

**NEXUS BETWEEN POLITICAL CULTURE AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN
POLITICS IN NAIROBI AND KAJIADO COUNTIES IN KENYA, SINCE 2013**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies of Masinde Muliro University of
Science and Technology**

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DECLARAION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources as supported and has not been presented anywhere for a degree or any other award.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all women leaders and those aspiring to be leaders in Kenya for their determination of participating in politics.

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was to examine the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics since 2013 with a specific reference to Nairobi City and Kajiado Counties in Kenya. The study described two counties in Kenya: one from urban area hence cosmopolitan (Nairobi) and the other one from a rural setting and a bit of its region cosmopolitan (Kajiado). The objectives of the study were (a) to examine the nature of political culture and women participation in politics; (b) to analyse the political culture and women participation in politics and (c) to discuss the challenges women face in political participation in Nairobi and Kajiado counties in Kenya. The study was guided by feminist, social network, postmodernism and political development theories. It used a descriptive survey design where the two counties were described in the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used. A questionnaire and an interview guide were used. Random and purposive sampling techniques were used to select sample of the study. The study sampled 240 respondents where 190 were female and 50 men since this was a study on women. The analysis of the collected data established that the current political developments did not favor women to contest certain elective posts, as the society viewed the aforementioned posts to be a reserve for their male counterparts. Moreover, the study revealed that decision-making structures were directly in the hands of the males and this hindered the ability of women to make any impact in the political landscape. Further, the analysis of the collected data indicated that it was clear that patriarchal structures within parties, state, and people's lives had deleterious effects on the level of political participation by women and that cultural stereotypes labeled against women continued to pervade the county of Kajiado to an extent that women were not viewed as equal to men. Despite the structures put in place by the Kenya's constitution, 2010, such as the two-thirds gender rule, the representation of women in leadership positions has been low. Further, the study established that political culture and stereotypes against women influenced their participation in politics. We recommended that men could play a significant role in promoting gender equality policy development and that implementation of the two-thirds gender rule would enhance women participation in politics, as more seats would be reserved for them both at the national and county levels. In addition, we recommended that women should be supported financially and socio-politically as an approach to countering the contemporary political culture and political parties ought to formulate internal structures, which would ensure that women played critical roles because the parties were the vehicles that propelled individuals into leadership.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
COPYRIGHT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS	xvi
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.1.1 The Constitution of Kenya on Women Participation in Politics	7
1.2 Statement of the problem	9
1.3 Research Objectives	10
1.3.1 General Objectives	10
1.3. 2 Specific Objectives	10
1.4 Research Questions	11
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	11
1.6 Scope of the study	13
1.7 Limitations of the Study.....	13
1.8 Summary	14
CHAPTER TWO	15
LITERATURE REVIEW	15
2.1 Introduction	15
2.2 Concept of political participation	15
2.3 The Nature of the Political Culture	17
2.4 Influence of Political Culture on Women Participation in politics	29
2.4.1 Political Parties as Determinants of Political Culture	30
2.4.2 Political Culture and the existing legal and Regulatory frameworks	36

2.5 Challenges Women Face in Political Participation	39
2.5.1 Cultural Barriers	45
2.5.2 Economic Barriers	48
2.5.3 Political Barriers	50
2.7 Conceptual Framework	53
2.7.1 Social Network Theory	53
2.7.2 Feminist Theory	54
2.7.3 Postmodernism Theory	57
2.7.4 Theory of Political Development	59
2.8 Knowledge Gaps	65
2.9 Summary	66
CHAPTER THREE	68
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	68
3.1 Introduction	68
3.2 Research Philosophy	68
3.3 Study Area	69
3.4 Research design	72
3.5 Target population	73
3.6 Sample size and sampling procedure	73
3.6.1 Questionnaire	75
3.6.2 Key Informants Interview Schedule	76
3.7 Piloting of Instruments	77
3.7.1 Validity of Research Instruments	78
3.7.2 Reliability of Research Instruments	78
3.8 Secondary Data	79
3.9 Data Collection Process	80
3.10 Data Analysis Procedure	80
3.11 Ethical Considerations	81
3.12 Summary	82
CHAPTER FOUR.....	84
THE NATURE OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE	84

4.1 Introduction	84
4.2 Response Rate	84
4.3 Profile of the Respondents	85
4.3.1 Gender of the respondents	85
4.3.2 Vied Position	86
4.3.3 Age of the Respondents	87
4.3.4 Religious Background of the Respondents.....	88
4.3.5 Level of Education.....	90
4.3.6 Marital Status.....	91
4.3.7 Occupation.....	91
4.3.8 Level of Income.....	92
4.4 The Nature of the Political Culture	93
4.4.1 The Nature of Politics.....	93
4.4.2 Marginalization of Women and Political Participation	94
4.4.3 Patriarchal Structures.....	96
4.4.4 Underrepresentation of Women in Government	98
4.4.5 Political Culture of the Political Parties	100
4.4.6 Political Structures as Hindrance to Women’s Political Participation	102
4.4.7 Gender Biases within the Party Structures	103
4.4.8 Women Prefer Taking Positions That Are Not Demanding.....	106
4.4.9 None Adherence to the Affirmative Action	108
4.4.10 Stereotypes and Women participation in Politics.....	110
4.4.11 Relational Styles and Women Participation in Politics	111
4.4.12 Women and Conformation to Male Culture in Politics	112
Source: Researcher, 2016	113
4.4.13 Women Are Dependent on Their Husbands, Brothers or Fathers	113
4.4.14 Summary.....	114
CHAPTER FIVE	116
POLITICAL CULTURE.....	116
5.1 Introduction.....	116
5.3 Patriarchal Systems and The Effect on Women’s Participation in Politics	118

5.4 Socialization and Participation of Women in Politics	121
5.5 Political Parties and Women Interests	122
5.6 Egalitarian Culture and Participation of Women in Politics	125
5.7 The Society’s View/Perception on Women’s Involvement in Politics	126
5.8 Women and Family Lineage.....	127
5.9 Women and Inheritance of Power from the Family Members	127
5.10 Summary	129
CHAPTER SIX	130
THE CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.....	130
6.1 Introduction	130
6.2 Economic Opportunities.....	130
6.3 Level of Education and Women Participation in Politics.....	136
6.4 Underrepresentation of Women.....	141
6.5 Existing Laws and Legislation Affect Women Participation in Politics	143
6.6 Patriarchy and Women Subordination Affect Women Participation in Politics	146
6.7 Lack of Institutional Political Party Structures	148
6.8 Lack of the Management Framework to Support Free, Fair and Credible Primaries	149
6.9 Marital Status Influences Women’s Political Participation	150
6.10 Case Study	152
6.11 Summary.....	152
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	154
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	154
7.1 Introduction	154
7.2 Summary	154
7.2.1 Nature of the Political Culture.....	154
7.2.2 The Influence of Political Culture on Women Participation in Politics	156
7.2.3 Challenges that Women Face in Political Participation	159
7.3 Conclusions	162
7.4 Recommendations	163
7.4.1 Policy Recommendations	163
7.4.2 Recommendations for Further Studies	164

APPENDICES	181
Appendix I: Cover Letter to Respondent	181
Appendix II: Questionnaire.....	182
Appendix III: Interview Guide.....	193
Appendix VI: Research Authorization – NACOSTI.....	195
Appendix VII: Research Clearance Permit– NACOSTI.....	196
Appendix VIII: Official Receipt – NACOSTI	197

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Operationalization of Variables	81
Table 4.1: Gender of the respondents	86
Table 4.2: Vying/Vied Position	87
Table 4.3: Age of the Respondents	88
Table 4.4: Religious Background of the Respondents.....	89
Table 4.5: Level of Education.....	91
Table 4.6: Marital Status.....	91
Table 4. 7: Occupation.....	92
Table 4.8: Level of Income.....	93
Table 4.9: Marginalization of Women and Political Participation	95
Table 4.10: Patriarchal Structures and Women Participation in Politics.....	97
Table 4.11: Underrepresentation of Women in Government.....	100
Table 4.12: Political Culture of the Political Parties.....	101
Table 4.13: Gender and Political Party Representation in the Kajiado County Assembly.....	103
Table 4.14: Women Prefer Taking Positions That Are Not Demanding	108
Table 4.15: Stereotypes and Women participation in Politics.....	111
Table 4.16: women are dependent on family members	114
Table 5.1: Socialization and Participation of Women in Politics	122
Table 6.1 : Jubilee Party Nomination Fee Structure	131
Table 6.2: Orange Democratic Movement Nomination Fee Structure	133
Table 6.3: Population of men and women in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties	134
Table 6.4: Implementation of the two-thirds gender rule	144

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework model	64
Figure 4.2: Conforming to the Strong Male Culture in Politics	113

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACTS	African Centre for Technology Studies
AWDF	African Women’s Development Fund
CCGD	Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CMD	Centre for Multiparty Democracy-Kenya
CODESRIA	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
COK	Constitution of Kenya
DCDR	Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation
ECWD	Education Centre for Women in Development
FAWE	Forum for African Women in Education
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA	The Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya
GAD	Gender and Development
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission’s
IPPG	Inter Party Parliamentary Group
KANU	Kenya African National Union

KANU	Kenya African National Union
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association
KWFT	Kenya Women Finance Trust
KWPC	Kenya Women Political Caucus
LKWV	League of Kenya Women Voters
MP	Members of Parliament
MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
NDP	National Democratic Party
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
ODM	Orange Democratic Movements
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
URP	United Republican Party
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network
WID	Women in Development
WPA-K	Women Political Alliance of Kenya

OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

Culture: Is the complex whole, which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs and all other capabilities and habits acquired by men and women as a member of society

Leadership: The capacity of an individual to influence, motivates, and makes others capable of contributing to the efficiency and success of Constitution they belong to.

Member of Parliament: A person elected or nominated to represent his/her constituency in parliament.

Participation: This refers to the act of taking part with others in some activity. This can be in social, economic or political spheres of life.

Patriarchy: Is men domination and men orientation system, in all aspects of life being it cultural, political or economic.

Poverty: Going short materially, socially and emotionally. Lack of basic needs

Participation in political office leadership: The participation of women in political offices such as county representatives and members of parliament

Political Culture: Political culture is the traditional orientation of the citizens of a nation toward politics, affecting their perceptions of political legitimacy. For this study, political culture refers to collective opinion, attitudes, beliefs, sentiments and values about politics. Though individual values and attitudes cannot be directly measured, key informants to this study are asked questions which will illuminate their opinions and feelings like, what role do women play in party politics, how often does one participate in political party activities and why, among other similar questions.

Politics: Laswell (2013) defined politics as who gets what, when, and how.

Political Participation: For this research, political participation refers to engagement in political activities and action. It is the involvement of women in political affairs of the country ranging from taking active part in all political activities such as civic education, demonstrations, attending rallies and political conferences, voter registration, party campaigns, party elections, national campaigns, national elections, to their active involvement in the legislative debates. Political participation will be said to have succeeded if the women attain freedom of speech, if they are listened to and are kept informed and if the women are given power to make (real) decisions about themselves and the society at large.

Representation: A situation of one or few individuals being chosen to speak, deliberate and make decisions on behalf of others. The mandate is given by the people and is recognized as binding. This mandate is given through elections, appointment or nominations to a position of authority.

Women's political participation: Participation of women in political activities including civic education, political party leadership, Resource mobilization and holding of political offices such as member of parliament and county representative.

Women's Organization:

Organizations that seek to enhance women's participation in development in all sectors: economic, social, and political from the grassroots to the national level. In Kenya, women's organizations are either registered or not registered, but they operate under the laws stipulated by the constitution of Kenya. The organizations have their own constitutions, mission and objectives.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Despite the remarkable progress of women in many professions, politics is not one of them. Indeed, around the world, women have been conspicuous by their absence in decision and policy making in government. This chapter outlines the background to the study, statement of the problem and objectives of the study. It is also in this chapter where the study is justified, and the scope of the study discussed. Feldman et al. (2015) argued that political participation involves both formal and informal channels. Broadly, it involves knowledge of the political system and the means of accessing it, the right to vote, involvement in local campaigns and governing structures, representation in national and local government, and the freedom to represent interests as a lobbying and voting bloc.

Assessing women's participation must also consider informal political activity, particularly at the community level (UNICEF, 2006), where women may be especially involved in social networks, women's organizations, and civil society, particularly where formal channels are less open to women. Such political participation may resemble political expression, including rights women possess, formally and informally, to express dissatisfaction within their political and social culture and to engage in all levels of the political process. Political participation may occur at the individual, household, and community, national, and international levels. Individual and household participation includes knowledge of the political system; domestic and spousal support for political engagement; participation in household economic, reproductive, and health-related decision-making; personal motivation for engagement in community-level organizations

and civil society, and the desire to vote. Community involvement includes participation in village meetings and local campaigns, advocacy efforts for specific issues or legislation, and actual representation and leadership in local government (Feldman et al., 2015).

As argued by Afolabi et al. (2003), women constitute over half of the world's population and contribute in vital ways to societal development generally. In most societies, women assume five key roles: mother, producer, home-manager, community organizer and socio-cultural and political activists. Of these roles mentioned, the last has been engendered by women movements, attributed to historical gender discrimination and inequality. Hitherto the emergence of these movements, gender roles, was divided between the male and female sexes. These roles can be broadly classified into- the productive and the reproductive gender roles. Afolabi et al. (2003) continued to argue that whereas the productive gender roles were mainly associated with the male sex, reproductive gender roles were exclusive to their female counterparts. This societal reality was deeply rooted in the cultural beliefs and values of societies in the world. Afolabi et al. (2003) observed "from those societies we might want to call most egalitarian to those which sexual stratification is most marked, men are the locus of cultural value. Some area of activity is always seen as exclusively or predominantly male and therefore overwhelmingly and morally important"

One may ask why is there few women entering the political sphere and why is there variation across the countries in the world? The common explanation is that culture, religion and patriarchal structures limit women participation into political leadership. Countries such as Sweden, Argentina, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda have made remarkable progress in the political representation (Paxton, 1997). Unfortunately this is not the case for many countries

where the pace has been very slow and some population, religions, government remain openly hostile to the notion of women in political leadership.

Women in India constitute nearly half the population of the country, but they are poorly represented in the various governance and decision making bodies. The position depicted through the 14 general elections so far reflects a low representation of women in Parliament, State legislatures, in political parties and other decision-making bodies. Women have occupied less than 8% of Parliamentary seats, less than 6% Cabinet positions, less than 4% of seats in High Courts and the Supreme Court. Less than 3% of the administrators and managers are women. The average percentage of women's representation in the Parliament, Assemblies and Council of Ministers taken together has been around 10% (UNIFEM, 2000). Women in India raised the issue of representation in politics first in 1917. At that time it was basically a demand for universal adult franchise and political participation. By 1930 women had gained the Right to vote, which initially benefited women from elite families.

Agbalajobi (2010) while conducting a study on women's participation and the political process in Nigeria observed that women had for long suffered various forms of gender discrimination, inequality and exclusion, especially in the area of politics'. The movement for alleviation/eradication of gender discrimination is also a multiple consequence of this system of beliefs and cultural values and norms. Agbalajobi (2010) further argued that these societal beliefs, as well as ethnic and most times religious doctrines and norms, have turned into self-fulfilling prophecies. Sex role socialization assigns distinct and often unequal work and political positions to biological sexes turning them into socially distinct gender -economists see this as the sexual division of labour. This concept is central to the Nigerian political system where sexes are

assigned to different complementary tasks, now inherent in the labour market and the political scene.

Turning to evidence from Western countries, leading explanations for the gender gap in participation focus on structural differences in individual resource endowments, often viewing female employment as the crucial factor Iversen and Rosenbluth, (2008) and Ross (2008). On cultural differences, often religion is the main focus (Norris, 2009). However, while in Western countries the traditional gender gap in political participation is in the process of closing (Norris, 2002), the sparse evidence available for developing countries indicates that there are still important gender differences in mass political participation. A number of recent studies exploring the patterns of political participation in Africa note that women tend to vote and participate politically in between elections to a lesser extent than men as argued by Bratton, Chu, and Lagos (2010); Isaksson, (2010); Kuenzi and Lambright (2010), yet there is little knowledge about extent to which the commonly suggested explanations mentioned above are applicable to the Kenyan context with specific reference to Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Isaksson (2010) argued that political participation tends to be unequally distributed across citizens. Thinking of political participation as citizen acts to influence the selection of and/or the actions taken by political representatives, participatory inequalities may affect what policy issues are brought to the agenda (Griffin & Newman, 2005), potentially reinforcing existing economic and social inequalities. Hence, broad-based political participation is important due to its intrinsic democratic value as well as from an inequality perspective.

The government of Rwanda has demonstrated political commitment at the highest level of leadership in pursuit of its goal of promoting gender equality in democratic governance and

political decision -making. This commitment by the RPA government, which came to power in the elections following the 1994 genocide, is to transform Rwanda into a peaceful and prosperous country where the rule of law and human rights are respected. Rwanda's new constitution, adopted in May 2003, reference CEDAW and commits to representation of women at least 30% (Jodi Enda, 2003). This quota has been met and surpassed, as women now hold nearly 49% of parliamentary seats, a greater proportion than in any other parliament worldwide. This could at least partially be attributed to the fact that women in government are now perceived by Rwandans as more approachable and trustworthy politicians than their male counterparts. They are also perceived as being better at forgiveness, reconciliation and post-conflict peace building (Jodi Enda, 2003).

In 1995, Uganda took a bold step to protect and enforce the rights of groups of people who had been marginalized in previous government systems. It put affirmative action for women, youth, and people with disabilities, within the Local Government Act of 1997, and subsequent bills and laws, has rapidly changed the decision-making environment, opening up opportunities for women in particular to enter into political leadership (UWONET, 1998). For example Uganda was one of the African countries to have a woman vice president. There are also ministers and other women heading departments in the system. The government has initiated policies that encourage women to actively enter and participate in politics; it has established institutions that directly affect the political life of women and also allows them to access those structures where political power is concentrated. Positions are reserved for women in the councils and at the national level, while other women compete with men and win on their own merit (Uganda government printer, 1993). But however Uganda just like many other countries, women are faced by many challenges such as limited command of language, cultural factors that insert fear in

them, illiteracy, men's fears over power gender relations and women's domestic and reproductive activities that limit their mobility and take most of their time leaving very limited time in the public sphere (Mwaka, 1996).

In Kenya women, who form a majority of the population (52%), play an active and significant part in the development of the country. Kenya is a patriarchal society and the status of women is relatively low with gender inequality/inequity prevailing in many aspects of the Kenya society. Yet they remain marginalized and discriminated upon, a situation that is reinforced by existing laws and policies as well as prevailing social-cultural factors. In 2007, a constitutional amendment that would have created 50 special seats for women in parliament was thrown out due to lack of quorum to vote on it (Parliament Hansard, 2007). Some members of parliament have stated that creating special seats for women in parliament does not comprehensively ensure political equality between genders, arguing that women must strive to win more elective positions (Hansard 2007). But female candidates who have attempted this in Kenya face a lot of obstacles, lack of resources to campaign, inadequate information about electorate, lack of support from the political parties and even they are rejected by the community because of cultural factors that depict women to be subordinates.

At the individual level, previous studies of women variation in political participation have stressed the role of structural inequalities in individual resource endowments and employment, and of cultural differences originating in religious affiliations. The former perspectives focus on the traditional role of women in the family and the labour market, the idea being that gender gaps in other areas of society hinder women's participation in politics. If political participation is costly, and the resources relevant for meeting these costs are differentially available between the

genders, this could give rise to gender differences in political participation. However, the conventional finding that citizens with low incomes and little education participate less than their richer and more educated counterparts (Brady et al., 1995; Verba et al., 1995; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980) does not necessarily apply when studying political participation in developing countries. Studies of political participation in Africa, Asia and Latin America suggest that whereas education is often positively associated with participation, poor people participate politically no less (if anything, they seem to participate more) than more well-off citizens (Booth & Seligson, 2008; Bratton, 1999, 2008; Bratton & Logan, 2006; Bratton et al., 2010; Isaksson, 2010; Krishna, 2002; Kuenzi & Lambright, 2010). Hence, it is interesting to investigate the nexus between the prevailing political culture and women political participation in the context of Nairobi and Kajiado counties.

1.1.1 The Constitution of Kenya on Women Participation in Politics

Participation of women in decision-making bodies on equal terms with men is guaranteed in Kenya's constitution. Nevertheless, the absence of women in decision-making position defeats the equality implied in the constitution. Kenya's women feel disillusioned and cheated by a government that promised them increased participation in decision-making, but failed yet again to appoint equal number of women to ministers, let alone a woman to a vice-president (African Centre for Technology Studies-ACTS, 1994). The bottom line therefore is that the present political dispensation, in spite of popular rhetoric, wants to keep women out of the political arena, as it seems not to be prepared to equally share power with women. What Kenyan government needs are not just a few women who make history, but many women who make policy.

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (COK) recognizes women, youth, persons with disabilities and ethnic minorities as special groups deserving of constitutional protection. The COK espouses the rights of women as being equal in law to men, and entitled to enjoy equal opportunities in the political, social and economic spheres. Article 81 (b), which refer to the general principles of Kenya's electoral system states 'the electoral system shall comply with the following principal - (b) not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. Article 27 goes further to obligate the government to develop and pass policies and laws, including affirmative action programs and policies to address the past discrimination that women have faced. The government is required to develop policies and laws to ensure that, not more than two-thirds of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same sex. Despite Article 177 ensuring that Articles 81(b) and 27 (8) of the COK are complied with at the County level through the nomination of special seat members, the same is not guaranteed at the National Assembly and the Senate.

Despite these affirmative action measures, women participation in the 2013 general elections remained very low. There were 19 women candidates for senatorial gubernatorial positions (out of 237 candidates). As a result, no women were elected as senator or governor. Out of the elected 290 elected National Assembly members, just 5.5 percent are women. For the 1,450 ward representatives positions only 88 (6 percent) of the elected candidates were women. Political representation of Kenyan women now stands at 15 percent versus Rwanda's 56 percent, South Africa's 42 percent, Tanzania's 36 percent and Uganda's 35 percent. Kenya's 15 percent is an improvement from the previous 9.8 percent representation in the 10th Parliament and the increased numbers can be greatly attributed to the reserved seats for the 47 Women Representatives. Although the current representation is the highest level so far of women

political leadership in Kenya, it is still very poor showing in this day and age where women's political participation has generally improved around the world

1.2 Statement of the problem

In Kenya, women constitute slightly over half of the total population and form a critical portion of enhancing democratization of political system in the country. However, available data indicates that they are inadequately represented in political positions in the government. The possible explanation for this scenario could be that gender issues in electoral politics have not received due attention and redress. This gives their male counterparts a head start. Women are always relegated to the peripheries of political leadership. Burdened with guilt, women are doubly marginalized first because they are women and secondly because they are politicians. Frequently, political information is withheld from women. For instance, in the 2002 general elections many women aspirants were locked out at the nomination stage. 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 (Kasomo, 2012).

From statistics presented on the Kenyan 2013 general election's results, only 16 women leaders were elected as Members of Parliament (MPs) out of 290 seats accounting for 5.52% (Godia, 2013). The political parties to the national assembly have nominated another five women. The senate has no elected woman except the 16 women nominated plus another two, one youth and one disabled also joining them. All the 47 governors are men as per the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission's (IEBC) final list (Godia, 2013).

The situation is worse in Nairobi County where only 5 women were elected on 4th March 2013 during the Kenya's General election. Out of the 85 wards in Nairobi County, women were elected only in four wards women but the assembly has more than 39 female nominated representatives. The common factors that limit women participation in political leadership are culture, poverty and patriarchal structures.

In conclusion therefore, the above synopsis of the problem creates a ground for investigating women's participation in politics in Kenya with a specific reference to Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Participation of women in politics can promote women's ability to negotiate and influence policy in favour of women and possibly children's needs thus reducing poverty.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objectives

The main objective of this study was to establish the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics with a specific reference to Nairobi and Kajiado counties in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. To examine the nature of the political culture in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties
- ii. To analyze the influence of political culture on women participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties.
- iii. To evaluate the challenges facing women in the participation of politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What is the nature of the political culture in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties?
- ii. What is the influence of political culture on women participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties?
- iii. What are the challenges facing women in the participation of politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This research was justified on the basis that many studies done on women's level of participation in politics have tended to neglect the role played by women's politics in Kenya, especially in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Nairobi County is a cosmopolitan county with different ethnic groups of women in political leadership. Kajiado County is known to uphold traditional beliefs that suppress the freedom of women.

Duverger (1955); Jaquette (1974); Afshar (1996); Yiapan (2002) have analyzed women's participation in politics with emphasis on efforts of individual women's participation and contribution in national politics. The proliferation of women participation in politics should be seen as an avenue for women participation in society. This study goes beyond the individual analysis of women roles and contributions to probe women participation in politics in Kenya. The study is academically justified on the basis that current conceptual and empirical studies have not adequately captured the women participation, while international literature tends to focus on the overall participation in politics. For instance, Pala *et al* (1978); Kariuki (1985); Chafe (1972); Mbeo (1989) have highlighted how women's organizations have been instrumental in improving women's participation in economic development in the country.

However, on the political front there is a paucity of literature on women's participation in politics.

Findings of this study are expected to help build on the literature available and add knowledge on the women's political participation in Kenya. The study aims to fill the gaps in the contemporary literature (which has presented the subject of women participation from a general perspective) by specifically focusing on women's participation in politics in Kenya. Many organizations have emerged to embrace women issues with the re-introduction of multi-party. The studies inquire into the link between the two, and the ultimate benefit that accrues to women. To this extent, it will add new information to the existing literature for academic purposes.

