a voter or as candidates. Articles 34, 35, 36 of the Act stipulates nomination of members based on party list in accordance to Articles 97 (1) (c) and 98 (1) (b) (c) (d) and 177 (1) (b) of the Constitution. The Act also provides for proportional representation with the use of mixed member party lists. Article 63 (1) discourages violence and any form of its use before and during election, this helps in reducing sexual, physical and psychological violence which at times discourages women. The elections conduct in schedule II, stipulates that the code supports atmosphere that is good for free, fair and transparent elections, which would be appealing for more women to vie once they become satisfied that they won or lost fairly, whereas Article 5 (a) (f) (i) provides for adherence to the principles and values of the Constitution in the enhancement of equality of gender and just representation of interest groups.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study, conclusion and ends with the recommendations.

4.1 Summary of the findings

The study sought to examine determinants of women political empowerment in Kenya with a specific reference to Nairobi County (1992-2017). The specific objectives of the study were to determine how access to financial resources influence women political participation and establish the role of political parties in increasing women political participation in Nairobi County. The study adopted the application of both qualitative and quantitative method of data collection. Both secondary and primary sources of data were used. Secondary sources, such as books, articles in journals and reports were used. Primary information was collected using researcher designed questionnaires for objective number one and in depth interviews with the respondents for objective number two. The study used purposive sampling technique to identify the respondents. Data was analysed using percentage distribution and frequency distribution techniques using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Data collected was analysed and presented in pie charts, tables in form of frequencies and percentages.

Based on the findings, the study established that there are various instances in which inadequate access to financial resources influence women's political participation in Kenya. The study found that majority of women attribute availability of resources as a major determinant in the participation of women in political leadership, A majority of the respondents confirmed that they did not have the necessary resources such as vehicles and money to sustain campaigns for political office. Generally it is not easy for women to mobilize resources for campaign for a political leadership. A majority of the respondents further explained that the dominant political parties require large sums of money for nomination fees; which in most cases is too high for women aspirants. Furthermore because women have little access to well-paying jobs they are economically disadvantaged hence it becomes more difficult for them to penetrate into electoral offices. The apparent impossibility of getting into an electoral office could be the reason why a majority of the respondents stated that they would not vie for political office again even if they had the necessary resources because the risks of losing are higher and so they would rather invest in economic activities than engage in politics. However, many of the respondents acknowledged that the number of women in political offices had increased since 2017 due to the implementation of the new (2010) constitution.

In line with objective two, this study revealed that political parties play a major role in advancing or hindering women's political participation. For instance, the nomination processes within political parties are often not transparent, not free and are unfair. As a result, in order to be elected or nominated women join little known small parties but this in turn reduces their chances of winning election. Furthermore the high nomination fees required by political parties and the large sums of money required for political campaigns disqualifies many women who do not have adequate finances. Political parties have failed to support women aspirants because they have failed to fully implement institutional laws and policies to govern their political affairs as stated in the Constitution. Few women are in these party's governance or NEC, Most of the parties objectives, values and principles do not comply with gender principles in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011 and most of these political parties lack policy measures to promote equal opportunities for women and men. Generally, existing laws and regulations are not in support of women political ambitions.

4.2 Conclusions

The study was based on two hypotheses; the first was that women political empowerment increases women political participation in Nairobi County. The objective associated with this hypothesis was to determine how access to financial resources influences women political participation in Nairobi County. In regard to this hypothesis and objective, it can be concluded that most of the shortcomings associated with inadequate financial resources can be minimized if girls could access quality education to help them qualify for job opportunities to improve their income, confidence and make it easy to get political information and increase their political networks. The issue of lack of funds could be rectified through the implementation of non-discriminatory laws and policies so as to enable women own property and have equal rights to share matrimonial properties which would enable them gain the necessary resource to participate in politics. A special fund could be created for women to ease borrowing for starting of businesses, because they lack security to give to banks for access of loans, this would help in empowering them economically. Women empowerment can also be facilitated through the implementation of the necessary laws to ensure non-discriminatory policies or improved affirmative action policies in job recruitment to enable women get positions in jobs with high pay.

The second hypothesis stated that political parties increases or decreases women political participation in Nairobi County. The objective in line with this hypothesis was to establish the role of political parties in increasing women political participation in Nairobi County. Political

parties play an important role in empowering women to participate in politics. They do this by issuing party tickets through which women vie for political position. From the findings it was noted that one of the hinderances to women participation in politics is inadequate resources. Lowering the nomination fees by political parties can make it possible for women to compete for positions. An increase in numbers of elected and nominated women through political parties would increase the number of women winning elections and eventually improving their numbers. Political parties can determine the number of women in political position through the numbers in governance positions or NEC. It can be assumed that if more women could hold positions within the parties governance or NEC then decisions made would favour women which would end up enticing them to vie for positions which would eventually increase their numbers in politics. The political parties can also increase the number of women in political positions by complying with gender principles in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011 which will ensure that women are given more opportunities.