Women's organizations are expected to play a critical role in encouraging and preparing women for participation in national politics in Kenya. As avenues for promoting women participation, these organizations can ultimately help in the realization of the vision of gender parity in national development. In spite of the fact that they are the majority, women continue to form a minority amongst elected MPs of the Kenyan parliament (Collaborative Center for Gender and Development, 2002). Since independence, women's representation in national legislative politics has been minimal. Women have never occupied more than 4 % of the seats in parliament. 16 In the East African region, Kenya is way behind its neighbors (Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively) in terms of women representation in National Parliament (Bowman, Grant, & Kuenyehia, 2003). It is important for Kenya to catch up with the other partners in the East African Community. The findings of this research are expected to suggest concrete policy recommendations to transform these exclusive trends and patterns in the political culture.

1.6 Scope of the study

This study covered the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado counties in Kenya. The researcher chose Nairobi County because it is a cosmopolitan County with different tribes of women in political leadership. Kajiado County is a region that consists of Maasai people, who have had a history of denying women leadership positions, as men won almost all the elective positions. Some of the regions in Kajiado that are neighbouring Nairobi county are also cosmopolitan. These include areas like Kitengela, Ngong and Kiserian.

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1.7 Limitations of the Study

The researcher faced the challenge of insufficient literature, as there was paucity of information concerning the relationship between political culture and women participation of women in politics in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. The researcher also faced documentation challenges in terms of putting together the available information. The study also faced the challenge of unresponsive of research participants, as some respondents were not willing to give information or provided inconsistent information because of confidentiality concerns. The researcher therefore had to engage the aides of politicians as an approach to understanding the protocol of collecting information, which was valuable in forming the basis of this research. The researcher also had to conduct the research over a large population to try and reduce some of the limitations. By doing this the researcher got a varied sampling population and thus more accurate representation of the research participants.

1.8 Summary

Chapter 1 detailed the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, justification of the study, and the scope of the study. The chapter looked at the nexus between political culture and women participation in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties justifying why a comparative analysis was necessary to bring out the outstanding differences in women participation in politics. For instance, in Kajiado, cultural barrier is so prominent among the Masai community while Nairobi County is a cosmopolitan city where the members of the community have diverse cultural backgrounds. These differences in cultural, economic and political cultures will be reviewed in the next chapter. Chapter 2 reviewed the existing literature on the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the related literature on the subject under study presented by various scholars, researchers, and authors. The following literature was reviewed: concept of political participation, the nature of political culture globally, regional, and in Nairobi city and Kajiado counties, the support given by civil groups to women aspirants, influence of political culture on women participation in politics, political parties as determinants of political culture, political culture and the existing legal and regulatory frameworks and the challenges women face in political participation which includes cultural, economic and political barriers. Lastly the chapter ends with a conceptual framework where theories that guide the study are discussed. These theories are social network, postmodern and political development theories. A conceptual framework model and its explanation are also presented.

2.2 Concept of political participation

Political participation refers to political engagement or public involvement in decision-making. Riley *et al.* (2010) define political participation as an “engagement with traditional mechanisms in the political system, such as voting in elections and joining political organizations. According to Huntington and Nelson (1976), political participation is an “activity, which is designed by private citizens to influence government decision-making. Political participation therefore encompasses a set of rights and duties that involve formally organized civic and political activities like voting or political party membership (Munroe, 2002). Other scholars have defined political participation in terms of the degree to which a state’s population exercises their right to engage in political activities, such as protests, free speech, and voting, influencing or other form

of involvement. Thus, political participation involves activities and exercises of a political nature within conventional norms, which vary greatly from country to country, and from time to time.

Political participation consists of activities that aim at influencing the structure of a government, the appointment of leaders and the policies they execute. These activities can have the goal of supporting the existing structures and politics or changing them and include active and passive actions, collective or individual, legal or illegal, support or pressure actions. One or several persons could try to influence the type of government in a society; how the state is led, or how specific government's decisions affecting a community or their individual members are made (Conway, 2000). Different studies on political participation have confirmed that women have been less politically engaged than men in many established democracies have.

Political participation is influenced by a number of factors; in fact, Vecchione and Caprara (2009) found that gender, education and age are significant factors affecting participation levels. As a determinant of political involvement, it has been argued that many of the young people may feel isolated and even excluded from the political system, which tends to be 'self-reproduced and often self-serving.' According to Lister (2007), these sentiments arise since young people are often considered to be immature and financially dependent on their parents, so they are not often treated as equal members of the planning process and power arrangements. Briggs (2008) and Henn et al. (2005) differ and argue that there is a steadily increasing body of research suggesting that young people are not generally "disengaged" from politics, but instead that they have a critical attitude towards institutional politics.

2.3 The Nature of the Political Culture

Lyons (2006) observes that Ireland presents a unique case for the study of political culture, identity and globalization. This small open economy experienced a remarkable rate of economic progress throughout most of the 1990's earning itself the title of "Celtic tiger". However, in very few other countries, major public institutions have been questioned with such intensity in prolonged judicial investigations accompanied by almost daily media coverage since 1997. One could argue that within Europe only in post-communist states there has been a similar degree of 'self-reflection' of the body politic in the last decade. However, the common experience of post-communist states has been simultaneous economic depression, whereas in Ireland there has been an unprecedented economic boom.

Anthony (1980) analyzed Egyptian political culture and the directive effect, which it has upon political development, elite recruitment and the nature of political participation. The study findings established that the pervasive nature of Islam and the centrality of kinship remain is the basic factors in determining the nature of political participation in Egypt is non-institutional and personalist politics. Despite the forces of modernization, political influence in Egypt rests with the traditional leadership of the rural elite and their urban family linkages. As such, a major threat to the regime's internal stability would not likely arise without the support of traditional rural elites, whose interests are strongly represented in the military. The masses are likely to resort to extra-legal activities only when fundamental values are threatened. This is in tandem with modernization theory, which looks at the internal factors of a country while assuming that with assistance, "traditional" countries can be brought to development in the same manner more developed countries have been.

Kirton, Anatol, and Braithwaite (2010) conducted a study on the Political Culture in Trinidad and Tobago and the citizenry unconditionally accepts procedures. The findings from the study established that Trinidad and Tobago has traditionally been one of the states that have exhibited consistent commitment to the values of democracy and, apart from one attempt at extra-constitutional takeover of power in 1990, can be seen as a shining example of a stable democratic state. The survey clearly indicated that democracy is considered as the only legitimate form of government for Trinidad and Tobago and the existing constitutional mechanisms.

Bengtsson (2006) observed that Women are a major force behind people's participation in politics in Tanzania. Not only do they comprise the majority in terms of population, but they also play a crucial role in society as procreators of posterity as well as producers of goods and services. Although, women have made great strides forward in obtaining a vote and right to be elected to political offices in many countries, they comprise less than 15 per cent of the Members of Parliament, and less than 5 per cent of heads of state worldwide. They hold only a fraction of other leadership positions nationally and internationally.

In Kenya, traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people uphold cultural practices, which enhance the subordination of women. Consequently, men continue to dominate women in political, economic, social, and religious realms. The latter's political endeavors, achievements, and roles in society are hardly recognized or acknowledged. This situation has necessitated the clarion call that women should be empowered by giving them due status, rights, and responsibilities to enable them participate actively in decision making at the political level (Kamungi, 2009).

Diamond (1994) contended that a society's political culture and development is an important component that can affect the formulation of public opinion. Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs, and sentiments, which give order, and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity.

Political culture, as argued by Dickovick (2013), is manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. It is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system, and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experiences. It is seen as a natural evolution in the growth of the behavioral approaching political analysis, for it represents an attempt to apply to problems of aggregate or systemic analysis the kinds of insights and knowledge, which are developed by studying the political behavior of individuals and small groups. On the other hand, there are two characteristics of political development. The first is that development is synonymous with modernization, thus political development can be defined as political modernization. The second is that there are many criteria to measure political development because modernization and development are such broad topics, covering many areas (Kanyingi, 2014).

Huntington (1965) argues that there are four generally agreed upon criteria to determine political development. The first is rationalization, which involves the movement from particularism to universalism, or, from a political standpoint, a focus on functional differentiation and achievement criteria. The second criterion is building as a key aspect of political development. The third criterion is a focus on democratization, which is in essence a focus on competition and equalization of power. The final criteria are mobilization, which is a focus on political

participation. The greater the development, the greater the modernization, are nationalism, and national integration. This emphasizes nation-states and nation and mobilization. This leads to greater political participation. Ultimately, political development can be defined as an increase in national political unity and an increase in political participation.

2.3.1 The Nature of the Political Culture in Nairobi County

In a study conducted by Women's Empowerment Link (2013) observed that women aspirants in Nairobi noted that the political parties had legislation and would get through that legislation finances to support the aspirants and they hoped that the fund would benefit them. However, the women were not sure how much their parties would receive and how it would be distributed. Nevertheless, they felt that the only assured seat for young women in parliament is that of the women representative. They however still felt that few young women would be able to marshal enough support and overcome the other barriers to their participation in electoral politics like finances, insecurity, motherhood, political patronage, cultural stereotypes and propaganda. Further, it was lost to most that the preferred nomination for youth is not restricted to a female as the constitution uses the youth category in a gender neutral way which could easily enable male to dominate in the nomination. Some of the strategies have included the inception of several development projects targeting women such as the Women Enterprise Fund started in 2006 to improve women's financial status and the Youth Enterprise Fund, which benefits young women. Other notable measures mentioned by the respondents include access to low interest bank loans and other women-specific tailored loans. Using these funds, women are expected to start income generating projects (Women Empowerment Link, 2013).

The Government sponsored free primary and tuition-free secondary education were considered to have enabled young women to access education and become politically active. Besides, other

respondents commended the Constituency Development Fund (CDF) programme that has aided more women to go through education and educate their children. Through CDF funded projects, some women have gained employment and in the process also gained exposure on participating in policymaking, mobilization and political leadership. Respondents from the media industry interviewed in the study noted that the media shaped public opinion and a could 'make' or 'break' the political ambitions of an individual.

Sharda (2014) conducted a study and examined underlying factors behind media reporting and how they portrayed young women in politics. It was found that media reporting of women's activities is guided by two main factors: the socialization of the journalists and the attitudes of the editorial and other senior managers. The journalists carry with them the same gender stereotypes, which affect their reporting on what is (and is not) news. These stereotypes permeated both female and male reporters who generally view women's political activities as not newsworthy and therefore making them invisible in the public scene.

Kumar (2008) argued that media could effectively shape public opinion, influence personal beliefs and even alter people's self-perceptions. Ideologies, thought processes and the methods of socializations are greatly influenced by the media. It is time that media becomes highly sensitive to gender issues. There is no doubt that the stereotypical portrayal of women and minorities in India could help to reinforce cultural stereotypes rather than stimulate new thinking about the roles in Society.

The low participation of women in elective positions affects their progress in improving the legal and regulatory framework for promoting gender equality since very few women are influencing the legislative process in the County of Nairobi. The rationale for promoting women's

participation in political dispensation is based on equity, quality and development. Given the nominally higher population of women, it is only right for them to equally participate in political decisions on matters affecting them. Several obstacles have been identified that generally prevent women from advancing to political spheres (Ahmed & Arahial, 2013). Adhiambo-Oduol (2003) identifies socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes, biases and stereotypes as major barriers. These emphasize the superiority of men and the inferiority of women. They form the integral part of socialization process in form of gender education and training that men and women are exposed to from childhood.

Another formidable barrier is the institutional framework guiding gender division of labour, recruitment, and vertical mobility (Nzomo, 2013). Current estimates show that women are particularly disadvantaged with their labour often under-valued and under-utilized. Women in the County of Nairobi are more likely to be employed than men, yet their average income is lower. Yet another obstacle confronting women is lack of enough participation and empowerment in decisions that affect their lives in political and social processes. Olojede (1990) infers that since men dominate public decision-making processes, it is the male values that are reflected in the decision-making bodies. The County of Nairobi development record and its demographic composition suggest a need for active involvement of women in key decision-making bodies (Nairobi County Integrated Development Plan, 2014). There is a clear indication that even though women form the majority voters in the County of Nairobi, they are still under-represented in leadership positions. Women's participation in electoral politics since Kenya's independence in 1963 has been limited to providing support to male politicians. With the new

political dispensation in Kenya, there is a greater need for equal gender participation in acquisition and exercise of political powers (Cheeseman, Lynch & Willis, 2016).

2.3.2 The Nature of the Political Culture in Kajiado County

Kasomo (2012) observed that political information is withheld from women in the County of Kajiado and indeed the larger Maasai community. For instance, in the 2013 general elections many women aspirants were locked out at the nomination stage. In their public and private lives, women in the County of Kajiado have to struggle to articulate their desires and to find their own voices. For a long time, women in the County of Kajiado have been seen as extensions of men, as people who cannot politically stand on their own, but have to be propped by men. While a few researchers have in recent past began to document on women's participation in management positions in Kenya, such documentation has not focused on factors that affect women's participation in electoral politics.

The traditional female/male roles are deeply ingrained and glorified in the County of Kajiado, in education, the mass media, and advertising. The society's perception of women is for the most part negative with the best women as mothers, and their capabilities and capacities going virtually unnoticed (Obura, 1991). Such sex stereotypes and social prejudices are inappropriate in the present society where female/male roles and male-headed families are no longer the norm. According to the United Nations (2000), sex stereotypes are among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination, and are largely responsible for the denigration of the role and potential of women in society.

The subordinate position of women in the County of Kajiado seems to legitimize their exclusion from participation in political and decision-making processes. Many stories depict women as disloyal, disagreeable, untrustworthy, stupid, and even gullible (Kabira & Nzioki, 1995). Even today women continue to be left out of official records and when recognized, they are addressed as those who need welfare assistance rather than actors in the historical process. The heavy underrepresentation of women in political life and most decision-making processes in Kajiado County needs to be closely investigated. Karl (2001) explores some of the factors affecting political participation of women in the County of Kajiado. Among the factors she cites include: house-hold status; work related rights (maternity leave, job security, provision of child-care); employment and remuneration; double burden of work; education and literacy; access to financial resources; legal rights; traditions, cultural attitudes and religion; socialization and self-reliance; violence against women; the mass media; health; ability to control fertility.

2.3.3 Support Given By Civil Groups to Women Aspirants

Arriola and Johnson (2014) observe that every country deserves to have the best possible leader and that means that women have to be given a chance to compete. If they are never allowed to compete in the electoral process then the countries are really robbing themselves of a great deal of talent. For instance, National Democratic Institute has been providing essential support to women aspirants with information with regard to politics. Women around the world often face daunting social, economic and political challenges. For democratic governments to deliver to their constituents, they must be truly representative, and National Democratic Institute recognizes that women must be equal partners in the process of democratic development. As activists, elected officials and constituents, their contributions are crucial to building a strong and vibrant society.

Paxton and Hughes (2016) point out that it is essential to support women around the world because Women are highly committed to promoting national and local policies that address the socio-economic and political challenges facing women, children and disadvantaged groups. In addition, women are particularly effective in promoting honest government. Countries where women are supported as leaders and at the ballot box have a correspondingly low level of corruption. Women are strongly committed to peace building, as they often disproportionately suffer the consequences of armed conflict. Reconstruction and reconciliation efforts take root more quickly and are more sustainable when women are involved. By helping women become participating members of a democracy, one can look to mitigate conflicts or stop conflicts before they begin. Women are strongly linked to positive developments in education, infrastructure and health standards at the local level. Where rates of gender development and empowerment are higher, human rates of development and standards of living are also higher.

Ballington and Matland (2004) suggest that an argument that is sometimes used by political parties is that there are not enough women willing to stand for election as they lack experience and confidence to stand, which may be true to some extent. Post-conflict states are influenced by the regime that precedes it in highly militarized or authoritarian regimes such as those that existed in Latin America, few women held office and there were sometimes few mobilized women. Regimes may suppress the conventional political sphere, often banning activities of trade unions, political parties and civil society movements. In extreme cases, women are deprived of their most basic human rights, as witnessed in Afghanistan. High illiteracy rates among women only fuel arguments about their lack of qualifications.

However, in most regimes social movements do emerge, creating the space for the mass mobilization of women in civil society and within political organizations. Where women have been active in mobilizing against the regime, there is often a greater pool of candidates to take up political positions (Ballington, 2012). Chesoni, Muigai and Kanyinga (2006) contended that the number of potential women candidates has been greatly increased by the presence of the women's movements, and national and international organizations that have been involved in encouraging, preparing and training women for election. Although it is because of gender stereotyping that women often have high levels of occupational presence in the health and education sectors, this has allowed women to demonstrate their competences and skills with a select few making the transition into the political system.

Women are sometimes deterred from politics by the 'masculine model' of politics and the competitive and confrontational environment. In Kajiado County, public opinion is patriarchal in its view of the proper role of women, and these views may affect are likely to lead to diminished political ambition on the part of women. Almond and Verba (2015) argued that further deterrent is that many women find that the parliamentary work schedule is difficult to balance with demands of family life and sometimes full time careers, often referred to as the double or triple burden. In the post conflict situation in Rwanda, many women have been widowed because of the conflict leaving women as primary caretakers and breadwinners of the family. Combining these tasks with a political career is unimaginable for many women. The author focused on the general Maasai stereotypes, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its influence on women participation in politics.

National Democratic Institute has supported Kenyan efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and advance democratic reforms since 1993. Programs initially provided skills training to women interested in politics and worked with nonpartisan civic groups to monitor elections. Since 2001, National Democratic Institute and its local partners have benefitted from the support of various donors, including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Kingdom of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Nations Development Program, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the British Department for International Development (DFID), and the British Foreign Office (Ballington & Matland, 2004).

National Democratic Institute is providing assistance to domestic civil society organizations and to political parties to encourage compliance with the new constitution and enhance participation of these traditionally marginalized groups. National Democratic Institute supported the formation of the Inter-Party Youth Forum (IPYF) in 2009 to provide a platform for Kenyan youth to promote constructive engagement in politics and reject violence. IPYF is the first organization of its kind, bringing together youth representatives from all major political parties, and enjoying the strong support and encouragement of party leadership. With National Democratic Institute assistance, IPYF has created a secretariat at the national level, conducted outreach activities reaching thousands of youth across the country, and launched IPYF branches in 20 counties. National Democratic Institute has ongoing programming to strengthen women's political participation in electoral and political processes. Prior to the 2013 elections, the Institute created a NDI Leadership and Campaign Academy (LCA) to equip potential candidates with the necessary knowledge and skills to run successful campaigns and become strong leaders once elected (Ballington & Matland, 2004).

National Democratic Institute trained 1,688 potential candidates, including more than 700 women. On Election Day, 50 LCA graduates were elected into office in Kenya. Since 1985, NDI has organized innovative and targeted programs across the globe to increase the number, effectiveness and popular support of women civic leaders, voters, candidates, political party representatives and elected leaders in the belief that as more women become politically involved, institutions will become more responsive to the needs of all citizens (Resnick, 2013).

Chesoni, Muigai, and Kanyinga (2006) observe that in 2003, an evaluation of the Swedish Government's support to civil society in Kenya indicated the need to identify strategic partners that had relevant experience and knowledge that could efficiently administer and technically backstop Swedish funding. The evaluation argued that the Swedish Embassy did not have the human resource capacity to backstop grant making in the women political participation sector in an adequate manner. Sida therefore shifted from a direct funding arrangement with most of its Kenyan implementing partners to a re-granting indirect funding arrangement. The authors concentrated on the role of the civil society/groups in enhancing women participation in politics, while this study endeavored to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

Promoting Women's political participation in Democratic Governance program is relevant, timely and firmly grounded within Kenya's political, social and economic context. The country has the lowest incidence of women's representation in an Eastern African Parliament 8.1% of Kenya's Parliament is female as compared to 28% of Tanzania's and a whopping 48% of

Rwanda's Parliament (the highest such ratio in the world). In fact, 6% of Kenya's Cabinet is female as compared to 24% of Tanzania's (Chesoni, Muigai & Kanyinga, 2006).

2.4 Influence of Political Culture on Women Participation in politics

Fund (2011) argued based on a survey conducted by the Ukrainian Women's Fund among political parties represented in the Ukrainian Parliament that political parties declare equal rights and opportunities for women and men as well as no internal discrimination of women. On the other hand, they account for the absence of women in their structures with the argument that preference is given to the most professional and competitive candidates, who, they say, are men. In addition, the majority of surveyed political parties indicated nearly no interest in targeted training, increased participation or empowerment of women in their structures or activities. (Fund, 2011) argued from political parties perspective, while the current sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

Castillejo (2009) observes that Sierra Leone presents an interesting case of both the opportunities and challenges in strengthening women's political participation in contexts of post-conflict state building. While the country has made significant progress in recovering from a devastating conflict and re-building the state, it remains at the bottom of the Human Development Index. Moreover, Sierra Leone has extremely high levels of gender inequality and comes last in the 2007/2008 UNDP's Gender Development Related Index and third from last in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's Social Institutions and Gender Index, which measures gender equality. The author argued from the perspective of influence of economic factors on women participation in politics, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

Kadaga (2013) points out that Patriarchal thought in particular limits opportunities for women participation in Uganda, especially in the political sphere where patriarchy deems subordinate and unsuitable for positions of leadership. An egalitarian culture fosters women's involvement in electoral politics, but hierarchical culture impedes it. How favorably or unfavorably the society views women's involvement in politics depends on where its culture lies in the egalitarian-hierarchical cultural spectrum. Women experience greater obstacles toward political office in societies where traditional attitudes reign, but modernization, value changes and the fading of cultural barriers, results in younger generations of women in post-industrial societies experiencing less resistance to entering political offices.

2.4.1 Political Parties as Determinants of Political Culture

Jonyo (2013) observed that political parties that practice internal democracy and have transparent nomination procedures offer the best prospects for women to emerge as candidates. In order to ensure more balanced representation, political parties in with presence in Nairobi and Kajido counties have adopted voluntary targets or quotas specifying a minimum number or proportion of women on their candidate lists, and may even alternate women and men on the lists. However, statistics in the county of Kajiado show that political parties do not give equal chances to women as men for the fear of reprisal from male voters who may end up rejecting women in the ballot as much as this is a legal requirement. For instance, in the county of Nairobi and Kajiado, no woman was given a ticket to contest for the gubernatorial or senatorial position from a major political party such as Orange Democratic Movement or The National Alliance.

The most common route to elected office is through political parties. Most candidates depend on parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support, and help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after their election. While some

candidates run for office independently of political parties, it is far more difficult to win election without the backing of a political organization, especially at the national level. Hence, women seeking an entrée into politics must usually turn to political parties. Political parties vary greatly in the extent to which they seek to promote women into leadership positions and to recruit women as party candidates, as well as in the extent to which they address political, economic and social issues of special concern to women. Since political parties often tend to be more open to nominating women as candidates for local elections, women may find it easier to start at this level and use it as a stepping-stone to national office (Jonyo, 2013).

Political parties in Kenya are not strongly founded on ideologies or philosophy but revolve around interests of personalities; ending up serving the personality ambitions to win elections and capture state power. In most cases political parties do not adhere to their structural formation and operational procedures. This is exemplified in the emergency of new political parties with every election indicating no permanent systems, but interests. This leaves political parties with weak democratic and governance culture, which often works against gender inclusivity (CMD-Kenya, 2017). In Kenya, the most prevalent method of candidate selection is through the party primary system where registered party members determine who gets the party ticket. In pursuit of democracy, political parties have transitioned from the delegate system of candidate selection to the primaries system. It is however, not unheard of the political party elite to select candidates. In practice, it is often a combination of a number of these methods, depending on the party's nomination rules.

For the most part since parties shoulders the financial requirements for the primaries to take place, there are numbers of inadequacies that cause parties not to reach the standards required for credible primaries. In 2013 General Elections, only 28% of political parties invited the

Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to be part of their nomination process while 72 % did not. Of the 28 % that did majority had IEBC perform a supervisory role while only 6 % assisted party officials in conducting the nomination exercise (Ibid). Also the political parties hardly verify voting members using official membership registers. This leads to abuse of the process, for instance, through candidates verifying votes from other parties to increase their likelihood of clinching the party ticket. It also leads to a situation where opposing parties send their members to participate in the exercise of their opponents to ensure that the party ticket goes to a candidate that is weaker than theirs. Lack of controls at this level makes it difficult to identify and ascertain members of political parties and some voters are able to participate in nominations of more than one party. It is also not uncommon for political aspirants to decamp for their main parties due to fear of perceived candidate preferences particularly in the party strongholds. This was observed in the last election of 2013 where candidates were unfairly granted the nomination ticket, the fallout led to these aspirants moving to smaller parties. In connection to this, vote buying and ballot stuffing during the party primaries claims create an unequal competition ground for the candidates (CMD-Kenya).

In terms of political party laws, Kenya has laws regulating how political parties must be organized and registered and dictating how they must operate. The operational provisions of the political party law can be extremely important in establishing the framework for women's political participation (Jonyo, 2013). For example, if parties are required to practice internal democracy and employ transparent nomination procedures through primary elections, all-party caucuses, locally based candidate selection or similar options, women will generally have a better chance of emerging as candidates; however, this has not been the case in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties where the major political parties deny women the opportunity to make it to the

final poll by denying them party tickets in favor of men. In contrast, highly centralized parties that are tightly controlled by a few leaders or organized around well-known personalities usually men may be much less receptive to selecting substantial numbers of women as candidates (Nzomo, 2011).

Jonyo (2013) argued that political party laws might include provisions aimed specifically at enhancing women's political participation. For example, they may require parties to affirm their position on gender equality in the party constitution. They may mandate that party management and party policy committees be gender balanced. Political party laws, or in some cases election laws, may require a gender balance in candidate lists as well. Alternatively, laws may offer parties incentives such as more free broadcast time or additional public funding if they include certain numbers of women among their candidates. New laws are often introduced in post-conflict countries, providing an ideal opportunity to incorporate these and other provisions aimed at ensuring equal political participation for women. The author focused on the influence of political parties, on women participation in politics, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

Mungai (2014) argued that many other laws could have a bearing on women's participation in the electoral process. Since political parties play an enormous role in selecting candidates and setting the political agenda for election campaigns, national laws on political parties are often central to women's participation. Women will enjoy greater opportunities if a country's laws stipulate that the internal functioning of political parties must be transparent and democratic than if party operations are highly centralized and controlled by a few party leaders. Campaign finance laws can assist or disadvantage women, depending on their provisions. Ballington and Matland (2004) pointed out that laws relating to freedom of expression, assembly and

association, as well as laws on personal status, the family, citizenship and other such issues could also influence women's political participation. For example, discriminatory citizenship laws may prevent women but not men from passing on their nationality to their children, thus depriving them of the right to vote once they reach the age of majority. Ballington and Matland (2004); Mungai (2014) argued from a micro-perspective of the influence of existing laws on women participation in politics, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

Kenya women politicians as well as those working in civil society have to date been generally unsuccessful in shaping or setting the agenda in political Parties (Jonyo, 2013). Parties have historically been highly gendered institutions with male gatekeepers that incorporate women into party structures on a different basis from men. Although women play important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their Parties, rarely do they occupy strategic decision-making positions in Party structures or benefit from political parties resources for conducting election campaigns (Jonyo, 2013). The selection and nomination processes within political parties also tend to be biased against women in that male traits are emphasized and often become the criteria for selecting candidates. Lack of internal democracy, undemocratic membership recruitment and absence of substantive elections in leader's recruitment, has been the rule rather than the exception. This democratic deficit within political Parties, has limited the recruitment and ascendancy of women to top positions in Party hierarchies (Nzomo, 2011). This in turn limited women's political exposure and visibility, thus denying them strategic political leverage for party nominations during national elections. Violence against women candidates and their supporters is a matter that cannot be left unsaid as a key characteristic that plagues the nomination process in our political parties.

The violence often ranges from societal, familial, economic and political threats that come in the form of harassment, intimidation and physical and sexual abuse, and it should be noted that for every reported case of violence there are dozens others that remain unreported (Mungai, 2014). In the last election, it was not unheard of for a female candidate to clinch the nomination ticket and to have it taken from her through violent measures (Jonjo, 2013). This serves as a deterrent for the women who are actually willing to present themselves for political office and also acts as an unmoving stumbling block that only prevents transparency and accountability within party structures. Without deliberate strides to correct this, gender equity in political representation will remain a notion, actualized on paper and not in practice. In 2013 General Elections, the parties, to vie for the Gubernatorial Seat and 7 % for the Senator's Seat, cleared only 3 % of women and this translated to 0 % representation of women at this level of leadership. Equally, 6 % of women were cleared to vie for the Members of National Assembly (MNA) and Members of County Assembly (MCA) seats respectively and in the end 6 % of women clinched these seats (Jonjo, 2013). This may change under the new constitutional dispensation and legislations that seek to democratize and engender Parties and other governance institutions. Women now have an opportunity to use this legal mechanism to demand inclusion, engagement in and democratization of party decision-making structures and processes.

Centre for multiparty democracy's engendering of political parties program targets women in political parties and through them, all other women in the country through civic education and candidates' training programs. Centre for multiparty democracy also plays an important bridging role; mediating between political parties and other civil society organizations on gender issues

pertaining to women's access, representation and influence in political parties, parliament and other political decision-making institutions (Nzomo, 2011).

2.4.2 Political Culture and the existing legal and Regulatory frameworks

Githinji (2015) observes that women participate in politics not only by voting, but also by becoming advocates, activists, political party members and candidates. Political parties often control decisions about who will be nominated to run for office, what positions candidates will be given on party lists, and who will receive support during the campaign and after the election. Other structural challenges like cosmetic application of policy and legislative frameworks for promoting gender equality and women's political empowerment contributes to poor participation of women in politics. Affirmative action for gender equality provisions are listed in political party constitutions, manifestos and election regulations and procedures merely as a requirement or obligation and hardly as a commitment to the core values or the strategic objective. The political parties lack the goodwill to implement existing legal frameworks, for instance, the two-third rule on gender equity. They share internal party leadership positions without regard to gender equity. The author focused on how women can leverage laws and policies to achieve better participation in politics, while the current study pursued to establish the influence of political culture on women participation in politics.

The role of political parties is therefore critical in determining the prospects for women aspiring in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Political parties may also determine the extent to which issues of special concern to women become part of the national political debate and are given serious consideration in the work of the legislature. Kenya has undergone significant political changes in its history, including large- scale decentralization. This devolution of power from the central government to the counties and down to other grass root levels has come with large scale

institutional and regulatory policy changes, and combined with parallel judicial systems, creates a complex environment in which women must and their way into and around. Willis (2015) contends that Kenya is committed to the principle of gender equality through numerous national and international commitments.

Kenya's new constitution guarantees equality between men and women and gender mainstreaming has been adopted as a policy to integrate gender perspectives into policy, planning and budgeting in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Affirmative action has also been introduced in the Law on General Elections to ensure that at least 30 percent women are nominated on the list of parliamentary candidates to address the gender deficit in the politics of the country. For instance, the seat of women representative is preserved only for women candidates as a means of realizing the two-thirds gender rule. While women in the County of Kajiado actively contribute to the national and household economy through their productive and reproductive labor, they are still excluded from many decision-making structures and processes at the family, community and at the county level because the county of Kajiado is immensely a patriarchal society. In Kajiado County, women's lack of representation in decision-making positions in the county has led to the development of economic and social policies that privilege men's perspectives and interests, along with the investment of national resources in their favor.

In support of the government's effort towards greater participation of women in public life, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has initiated a project entitled "Women's Participation in Politics and Government." The project has several components, including an opinion poll on perceptions regarding women's social, economic and political participation, the collection and analysis of data on women's participation in politics and government and a series

of workshops and roundtable discussions with relevant stakeholders. The Constitution of Kenya places no restrictions on the political participation and representation of women. The involvement of women in public life has been increasing, however their participation and representation in the national and county legislatures and across government institutions is still low. Muna, Stanton and Mwau (2014) infer that women's movement in Nairobi has an active engagement in politics; however, there has been a gap in women's political participation and representation in formal political structures such as holding critical party positions. While political parties are intended to articulate the interests of society, male domination and an entrenched patriarchal mindset of the leadership of political parties in Kajiado County is one of the key detrimental factors against women entering politics and influencing the political agenda of the parties.

The United Nations recognizes the need to protect and promote the right of women to participate in the electoral process, particularly in post-conflict countries. It is important to keep in mind, however, that electoral rights mean much more than simply the right to vote. Freedom of expression, assembly and association, and the freedom to take part in the conduct of public affairs, hold public office at all levels of Government, and participate in the formulation of government policy are subsumed under this heading as well. United Nations international human rights instruments affirm that women are entitled to enjoy all these rights and freedoms on the same basis as men. Women's equal participation is therefore essential to the conduct of democratic elections. At the practical level, an election fails to comply with international obligations and standards unless the opportunity for full and equal participation by women is provided. For elections to be truly free and fair, women must have the same opportunities as men to participate in all aspects of the electoral process. Women should have an equal chance to serve at all levels within local and national election management bodies. Women should be engaged on

an equal basis as election monitors or observers. Women should be able to participate fully in all aspects of political party operations. Women candidates and issues of special concern to women should be given fair and equal treatment in the media. Focusing on areas of the greatest potential impact can help ensure that women's participation in the electoral process is more than a pro forma exercise, and that free and fair elections fulfill their potential for contributing to the advancement of women, particularly in post-conflict situations (Mukhongo, 2015).

2.5 Challenges Women Face in Political Participation

Sharma (2014) Observes that gender politics frames the current debate on women's role and position in Pakistani society. Women in Pakistan are in incredibly grim situation due to lack of economic opportunities, denial of access to education and health and under representation in politics and decision-making. Traditional conservative norms of female subservience are compounded by a multitude of special interest groups including Tribalists and Tahreek-eTaliban Pakistan who arguably present the giant threat to the women empowerment of Pakistani women on the grounds of deeply ingrained patriarchal mentality. However, despite the numerous efforts of women's groups like NGOs, WAF, APWA, PAWLA and more on, women status has been socially and politically remained excluded. The study by Sharma (2014) was undertaken in a different setup from the current study; in fact, the present study is comparative in nature, while Sharma (2014) examined homogenous entities to delineate women participation in politics, while the current study concentrated on influence of political culture on women participation in politics.

Ahmed and Arahial (2013) observed that the challenges facing the Jordanian women are not isolated from any experience of other Arab. In fact, it is an experience that lacks the maturity and

stability and the weakness of the role of women in the performance of political parties and even join them and the weakness of civil society organizations and their inability to compete with men in the elections at the national level and local not being able to access their full rights and this relative absence is not due to legal obstacles either constructivism obstacles and cultural. Despite reforms and political transformations that have taken place in Jordan during the past period of time is that the chances of women in politics were specific failed in the elections despite the presence of many citizens of liberal trends.

Kassa (2015) conducted a study on challenges and opportunities of women political participation in Ethiopia. The findings of the study established that Fifty percent of the Ethiopian population comprises of women. They are actively involved in all aspects of their society's life. However, women's share of the division of labor differs from place to place and from culture to culture; their average working day is believed to vary between 13 and 17 hours per day. Their status is low where they: (a) are generally poorer than men because they earn less; (b) are less educated; (c) are increasingly becoming heads of households, with no resources to support their dependents; (d) do not enjoy due acknowledgment for their labour contribution, particularly in agriculture, and (e) do not have decision making power. Ethiopia is a patriarchal society that keeps women at a subordinate position, using religion and culture as an excuse. These excuses have for many years, supported by laws and legislation that uphold patriarchy and women's subordination. This has brought about and maintained disparities between men and women, in division of labour, share of benefits, in law and state, in how households are organized, and how these are interrelated

Semakafu (2014) conducted a study on the challenges that women face in their endeavor to participate in the political process. The findings of the study established that inaccessibility to

education, food, shelter and self-determination by women due to poverty, culture and other reasons, is a source of violation of their democratic rights to equally participate in election. In politics, women face repression because dominant image of political actors in today's world is man. Political rights and political pluralism is therefore a man's right. For that matter Democracy is brought down to mean inclusivity of men from different political parties in governance structures. Moreover, Women exclude themselves from participating in politics because of the oppressive culture, which made them to be convinced that politics and leadership is for men. Lack of resources to facilitate their participation, to manage coping at family level, to manage direct and indirect expenses for contesting. Semakafu (2014) concentrated on challenges facing women participation in politics, but did not link the drawbacks to the political culture, which the current study sought to achieve.

In Kenya, the low participation and representation of women in public and political institutions of the country like the Senate, National Assembly, and County Assemblies negates the equity that is affirmed in the constitution. Kenya acceded to the gender equality platform in the context of its commitments to various United Nations (UN) resolutions, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) (Nyanjom 2011). It also espoused the 1966 covenants on Civil, Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In 1985, the country was at the center of gender equality initiatives when it hosted the formulation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, and was at forefront of continental preparations for the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, a motion adopted by Parliament in 1996. However, despite Kenya acceding to all these international declarations, gender mainstreaming has remained elusive. Githinji (2010) in his review of

Kenya's Vision 2030 found out that persisting gender neutrality has kept women in lower paying jobs even as their share of the labor force has increased from 18% in 1966 to 30% in 2006, and a likely 55% by 2016. It should be noted that achieving gender equity as stipulated in Vision 2030 would not be easy.

Karl (2001) identifies some obstacles that hinder women's participation in political affairs worldwide. They include low education and literacy levels, low access to financial resources, cultural attitudes and stereotypes, religion and socialization, among other factors. Cooper and Karl (1982) found that women face stress while at work, home and in social environments. Women are also supposed to acquire masculine leadership characteristics and management skills like aggressiveness and assertiveness among others to excel in their careers.

Scholars like Tremblay (1998); Devlin et al (2008) among others have argued that there is a strong link between increased presence of women in parliament and the representation of issues affecting women (women issues). Tremblay (1998) further argues that female members of parliament represent the needs, wishes and interests of female members of the populace in a country. According to Carroll (1994), policies concerning women are more likely to have more and wider direct impact on the population than those of men in a country. Among the issues, include family planning, maternal health, education, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), violence against women.

Oduol (2011) sees lack of institutional political party structures with which to enhance women's participation, which he blames for the low levels of women in politics thus their limited representation in Parliament and also within political parties. Political parties seem to be a Waterloo for increased women representation since stringent party rules, violence meted against women; cultural barriers among other impediments always appear to halt increased women

participation in active politics and decision making. Kenya's social cultural beliefs and practices such as patriarchy and elder veneration have most of the time worked against women empowerment. That is why Kenya's extensive commitment to various gender equality protocols has hardly narrowed the inequality gap (Nyanjom 2011). The simmering debate on the realization of the two-thirds gender rule appears to have taken centre stage even as the expanded legislature and county assemblies take shape. Since the general elections in 2013, the National Assembly grappled with the challenge of implementing the one-third gender rule in formation of the House committees. There are 69 female MPs in the 349 member National Assembly, which is short of the at least 30 per cent requirement. At the county level, about 600 women have been nominated to bridge the gap after the March 4 General Elections failed to deliver the required gender threshold as outlined in Article 177 (b) of the Constitution. However, legal experts are upbeat that the ceiling set by the Supreme Court ruling will provide a clear roadmap for the subsequent implementation of gender quota in Parliament (Mati, 2015).

The reason why women in Nairobi and Kajiado County are not performing well can be attributed to the challenges they face. In Kajiado County, leadership is viewed as masculine and culture has endorsed it. Arriola and Johnson (2014) blame women's dismal performance on weak financial muscle. In an attempt to narrow the gap between male and female leaders, the Constitution created a provision whose intent is to make political positions more accessible to women (Paxton & Hughes, 2016). For instance, Bishop Margaret Wanjiru, a renowned televangelist, ventured into politics in 2007 and was elected MP for Starehe on an ODM ticket. She was later appointed Assistant Minister for Housing until 2012, when she opted to vie for Nairobi gubernatorial position but was disqualified for lack of educational papers for the position. Her party then nominated her to vie for the Nairobi Senatorial position, which she lost to TNA's Mike Mbuvi.

The most recent Kenyan census indicates that women comprise over 50 percent of the Kenyan population. However, the participation of women in the electoral process does not reflect this demographic reality. The reasons behind this disparity have complex historical and cultural elements, which were never given due focus in building the nation. For instance, Kajiado County is a largely patriarchal society, which has contributed to women's subjugation in both the private and public spheres. Women have historically taken a secondary position to men, and this tradition is manifested in the practices, policies, and laws of the County of Kajiado. In the past, women have faced several challenges, and the exclusion of women from electoral and political processes is no exception. Despite the constitutional provisions outlawing discrimination on the basis of gender, women continue to suffer setbacks whenever they seek not only elective, but also appointive positions in Kenya. It is evident that, if we are to achieve equality and equity between men and women and enable women to realize their full potential, women must be fully involved in political life (Paxton & Hughes, 2016).

Besides financial constraints, women in Nairobi County failed to make noticeable influence in political participation because of the structures of political parties because create barriers that often hinder women to participate fully in party's' leadership and core management. Indeed, the nomination process conducted by political parties in Kenya confirmed that the move to increase the number of young women in political leadership still remains an uphill task unless the principle of affirmative action is respected and fully implemented. Not surprisingly, women were the greatest casualties of a mismanaged electoral process in both Nairobi and Kajiado Counties. Women suffered the blunt of violence and no wonder they performed dismally at all levels of the primaries in Nairobi County. This is a vivid confirmation of the fact that Women Representatives posts were attractive to women aspirants during the nomination phase of the 2013 elections.

Hence, young women were shying away from other elective positions due to acrimonious nature of competitive politics and lack of management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries (Rotich & Byron, 2016).

In a study conducted by Rotich and Byron (2016), it was established that participation of young women in political party activities continues to be constrained by extremely minimal financing mechanisms. The situation has been compounded with escalation of poverty, societal prejudice and stereotype against women especially in marginalized communities such as Kajiado County. The net effect is lack of finance hence low level of political participation and representation among women. As a policy imperative, it was suggested that political parties should establish a special kitty (Young Women Political Fund) within their respective financial framework towards supporting young women's activities up to adequate levels. This will motivate many potential young women into joining politics and actually participate in electoral processes.

2.5.1 Cultural Barriers

Many African communities' customs tend to negate the role of women in mainstream political leadership regarding them only as homemakers thus restricting them to those roles. Cultural factors are linked to stereotype beliefs about the ability and capacity of women across many communities. Also connected to cultural factors is the patriarchal ideology, which provides the context upon which women play and accept subsidiary roles. Sex stereotypes are among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination thus largely responsible for undermining gender equity (United Nations 2000). These cultural perceptions do not encourage women at all to actively participate in politics. In most religions power and authority is believed to divinely belong to men hence subjugating women. Thus women are encouraged to play subsidiary roles since their place is in the kitchen and men are the decision makers.

In most African communities, women are not allowed to address men in public because it is considered taboo to do so. In fact, most women still believe that their marital status in a home can only be cemented when they give birth to a male child. This tends to have a psychological effect and hence relegating women to subservient roles in development matters in the community.

Traditional inheritance laws in Kenya tend to favor men. Property and resources in the family are controlled and shared out by men. Women rarely inherit property from their parents. This puts women in a disadvantageous position economically. In communities still practicing retrogressive practices like Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), forced and/or early/planned marriages, women who have not undergone this rite of passage (FGM) are regarded to be “children” and thus cannot be allowed to run for any elective position. Among pastoral communities, life is structured along clan lines, which are controlled by a council of elders. These councils are the ones that select who to run for political offices. These councils of elders are often reluctant to endorse or support female candidates. This then locks out potential female candidates who may have better leadership skills and abilities. It is worth noting that over 30% of Kenyans believe that traditional leaders by virtue of them being considered the weaker sex often treat women unequally.

The electorate is thus reluctant to support them because of this retrogressive belief. In a number of Kenyan communities, single and divorced women cannot be allowed to run for political office and those who do are ridiculed and insulted in public meetings. This is so because societal norms and socialization tends to be harsh on women. Men who are divorced are never treated with contempt the way women are. This can be traced to the patriarchal nature of most communities in this country. According to Chafetz and Dworkin (1986) women have had to contend and

contest established beliefs that politics is a domain of men only. Stereotypes about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates to the actual voting patterns by the electorate. Religion is another source of anachronistic cultural beliefs in many communities in the country that excludes women from mainstream leadership. Arguments about women's inferiority to men are present across all dominant religions, and traditionally religion has long been used to exclude women from aspects of social, political, or religious life around the world (Paxton and Hughes 2007).

Women also seem to be their own enemies in their own political advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize these long held anachronistic assumptions and perceptions that politics is a dirty game thus a preserve game of men. Long held Communal stereotypes against women have tended to militate against gender equality and women empowerment. For instance, women who are politically active are labeled as "irresponsible" and therefore not fit to be "wife material" since they are "loose". For instance, men across most African communities are socialized to be aggressive, brave, autocrat, dominant and independent whereas women are labeled as emotional, sentimental and fragile. Stereotypes are most of the time negative and have been used to marginalize women in leadership and decision making organs.

Gender stereotypes are formed over a long period as a result of cultural beliefs, practices and traditions. Within time, they are taken to be "true" since people internalize them and make them to appear like inherent within people and society at large. If the society is patriarchal like is the case in many Kenyan communities, then most positive attributes will be attached to males. African traditions have mainly defined and ascribed separate roles to males and females. While

the male roles are more empowering, the female roles seem to be disempowering. These gender roles and societal expectations hinder the participation of women in politics. Most of our communities are patriarchal in nature. Men remain at the helm of affairs and make decisions virtually exclusively, even when the issues border on women matters. The few women who venture into “the man’s world” feel inhibited to speak, especially when they are in large, male-dominated assemblies. Those who muster up enough courage and strength to speak receive very scant attention and respect. Many patriarchal communities in Kenya do not see the need for gender parity since most of them are patriarchal in nature and often see gender equality as a challenge to male dominance and hegemony. Most of the time women are ridiculed through songs and proverbs As long as our socialization still favors men, it will be difficult for women to participate on equal footing with men in political competition. Since independence, the Kenyan government has not put forth any initiatives to identify negative gender stereotypes and prescribe measures to address them. In as much as proverbs, idioms and wise sayings had their function in the respective communities, some have been taken to the extreme thus alienating women from leadership.

2.5.2 Economic Barriers

Socio-economic status of women largely plays a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision-making bodies. Thus, access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship and influence on the participation of women in political institutions and electoral bodies like the Senate, National assembly and County Assemblies. In most Kenyan communities, women have no access to land and property rights though they are guaranteed in the constitution. This economically incapacitates them hence they cannot vie and run successful political campaigns where campaigns are highly expensive. Therefore this

discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights severely contributes to this low level of their active participation in politics and governance. While highlighting many areas of women's disadvantage, Wanjala and Odongo (2010) note that women constitute a mere 23% of members of Kenyan cooperative societies, which are known to provide easier access to credit. This has in essence further marginalized women in economic empowerment.

According to Afifu (2008), poverty facing women in rural communities is their biggest hurdle in their quest to venture into elective politics. According to Census Report, (2009) there is a huge economic gap between urban and rural communities in Kenya. Kenya's rural population is 63% whereas the urban population stands at 37% (Ibid). In addition, majority of women live in rural areas and their access to economic resources is limited compared to their urban counterparts. This makes it difficult for them to compete on equal footing with men in national or even regional elective politics. Thus, economic empowerment of women reinforced by education and access to information may guarantee women full participation in elective politics. Economic empowerment of women results into ownership of resources: Resources especially finance is critical in electoral processes for during organization of campaign meetings, publicity and payment of nomination fees to nominating political parties and to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). When women are politically empowered, they are in a better position to influence key policy decisions in the Executive and Legislative arm of government. The economic empowerment of women, alongwith education and access to information, will take women from the constraints of the household to full participation in politics and political elections.

2.5.3 Political Barriers

Jonyo (2013) argued that political parties act as agents of political socialization that entails individuals being inducted into a society's political culture. This role has to do with the molding of the people's attitudes towards the political system. This often has an effect of attitudinal and behavioral changes within a society culminating to an arousing of a sense of public participation. This role/function of the party would thus entail the development and institutionalization of attitudes and beliefs towards a political system. Kajirwa (2008) observed that political structures could play a significant role in women's recruitment to parliament. Among the political obstacles that women face are that Politics in Kenya has always been associated with masculinity thus "a men only affair"; men thus making dominate most political parties it difficult for women to have political networks for mobilization; most public organizations like labor unions are also dominated by men; women in Kenya have never been oriented towards politics and their training is not tailored towards political leadership representation; the electoral politics is prone to violence most of the times thus scaring away most women and that electoral related violence is also another impediment that hinders the participation of female candidates. On the other hand, La Palombara and Weiner (2015) suggested that since in most African communities women are considered a "weaker gender", they more often than not potential targets where political thugs and hired goons target them.

Male candidates are more likely than female candidates to introduce political violence and hooliganism in their campaigns. Brazen attacks on female candidates and their families often intimidate them and make many aspiring female candidates to shun politics all together (Pridham, 2016). According to Mittulah and Owiti (2011) lack of political goodwill by their male politicians to include women in structures of political governance is to blame for limited

participation in political parties. When women's needs are ignored it results in high infant and child mortality, unaccountable population growth, poor economic growth, Low agricultural yields and this directly impacts on the quality of life of citizen's women being the most affected (Abidi 192). Thus involvement of women in decision-making is a big step towards reducing poverty and reducing huge income inequalities between men and women.

2.5.4 The Legal and Regulatory Frameworks Barriers

Some laws may prompt indirect discrimination; for example, in Kajiado county literacy requirements may disproportionately disadvantage women. Even sound laws will make little difference unless State institutions ensure they are effectively implemented and enforced. The legal system should be set up to provide prompt and effective remedies for women whose rights have not been upheld in both Kajiado and Nairobi counties. Electoral systems are not gender-neutral; for instance, the laws put in place for the two third gender rules have not seen the right of the day. The type of system in place can have a major impact on the number of women elected to office. More women are likely to be elected in counties with proportional representation (or party-list) systems than in counties with majority (or first-past-the-post) systems. This is an essential consideration in designing electoral systems in both Kajiado and Nairobi counties. Other aspects of election systems including types of candidate lists, district magnitude, and threshold levels significantly affect women's electoral prospects the aforementioned counties (Muna, Stanton & Mwau, 2014; Willis, 2015).

2.6 Gaps Identified in the Study

Many studies done on women's level of participation in politics have tended to neglect the role played by women's politics in Kenya, especially in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. Duverger (1955); Jaquette (1974); Afshar (1996); Yiapan (2002) have analyzed women's participation in

politics with emphasis on efforts of individual women's participation and contribution in national politics. The proliferation of women participation in politics should be seen as an avenue for women participation in society. These scholars did not go beyond the individual analysis of women roles and contributions to probe women participation in politics in Kenya. They have not adequately captured the women participation but instead have tended to focus on the overall participation in politics. For instance, Pala *et al* (1978); Kariuki (1985); Chafe (1972); Mbeo (1989) have highlighted how women's organizations have been instrumental in improving women's participation in economic development in the country. However, on the political front there is a paucity of literature on women's participation in politics.