4.3 Recommendations

- i. The study recommends that women should be empowered more. Girl child education should be promoted because even though much has been done to enhance it there still exist some challenges. Education should also include political training.
- ii. Women should be assisted to get access to professional jobs because majority are unskilled, this would help raise their income levels and reduce dependency on men hence become economically empowered and be able to access political leadership.
- iii. Financial institutions should enable women access loans easily to make them mobilize for resources for political participation. The Kenyan constitution already allows women inherit property. The implementation of this law will ensure that women have property to use as collateral to access loans to expand their interest in politics.
- iv. There should be a means of decommercialising the process of campaign for political leadership. So far the campaign bill has been proposed to regulate the amount of money that should be spent on campaigns. What needs to be done is the formulation of mechanisms of implementation.
- v. The government through the registrar of political parties should ensure that political parties make their nomination fees favourable to all candidates especially women; this could help women with limited resources to get party tickets which increases their chances of being elected.
- vi. The government should ensure that electoral laws in place make it an obligation for political parties to adhere to gender parity principles in appointing or electing

representatives to the governance bodies and choosing party candidates at different levels, development or review of their party constitution and manifesto and equal involvement of members in party affairs.

- vii. The government through the Legislature should implement laws to compel political parties to ensure that their objectives, values and principles comply with gender equality principles in the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Political parties Act 2011 and Elections Act 2011; this could enable women get a better avenue to participate in politics.
- viii. The government through the IEBC should make sure that political parties are gendered in their ideologies, visions, structures, programmes, languages, symbols and images. This will ensure an all-round support for women and help reduce discrimination in almost all areas of political leadership.

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APPENDICES

Appendix i: Questionnaire

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a student pursuing a degree leading to Masters of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a research to examine women political empowerment in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. Women political empowerment refers to the process of increasing the ability of women to take part in politics and leadership. This study is purely for academic purposes. Your views are crucial for the success of this study. Please complete to the best of your ability the questionnaire enclosed herein following the instruction given after each item and return your completed questionnaire to the researcher. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated and any information given after shall be treated as strictly private and confidential.

Instructions

Please tick inside the box or fill in the spaces provided. The information you give will be kept in strict confidence and will be used for nothing other than this research.

SECTION A: Demographic background.

1. What is your age?

Below 20 20-29yrs 30-39 yrs 40-49 yrs 50-59 yrs 60 and above

2. What is your religious background?

Christian Muslim Traditional

Others specify _____

3. What is your marital status?

Married Single Divorced Widowed Separated

4. What is your level of education?

None Primary Secondary Tertiary University

Others (Specify) _____

SECTION B: Questions for elected women leaders in Nairobi County.

5. How long have you been in Nairobi politics?

6. At what level have you participated in Nairobi politics as a contestant?

Parliamentary Civic

7. Is the availability of resources such as money, vehicles and other assets a major determinant of the participation of women in politics?
 Yes [] No []
8. Do women have adequate resources such as money, vehicles and other assets to sustain a campaign for a political seat?
 Yes [] No []
9. Do high nomination fees within political parties hinder women political participation?
 Yes [] No []
 Give reasons for your answer_____
10. In your own view, do you experience a challenge of mobilizing resources to campaign for a political position in Nairobi County?
 Yes [] No []
 Give reasons for your answer _____
11. What measures do you think would be appropriate in addressing inadequate financial resources as hindrance to women political participation in Nairobi County?

SECTION C: Questions for women who vied for political positions and never succeeded in Nairobi County.

12. How many times have you vied for elective position in Nairobi County? _____
13. At what level have you participated in Nairobi politics as a contestant?
 Parliamentary [] Civic []
14. Would you say lack of resources contributed to your failure (s)?

15. Are there possible sources of fund for a woman who is interested in vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?
 Yes [] No []
 If yes specify_____
16. If you had adequate resources would you consider vying for a civic or parliamentary seat?
 Yes [] No []
 Explain your answer_____
17. Do you believe that there is adequate women representation in Nairobi County?
 Yes [] No []

18. If answer to question 17 is NO

In your own view could inadequate financial resources be the reasons for few numbers of women in Nairobi County politics? _____

19. What would you attribute to the increase in the number of women recently elected to parliament as opposed to the past where they were rarely elected or nominated?

a) Women empowerment () b) Increase of women literacy ()

c) Constitution changes () d) Customs changes ()

e) Others specify _____

20. In your own opinion, what measures can help to reduce inadequate financial resources as hindrance to women political participation in Nairobi County?

Thank you very much for your time and co-operation.

Part A: Bio-data

Name:

Address:

Location:

Party:

Age:

Part B: please answer the following questions in your best possible means. This information is confidential and will be used only for the purposes of this study.

Interview questions for political parties in Nairobi County

1. How many women were either elected and/or nominated through your political party to National and County Assemblies in the just concluded election as compared to men?
2. How many women are in party governance and decision making positions?
3. How many officials are in the National Executive Councils and how many are women?
4. Do political party policy objectives, principles and values comply with gender equality principles as provided for by the Constitution of Kenya 2010, Political Parties Act 2011 and the Elections Act 2011?
5. Are there any provisions and/measures provided for in the party policy documents to promote equal opportunities for women and men in positions of political leadership and decision making?
6. What are the possible solutions in addressing the problem of few women holding positions within political parties?
7. In your own view, how can political parties help to increase the number of women in politics?
8. Has the enactment of the new constitution assisted to raise the status of women political participation and representation in post-independence Kenya?

End of interview

Thank you.