Most study has presented the subject of women participation from a general perspective by specifically focusing on women's participation in politics in Kenya. Many organizations have emerged to embrace women issues with the re-introduction of multi-party. There is a gap in that there has not been an inquiry study into the link between the two, and the ultimate benefit that accrues to women. Women's organizations are expected to play a critical role in encouraging and preparing women for participation in national politics in Kenya. As avenues for promoting women participation, these organizations can ultimately help in the realization of the vision of gender parity in national development. In spite of the fact that they are the majority, women continue to form a minority amongst elected MPs of the Kenyan parliament (Collaborative Center for Gender and Development, 2002). Since independence, women's representation in national legislative politics has been minimal. Women have never occupied more than 4 % of the seats in parliament. 16 In the East African region, Kenya is way behind its neighbors (Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi respectively) in terms of women representation in National

Parliament (Bowman, Grant, & Kuenyehia, 2003). It is important for Kenya to catch up with the other partners in the East African Community.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

Women's organizations with the focus on enhancing women's participation in politics in Kenya have chosen specific roles to play in political participation in the country. These roles are to a large extent defined in terms of the Victorian woman's perceptions. Women therefore adhere to the "theory of *imbecillitas*"- women's incapacity as described by Duverger. The research highlighted the hindrances to active women participation in politics and sought to transcend the notion of women as victims. Women's organizations are looked at as a powerful tool for breeding political participation and not as complaining forums for victims of oppressions thereby playing a functionary role in the political system. This study was guided by four theories namely social network, feminist postmodernism and political development theories. The researcher chose the four theories because they all supplement each other. None of them is fully exhaustive on its own hence the reason of using the four to support this study exhaustively.

2.7.1 Social Network Theory

Social Network Theory is the study of how people or groups interact with others inside their network in this case the political system. This theory views the social relationships in terms of nodes and ties. Nodes are the individual actors within the networks, and ties are the relationships between the actors. There can be many kinds of ties between the nodes. In its most simple form, a social network is a map of all of the relevant ties between the nodes being studied. The network can also be used to determine the social capital of individual actors (women in political participation). A social network is thus a social structure composed of individuals that are

connected in specific patterns and are interdependent. This theory is appropriate for this study in that it guides on how social networks research examines relations among organizations. Supporters of this theory argue that organizations' economic behaviors are embedded and dependent on their social relationships (Aldrich & Whetten, 1981; Granovetter, 1985; Mizruchi & Galaskiewicz, 1993).

2.7.2 Feminist Theory

Feminism as a social theory with the main objective of emancipating of women by removal of all legal constraints on the woman's ability to act as free individuals in a society based on economic and social competition as the final step in the creation of a perfect society. The movement entails rethinking the past and future in which women are seen as active agents of change. The theory thus recognizes avenues such as organizations that enable women to take an active role in the process of change in the society. The feminists' movement is associated with the enlightenment doctrine of natural rights, which defines women's role in society. Feminism as a social movement dates back to the 16th century. The movement began as a resistance to women's oppression at their work places and denial of rights to suffrage. The theory recognizes the marginalization of women and therefore seeks to act as a shield against the marginalization. The variance in terms of participation in politics between the two genders is seen as shaped by the social environment as opposed to being natural. Indeed women organizations in Kenya emerged to enhance the socio-economic status of women and improve their political engagement. The emphasis here is therefore on the potential similarities between the sexes rather than the differences. The emphasis is thus geared towards ending the male prejudice and domination.

Feminist theory has three different strands whose main point of divergence is the source of the subordination and how to end the subordination of women. Liberal feminism follows a long

history of championing for improved rights and opportunities for women; however, they neglect the existing organization of the society. Liberal feminists are concerned with concepts of justice and equality and assume that women suffer injustices because of their sex and are organized around campaigns for equality and redistribution. This strand however has a weakness in that the struggles do not seriously challenge the sources of inequalities between the sexes, and so do not recognize that relations between the sexes have specific power relations.

Radical feminists on their part are critical of the whole male dominated society. These theorists challenge the conventional assumptions by redefining the most intimate of human relations as political rather than as private. They reject the liberal notion of getting justice within the existing social order, which defines everything in male terms. Radical feminists define women as universally oppressed, as sisters in oppression, in a world owned, controlled and physically dominated by men. Radical theorists therefore view the solution to women's empowerment as entailed in abolishing all the male structures in society and excluding men in women affairs. In essence, they seek to overthrow patriarchy. This variant of feminism would advocate for organizations run by women to champion women issues only even to the total exclusion of men. It gives recognition to organizations such as LKWV, FIDA, WPA/K and MYWO. But herein lies the weakness of radical feminism. It calls for separation between the sexes and it is oriented towards Westernism.

The Marxist strand of feminism focuses on power difference between the sexes. These theorists view women subordination as a class struggle between male and females and goes further to cluster the variance in participation to the access and ownership of wealth hence proximity to power. Marxist feminists see subordination of women through class lenses. They state that capitalism, which gives rise to economic inequality, dependence, political confusion and

ultimately unhealthy social relations between men and women, is the root of women's oppression. Criticized as being too much of leftists, the Marxists view working class women as economically exploited in ways that the bourgeois women are not. To this extent, the Marxist feminists would advocate for women organizations that would eventually overturn the status quo at the national institutions such as parliament. The Kenya Women Political Caucus has as its main objective the enhancement of women access to political power.

Generally, feminist theory, irrespective of the various strands, posits that: existing relationship between male and female is structured in a manner that women are subordinated to men and this has to change; the paternal status of society that is perceived as normal and in which women have been subordinated has to be challenged; the challenge should be based on the notion that all human beings are equal and have the same potential. Feminist theory highlights the imbalanced political participation very well because it questions every aspect of power relations between men and women. Disparities in political participation are explained based on gender. It also gives suggestions on how women can improve the situation. In this respect, the theory is relevant in addressing the link between women organizations and women participation in politics.

This theory is appropriate in informing this study because it helps expound why women lag behind in political participation as opposed to their male counterparts. Secondly, it helps analyze the existence and operation of the women's organizations in public sphere by contextualizing their activities as a function of certain historical occurrences and hence proposes corrective mechanisms. In order to understand how the marginalization is being redressed the study looks at women's organizations as a mechanism of restoring justice to rectify historical injustices that have resulted to the marginalization of women. Therefore even though the general theoretical

framework of analysis will be the feminist theory, the study will have a biased leaning towards the liberal feminist strand. This is more so because in analysis the hindrance to equitable participation. By emphasizing consciousness then action, the liberal strand helps the study seek to rethink the past with a possible solution, the solution based on penetration of the society that is male dominated, a variance that is shaped by social environment rather than natural phenomenon.

2.7.3 Postmodernism Theory

This is the period, which allegedly follows the period of modernity. One of the key insights of the postmodern turn, theorized by Kellner and Best (1991), was that power is everywhere, not only in the factories, but in the schools, prisons, hospitals, and all other institutions. This insight is both depressing, since it acknowledges that power saturates all social spaces and relations, and exhilarating, because it allows for and demands new forms of struggle. Hence, multiple forms of resistance open up along every line of identity that is controlled or normalized. The movements of the period challenged capitalism, state power and bureaucracy, the repressive organization of everyday life in the midst of consumer society, along with various modes of ideologically constituted identities.

Postmodern theorists, however, claim that in the contemporary high tech media society, emergent processes of change and transformation are producing a new postmodern society and its advocates claim that the era of postmodernity constitutes a novel stage of history and novel sociocultural formation, which requires new concepts and theories. Theorists of postmodernity claim that, technologies such as computers and media, new forms of knowledge, and changes in the socioeconomic system are producing a postmodern social formation. Baudrillard and Lyotard interpret these developments in terms of novel types of information, knowledge, and

technologies, while neo-Marxist theorists like Jameson and Harvey interpret the postmodern in terms of development of a higher stage of capitalism marked by a greater degree of capital penetration and homogenization across the globe. These processes are also producing increased cultural fragmentation, changes in the experience of space and time, and new modes of experience, subjectivity, and culture (Aronowitz, 1991).

As with postmodern theory, there is no one “postmodern politics,” but rather a conflicting set of positions that emerges from the ambiguities of social change and multiple postmodern theoretical perspectives. Yet the different categories of postmodern politics are not merely conceptual distinctions, but are actual political tendencies played out in the public sphere, in the universities, in the workplace, and in everyday life. Thus, as new technologies transform every aspect of life, as culture plays a more crucial role in domains from the economy to personal identity, and as capital creates a new global economy and new syntheses of the global and the local abound, politics too takes on new forms and content (Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000).

According to Pease and Fook (2016), the contemporary world is undergoing major transformations and the discourse of the postmodern serves to call attention to the changes and novelties of the present moment. In this context, the postmodern turn in politics describes the new forms of political conflict and struggle. The present conjuncture is highly ambiguous, positioning those in the overdeveloped Western and Northern areas between the era of modernity and a new epoch for which the term postmodernity has been coined, while people in other parts of the world are still living in pre-modern social and cultural forms, and on the whole the developing world exists in a contradictory matrix of pre-modern, modern, and postmodern forms. The rapid transformation of the world and development of novel cultural forms generates new dangers, such as the potential loss of the modern traditions of humanism, the Enlightenment,

and radical social traditions, as well as innovative possibilities, such as emerge from new technologies, new identities, and new political struggles (Fitzpatrick, 2013).

Generally characterized, the project of modern politics was to define and implement universal goals like freedom, equality, and justice, in an attempt to transform institutional structures of domination. Modern politics emerged from the Enlightenment project of subjecting to critique by the norms of reason all forms of authority and all existing institutions (Brown et al., 2013). Focusing on economic development, the classical modernization perspective considers increases in democracy and human choice as a direct outcome of economic development (Lipset 1959; Rostow 1960; Deutsch 1964; Bell 1999 Inkeles & Smith 1974). In relation to gender equality, this approach holds that economic development is central to increasing the pool of women eligible for positions of social power. These scholars establish that increased economic development associates with a more broad based distribution of educational and occupational resources. Greater access to educational and occupational resources increases women's chances of professional development, creating a larger pool of women eligible for power positions such as political office. The theory is relevant to this study because modern politics presupposed a democratic public sphere where individuals and social groups could discuss political problems and choices, and intervene practically in public affairs. In addition, modern politics involves attempts to discern basic human rights, the common good and universal values, and to provide institutional guarantees that allow democratic rights, discussion, and consensus.

2.7.4 Theory of Political Development

The theory posits that there are two political culture: participatory political culture and subject political culture. The study adopted participatory political culture, where members of society have high cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientation to the political system, the input

objects, the policy outputs, and recognize the self as an active participant in the polity. Social actors tend to be activist and mobilized. In general, participant cultures are most compatible with democratic political structures. Here, the citizen is expected to have the virtues of the subject, to obey the law, to be loyal; but he is also expected to take some part in the formation of decisions as argued by Almond and Verba (2015) in the book “The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations” and quoted by Pavone (2014).

Almond and Powell (1966) tried to avoid all ethnocentric traps when formulating their theory of political development. The authors argued that Political participation is roughly measured with reference to the number and density of the groups that are actually mobilized and find themselves in the position to take part in the political process: cliques and clans, middle classes, the masses, and in which manner and how much they are organized by political parties. Their probabilistic theory is based on three major variables: role differentiation, subsystem autonomy, and cultural secularization. The first one refers to the appearance of a variety of roles performing different important activities. Subsystem autonomy stresses the existence of several structures endowed with some autonomy in their own specific fields. Probably, it is better defined a contrary, that is, indicating those situations where no single system emerges as dominant over all the others. Finally, cultural secularization suggests, “as the political system becomes differentiated from other social systems, the rulers begin to develop secular goals, and a rational sense of the relationship between means and ends and of one set of ends as over against other ends”. If and when there is a process leading to a growth of differentiation, autonomy and secularization, the political system becomes more developed because it increases its regulative, extractive, distributive, responsive, and symbolic capabilities (Ake, 1982).

Political institutionalization is defined with reference to four major concepts: adaptability, complexity, autonomy, and coherence of the organizations and procedures (Almond & Powell, 1966). These four concepts are operationalized and for each of them several indicators are suggested. Adaptability can be measured by the age of the organization: chronological age, generational age, that is the successful surmounting of succession crises by different sets of leaders, and changes in the type of functions performed by the organization. Complexity involves “both multiplication of organizational subunits, hierarchically and functionally, and differentiation of separate types of organizational subunits”. Autonomy can be evaluated with reference to “the extent to which political organizations and procedures exist independently of other social groupings and methods of behavior”. Finally, coherence is the ability to set the boundaries of the organization and to impose the procedures for the resolution of internal conflicts. Most appropriately, Huntington clearly indicates the opposite poles of the concepts he used, that is, respectively, rigidity, simplicity, subordination, and disunity. Hence, his theory of political development also offers a specific view of the contrary process, that is, political decay (Ake, 1982). Largely, decay derives from the inability of the political organizations and the political procedures to acquire a degree of institutionalization such as to accommodate the level of participation reached in any political system and society at all specific points in time. Societies in which participation does not exceed institutionalization are defined “civic”, while societies in which participation is higher than institutionalization are labeled “praetorian” (Pasquino, 2009).

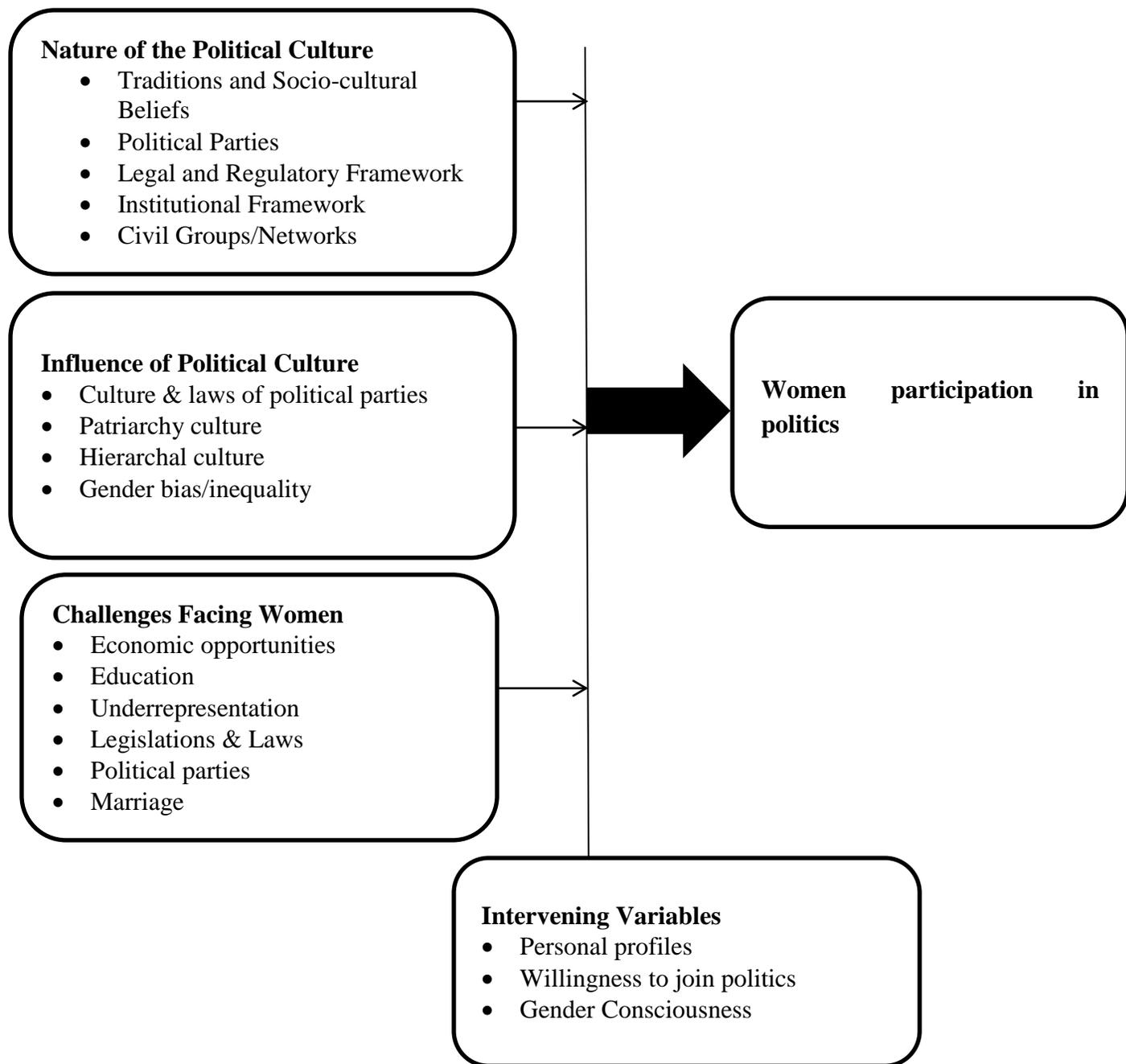
Almond and Powell (1966)’s theory of political development has been criticized because it appeared unable to make room for the process of political decline. In my opinion this criticism is somewhat misplaced. The theory can easily accommodate a reduction in role differentiation, for instance, when the same actor performs some roles. It can account for a shrinking of subsystem

autonomy, for instance, when one subsystem takes over another one, or more (for example, a party coming to dominate over the State, its bureaucracy, the military organization). The theory is relevant to the study because of its capability to provide for phenomena of cultural de-secularization when the integrity of the sphere of politics is violated and invaded by economic, military, religious actors. It is true that all these processes are neither mentioned nor analyzed in Almond and Powell's theory (Ake, 1982).

Figure 2.1 illustrates that the nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics. Women have been marginalized because men monopolize the decision-making structures and are in the majority. One of the underlying problems for women has been the difficulty in dealing with the inherent patriarchal structures that pervade the lives of people, the processes of state and the party. Despite efforts made to ensure female representation is achieved at all levels of governance, women are still underrepresented in many government and non-government organizations particularly in positions of power and leadership (Tundi, 2014).

The extent of women's participation in politics and women's access to decision-making can be seen as the key indicators of gender equality in a society. Gender equality in decision-making is to be viewed in the context of whether women are in the position to make or influence public decisions on the same footing as men. The 1995 Beijing Platform stresses that equality in decision-making is integral to the advancement of women's rights and that women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a question of simple justice or democracy, but also a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account (Fund, 2011)

Women have lesser opportunities of public influence or for entering politics. Women also lack opportunities to move within the hierarchies without patronage of male leaders or mentors. The women's wings of political parties may have given visibility to women in the form of a platform for participation rather than integrating them into central power structures. Women do not have necessary resources to enter and compete in contemporary political arena. Thus, improved social indicators in development graphs may not automatically ease women's access to political power or improve political participation and representation (Tabuka, 2012).



INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework model

Source: Researcher, 2016

2.8 Knowledge Gaps

Lyons (2006) studied the political culture through an economic lens and observed that depression of women in terms of economic opportunities ultimately affects their chances of political leadership. The study by Lyons (2006) focused on Ireland's nature political culture and its relationship to the economy, while the current study sought to examine nature of Kenya's political culture and its influence on women participation in politics.

Anthony (1980) argues that pervasive nature of Islam and the centrality of kinship remain is the basic factors in determining the nature of political participation in Egypt is non-institutional and personalist politics. The author focused on the Islam culture and its implication on women participation in politics, while the current study seeks to delineate the influence of the current political culture on women's participation in politics. Bengtsson (2006) observe that women remain underrepresented in political leadership across the world; however, the author did not expressly describe the influence of the nature of political culture and its influence in women participation, which the current study seeks to achieve.

Kamungi (2009) posit that traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people uphold cultural practices, which enhance the subordination of women. The author provided a simplistic explanation in relation to the factors, which hinder women's progress, while the current study seeks to examine the link between the nature of political culture in Kenya and its influence on women participation in politics. Diamond (1994) contended that a society's political culture and development is an important component that can affect the formulation of public opinion. Diamond (1994) examined political culture and its influence in the formulation of public opinion, while the current study sought to investigate the influence of Kenya's political culture on women participation in politics.

Women's Empowerment Link (2013) examined the role of political parties in terms of providing financial support for women aspirants, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics. Sharda (2014) examined the role of media in relation to women in politics, while the current study sought to examine the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics. Kumar (2008) focused on the role of media in creating and/or influencing public opinion, while this study focused on the entire spectrum of political culture and its effect on women participation in politics.

2.9 Summary

An analysis of the existing literature indicated that there are certain gaps in the women participation in politics. Despite the fact that the Kenya constitution (2010), the MDGs and CEDAW (1989) all advocate for at least 33% of men and women's participation in decision making organs, the Kenya constitution (2010) does not commit political parties and the political system in Kenya to effectively create equal opportunities for men and women to participate in politics within the 33% quota. This leaves gaps that can be easily manipulated at the disadvantage of minority groups such as women. Most of the literature presumes that, the existence of gender disaggregated data will facilitate participation of men and women in decision-making, a gender-aware and gender-responsive political system that is fair, just, sensitive to corruption thus providing an ample environment for effective and efficient service delivery.

In order to get comprehensive data on women participation in politics, the study adopted a triangulation methodology, of both quantitative and qualitative research, which helped to tie up

the loose ends. These methods are discussed in detail in the next chapter on research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology of the study. Research methodology is a systematic way of solving a problem. It is essentially, the procedures followed by a researcher for describing, explaining and predicting phenomena. It provides the work plan of a research. In this chapter the methods that were employed by the researcher in carrying out the study are discussed. The chapter was thematically presented under the following titles: The study area, research design, target population, sample size and sampling procedure, data collection, questionnaire, key informant schedule, piloting of instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments used, secondary data, data collection process, data analysis procedure, limitation of the, assumptions and the ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Philosophy

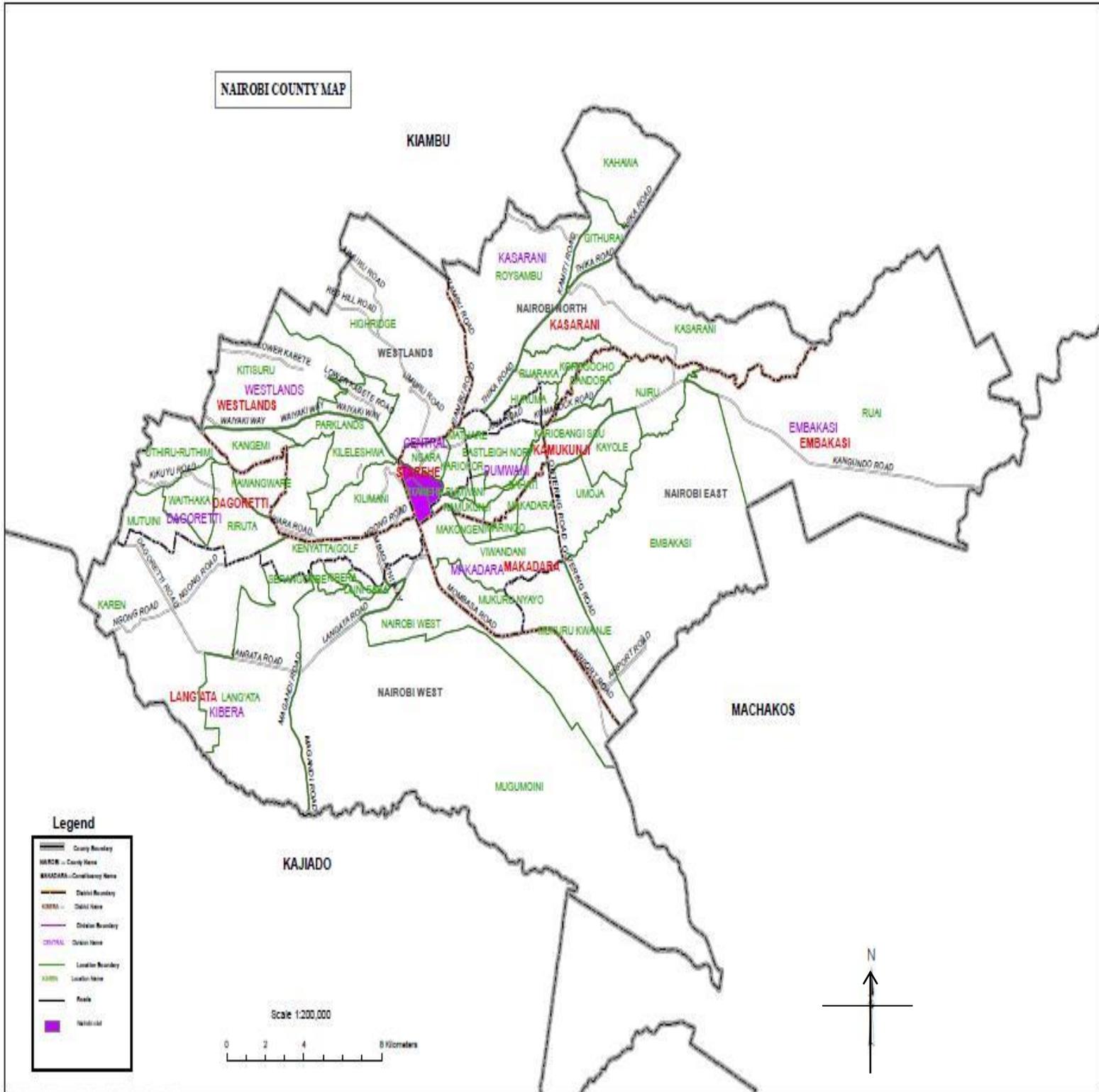
Research philosophy is the foundation of knowledge on which underlying predispositions of a study are based on Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2015). The most appropriate research philosophy for this current study is pragmatism. According to this view, the direction of the research is guided by the formulated research objectives that seek to answer various questions in the study (Biesta, 2010). Pragmatism is generally regarded as the philosophical partner for the mixed methods approach (Denscombe, 2008). The strength of this approach is that it will combine positivist and interpretivists perspectives to come up with a research outcome. In addition, with the combined approach it will improve the accuracy of the research data and give a more complete picture from both quantitative and qualitative data.

3.3 Study Area

The location of this study was Nairobi City and Kajiado Counties. Nairobi City County was founded in 1899. It was and remains the epicenter of Kenya's administration and commercial capital. It occupies an area of 696 square kms. The researcher chose Nairobi County because it is cosmopolitan with different ethnic groups of individuals in political leadership. In fact, the County of Nairobi presents two sets of political culture: traditional and modern political aspects of doing. Accordingly, setting the study in Nairobi County for purposes of undertaking a comparative study complements generalizations of the study findings.

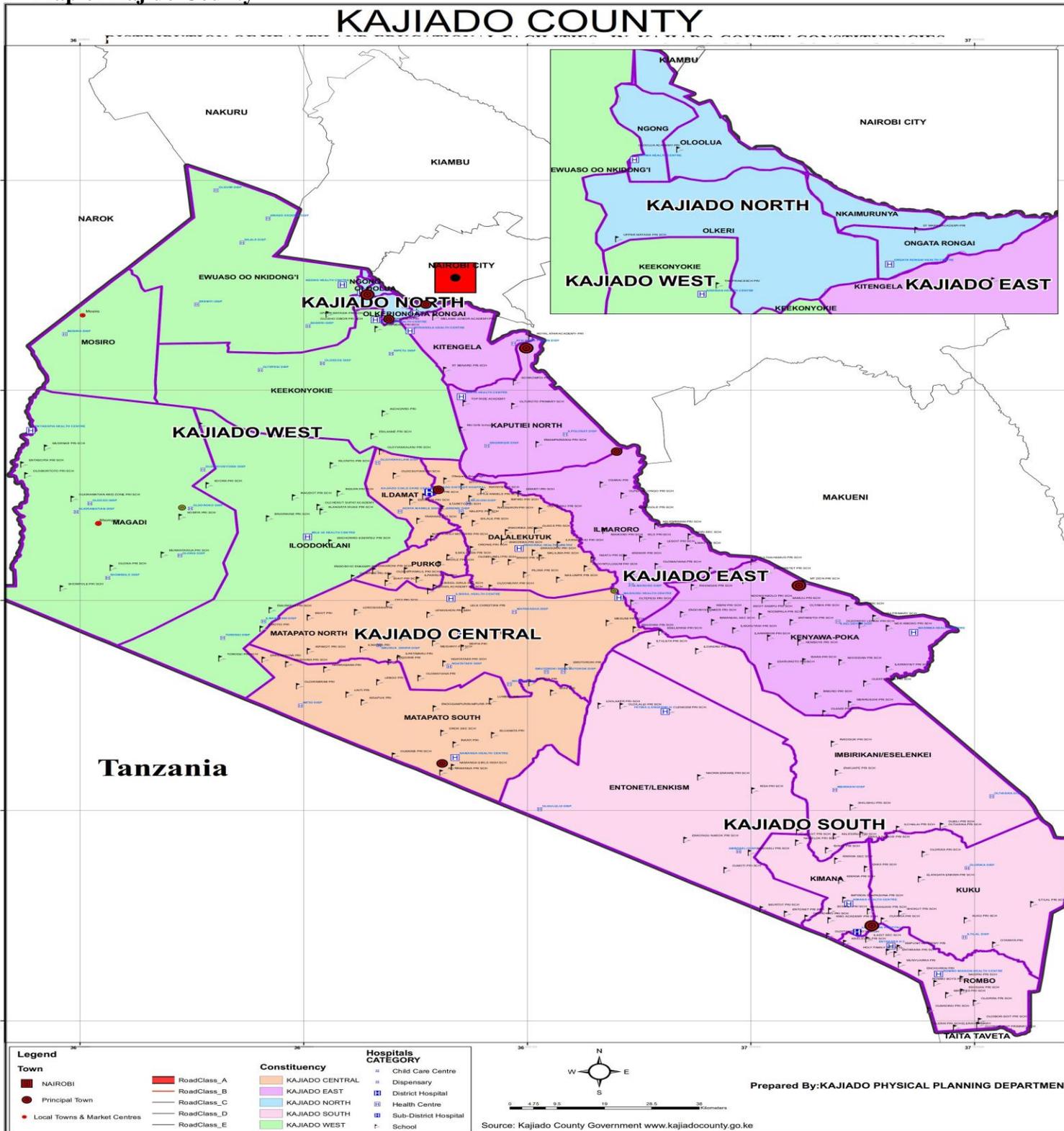
Kajiado County is in the former Rift Valley Province of Kenya. It has a population of 687,312 and an area of 21,292.7 km². The county borders Nairobi and extends to the Tanzania border further south. The researcher chose Kajiado County because it is known to uphold traditions that suppress the freedom of women. In addition, Kajiado County presents a traditional political culture, which easily fitted into the comparative nature of the present study.

Map of Nairobi County



Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010

Map of Kajido County



Source: Kajido County Integrated Development Plan, 2010

3.4 Research design

According to Sekaran and Bougie (2010), the research design addresses important issues relating to a research study such as purpose of the study, location of the study, type of investigation, extent of researcher interference, time horizon and the unit of analysis. In view of this, this study adopted a descriptive survey design (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009) to establish women participation in politics with a specific reference to Nairobi and Kajiado Counties in Kenya. This design as defined by Orodho (2003) is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. The main feature of survey research design is to describe specific characteristics of a large group of persons, objects or institutions, through questionnaires (Jaeger, 1988). Besides, the design was used because of its descriptive nature in order to assist the researcher in collecting data from members of the sample for the purpose of estimating the population parameters.

The qualitative method was also employed to compensate for the loose ends that might have been caused by open-ended questions. Respondents were asked the same set of questions through questionnaires to collect raw data required for analysis. This research was designed to allow an investigator to look around with respect to a phenomenon with the aim of being able to develop suggestive ideas (Reynolds, 1971). By suggestive ideas it's meant that we structure the research in a way that makes the study somewhat descriptive as data are collected and analysed. Moreover, mixed research methods foster scholarly interaction as argued by Wisdom and Creswell (2013). Such studies add breadth to multidisciplinary team research by encouraging the interaction of quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods scholars. Mixed methods have great flexibility in terms of methodological approach and are adaptable to many study designs, such as randomized trials, to elucidate more information than can be obtained in only quantitative

research. Mixed methods also mirror the way individuals naturally collect information by integrating quantitative and qualitative data.

3.5 Target population

Population refers to the elements about which we wish to make some inferences (Cooper & Schindler, 2006). Population element refers to the individual participant or object on which the measurement is taken and is the unit of study (Cooper & Schindler, 2006). The target population for this study was the registered voters in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado who included some of the successful and unsuccessful women aspirants who participated in the 2013 party nominations and general elections, those who were nominated to positions in the county assemblies, senators, and the national assemblies by various parties in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. This included some of the women MPs, senators, MCAs, and some of those appointed to senior positions in the counties and national governments. The researcher chose Men for collecting in-depth factors influencing women participation in politics. Nairobi County had a voter population of 1,868,551 voters while Kajiado had a voter population of 304,346 (IEBC, 2016). This informed the sampling frame upon which the sample was picked. The study incorporated six members of civil society groups, churches, and political leaders who are registered as voters in the two counties. They acted as key informants because of their deep knowledge in terms of the obstacles and opportunities for women intending to join politics.

3.6 Sample size and sampling procedure

Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) defines sample as small group obtained from the accessible population. Sampling is a process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they are selected. It is often impractical to collect data in research from all the potential units of analysis included in the

research problem. A sample was chosen to represent the relevant attributes of the whole set of units termed population (Graziano & Raulin, 1997). This study employed purposive sampling to select respondents from Kajiado and Nairobi Counties.

Data was sourced from the leaders of both counties and this included the governors, senators, and women's representatives in the national assembly, county assembly members, committee members, community's elders and recognized opinion leaders. When the population is more than 10,000 individuals, 384 of them are recommended as the desired sample size (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). In addition, a response rate of 50 percent of the sampled population is adequate for data analysis and reporting, 60 percent is good and 70 per cent is excellent (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

Estimating the Sample Size

The sample size was derived as follows:

$$n = Z^2 pq / d^2$$

Where:

Where n = Desired sample size population, if the target population is greater than 10,000

Z = standard normal deviate.

P = proportion of the subjects having the desired characteristic for research.

q = 1-p.

d= the level of statistical significance set

Assuming the 50% of the population have the characteristics being measured, $q=1-0.5$

Assuming we desire accuracy at 0.05 level. The Z statistical is 1.96 at this level

Therefore $n = (1.96)^2(0.5)(0.5) = 384$

The study adopted a sample size of 384 in addition to six key informants as exhibited by the sampling frame above. Therefore, the total sample size is 390 respondents.

The study collected data through the process of administering questionnaires to the respondents. The questionnaire was formulated with both open and close-ended questions and this made it possible for the researcher to collect in-depth data that enhanced making of generalizations. The structure of the questionnaire reflected the objectives of the study by capturing both dependent and independent variables.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

The study utilized a questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions. The research objectives guided the researcher in generating items in the questionnaire. The open-ended questions were to prompt spontaneity of the respondents. An open-ended or structured questionnaire is utilized when the researcher wants the respondents to freely discuss issues without limiting the scope (Nkapa, 1997) and (Okoth, 2012). Further, the researcher used closed-ended or structured questionnaires where the respondents were given answers to pick. According to Babbie (1990), the close-ended questionnaire design seems to be the best method available for collecting original data, to describe a population too large to be observed directly. The researcher also used closed-ended or structured questions, because they are quick and easier to complete since they involve minimum writing. In addition they promote detailed responses where the respondents are able to give reliable information.

The written questionnaires (Self-administered) were presented to the respondents to fill in the answers. Open spaces were provided from the respondents to comment freely on any other issues related to the study which might not have been covered in the closed section (Mouton and Prozesky, 2010). The open spaces gave the respondents an opportunity to freely express their opinions and provide in-depth information on the subject under investigation. The researcher used a research assistant to administer the questionnaire after having trained him on the nature of the research, all the questionnaire items and ethical considerations of administering questionnaires. The first attempts of administering the questionnaires were unsuccessful in that most of the respondents complained that they were too busy to spare time to answer the questions and would need several days to respond. This obstacle was overcome by making telephone calls prior to the meetings with the respondents and sometimes use of contact persons to solve the problem.

3.6.2 Key Informants Interview Schedule

An interview schedule was used to collect data from the key informants who were drawn from different categories including some key women and men, political leaders, religious leaders, and officials of civil society groups. Interviews were chosen to collect information from the key informants because they provided in-depth information that would not be possible to get when using the questionnaire (Bordens and Abbott, 2005). From the interview the researcher was able to probe the respondents and seek clarifications to the responses made. Face-to-face or key informant interviews with selected leaders provided essential data in relation to the present day factors, which determine the level of women participation in politics from the selected Counties. The key informant schedule guide is presented at the appendix page. The researcher assigned the key informants identification notations as Key Informant 1 (K.I.1), Key Informant 2 (K.I.2), Key

Informant 3 (K.I.3), Key Informant 4 (K.I.4), Key Informant 5 (K.I.5) and Key Informant 6 (K.I.6).

3.7 Piloting of Instruments

According to Orodho (2012) and Brooks (2013), pilot studies make it possible for the researcher to establish whether the study/research can be able to realize the projected goals. Consequently, pilot studies enhance the capability of the researcher to make essential observations and as such be able to identify the inconsistencies of the research instruments. Through piloting the validity and reliability of the research instrument is determined. Therefore, the researcher was able to conduct pilot studies by establishing the validity and reliability of the research instruments. The researcher tested the internal consistent of the questionnaire by applying Cronbach's Alpha because the questionnaire contains multiple questions, which respondents were required to answer. It is imperative to point out that the research used Cronbach's Alpha coefficients that arrange from 0 to 1, whereby coefficients above 0.7 indicates internal consistent of the research instrument (Nunnaly, 1978). To enhance the reliability of the research instrument for this study, a pilot study was conducted, whereby the researcher tested the internal consistent of the questionnaire by applying questionnaires to 10% of the total population of the study, which was not to be part of the final study. According to Sakaran (2010) a sample of 10% respondents can be obtained from the same target population and consequently the research applied Cronbach's Alpha to calculate the internal consistence of the questionnaire. Moreover, with the help of my supervisors, the tools were tested and found to be appropriate for the study.

3.7.1 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity refers to the degree to which evidence and theory support the interpretation of test scores entailed by use of tests. The validity of instrument is the extent to which it does measure what it is supposed to measure. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), Validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results. It is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the variables of the study. The content related technique measures the degree to which the questions items reflected the specific areas covered. The researcher consulted and discussed with her supervisors, experts and lecturers from the Peace and Conflict Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology and The University of Nairobi. The research instrument was validated in terms of content and face validity. Content and face validity is necessary to ascertain whether the content of the questionnaire is appropriate and relevant to the study purpose (Parsian & Dunning, 2009). Items found to be inadequate for measuring the variables were modified to improve the quality of the research instruments. Face validity which evaluates the appearance of the questionnaire in terms of feasibility, readability, consistency of the style, formatting and clarity of the language used was done through similar consultations.

3.7.2 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability is the ability of a research instrument to consistently measure characteristics of interest over time. It is the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. If a researcher administers a test to a subject twice and gets the same score on the second administration as the first test, then there is reliability of the instrument (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Reliability is concerned with consistency, dependability or stability of a

test (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). The researcher measured the reliability of the questionnaire to determine its consistency in testing what they are intended to measure.

Reliability of the research instrument was ascertained through a pilot study of ten respondents in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. These were purposively chosen and provided an opportunity to pre-test the research instruments before administering them. It is during these pre-tests that some of the shortcomings likely to be experienced during the actual study were detected and hence enhancing reliability and validity of the instruments (Parsian and Dunning, 2009). Reliability of the questionnaire was evaluated by determining the Cronbach Alpha of the results from the pretest study. Cronbach's Alpha is used to measure internal consistency of the data collected through the questionnaires. Cronbach's alpha (α) ≥ 0.9 indicate excellent internal consistency $0.7 \leq \alpha < 0.9$ good internal consistency $0.6 \leq \alpha < 0.7$ acceptable internal consistency $0.5 \leq \alpha < 0.6$ poor internal consistency and $\alpha < 0.5$ unacceptable internal consistency (Cronbach, 1951).

3.8 Secondary Data

The secondary data was obtained from various documentations. These were mainly books, reports, and other documents from development organizations and government records as well as written articles on the researcher's interests in the two counties. Documentary analysis is a vital research tool. Secondary data collection involved the compilation of diverse information from books and documents. The use of documentary source involved reading items that contained information relevant to the researcher's interest. The researcher studied both published and unpublished documents. The researcher relied on documents, which were both, official and unofficial, soft and hard copies from the ministries, NGOs, Civil Society Organizations and other institutional partners for content analysis. The researcher also visited Internet sources and websites of international journals on peace and conflict studies.

3.9 Data Collection Process

Prior to the commencement of data collection, the researcher obtained all the necessary documents, including an introduction letter from the University and a research permit from NACOSTI. Upon getting clearance, the researcher in person, distributed the questionnaires to the sampled individuals who were aspiring or are participating in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties. Use of questionnaires was expected to ease the process of data collection, as all the selected respondents would be reached in time. In addition, the researcher obtained information from key informants by personally interviewing them. During the distribution of the instruments, the purpose of the research was explained.

3.10 Data Analysis Procedure

Both quantitative and qualitative approaches were used for data analysis. Quantitative data from the questionnaire was coded and entered into the computer for computation of descriptive statistics. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 23.0) was used to run descriptive statistics such as frequency and percentages so as to present the quantitative data in form of tables and graphs based on the major research questions. The qualitative data generated from open-ended questions categorized in themes in accordance with research objectives and reported in narrative form along with quantitative presentation. The qualitative data was used to reinforce the quantitative data.

Table 3.1: Operationalization of Variables

Variable	Indicators	Data collection tool	Data Collected
Nature of the Political Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Culture & laws of political parties• Patriarchy culture• Hierarchal culture• Gender bias/inequality	Questionnaire/Interview Guide	Qualitative/Quantitative
Influence of Political Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Culture & laws of political parties• Patriarchy culture• Hierarchal culture• Gender bias/inequality	Questionnaire/Interview Guide	Qualitative/Quantitative
Challenges Facing Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic opportunities• Education• Underrepresentation• Legislations & Laws• Political parties• Marriage	Questionnaire/Interview Guide	Qualitative/Quantitative

Source: Researcher, 2016

3.11 Ethical Considerations

The researcher explained to the respondents about the research and that the study would be for academic purposes only. It was made clear that the participation was voluntary and that the respondents would be free to decline or withdraw any time during the research period. Respondents were not coerced into participating in the study. The participants were informed that they had to give consent in making the choice to participate or not. They were guaranteed that their privacy was protected by strict standard of anonymity. To realize confidentiality, respondents were not required to indicate their names on the questionnaires, denoting that they had the discretion to provide information that they deemed appropriate.

The research assistant had been trained by the researcher on data collection methods and on how to probe any sensitive issue that could emerge in the course of the interviews and discussions.

This training had emphasized on how to introduce the study to the respondents, and establish good rapport with them. This was based on the belief that some participants would not be comfortable with certain questions. The training also covered interviewing techniques as well as the importance and need to ensure and maintain confidentiality. The research assistant was also made aware of the need to inform respondents and participants that they did not have to respond to questions they were not comfortable with.

The researcher assured qualitative collection of data and applied the ethics of the research in respect on the sensitivity of information gathered and protection of the confidentiality of respondents. The anonymity of the respondents was observed as the questionnaire design was crafted to omit names of the respondents. At the start of the interview the researcher explained the purpose of the research to avoid ambiguity and to guarantee the rights of the respondents and to answer questions they were uncomfortable with. Respondents were given time to ask questions before, during, and after the interview. The research assistant properly identified himself before proceeding with the interview, as is the standard research ethics practice.

3.12 Summary

Chapter three discussed the research methodology which is essentially a triangulation utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection and analysis. The chapter discussed the study location, study design, target population sample size as well as research instruments for primary data collection. Key Informant method was also used to gather necessary data for the study. The results of the study are thus valid and it is hoped that they can be replicated in other counties in Kenya as a whole. The research methods discussed in this chapter were used to collect data that were used in discussing the nexus between political culture and women

participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. This is discussed in depth in chapter four, five, and six.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NATURE OF THE POLITICAL CULTURE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presented the findings from both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data illustrated the profile of the respondents as well as the nature of the political culture in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. The qualitative data explored the deeper meanings of data from the perceptions of women interviewed, and from female and male leaders such as the governor and other elected leaders. The study employed mixed methods of research because it enhanced the comparison of quantitative and qualitative data. Mixed methods are especially useful in understanding contradictions between quantitative results and qualitative findings. These methods gave a voice to study participants and ensured that study findings were grounded in participants' experiences. To this end, the mixed research approach enabled the researcher to gather rich and comprehensive data, which the researcher used to make generalizations. This chapter specifically presented findings under the first objective of this study: to examine the nature of the political culture in Nairobi City and Kajiado Counties. The following titles were analysed: response rate, the profile of the respondents and the nature of political culture.

4.2 Response Rate

A sample of 384 respondents was used for the study. The researcher managed to collect 234 questionnaires, which were duly filled. The researcher questionnaires from the six key informants, which brought the total number collected to 240 questionnaires. This represented a response rate of 61.5% of the sampled 390 respondents. Some of the respondents that did not return their questionnaires gave various reasons such as of lack of time to fill them and

misplacement of questionnaires. Others requested respondents claimed that such information was private and that they were not sure if the results would be used for academic purposes only. While most scholars do not seem to agree on the acceptable level of response rate to form the basis for data analysis, Nachmias and Nachmis (2004) have poised that survey researches face a challenge of low response rate that rarely goes above 50%. They continued to suggest that a response rate of 50% and above is satisfactory and represents a good basis for data analysis. Morris (2008) supports this argument that for a social study, responses bearing over 60% response rate are sufficient for making adequate research conclusions. The researcher therefore considered that the 61.5% response rate achieved was adequate since it was above 50%, and that this would provide sufficient information for analysis and drawing of conclusions of the study would be satisfactory.

4.3 Profile of the Respondents

There was possibility that the profile of the respondents were likely to influence their participation in politics. The profile covered in this study were: Gender of the respondents, position they vied for, their age, religious background, their level of education, their marital status, their occupation and their level of income. Data in this section was collected through quantitative methods, specifically the use of a questionnaire. The questionnaire was only administered on respondents above the age of 18 years.

4.3.1 Gender of the respondents

The researcher sought to establish the gender distribution of the respondents as outlined in table 4.1. From the analysis of the collected data, 190 female respondents represented 79.2% of the total respondents. There were 50 male who represented 20.8% of the respondents that the researcher was able to collect data from. The researcher chose to sample more women

principally because the study focused on the nature of women participation and as such, women provided more insights to the topic, as their views were helpful and significant to the study. Moreover, the high percentage of female respondents was encouraged since the researcher sought to get the in-depth information about women’s level of participation, and what influenced their participation in politics.

Table 4.1: Gender of the respondents

Gender	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total Percent
Female	90	82	100	77	79.2
Male	20	18	30	23	20.8
Total	110		130		100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.2 Vied Position

As shown in table 4.2, out of the 240 respondents, no respondent had vied for the position of Presidency while five of the respondents indicated that they had vied or intended to vie for the position of the senator. Eight respondents opined that they intended to vie for the gubernatorial position. A relatively higher percentage (20.8%) of the respondents indicated that they either had vied or intended to vie for the position of the Member of Parliament (MP). More women had vied or expressed intentions of vying for the position of women representative (33.3%) and this was mainly because this position is only available for women aspirants. Further, 40.4% of the respondents indicated that they either had vied or were intending to vie for the position of the Member of County Assembly (MCA). Women ought to corroborate their efforts and pull together strategically if they have to realize political gains for their members. The political gains include improved women’s potential and skills to compete in the political processes at national and party elections.

Women’s representation in elected office is slowly advancing in the Kajiado and Nairobi counties. As argued by Okello (2010), poor representation and low-level participation is not a recent trend in Kenya. Women make up to about 52% of the population and they are always the majority voters with a turn out exceeding 55% in polling stations countrywide. In spite of these statistics, women participation has been minimal at the public policy and decision-making levels. For instance, during the drafting of Kenya’s independence constitution at the Lancaster conference, out of the 70 Kenyan legislative council members who were appointed to participate, only one was a woman. The woman was a nominated member of the Legislative Council (LEGCO). Even then, her role was not clearly established and documented. The first post-independence parliament had no woman elected representative (Akello, 2010).

Table 4.2: Vying/Vied Position

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
President	0	0	0	0	0	0
Senator	1	4	4	5	5	2.1
Governor	2	2	6	8	8	3.3
Member of Parliament	17	32	33	50	50	20.8
Women Representative	25	15	55	80	80	33.3
Member of County Assembly	31	48	66	97	97	40.4
Total	130	100	110	100	240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.3 Age of the Respondents

The researcher chose to collect data on age of the respondents because age plays an important role in decision-making, as it determines the maturity of the individuals and decision-making capability. Table 4.3 shows that 12.1% of the respondents were below 29 years while 17.9% were 30-39 years. Respondents between 40 to 49 years were 25% while 50-59 years were 35%.

Respondents above 60 years were 10% of the sample population. It is imperative to point that young women were likely to avoid politics because of myriad reasons such as lack of adequate financial resources, cultural factors, and responsibilities associated with young women such as marriage and education. Therefore, there is a direct link between age of the women and their participation in politics. As argued by Fund (2011), support for and increased involvement of young active women, promising political leaders, could help form a new generation of women politicians. Such women leaders would be keen to pursue community interests and serve as key players towards the development of a democratic and gender-equal society. Young women politicians are crucial in facilitating the establishment of new standards and principles in politics; they could promote different views on the role of women in the political life and could greatly influence the young political culture of their societies.

Table 4.3: Age of the Respondents

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Below 29 Years	17	15	12	9	29	12.1
30-39 Years	19	17	24	18	43	17.9
40-49 years	31	28	29	22	60	25
50-59 years	34	31	50	38	84	35
Above 60 years	9	8	15	12	24	10
Total	110	100	130	100	240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.4 Religious Background of the Respondents

The researcher collected data on religious background of the respondents because it enabled her to study the relationship between the religious orientation and the level of women participation in politics in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. Further, we collected data on religion because religion affords the faithful a variety of civic skills that encourage political participation.

Women are more religious than men by most measures, but religious women do not participate in politics at elevated rates (Cassese & Holman, 2016). This discrepancy suggests a puzzle: religion may have a different effect on the political mobilization of men and women. In the present study, the researcher examined the relationship between women’s religious background and the level of political participation. The researcher anticipated that the relationship between women’s religious background and the level of political participation would provide new insights into the ways religious and gender identities intersected to influence political mobilization among women, with implications for a political climate where gender and religion both represented fundamental identities that shape political behavior. Table 4.4 shows that majority (65%) of the respondents were Christians while the Hindus were 5.8%. A response rate of 18.8% indicated that they were Muslims while 10.4% indicated that they were not Christians, Hindus, or Muslims, which meant that they belonged to other religious backgrounds.

Table 4.4 Religious Backgrounds of the Respondents

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Christian	80	73	76	58	156	65
Hindu	2	2	12	9	14	5.8
Muslim	15	14	30	23	45	18.8
Other	13	12	12	9	25	10.4
Total	110		130		240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.5 Level of Education

The researcher chose to collect information pertaining to the level of education because she anticipated a relationship between the level of education and political participation. In other words, the level of education would enable the researcher to deduce its influence on the extent of women participation in politics. In addition, education was considered important because it is assumed that education makes a woman confident enough to venture into political leadership.

The study hypothesizes education level has an influence on women's participation in political leadership. For instance, UNESCO (2006) shows that women who have no formal education do not show any interest in political leadership. On the same note the willingness of women to participate in political leadership increased with the level of education albeit minimally. Illiteracy and low level of educational attainment presents a most disempowering factor for women's development. Two thirds of the total less literate persons in the world are women (UNESCO, 2006). On the same breadth, 60% of the 135 million children in the world between ages seven and eighteen who are not receiving education are girls and only one out of every four girls who begins primary school remain in the school four years after (Khan, 2010). Despite the introduction and provision of free and compulsory primary free tuition in secondary education girls access to education remains limited, in part due to traditional attitudes as well as high dropout rates due to early pregnancy and forced marriages.

The study sought to establish the level of education from the respondents. The analysis of the findings indicated that a majority had secondary education (31.7%) followed by 29.2% who had college diploma. Further, the findings showed that 25.4% of the respondents had university education while 10.4% had primary education while those without any education were 3.3%.

Table 4.5: Level of Education

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
University	31	28	29	22	61	25.4
College Diploma	36	33	34	26	70	29.2
Secondary	38	35	39	30	76	31.7
Primary	5	5	20	15	25	10.4
None	0	0	8	6	8	3.3
Total	110		130		240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.6 Marital Status

The researcher chose to collect information pertaining to marital status of women because women's marital status and age were important factors in engaging in active politics. The study sought to establish the marital status of the respondents from the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado as indicated in table 4.6. The analysis of the responses revealed that 60.4% of the respondents were married, 30.4% were single whereas 9.2% were divorced.

Table 4.6: Marital Status

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Married	64	58	81	62	145	60.4
Single	37	34	36	28	73	30.4
Divorced	9	8	13	10	22	9.2
Total	110		130		240	100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.7 Occupation

The researcher collected data on the occupation of the responses because occupation is a direct predictor of political participation. The study sought to establish the occupation of the

respondents from the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado as indicated in table 4.7. The analysis of the responses indicated that majority of the respondents (41.3%) were employed while 20.8% were unemployed. Further, the analysis of the response rates indicated that 11.7% of the responses were retired, 16.3% were students, and 10% were homemakers.

Table 4. 7: Occupation

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Employed	44	40	55	42	99	41.3
Unemployed	21	19	29	22	50	20.8
Retired	19	17	9	7	28	11.7
Student	21	19	18	14	39	16.3
Homemaker	5	5	19	15	24	10.0
Total	110		130		240	100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.3.8 Level of Income

The researcher collected information on the level of income because financial resources determine the willingness of individuals to participate in politics, as resources makes it possible for politicians to campaign and undertake other political logistics. The study sought to establish the level of income of the respondents as indicated in table 4.10. The analysis of the responses indicated that majority (25.8%) of the respondents had an income of Kshs. 21,000-30,000, 12.1% of the respondents had an income of 11,000-20,000, 20.8% had an income of 31,000-40,000, 14.2% had an income of 41,000-50,000, 23.3% had an income of above 51,000 whereas 3.8% had an income below 10,000.

Table 4.8 Level of Income

Income Level	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Under 10000	2	1.8	7	5.4	9	3.8
11000-20000	12	10.9	17	13.1	29	12.1
21000-30000	31	28.2	31	23.8	62	25.8
31000-40000	21	19.1	29	22.3	50	20.8
41000-50000	16	14.5	18	13.8	34	14.2
Above 51000	28	25.5	28	21.5	56	23.3
Total	110		130		240	100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4 The Nature of the Political Culture

4.4.1 The Nature of Politics

The researcher posed the question to the respondents on how the nature of politics in their respective counties led to their level of participation. Majority of the respondents (81.1%) observed that the current political developments did not favor women to contest certain elective posts, as the community viewed the aforementioned posts to be a reserve for their male counterparts. However, women respondents from Nairobi County opined that there had been political evolution in terms of culture to accommodate both genders. A key informant from Kaputiei North ward of Kajiado County pointed out that:

“Many obstacles mar the current political culture that women face as they attempt to participate in politics. Many barriers have been erected by society to bar women from politics. One of these enormous reasons may be because of the social cultural norms, beliefs, myths traditions, practices and customs that the society has internalized to the effect that women cannot make good leaders” (K.I .1, 2016).

The above assertion by one of the key informant was consistent with Randall (2008) who observed that women’s historic exclusion from political structures and processes is the result of multiple structural, functional and personal factors that vary in different social contexts across countries. Further, the analysis of the collected data pointed out that promoting gender equality both in the areas of politics and legislation as well as in society as a whole is a long and complex process. Gender stereotypes and gender inequalities have been developing prevalently in the county of Kajiado and as such, any initiatives to remedy those inequalities must be strategic and long-term oriented. It is also crucial to avoid a limited interpretation of gender equality, as only referring to anti-discrimination measures. Absence of discrimination is not sufficient to promote gender equality, but should rather be accompanied by concrete activities and positive measures contributing to substantive equality, equal opportunities, equal access to opportunities, and equivalent results.

Table 4.9: Nature of Politics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties.

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Yes	87	79.1	108	83.1	195	81.1
No	23	20.9	12	16.9	35	18.9
Total	110		130		240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.2 Marginalization of Women and Political Participation

The researcher sought to establish whether women have been marginalized and that this has translated to their poor participation in politics as indicated in table 4.11. Further, the study sought to establish whether men had monopolized decision-making structures because they are the majority to an extent that women have not been able to significantly contribute in politics.

Majority (85.0%) of the respondents indicated, “yes” while 15.0% indicated “no”. Therefore, it is evident that majority of the respondents were in agreement that the decision-making structures were directly in the hands of the male and this hindered their ability to make any impact in the political landscape. The structure of the questionnaire required that once the respondents gave a ‘yes’ answer they were required to give reasons for their answers. In this light, the researcher analyzed the qualitative data and established that majority (85.0%) of the respondents agreed that the women level of participation in the two counties in the decision-making bodies remained low. A key informant from Kilimani Ward of Nairobi County pointed out that:

“For progress to be made there is need to change the hearts, minds and attitudes of those who would obstruct women’s access to decision making. There is need to reach out for men and persuade them to allow women access political space” (K.I.1, 2016).

Further, the analysis of the gathered data established that women feared venturing into politics and, therefore, they ventured into other certain aspects of the electoral process independently, for example, by joining civil society organizations, women’s networks, non-governmental organizations. In addition, the study revealed that Kajiado and Nairobi counties were rather conservative regarding parental duties; for instance, during divorce the decision on child custody is taken in favor of the woman, regardless of the conditions each parent can offer. The traditionally dominant role of men in society remains unchanged despite recent changes in gender relations. Presence of such stereotypes may lead to stress, excessive risk-taking, and family tensions and this largely influences the choice of women entering politics. On the same breadth, lack of time due to household duties largely impedes women’s active participation in the labor market and in public and political life specifically

Table 4.10: Marginalization of Women and Political Participation

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Yes	90	81.8	114	87.7	204	85
No	20	18.2	16	12.3	36	15
Total	110		130		240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.3 Patriarchal Structures

The study sought to establish whether the inherent patriarchal structures in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado had negatively contributed to the low and/or poor participation of in politics. From the analysis of the study findings as indicated in table 4.12, it was clear that majority of the respondents agreed that patriarchal structures within parties, state, and people's lives have a deleterious influence on the level of political participation by women. Majority (53.8%) of respondents from Kajiado County contended that the cultural stereotypes labeled against women continued to pervade the community to an extent that women were not viewed as equal to men. The study found out that 88% of the respondents indicated that patriarchal structures influence women's participation in political leadership. It is imperative to point out that political manifestation of patriarchy is men's control exerted over women's bodies and sexuality, control over women's political aspirations, and control of women's free choices in their lives. A woman representative aspirant from Nairobi County recounted:

“Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile” (K.I.2, 2016).

Empirical studies by Fu et al. (2004) noted that patriarchal structures within given societal culture affects the advancement of women into positions of leadership. The study established that the more women were elected to public offices, the more beneficial those policies were to the

public. Women’s exclusion from the formal political arena was explained as being part of a historical tradition, and therefore not an entirely new situation. Women’s exclusion was the result of patriarchal ideology that determines the relationship model of women and politics. The patriarchal ideology in the county of Nairobi operates at the economy and sociocultural structure levels and creates disparities of social capital and political capacities between women and men.

In modern everyday life, patriarchy can be recognized by acts of discrimination that cause various forms of disparities such as in education, inheritance, work opportunities and strategic career paths, salaries and wages, and so forth. The above assertion was consistent with Alkan (2009) who opined that in modern or contemporary society, the entry of women into the public domain was embedded within the subordinating structure. At the workplace, aside from the separation of work type, women also receive different salaries to men, and do not have equal career opportunities. Even in today’s modern society, a woman’s marital status often sparked normative and morality debates regarding employment. In terms of salary, married women, who bear the double burden of working outside and inside the house, are still regarded as single persons.

Table 4.11: Patriarchal Structures and Women Participation in Politics

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
Agree	91	82.7	114	87.7	205	85
Disagree	19	17.3	16	12.3	35	15
Total	110		130		240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.4 Underrepresentation of Women in Government

The researcher sought to establish whether the efforts made to increase female representation have achieved the projected goals or whether women still remain underrepresented to an extent that they remain behind in terms of leadership and decision-making at the governmental level. From the analysis of the data as presented in table 4.12, it was evident that a majority (68.2%) of the respondents from Nairobi County indicated that despite the structures put in place such as the two-thirds gender rule, the representation of women in leadership positions was low. Also, 31.8% of the respondents from Nairobi County contended that the current efforts such as legal framework as provided in the constitution had been instrumental in ensuring that women are well represented in both the county assembly and the national assembly. However, majority of those interviewed argued that electoral systems are not gender-neutral. The type of electoral system in Kenya has a major impact on the number of women elected to office

Kenya's constitutional and legal framework guarantees equal civil and political rights to every person on a non-discriminatory basis. If these rights are not explicitly affirmed in Kenya's constitution or other laws, they may apply by virtue of their inclusion in international treaties a government has ratified, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEAFD) against Women. Analysis of the findings from the County of Kajiado indicated that a majority (70.8%) of the respondents asserted that even though there have been concerted efforts to increase women in the position of leadership, not much has been achieved by the structures. On the other hand, 29.2% of the respondents from Kajiado county indicated that the efforts made in both the public and private sector to increase the number of women in position of leadership had enhanced representation of women in position of leadership to an extent that women were

directly involved in position of leadership. As argued by Ballington (2008) the attainment of gender equality and the full participation of women in decision making were key indicators of democracy. The involvement of women in all aspects of political life produces more equitable societies and delivers a stronger and more representative democracy.

The researcher asked the respondents to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ and provides reason(s) for their answers. The question asked was “Have the efforts made to increase female representation have achieved the projected goals or whether women still remain underrepresented to an extent that they remain behind in terms of leadership and decision-making at the governmental level?”

For instance, a respondent who indicated a ‘yes’ answer from Kajiado County contended that:

“Despite the progress made in ensuring equal gender representation, serious and persistent obstacles still hinder the advancement of women and their participation in political decision-making processes. Some of the main obstacles are related to persistent poverty; lack of equal access to health, education, training and employment; cultural barriers; political structures and institutions that discriminate on women” (K.I.3, 2016).

Wide variety of laws would affect women’s prospects for full participation in all aspects of an election. The most important was the election law, but laws relating to political parties, gender equality, gender-based violence, citizenship, personal status, the family, identity documents for returnee and internally displaced persons, and other issues can also have a significant impact. Some laws may prompt indirect discrimination; for example, literacy requirements may disproportionately disadvantage women. Even sound laws will make little difference unless State institutions ensure they are effectively implemented and enforced.

Table 4.12: Underrepresentation of Women in Government

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
No	35	31.8	38	29.2	73	30.5
Yes	75	68.2	92	70.8	167	69.5
Total	110	100	130	100	240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.5 Political Culture of the Political Parties

The question posed to the respondents required them to assess the role of political culture and the effect on the representation or participation of women in politics. The researcher tabulated the data from the two Counties as indicated in table 4.13, as most of the political parties in Nairobi are same just as Kajiado County. The analysis of the findings established that the majority (74.4%) of the respondents indicated that the culture of the political parties had been the reason why women did not make much impact in politics. This assertion were in tandem with Kamau (2010) who argued that lack of training and sensitization of women on political participation and mobilization by political parties translated to women shying away from proactive engagement in political activities within the ward. One of the respondents who indicated ‘yes’ pointed out that:

“Men dominate political parties and men who control the decision-making organs of the party make most of the decisions. Political parties belong to men and they make most of the decisions at various levels” (K.I.4, 2016).

Further, the researcher established that notwithstanding the underpinning the parties’ political ideologies, women invariably encountered resistance from various levels of interests within their respective political party including issues of preferential treatment within these respective parties. Moreover, analysis from a “yes” answer posited that women from poorer socio-economic background do not always get equal chances as those accorded to their more affluent and better

socially connected fellow women, within same political parties. Women's effective political participation in various political parties' structures is not only about increasing their numbers but also about effectiveness and impacts. A response rate of 25.6% indicated "no" meaning that the culture of the political parties was not the one to blame in entirety, as women have the capacity to fight for their positions or form their political parties.

The analysis of the collected data revealed that women generally encounter many obstacles within political parties. Notwithstanding the underpinning party political ideology, women invariably bump into resistance from various levels of interests within their respective political party. There were also issues of preferential treatment within respective political parties. Women from poorer socioeconomic background did not always get equal chances as those accorded to their more affluent and better socially connected fellow women within the same political parties. The study revealed that there was also the problem that poorer women might not get accepted into the political parties' structures in the first place. Majority (77.3%) of the respondents from the county of Nairobi argued that women continued to be underrepresented in politics. Political parties claimed to support women candidates, but often overlooked them for actual positions. A "yes" response from Nairobi County suggested that women candidates were often placed low on party lists, making their election unlikely. Further, the study established that there were political players had different interest at parties. The said political players included leaders, the gatekeepers, or (those who in fact take the day-to-day managerial decisions within the political parties' administrative and political structures), the operatives, activists and grassroots. It was the temperaments of these political players who always determined the intensity and magnitude of women participation in intra-political parties' structures and decision-making processes.

Table 4.13: Political Culture of the Political Parties

Response	Nairobi (%)		Kajiado (%)		Percent
No	25	22.7	37	28.5%	25.6%
Yes	85	77.3	93	71.5%	74.4%
Total	110	100	130	100	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.6 Political Structures as Hindrance to Women’s Political Participation

The study sought to establish whether the structures within the political parties have negatively influenced women’s political participation as outlined in 4.14. In answering this question, the researcher asked the respondents to give answers in relation to the questions outlined in the interview guide. Majority of those interviewed observed that political parties do not give equal slots to both genders. A respondent from Nairobi’s Embakasi East Constituency noted:

“Political parties such as Jubilee and Orange Democratic Movement are tightly controlled by a few leaders or organized around well-known personalities usually men may be much less receptive to selecting substantial numbers of women as candidates” (K.I.5, 2016).

Political parties act as gatekeepers because of the unique and fundamental role they play in the democratic process. Parties represent the views and perspectives of citizens, both men and women and channel these into appropriate public policy forums. They also serve as the pipeline through which women and men emerge as elected representatives or political decision makers. How political parties function and how their functions are regulated can have a significant impact on opportunities for women’s political advancement. Legislation governing political parties can directly or indirectly discriminate against women. For instance, in the County of Kajiado, the researcher made inferences that the structures within the political parties were biased, as they favor men. From the analysis, it was evident that the political party structures for

both CORD and JUBILEE were not committed to equal representation of male and female, as table 4.15 indicated that only two females were nominated to the Kajiado County Assembly.

The analysis of the collected data pointed out that provision on candidate registration, such as high candidate deposit costs, can stipulate requirements that many women are unable to fulfill due to their unequal political and socio-economic power vis-à-vis men. Furthermore, requirements for advanced educational qualifications or minimum years of public service can unduly limit the right to stand for public office and may disproportionately affect potential women candidates at the level of political parties. The study pointed out the example of Margaret Wanjiru when Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) disqualified her on premises that she did not have the minimum education qualification to contest for the position of governor in the 2013 general elections.

Table 4.14: Gender and Political Party Representation in the Kajiado County Assembly

	Male	Female	Cord	Jubilee
Elected	0	25	2	23
Nominated	14	2	1	15
			Cord=3	Jubilee=38
Total	14	27		41

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.7 Gender Biases within the Party Structures

The researcher sought to establish the extent to which gender biases within the political parties had translated to poor political participation by women. The researcher noted that the most common route to elected office was through political parties. Most candidates depended on

parties for their nomination, their base of electoral support, and help during the election campaign, financial resources, and continued assistance after election. While some candidates run for office independently of political parties, it was far more difficult to win election without the backing of a political organization, especially at the national level. Hence, women seeking an entry into politics usually turned to political parties. Political parties vary greatly in the extent to which they seek to promote women into leadership positions and to recruit women as party candidates, as well as in the extent to which they address political, economic and social issues of special concern to women.

This assertion was in tandem with Kasomo (2012) who argued that women and men are different in a number of aspects. Making equal use of both sexes encompassed more perspectives, qualities and inputs. Since gender equality is fundamental for equal rights, opportunity, access of power etc., it is of utmost importance to reflect these conditions in a country's political organization structure. The researcher noted that in the County of Nairobi, out of 127 members of the County Assembly, there were only 43 women, whereby only four were elected and this represented only 34% of the elected members. This indicated that the political parties did not give women an enabling framework to be able to express themselves in politics, as it is political parties, which provide platforms for individuals to progress politically.

The study established that many political parties, especially clientele political parties that used patronage as modus operandi within party structures did not provide women with the same support given their male colleagues. In other words, women members were considered as political burdens. Various drastic socio-political and economic occurrences have paradoxically resulted in women and other disadvantaged groups becoming more alert and aware of the factors

that hitherto kept them out of the political participatory crucible. These groups and including women now want to assert and are actually asserting themselves in politics.

It is imperative to point out that gender equality indicators are known to develop under multiple influences, should be regarded, and assessed both in view of the factors that contributed to the present situation as well as in view of the already existing, preconditions that may influence the situation in the near future. Fund (2011) contended that the extent of women's participation in politics and women's access to decision-making can be seen as the key indicators of gender equality in a society. Gender equality in decision-making is to be viewed in the context of whether women are in the position to make or influence public decisions on the same footing as men. Therefore, gender plays a critical role in determining the political culture of a given society because if one gender is controlling the political landscape, there is likelihood of a shift of the political culture to favor one gender.

According to Lijphart (1999), political participation is good for democracy, but democracies are plagued by systematic inequalities in participation. One of the most persistent has been according to gender, such that women are found to participate less compared to men, suggesting that half the population's interests are less well represented. If democracy is going to put down strong and healthy roots, it must profit from all the full and equitable participation of women in national and local leadership positions and in a full range of advocacy roles (National Democratic Institute, 2010). In other words, although men and women vote at similar rates today, women still trail men in important participatory attitudes and activities such as political interest and discussion. Inequalities in political involvement undermine the quality of deliberation, representation, and legitimacy in the democratic process

4.4.8 Women Prefer Taking Positions That Are Not Demanding

The study endeavored to investigate whether women prefer to take positions that are not demanding because they have other responsibilities at home or for the fear of their husbands as indicated in table 4.15. From the analysis of the collected data, it was evident that majority (92.3%) of the respondents from Kajiado County indicated that women preferred taking up positions that were less demanding. The researcher separately analyzed the responses, as it enhanced the understanding different perceptions from the two counties. Majority (55.5%) of the respondents from Nairobi County agreed with those of Kajiado that women fear taking big positions because of responsibilities at home. However, women respondents from Nairobi County contended that they shied away from big positions because of the demands and not the fear from their husbands. One female respondent noted:

“Simwogopi mume wangu kwa sababu ni haki ya kikatiba” (K.I.6, 2016).

(I don't fear my husband because it's my constitutional right).

The analysis of the collected data made it possible to state that apart from intensive changes related to modernization, women were still less active in politics than men. Women also chose slightly different forms of this activity than men. However, if the factors determining the position of an individual in a society were taken into account in these analyses, gender stopped being a significant factor. This meant that if women and men of similar education, income and professional status were taken into consideration, there were no statistically significant differences between them as to undertaking political activity. Thus, it was presumed that once gender no longer determined the position of an individual in a society, also the differences in levels of political activity would vanish.

The above analysis was consistent with Norris and Inglehart (2009) who pointed out three main trends of explaining the differences in the political activity between women and men. These included the structural, cultural and institutional approaches. In the structural trend, the role of differences in the socio-economic position between women and men was stressed as these differences make it difficult for women to take up such activities. In the cultural approach, the role in explaining the differences of political as well as broadly understood culture was indicated.

The study revealed that there were various parameters affecting an individual's choice to engage in civic life. Recognizing that women were differentially affected by these parameters generated two sets of explanations. First, women faced greater social and material costs to participation. Second, women were less likely to have the information and civic skills necessary to formulate and express grievances. This is consistent with Gottlieb (2014) while conducting a study on the reasons why women participate less in civic activity observed that participants in civic activity are more likely to be informed than non-participants because of the learning that occurs through engagement. In addition, better-connected participants can restrict access to or withhold information from non-participants. It was thus hard to distinguish whether information gaps between participants and non-participants are a result of differential levels of participation or its root cause.

The researcher quantified how respondents responded to direct questions asked in the interviews. In many cases, however, this would be misleading because respondents later contradicted themselves or were suspected of being dishonest by the interviewer. Data collected revealed that many women were at ease with joining the course and that no one had discouraged them from participating in civic activities, but later confided the opposite in private conversation with the

interviewer. Similarly, some men indicated that both genders should play an equal role in the civic and political life of their communities but later made remarks to the contrary. The researcher used direct quotes from respondents to demonstrate beliefs about gender norms and experiences of gender discrimination. Given its sensitive nature, these beliefs or experiences expressed openly by some respondents are likely under-reported by others. The analysis of the collected data affirmed that women know less about politics notwithstanding whether there was gender equality. Simply put, women are not interested with politics and this largely translates to their poor participation in politics. Summing up the presented data, one may conclude those women’s political activity levels are in most cases lower than men’s political activity levels. However, the value of the difference varies depending on the type of society, on the age of those surveyed or on the kind of activity analyzed

Table 4.15: Women Prefer Taking Positions That Are Not Demanding

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Total	Percent
No	49	44.5	10	7.7	59	24.6
Yes	61	55.5	120	92.3	181	75.4
Total	110		130		240	100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.9 None Adherence to the Affirmative Action

The study sought to establish how none adherence to the affirmative action by the government both at national and grass root level had led to poor participation in politics by women. Since the question posed was open-ended, one respondent noted:

“Sometimes those in power do not follow the legal framework as enshrined in the constitution, as no gender should have more than two thirds of the representation” (K.I.1, 2016).

Affirmative action was meant to bridge the glaring disparities between men and women in political representation, the numbers are still dismal, at 20%, which is a 10% increase from the previous parliament largely bolstered by the affirmative action seats of women MPs. Article 27(3) of the Kenya constitution states that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. The state shall take legislative and other measures including Affirmative action programs and policies to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination” (Kenya Constitution, 2010).

Moreover, the Political Parties Act (2011), a subsequent legislation of the Constitution is very clear on gender equality but this too did not serve to increase the number of women elected and nominated through their parties given the results of Kenya’s General elections on March 4, 2013. Against this backdrop, the researcher established that both the Assemblies of Nairobi and Kajiado have not embraced the affirmative action as put forward by the constitution. To this end, it is evident that despite subscribing to international commitments to empower women, Kenya still lags behind in terms of women representation in politics and decision-making.

Affirmative action is expected to improve development indicators by reducing inequalities and facilitating the contribution of particular social groups to development. Affirmative action therefore relates to both the productive and distributive aspects of development. The analysis of gathered data established that women in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado have been active in politics and have contributed to the social, economic and political life. They have also participated in policy making towards women’s issues and gender equity and within the

international arena. In spite of this long history of engagement, women are largely absent from mainstream political decision-making processes.

The arena of politics and decision-making is one area where gender disparities are most visible, persistent and have proved hard to tackle. Women's poor showing in political and public life are at once a reflection of the pervasiveness of gender inequalities and a barrier to tackling this problem. Various reasons have been offered for the low levels of women's participation in public life, politics and decision-making, which are systemic and structural. The study established that obstacles to women's participation could be found even in Kenya's policies, which often contradict the provision of the constitution itself. However, the government has not taken steps aimed at full implementation of the two-thirds gender, which requires that individuals of the same gender should not hold more than two thirds of elective positions.

4.4.10 Stereotypes and Women participation in Politics

The study sought to establish how the political culture and stereotypes leveled against women hinder their participation in decision-making and politics. Accordingly, the study wanted to determine whether the contemporary political culture works against women to an extent that the said women are not involved in the process of making essential societal decisions, which affect their day-to-day lives. From the tabulation on table 4.16, it is evident that a majority of the respondents (78.7%) indicated that they agreed that the political culture and stereotypes against women influenced their participation in politics. On the other hand, 21.3% of the respondents indicated that stereotypes against women did not influence their participation in politics. The study required the respondents to give reason(s) for their answer. A research respondent who indicated 'yes' noted:

“Stereotypes led voters to see female candidates as lacking crucial masculine qualities. A male politician was believed to be more knowledgeable, trustworthy and convincing than the female politician” (K.I.2, 2016).

The above assertions are in tandem with Ditonto, Hamilton, and Redlawsk (2014) who argued that voters might use candidate’s gender as an “information shortcut” to estimate the features of a politician, as they might use other demographic characteristics or partisanship to evaluate political candidates. On the other hand, a respondent who indicated ‘no’ noted:

“Gender bias and stereotyping may not necessarily harm the chances of female candidates, as it merely reflects that women are perceived to have different areas of expertise. The crucial assumption is that while voters perceive differences in competence, these do not disadvantage women, because women’s areas of expertise are valued as highly as men’s areas of expertise”. Another respondent who indicated ‘no’ pointed out “gender stereotypes can be helpful because they give female candidates an aura of empathy and honesty” (K.I.3, 2016).

Table 4.16: Stereotypes and Women participation in Politics

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%	Percent
No	91	17.3	33	25.4	21.3
Yes	19	82.7	97	74.6	78.7
Total	110	100	130	100	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.11 Relational Styles and Women Participation in Politics

The study sought to establish how women who display rational styles of leadership are likely to be marginalized in decision-making within their organizations. The question was open-ended, that is, the respondents were not required to provide a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer. Therefore, the researcher analyzed the findings thematically through content analysis. The analysis indicated

that majority of the respondents agreed that women who display rational styles of leadership were more likely to be marginalized in their organizations. Against this backdrop, it is essential to note that rational styles of leadership are logical, effortful, and analytic. Examples of rational activities include work, carefully considered decisions, and goal-directed tasks. For instance, a respondent pointed out:

“Women who are educated, informed, and technologically abreast are likely to be sidelined as the males in the same organizations may feel threatened and as such, conspire to marginalize these women from making critical decisions”. On the other hand, some research participants noted that everybody ought to fight for their positions either at the societal or leadership levels. For example, a respondent noted, “nobody looks down upon women who are able to make rational decisions, actually women are known to make decisions at the household level and these decisions have been overly successful” (K.I.4, 2016).

4.4.12 Women and Conformation to Male Culture in Politics

The researcher endeavored to establish whether women leaders often ended up conforming to the strong male culture in politics, and adopt male leadership styles (Figure 4.2). Majority of the respondents indicated that women often avert to the male traits of leadership while others said that leadership abilities are inherent. In other words, the respondents who disagreed indicated that women who make it into politics do not necessarily ascribe to the male code of conduct, as leadership skills are unique and often vary from one individual to another. A respondent noted:

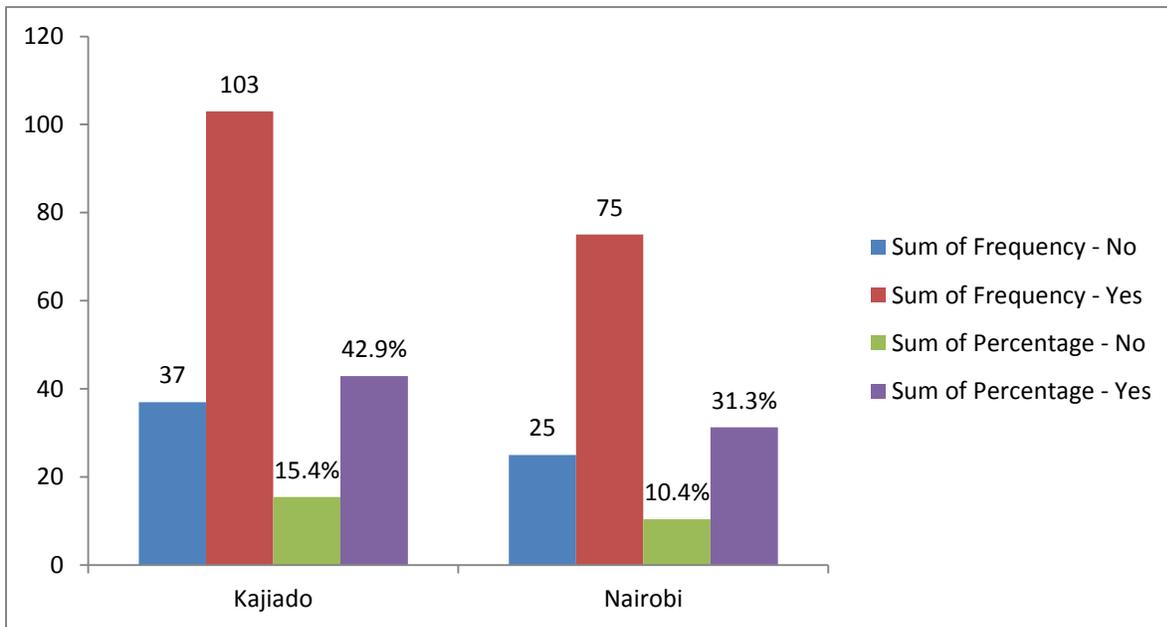
“Leadership has carried the notion of masculinity and the belief that men make better leaders than women. Although the number of female leaders has increased, they are often named as an afterthought. When most of them make it to political leadership, they sometimes revert to the male ways of leadership” (K.I.5, 2016).

Another one explained:

“The societal conventions regarding gender and leadership traditionally exclude women, and top leadership is viewed as a masculine domain and this, therefore, sometimes forces women to act in the same approach as men”. Further, another respondent suggested: “since female leaders see gender as a deterrent in political participation, women are obliged to lead the way men do as it is considered the custom” (K.I.6, 2016).

In this respect, women prefer to use the approaches employed by men as a means of attracting recognition in the workplace or at the societal level.

Figure 4.2: Conforming to the Strong Male Culture in Politics



Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.13 Women Are Dependent on Their Husbands, Brothers or Fathers

The study wanted to establish whether women depended on their husbands, brothers or fathers and how this influenced their poor performance in political participation. From the analysis of the research findings, it is evident that a majority of the respondents (75.8%) indicated that for women to make into political leadership, they must get support from the family members. About 25% indicated that women do not get help from the family members.

The respondents were required to provide the reason(s) for their answers. One of the respondents who indicated “yes” noted:

“The few women who enter into politics are those where someone in their family had participated in politics” (K.I.1, 2016).

The results are consistent with Tundi (2014) who asserted that most of the women inherited power from the family, father or husband whereby the author gives examples such as Beth Mugo of Dagoreti, Nyiva Mwendwa of Kitui central, Cecily Mbarire of Runyenjes, Charity Ngilu of Kitui central all have either father or relative having been politicians.

Table 4.17: women are dependent on family members

Response	Nairobi %		Kajiado %		Percent
No	21	19.1	38	29.2	24.2
Yes	89	80.9	92	70.8	75.8
Total	110	100	130	100	100.0

Source: Researcher, 2016

4.4.14 Summary

This chapter sought to establish the nature of the political culture in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado and how it affected their political participation. The study established that the nature of politics, marginalization of women, inherent patriarchal structures, underrepresentation of women in government, culture of the political parties, structures within the political parties, gender biases within the political parties, and preference of women to take positions that are not demanding were some of the factors that translated to poor participation. Further, the study found that none adherence to the affirmative action by the government, stereotypes labeled against women, display rational styles of leadership, women averting to the male traits of leadership

once elected, and women dependent on their family members were some of the factors that negatively influenced the level of their participation in politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL CULTURE ON WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provided findings under the second objective of the study, which sought data on the influence of political culture on women participation in politics with specific reference to Nairobi and Kajiado Counties. To this end, this chapter detailed how the political culture at the level of political parties influences women participation in politics. Further, the chapter detailed how the existing legal and Regulatory frameworks, which are part of the rules and procedures of political representations affects the participation of women in politics. Political cultures matter because they shape a population's political perceptions and actions. Governments can help shape political culture and public opinion through education, public events, and commemoration of the past. Political cultures vary greatly from state to state and sometimes even within a state (Romano, 2013).

5.2 Cultural Practices and Women's Participation in Political Participation

Culture does not exist except in the minds of individuals, although for some purposes it may be useful to describe the culture of a group, society, or nation by referring to the collective distribution of attitudes or an average attitude. The concept of political culture can be seen as a natural evolution in the growth of the behavioral approach in political analysis, for it represents an attempt to apply to problems of aggregate or systemic analysis of the kinds of insights and knowledge, which were developed initially by studying the political behavior of individuals and small groups (Romano, 2013). It is against this backdrop that the researcher sought to examine the influence of political culture with a view of investigating how moral judgments, political

myths, beliefs, ideas, and government influence political behaviors, which largely determines the culture of politics.

Today, cultural ideas about women can affect women's levels of representation throughout the political process, from an individual woman's decision to enter politics, to party selection of candidates, to the decisions made by voters on election day. In this light, the study sought to establish how cultural practices influence the participation of women in politics in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. To this end, the study collected data from the two counties and established largely that cultural practices were a hindrance to women participation in politics in the county of Kajiado.

Analysis of the findings from Kajiado County indicated that Politics has traditionally been a male domain that many women have found unwelcoming or even hostile. In the County of Kajiado, traditional or patriarchal values remain strong and may therefore, discourage women entering politics. With the cultural barriers, women find it difficult to enter into politics, as the society would often scorn on women who expressed their intentions of vying for elective seats such as governor or senator. These seats are a strong reserve for men. It is in this light that the study found out that majority of the women aspirants go for the position of women representatives because other elective seats are deemed a reserve for them. The study established that women did not contest the senatorial and gubernatorial positions due to the perceptions that men should occupy the aforementioned political offices.

On top of the above, the study established that the cultural barriers in the County of Kajiado favors men and that women ought to take care of their families as the men go out to fend for their family and by extension undertake political activities. By the virtue of being involved at the

family level, these women are disadvantaged in that they are not accorded their rights to an extent that this leaves them with fewer opportunities to acquire political experience. The analysis of the responses posited that Kajiado County has traditions that still emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives. A strong, patriarchal value system keeps these sexually segregated roles in place. A respondent argued:

“The responsibility of women as mothers and wives as well as her domestic duties complicate their involvement and participation in the public sphere” (K.I.2, 2016).

The study's focus in Nairobi County established that because of the cosmopolitan nature of the city, individual's cultural predisposition do not necessarily influence their participation in politics. However, the study established that women's representation in the County of Nairobi politics was low and should be significantly improved in order to comply with international norms and standards on gender equality. Further, the analysis of the responses indicated that women were still trying to cope with professional and family demands. They also worked in jobs with lower status and rewards than men did. This proved that traditional values are still present in County of Nairobi and this is because the residents come from a wide array of places in the country and as such, they ascribe to their respective cultural predispositions socialized back at home.

5.3 Patriarchal Systems and The Effect on Women's Participation in Politics

The study sought to establish the influence of the patriarchal system on the participation of women in politics. The researcher interviewed respondents who had tacit knowledge of the two Counties. The findings of the study established that the political arena in the county of Kajiado is organized according to male norms, values and lifestyles. Majority of the male respondents pointed out that politics are more appropriate for men and that women should only have a limited

role in politics. In addition, the study established that the society deems women incapable of handling power and responsibility as one respondent pointed:

“Patriarchal values reinforced in societies will continuously force people to refuse to believe that a woman can take charge of affairs and is capable of making decisions that are binding to everyone” (K.I.3, 2016).

Further, the analysis of the findings from those interviewed revealed that for a woman to enter politics patriarchal systems make it harder and this is because patriarchal attitudes towards women still exist in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado but more pronounced in the latter. To this end, the study revealed that both counties still embrace patriarchal systems, whereby men hold power in all the important institutions of society and that women are deprived of access to such power. Nonetheless, the analysis of the collected data pointed out that it does not imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence, and resources.

We found that women’s voting was not free. More often, women were instructed by their husbands, in-laws or relatives to vote for a particular candidate not of their choice as one respondent commented:

“Have you not heard cases of domestic violence due to failure to vote for a man’s choice of candidate?” (K.I.1, 2016).

This statement was in tandem with Tamale (1999) who observed that traditional and patriarchal attitudes were a challenge to women’s participation as candidates. However, this comment disagreed with the fact that the public domain was reserved for men. The differences could be explained by Tamale (1999) who argued that culture was related to development and as development increased, women’s standing in society relative to men became equal.

We further found that, despite belonging to the upper class, some women parliamentarians and Members of County Assemblies (MCAs) lacked of control over their own earnings. Therefore,

they could not spend money for political purposes. In some cases women's empowerment was not possible due to lack of control over their own income. One female parliamentarian said:

“My husband never liked my economic solvency. My in-laws did not like that I took a job and I had a position. But they always wanted my money. After being elected as a Member of Parliament, my husband does not spend money for family maintenance. I have to spend all my income for family expenditure. So, I have no savings” (K.I.5, 2016).

This picture reveals that when women earn they are considered as moneymaking machines, not human beings who have feelings, emotions, and love. Therefore, husbands think that working wives are not supposed to get any gifts, even during special occasions. If women do earn, their husbands do not spend their money for family expenditure. They want to save their money and buy properties in their own name. Therefore, women have little or no savings and they cannot spend money for political purposes. Due to the patriarchal culture, husbands think that wives are their property and, therefore, wives' incomes are their property and husbands have every right to control their wives' income. In this process husbands do not let their wives save money. Women lose their autonomy and cannot take part in politics.

Chowdhury (2009) observed that sexual harassment is a serious factor, which may prevent many women from taking up politics. A patriarchal society always considers women as sexual objects. Rape or other kinds of sexual harassment can be used as a means to control women. They are always insecure outside the company of men, although it is sometimes reported that women are sexually harassed, raped or even killed in front of their male family members. Generally it is observed that most of the victims of rape cases do not report to the police for fear of public disgrace and lack of security. Politics involves 24-hour duty, much travel, and strangers, and women may face sexual harassment by male leaders or their male political colleagues. Courting arrest and facing police brutalities are more problematic for young women. A woman's political career is damaged if she is raped or sexually harassed.

5.4 Socialization and Participation of Women in Politics

The study sought to establish how the socialization process affects women participation in politics. In other words, the study endeavored to establish the extent to which early socialization affects young women in that when they decide to enter politics, their decision-making is limited to the induction they received in the early age.

People acquire their values through socialization, which is a complex process through which individuals become aware of their environment, culture, and form values, every society seeks to be self-sustaining, self-preserving, and self-developing. It does these by preserving those cultural values that make it unique. The process of socialization is one way by which the culture of a people is preserved because it involves the transmission of this culture from one generation to another. The process of socialization prepares the biological being to fit into the society and prepares him for the roles he is to play and providing him with the necessary foundation of behavioral patterns, beliefs and values that will make him suitable for integration into the society.

Majority of the respondents from the County of Nairobi agreed that early socialization of the girl child predisposes them to conform to the societal code of conduct, whereby the women are forced to conform to particular ways of life. Against this backdrop, the study established that the family as an agent of socialization influences the level of women participation in politics as the women are socialized to take up some roles because other roles are a preserve of the male.

The analysis of the data collected from the county of Kajiado indicated that majority of the respondents (45%) agreed that earlier socialization influences how women conduct themselves when they decide to enter into politics. Further, the study established that the family-background

of women play a significant role in the determination of the level of participation of women in politics. To this end, it was evident from the analyzed data that socialization provides the necessary ingredients needed by women to participate in the activities of the larger society. By including moral values, behavioral patterns, habits and culture, socialization prepares individuals including women to countenance challenges that the society faces on day-to-day basis.

Socialization was also cited as another challenge that hindered women’s participation where majority of the respondents said so. In analyzing the responses, some members were of the view that women were socialized to be humble, to be led and not to be leaders; hence they only saw men at the front and women in the back seat to be led. On this view, one respondent said: “a woman does not do as men do to join politics”. Hence with such kind of thinking, many women grew up with such attitudes, which later barred them from participating in local council elections.

Table 5.1: Socialization and Participation of Women in Politics

Response	Nairobi	%	Kajiado	%
Agree	65	27.1	109	45.4
Disagree	35	14.1	31	12.9
Total	100	41.2	140	58.3

Source: Researcher, 2016

5.5 Political Parties and Women Interests

The study sought to establish whether political parties have any interest in targeted training, increased participation or empowerment of women in their structures or activities. The analysis of collected data indicated that most of the major political parties were not determined to offer meaningful training to women on the different dimensions of politics. Majority of the

respondents observed that within political parties, women tend to be overrepresented at the grassroots level or in supporting roles and underrepresented in positions of power. Without access to networks of influence, and with very limited resources, few role models and mentors, and sometimes even limited family and community support, it is understandable that women's participation in political parties has remained well below that of men in both counties of the study.

Further to the above, the study established that political parties have not formulated approaches of empowering women in terms of political participation to an extent that women are unable to get more seats during the nominations. For instance, the analyses from Matapato South ward of Kajiado County established that political parties do not hold transparent nomination and as such, the primaries are always mired with electoral irregularities such as voter buying and handing of nomination papers to unqualified candidates. In this light, the study established that with the right training and empowerment of women at the level of political parties will make it possible for the women to generally have better chance of emerging as candidates. Against this backdrop, the study established that the limited participation of women in political and decision-making processes at the political parties' level poses a serious challenge to internal democracy of the said political parties.

In addition, the study established that political parties do not adhere to the two-thirds gender rule and, therefore, poor participation of women at the political parties level. According to the Kenyan constitution, no gender should hold more than two thirds of the decision-making offices. However, the analysis of the responses indicated that the major political parties of Jubilee and Cord have not implemented this rule to an extent that women are discouraged to participate in

decision-making at the party level. A response from a woman aspirant from Nairobi County noted:

“One of the most effective ways to ensure women are elected to office is to require that party candidate lists be gender balanced or include a certain proportion of women because women do not get the opportunity at higher levels of political parties” (K.I.6, 2016).

The study further established that political parties did not have the goodwill to empower women through training and involving women in decision-making. For instance, the analyses of the responses of the interview from sitting members of parliament established that some political parties observed the gender rule but when they included women in their party lists, women were normally placed at the bottom of the party lists meaning that their chances of nomination by the electoral body were limited. To this end, it was imperative to point out that women had limited opportunities of making it in politics because political parties did not provide the required framework, which could ensure that women were important in decision-making at the party level.

Party ideology was one of the major factors, which determined party policies regarding women's representation. Parties that are further to the left tend to support women's representation in elected offices and are open to positive actions like gender quotas. This assertion was in tandem with Kittilson (2006) who pointed out that there did exist sets of factors both exogenous and endogenous to parties, which have an impact on the process. The exogenous mechanisms are broader and have more indirect influences on areas like women's entrance into paid work or higher education, pressure for reform from women's movements, and changes in mass attitudes towards women's roles in society and politics. Endogenous mechanisms could be either top-down or bottom-up and could bring significant gains. Top-down factors included women's presence in the party leadership, changes in party leaders' perceptions, and competition across

the party system for women's votes, and candidate gender quotas. Bottom-up pressures could come from intra-party women's organizations and growing support from women. These factors take on different levels of importance in different cases, and they interact in various ways.

5.6 Egalitarian Culture and Participation of Women in Politics

The study sought to establish how the culture of egalitarian has been instrumental in enhancing the participation of women in politics. The analysis of the collected data established that an egalitarian culture fosters women's involvement in electoral politics, but hierarchical culture impedes it. In this light, responses from the interviews conducted by the researcher established that an egalitarian culture such as those adopted in Rwanda would enhance women participation in politics. Further, majority of those interviewed observed that women had consolidated enormous voting power in recent years, but had been simultaneously disenfranchised with regard to political representation. The responses further pointed out that women were grossly under-represented at all levels of government and this was because of the hierarchical culture, which pervaded the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. The researcher engaged a key informant from Kajiado County who noted that the egalitarian culture compared to hierarchal culture would enhance women participation in politics, as it gives women equal opportunities as men. This is what he said:

“The democratic culture unties women from traditional household activities, setting them free to participate in politics in greater rates. Democratic culture enhances equality among the citizens because of equal opportunities” (K.I. 2, 2016).

The study established that with equal opportunities, women were likely to realize economic empowerment, which is a direct predictor of political participation. The analyses of the responses showed that women who were in better financial standing were more likely to participate in

politics compared to those without economic resources. Against this backdrop, the study established that there was a direct relationship between economic empowerment and women participation in politics.

5.7 The Society's View/Perception on Women's Involvement in Politics

The study sought to establish how the society's viewed on women's participation in politics and how it influenced the level of women participation in decision-making. To this end, the findings from Kajiado County pointed out that the lack of women participation in politics was because of how the society viewed women who entered politics. For instance, the study established that women who entered politics in the county of Kajiado were supposed to respect men in their campaigns and this entailed consulting the men on the best way to solve the societal challenges.

However, the responses from Nairobi County suggested that the perceptions of the community do not necessary influence the level of women in politics. The cosmopolitan nature of the city means that individuals from diverse backgrounds do not ascribe to the same culture and, therefore, the societal views/perceptions did not largely influence how women took up politics or took part in decision-making.

The study found that the Nairobi political culture is a very complex and in some ways contradictory entity which combines in a particular way traditional elements with aspects of modern culture. However, the study established that there were a number of activities aimed at promoting equal rights and opportunities of women and men in Nairobi County, including promoting increased political participation of women.

5.8 Women and Family Lineage

The study sought to establish whether the few women who entered into politics were those of someone in their family had participated in politics, as this determines any political changes that would affect their chances to win or gain resources. The analysis of the responses established that women were less likely to be encouraged to run and less likely to be considered as a potential candidate when a position opened up. This implied that whether women were from politically connected families, it was not easy for the same families to encourage women to run for seats.

Further, the findings indicated that political gatekeepers tended to recruit from their own networks, and men tended to operate in male-dominated networks and, therefore, women would not easily get an opportunity to participate in politics even if they came from elite backgrounds. In addition, the analyses of the responses indicated that politically connected men did not necessarily choose women from their family circles because they are not the ones that the electoral gatekeepers are surrounding themselves with. They are not the immediate names that come to mind when deciding on who takes the mantle.

5.9 Women and Inheritance of Power from the Family Members

The study sought to establish whether women inherit power from the family members such as father, brother, husband, or sister. The analysis of the data collected revealed that most women, who entered into politics more often than not, derived power from the family members. Further, the study revealed that women posed no political challenges to their male counterparts. Because of their subordinate status, women had less liberty, could make fewer claims on resources, and received little approval or encouragement for pursuing aspirations to power. Against this

backdrop, the study revealed that for women climbing to economic or political power needed resources and support from men at each step in their ascent.

On top of the above, the study revealed that women were still very much alone in politics and without support from the family members or political parties they were unlikely to pose challenges in political participation and decision-making and this was partly due to the fact that men enjoyed social dominance as the modern era began. To this end, the researcher established that people have more or less power because they occupy a position with more or fewer resources or more or less authority and as such, men's positions gave them influence over some aspect of the political or economic system, and, therefore, over women.

The analysis of the study findings revealed that men generally attained economic power by following one of three major routes. They rose through the ranks to the top of organizations. They succeeded as entrepreneurs. Alternatively, they inherited wealth or opportunities. Therefore, in most cases women have to seek assistance at the family level because most of the decision-making powers are directly in the hands of males.

Women's active participation in politics was not visible mostly on the ground of family involvement. The United Nations Development Programme Human Development Report 1995 reveals that women spend more hours in unpaid work and fewer hours in paid work than men. It found that women spend on average one-third of their working time in paid work and two-thirds in unpaid housework in developing countries (Campillo, 2003). In Kajiado County compared to Nairobi City County, women do all household activities in accordance with tradition. It is observed that women perform household activities after discharging their professional

responsibilities. Therefore, women cannot take part actively in politics. Women have to look after their children

Obviously, women everywhere play an important role in raising children, but Kajiado patriarchal community thinks that it is the sole responsibility of women. Therefore, husbands do not share household activities. The community considers politics to be a man's affair. Duverger (1995) observation is also applicable to Kajiado society that the club, the forum, debates, Parliament and political life in general are still considered to be typically masculine activities.” (Duverger, 1995: 2)

5.10 Summary

The chapter focused on the influence of political culture on women participation in politics. The analysis of the collected data posited that cultural practices, patriarchal system, socialization process, political parties, lack of an egalitarian culture, society's view on women's participation, family political lineage, and women's inheritance of power from the family members were a hindrance to women participation in politics. In particular, the chapter established that cultural barriers in the County of Kajiado favor men and that women ought to take care of their families while in the county of Nairobi, both men and women had equal responsibilities in terms of looking after their families.

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provided findings under the third objective of the study, which sought data on the challenges facing women in the participation of politics in Nairobi City and Kajiado Counties. The chapter explored the drawbacks that women had contended with either when entering politics or upon occupying the political office. To this end, the study explored the various obstacles that hindered the participation of women in politics. These challenges were economic, cultural, and political. Against this backdrop, the study detailed the aforementioned aspects that led to poor participation in politics and in doing so, this chapter covered different themes of the three aspects with an objective of explaining the implication(s) of each challenge on the level of women participation in politics.

6.2 Economic Opportunities

The study sought to establish the association between lack of economic opportunities and its implication on the level of participation of women in politics. The analysis of the collected data revealed that politics is an expensive affair and that for one to succeed, the prospective aspirants ought to have financial resources as an approach to carrying out proper campaigns. One of the women who was vying for the position of Women representative noted that:

“Campaigns require enormous resources and for one to convince the electorates, they must reach all parts of the County. Politicians are regarded as people with resources and it is not easy to convince voters without consenting them” (K.I. 3, 2016).

In light of the above, the study established that because women lacked solid financial backing, the said women were unable to compete with men who possessed huge financial muscle. Accordingly, majority of the respondents posited that the relatively pathetic poor financial

disposition of women in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado was a critical challenge, which mostly accounted for their poor participation in politics and political defeat in elections. The major political parties demand huge nomination fees, which can be out of reach for many women who are aspiring for various seats. For instance, the Jubilee Party had asked governors aspiring to run on its ticket to part with Ksh. 100, 000 as nomination fee, way below the Ksh. 500, 000 that the Orange Democratic Movement was demanding (Daily Nation, 8th December 2016).

Borrowing from the study done by the Institute of Economic Affairs, Kenya (2008), majority of women currently live below poverty line. To this end, the study established that in spite of concession granted by some major political parties which lowers the cost of obtaining party nomination forms for women into elective office, nonetheless, the cost of realizing electoral ambition is still far beyond the reach of even the most highly placed women in the absence of someone to grant financial assistance. For instance, in Table 4.21, the Jubilee waived 50% of the applicable fee in each category for women aspirants. Orange Democratic Movement was way above that of Jubilee party (Table 4.22) and this meant that most women aspirants were not able to afford the nomination fee. The analysis of the collected data pointed out that lack of economic resources was one of the biggest obstacles that prevented women from participating in politics in greater numbers. Making it easier for women to access economic resources, therefore, is a key in expanding women's presence in the political realm.

Because women rely on other individuals to fund their campaigns, their participation continued to dwindle, as the cost of running campaigns keep increasing. The aforementioned finding was in tandem with Seyedeh et al. (2010) who revealed that most of women are financially dependent on their husbands or relatives. So they may not be possible to them to enter in political campaign. Analysis of the gathered data from Embakasi Central Constituency revealed that lack

of financial resources was the overwhelming obstacles to women political participation. Women move from their father's home to their husband's home. They have no base from which to develop contacts with the people or to build knowledge and experience about the issues. Furthermore, they have no money of their own; the money belongs to their fathers, their husbands or their in-laws. Given the rising cost of running an effective campaign, this posed another serious hurdle for women in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties.

On top of the above, the study established that financiers of politicians in Nairobi and Kajiado County preferred male political aspirants to female ones based on the societal value assumption that political activities were masculine and male candidates were believed to stand better chance of winning elections. To this end, the analysis of the responses from women aspirants in Kajiado County observed that women's poor access to credit facilities, lack of inheritance rights for developmental purposes including culturally unacceptable control of their income and resources while living with their husbands, translated to their lack of financial strength as a major challenge in their active participation in politics.

Further to the above, the study pointed out that the population of women in the County of Nairobi was slightly below that of men (KNBS, 2009) and women were actively involved in all aspects of their society's life. Though women's share of the division of labor differed from place to place and from culture to culture, their average working day was believed to vary between 8 and 10 hours a day. Moreover, the analysis of the responses pointed out that the economic status of women was low. In other words, women were generally poorer than men because they earned less, less educated, and they increasingly became heads of households, with no resources to support their dependents. Responses from interview schedule indicated that women did not enjoy due acknowledgment for their labour contribution, particularly in agriculture, and did not have

decision-making power, which largely had contributed to their poor participation in politics. This assertion was consistent with the work of Kassa (2014) who argued that women’s historical experience of discrimination puts them at a disadvantaged position economically and that socio-economic status of women to a greater extent played a significant role in enhancing their participation and representation in political decision making bodies.

Table 6.1: Jubilee Party Nomination Fee Structure

Position	Nomination Fee
President	N/A
Governor	100,000
Senator	50,000
Woman Rep	30,000
Member of Parliament	30,000
MCA	20,000

Source: jubileepamoja.co.ke

Table 6.2: Orange Democratic Movement Nomination Fee Structure

Position	Nomination Fee
President	1,000,000
Governor	500,000
Senator	250,000
Woman Rep	250,000
Member of Parliament	250,000
MCA	25,000

Source: www.odm.co.ke

According to World Bank (2003), the major ethnic groups in Kenya share a patriarchal culture in which men own formally or informally the key productive assets such as land, livestock and medium to large businesses. A woman, for example, may milk the family cow and sell the milk products, but she could not sell the cow itself because her husband owns it. For conservation, this means that activities, which include the use of productive resources like land or livestock, should include men and women in decision-making.

The analysis of the responses revealed that women's participation in political life depended largely on their access to employment, which gives them not only material independence, but also certain professional skills and greater self-confidence. Simply put, the analysis of the findings was consonant that access to means of production and finances has a direct relationship and influence on the participation of women in political institutions. Further, the responses of the collected data were in agreement that the Kenyan government had undertaken measures of ensuring that women were incorporated in the day-to-day running of the economy with a view of promoting economic development and improving the living standard of women. However, the researcher established that women, particularly in the County of Kajiado had no right to own property in the household because the household head is always the father, which could control every asset and property of the family. Due to these facts, women always need to get permission of the father to buy some consumption materials and other resources of the household. Even if women were salaried, most of the time men controlled their income and sometimes if the father and mother had their own income independently, women covered household expenses while men enjoyed outside home, like hotels and bars. So, women were always dependent on men economically, which is the main cause for their low participation in politics.

Analysis of data as presented by Kajiado Integrated Development Plan (2014) revealed that there were high levels of poverty in the county with more than 47% of the population living below the poverty line. Major causes of poverty included illiteracy, frequent droughts, poor infrastructure and inadequate water resources. A major effect of poverty was high rate of school dropouts as parents were unable to raise school fees. The high dropouts subsequently resulted to child labour as the school going children worked to supplement family income. In addition, the poor often experienced nutrition related conditions that contributed to high morbidity rate among children and women. Poverty had also forced some women into commercial sex work thus exposing them to HIV/AIDS especially in the urban areas. This resulted to increased number of orphaned and vulnerable children and high dependency rates. These factors combined affected the level of women participation in politics, as they had to juggle between meeting their daily needs and surviving the hard economic times. These findings were in tandem with Kamau (2010), Kassilly and Onkware (2010) who pointed out that male dominance of political systems, culture, economic considerations, threats of violence, lack of educational attainment and gender stereotyping presented significant barriers for female leadership in Africa.

Analysis of data as presented by Nairobi City Integrated Development Plan (2014) revealed that the level of unemployment in Nairobi stood at 14.70% with the female unemployment rate standing at 18.99%, while that of males was 11.55%. Employment is a major source of income and an important determinant of social and economic outcomes. Holding all other factors constant, households that were most affected by unemployment were more often poor households. Urban poverty and labor force participation were powerfully related because earnings in the labor market were the main source of revenue for urban inhabitants. However, input in the labor market did not guarantee being above the poverty line. It is clear from the

above statistics that more women remained unemployed in the Nairobi City County and this partially contributed to their low levels of political participation.

From the table below, (Table 4.22), it is evident that the number of females and males is almost the same; however, the numbers did not reflect the reality on the level of women participation.

Table 6.3: Population of men and women in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties

County	Male Population	Female Population	Total
Nairobi	1,605,230	1,533,139	3,138,369
Kajiado	345,146	342,166	687,312

Source: KNBS 2009 Population and Housing Census

6.3 Level of Education and Women Participation in Politics

Education has been found to be a key determinant of political participation. Numerous researches have consistently shown that higher levels of education correlate with profound political participation, better knowledge of politics, high voter turnout and exhibition of democratic attitudes. To this end, the researcher sought data on how the level of education or lack of it influenced the level of political participation by women. The analysis of the profiles of the respondents (Table 4.7) established that a majority of the respondents had secondary education (31.7%) followed by 29.2% who had college diploma. Further, the findings showed that 25.4% of the respondents had university education while 10.4% had primary education. It is evident that majority of the respondents did not have university education, which is a minimum qualification for aspirants going for the seat of the president, the deputy president, governors and deputy governors who are required to have degrees from universities recognized in Kenya. Moreover,

under the amended law, those wishing to be nominated as members of the county assemblies must have a degree from a recognized university.

In light of the above requirements for various elective posts, the study established that the lack of educational opportunities for women had been one of the biggest hindrances in political participation, as they were required to have degrees before they were cleared to vie. It is imperative to point out that education is a powerful predictor of political participation as it instills interest in political matters and educated women would be more adept to seek elective office. An aspirant pointed out that:

“The minimum education requirement excludes women from vying for certain positions or even getting nominated and this implies that women have a few opportunities of making it in elective positions” (K.I.1, 2016).

The study established that the formal languages used in the county and national assembly is fluent English and as such, it was a requirement for aspirants to debate either in English or in Kiswahili. Accordingly, English language, which is the method of communication at the assembly level, serves as an obstacle to women who possessed low level or no education to participate in the assembly election and its deliberation. Further, the analysis of the responses from Kajiado County revealed that low education levels had deterred women from full participation. Therefore, this clearly meant that most of the women did not qualify nor were they informed of issues affecting them to be able to enter and actively participate in politics or even understand and criticize issues, which affected such women entering politics. Moreover, respondents indicated that women were sometimes unable to further their education due to circumstances such as family responsibilities, which hindered women’s educational and career progress. In addition, low levels of education were also cited as a key challenge, which hindered women’s participation. Many of the respondents agreed that many girls in Kajiado County and a

relatively smaller number from Nairobi City County dropped out of school and got married off at an early age due to economic hardships, and hence had no qualifications to compete for electoral positions.

The researcher collected data from urban centers within the county of Kajiado with a view of establishing whether there existed differences in terms of education levels and how the levels of education affected women participation in politics. The researcher collected data from Kitengela, Ngong, Kajiado town, Isinya, Namanga, Bissil, Loitokitok, and Ongata Rongai. The analysis of the collected data revealed that there were discrepancies in terms of levels of education as better developed urban centers such as Kitengela had more women willing to participate in politics because of better levels of education. This discovery was consistent with Kassilly and Onkware (2010) who argued that lack of educational access presented a significant barrier especially in pastoralist communities where educating girls was not encouraged or deemed unnecessary. Educational access could also be denied ascribed to cultural practices such as female circumcision prevalent in certain communities, which presented a stumbling block to education as after this, girls often married and disengaged from formal education. This created gender disparities and disadvantaging women. The analysis of the data further pointed out that women found it hard to participate in politics due to entrenched traditions that relegated woman to domestic work; these notions were more prevalent among the low educated members of society as argued by Sunshine (2005).

The analysis of gathered data from the Nairobi City County in areas such as Embakasi, Dagorreti, Kilimani, Lang'ata, Kangemi, and Kasarani revealed that the urban population which was relatively well off in terms of education levels compared to the rural counterparts, acceptance of women as political participants was prevalent. Further data collected from both

counties was consonant that low education levels in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties discouraged some groups in society from running for higher positions in politics. For an individual to be elected to a given position, for example, governor, one must have had attained university education, which was pretty limited among some groups who still cling to traditional practices and refused to educate their children.

Data from Kajiado Integrated development plan of 2014 revealed that there were 104 secondary schools (both public and private) as at 2013; with an enrolment of 20,122 students and 2,614 teachers hence the teacher/student ratio was 1:21. Enrolment in the secondary school was at 32%. Further, Kajiado County had several universities with Maasai Mara University campus being the only public university. There were also numerous middle level colleges, both public and private. The literacy rate in the county stood at 65.2% compared to the national literacy rate of 71.4 percent. This could be attributed to a combination of factors, which included high dropouts rate, low transition rate and socio-cultural practices among others. To this end, it was evident that low participation of women in politics in the county of Kajiado could be attributed to low literacy levels, which limited the positions that women could vie for as most of the present positions required specific education levels.

Analysis of data as presented by Kajiado Integrated Development Plan (2014) revealed that Kajiado County had a high illiteracy rate of 35% compared to the national illiteracy rate of 28.6%. This could be attributed to a combination of factors, which included high dropouts rate of girls in school, low transition rate and socio-cultural practices among others. The negative cultural practices such as early marriages and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) were a major impediment to girl-child education and empowerment. These findings were consistent with (Odhiambo 2011) and Oduol (2008) who argued that access to formal education for women on

the African continent was restricted for an extended period of time. In addition, the content was used to reinforce gender stereotypes through the mechanism of socialization as well as leaving women ill equipped for leadership roles.

Analysis of data as presented by Nairobi City County Integrated Development Plan (2014) revealed Nairobi County had 319 secondary schools with 2,359 teachers. The teacher pupil ratio was 1:22. The total enrolment was 49,728 with 26,755 boys and 22,973 girls. The gross enrolment rate was at 35.6 per cent while the net enrolment was 25.8 per cent. The dropout rate was 5.5 per cent; completion rate was 91.8 per cent while the retention rate was 94.6 per cent. 54.9 per cent of the pupils travelled between 0-1 Km to access a secondary school. 29.4 per cent of the pupils travelled between 1.1 and 4.9 Km, while 15.7 per cent of the pupils travelled more than 5 Kms to access a secondary school. Nairobi County hosted two public universities, that is, University of Nairobi and Technical University of Kenya. There were ten private universities and sixteen campuses operated by both public and private universities in the County. Most of the campuses were located within the Central Business District (CBD). In addition, the County had 237 science and technology institutes. The County had a total of 5,015 adult literacy centers where enrolment for male learners was 2,627 and 2,388 female learners. On literacy level, 96.1 per cent of the population could read and write while 2.8 per cent of the population could not read and write.

In light of the above analysis, it was evident that literacy levels in the County of Kajiado were low (65.2%) compared to the Nairobi City County, which had literacy levels of 96.1% juxtaposed to national literacy rate of 71.4%. Accordingly, it is noteworthy to point out that education level had a statistically significant influence on the level of women participation, as

there was more women willing to venture into politics in Nairobi City County compared to the County of Kajiado.

6.4 Underrepresentation of Women

The study sought to establish to what extent had women's under representation in politics and decision-making affected their participation in politics. Majority of the respondents pointed out that the underrepresentation of women in political seats or decision-making meant that the policies formulated were not geared towards their political welfare. The analysis of the present statistics indicated that the number of women elected and appointed at different levels of public decision-making had not reached the goal of 30 % representation. It is imperative to note that the most recent attempt to improve the levels of women's participation in politics and decision-making in Kenya was made in 2010. However, this had not directly translated to the realization of the two-thirds gender rule.

The study established that although women remained underrepresented in the politics in both Nairobi and Kajiado Counties, there had been a distinct improvement in the number of women participating in politics since 2010, and they are increasingly active in voicing concerns relating to issues that affected them and their communities. For instance, in Nairobi County, the study established that women had made tremendous efforts in terms of participation in decision-making and this was evident as more women were being appointed to state owned enterprises. To this end, the analysis of the collected data established that the developments in the role of women and the supportive constitutional provisions had led to a discernible increase in the number of women in boards in Kenya.

On top of the above, the study established that there was a tendency to recycle women who held different political offices such as those nominated, resulting in one woman being appointed to serve on multiple stages thus disadvantaging other women who had the capacity to carry out the same duties and responsibilities. Further, the analysis of the findings indicated that underrepresentation of women in political participation was a result of lack of strong networks and exposure. Women in Nairobi County lacked strong networks and exposure to existing political vacancies and visibility to placement firms, thus making it less likely for them to be identified for political positions. One respondent noted that:

“Gender biases and stereotyping influences result in different hiring standards for men and women. The greater the lack of transparency in the recruitment, hiring and appointive processes the more likely the gender bias and stereotypes are at play and the fewer women that make it through the process” (K.I.4, 2016).

To this end, the study established that underrepresentation of women in decision-making and political participation was attributed to appointment standards, which may be stricter even though women’s competencies and skills were equivalent to those of their male counterparts. Majority of the respondents argued that women underwent subjective processes. The responses from women key informants pointed out that there was a preference to deal with what is familiar and since women were minority; their concerns were not always tackled.

The analysis of the study findings pointed out that women did not think they were qualified, so they held themselves back because many of them were raised to be less competitive, less confident, and more risk averse than men. The results of the collected data indicated that women reacted more negatively than men to many aspects of modern campaigns did, for example, negative advertising.

Lack of support from fellow women and spouses was cited as a challenge to women's participation. Respondents cited reasons that some men feared supporting their wives especially if they (wives) were more educated than they (men) were. These men felt community would label them as half men as their wives would no longer respect them. Other respondents gave reasons for not supporting women, such as the view that women normally shied away from competing with men and therefore rarely stood.

6.5 Existing Laws and Legislation Affect Women Participation in Politics

The study sought to establish the extent to which the existing laws and legislation affected the level of women participation in politics. The study took into account that when it came to gender equality, Kenya's legislation and policies were progressive, but there was a big gap between policy and practice, with women comprising a small percentage of the national assembly, the senate and county assembly. For instance, in chapter four, the study established that out of 127 members of the Nairobi County Assembly, there are only 43 women while men consisted of the remaining percentage. Even though women consisted of one-third in Nairobi City County, their participation is way below men since many of them in the assembly are as a result of affirmative action (nominated). Therefore women remained overly marginalized in political participation.

Article 81 (b) of the Republic of Kenya Constitution (2010), which referred to the general principles of Kenya's electoral system, states that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender (Republic of Kenya Constitution, 2010).

Article 27 goes further to obligate the government to develop and pass policies and laws, including affirmative action programs and policies to address the past discrimination that women had faced. To this end, the study established that the relevant government authorities had not implemented legislations as enshrined in the aforementioned legal framework.

In spite of the above affirmative action measures, women participation in the 2013 general elections remained very low. There were a few women in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado who contested for the position of senator. However, statistics from the Independent and Electoral Boundaries Commission (IEBC) indicated that there was no woman who was elected as a governor or senator (IEBC Report, 2013). Moreover, the study established that the major political parties in the two counties had not implemented the two thirds gender rule as their county assemblies constitutes more than two thirds of the same gender.

The majority of the respondents (75%) observed that the two-thirds gender rule had not been implemented and this was one of the reasons why women had not realized the same level of political participation as men. Those who agreed that the rule had been implemented argued that the process was not an end in itself but a continuous process that saw full implementation required a significant amount of time.

Table 6.4: Implementation of the two-thirds gender rule

Response	Total	Percent
Yes	60	25
No	180	75
Total	240	100

Source: Researcher, 2016

Further to the above, the study established that the creation of the two-thirds gender rule encouraged women to vie for elective positions. Statistics from the IEBC showed that women preferred to vie for the position of the women representative, as it was a reserve of the female

and this ensured that only women had the right to contest for that particular position (IEBC Report, 2013). The respondents were required to indicate whether the two-third-gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in the last general election. According to the findings, majority of the respondents that were interviewed indicated that the two-third-gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in the last general election. To this end, the study confirmed that the two-third-gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in both Nairobi and Kajiado counties during the 2013 general election.

Affirmative action was also pointed out as another challenge to women participation. Many of the study responses showed that it was because of this policy that many women were reluctant to compete on the directly elected positions. Due to the presence of affirmative action, women were reluctant to compete with men on the directly elected seats and even for the fear of losing an election.

However, responses from a key informant from the County of Nairobi who looked at affirmative action in a positive sense said:

“It had improved the political status of women or else there would be less elected women since they feared to compete with men” (K.I.4, 2016).

This view was in tandem with Kawamara (1998) who pointed out that women feared to contest with men and that there was a positive relationship between policies that promoted gender equality and women’s participation in elections as candidates. Though affirmative action was lauded for enhancing women’s participation and ushered in more women into the political field, Tamale (1998) argued that it was a highly debatable issue as there were concerns that quotas would perpetrate separate status for women. Some women activists critiqued affirmative action as having something intrinsically wrong about the state giving rights to women (Tamale, 1998).

On the same breadth, Kyarimpa (2004) looked at affirmative action in terms of a favor and critiqued it as a favor that could easily be withdrawn. This favor had tended to be class-centric and it benefited minority elite women who were unable to respond to the needs of the majority peasant women.

Political parties were required by law to observe the two-thirds gender rule but all the major political parties, either in government or opposition had not implemented the rule. Lack of political party support was also cited as another major challenge. Political parties were blamed because of their failure to fulfill what they had promised, especially women as candidates. Financial support, which was promised, was not provided and was cited as a major problem by most respondents. All political parties were highly lacking in accommodating women. They had supplied hot air for the women. Political parties had engaged them yet they had not translated what they said in reality. For example, they promised a minimum of 30% posts for women in elective office but in their line-ups, most women had been thrown out. Considering the fact that women comprised a high population as voters, being ignored would mean no support.

6.6 Patriarchy and Women Subordination Affect Women Participation in Politics

The study sought to establish the extent to which women subordination and patriarchal structures within the society influenced the level of women in politics. Majority of the respondents indicated that the society's perception of the female was largely negative and as such, women were regarded as mothers to an extent that this darkened their political participation. Further, the study established that subordination of women at the family level was more pronounced in the County of Kajiado, as the structure of these families were patriarchal meaning that they were male do

“Women have been inducted to follow the societal ways of life and, therefore, they cannot go against the will of the society just because politics is regarded as a reserve for the male and other people placed at higher socio-economic echelons” (K.I.5, 2016).

In addition to the above, the study established that societal norms were one of the biggest hindrances to women participation in politics. The researcher interviewed women aspirants and the analysis of the responses established that women were their worst enemies. In other words, women discouraged female aspirants because the politics were considered as the reserve of the males. One of those interviewed noted that:

“Politics is very dangerous; it is a cheating game and this discourages mothers from allowing their daughters to engage in this risk. Moreover, politics is dangerous in that it leads to deaths” (K.I.6, 2016).

The analysis of responses from the interview guide pointed out that Kajiado County was patriarchal community that kept women at a subordinate position, using religion and culture as an excuse. These excuses had for many years, been supported by laws and legislation that upheld patriarchy and women’s subordination. This had brought about and maintained disparities between men and women, in division of labor, share of benefits, in law and state, in how households were organized, and how these were interrelated.

Further, the researcher sought to establish how patriarchy affected the level of women participation in politics. The analysis of the responses revealed that family was the main institution of patriarchy, which was an important concept in explaining gender inequality. Simply put, it means the rule of the father; more broadly, it refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This was inherent in Kajiado County. Giving men a higher social status over females had crept into public life, which reflected in state activities. The family played an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. This assertion was in

tandem with Agbalajobi (2010), who argued that socialization of children to expect and accept different roles in life had created a social mechanism for the development of values that engendered the several forms of discrimination against the female sex. The greatest psychological weapon available to man was the length of time they had enjoyed dominance over women, who had taken it for granted especially in the area of politics that often continued to stereotype women and justify their subordination.

Further to the above, the study established from the responses that non-cooperation of husbands kept women aloof from politics. In Kajiado County, men think that women should remain at home and do household activities. One-woman aspirant who was a respondent claimed:

“Now men want their wives to work for economic solvency. Still they do not want politician wives” (K.I.1, 2016).

Politics involves much contact with men, and husbands feel jealous when they see their wives deal with men.

6.7 Lack of Institutional Political Party Structures

We wanted to establish the extent to which lack of institutional structures of the political parties had translated to poor participation of women in politics. The analysis of the responses indicated that political parties did not have institutional frameworks, which could enhance equal participation among women and men. For instance, the researcher established that women faced hurdles of being nominated to the county and national assemblies because parties did not put women high up on their candidate lists.

The researcher found out that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Nairobi and Kajiado counties. It was also established that in the last 2013 general elections, women were not adequately considered in the manifesto pledges for political parties.

The study further revealed that women were sufficiently represented in the policymaking bodies of political parties in Nairobi County compared to Kajiado County.

It was also established that even though political parties promoted women's political empowerment in their campaign manifestos, these promises were never met, as this was an only campaign message. Additionally, the study revealed that political parties had not yet incorporated gender equality into their policy frameworks and procedures. It was also established that there are no party rules and regulations for identifying, selecting and nominating women candidates for leadership positions within the party.

6.8 Lack of the Management Framework to Support Free, Fair and Credible Primaries

The study sought to establish the extent to which the lack of the management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries influenced the level of women participation in politics. Majority of the interviewed women observed that lack of transparency during the nomination process, more often than not, translated to low levels of women participation in primaries. It is imperative to point out that political parties enabled aspirants to campaign and ascribe to given models, as the said political parties provided ideology, which the members were duty bound to follow. In that respect, once women were marginalized during the primaries, their chances of being in the ballot were limited.

Further, the study established that lack of the management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries pushed women to join smaller parties, which were not known. By women joining small parties, their chances of emerging winners were extremely limited and by extension, their representation in the county and national assemblies was restricted. It was

evident from the analysis of the responses that men managed most parties although there were a few women at the helm of these political parties.

On top of the above, the study revealed that most of the established political parties were in the hands of leaders who wield so much power to an extent that they could pick whomever they want. Against this backdrop, the study established that most of these major political parties such as Orange Democratic Movement and Jubilee did not nominate women for the fear that women would not make it in the final contest, as men were considered strong. Therefore, these political parties did not nominate many women for senior elective posts such as the seat of the governor. The study established that there was no woman in the county of Nairobi who went for primaries in the major political parties at the time.

6.9 Marital Status Influences Women's Political Participation

Women's marital status and age are important factors in engaging in active politics. The study sought to establish the relationship between the marital status of women and the level of political participation. The analysis of the responses established that majority of the women did not take up politics because they would not have time to concentrate on a political career. Majority of women respondents from the county of Kajiado pointed out that they could not pursue politics because their husbands would not allow them to.

The analysis of the responses further suggested that marriage boosted the chances of men to win an election compared to the single marital status while it had a strong negative effect on the women. To this end, the study established that single women were open to participate in politics while the married ones said home chores consumed most of their time as such, they were not free to take up politics. Moreover, the study revealed that divorced women were more likely to

participate in politics and this had a correlation, whereby married women were likely to divorce because of the conflict of interest between marriage and politics. Accordingly, the study established that majority of the women who took up politics in the County of Nairobi were either single, divorced, or widowed while those in the County of Kajiado were mostly married.

The comment of one unmarried women parliamentarian was:

“In our society marriage upgrades the status of women, but I was not married due to my political involvement. Generally men do not get married to female politicians. I got many marriage proposals. Some men were not interested to marry me; again some asked me to give up politics. So, I could not get married. Many women are not interested in politics due to the problems of marriage” (K.I.2, 2016).

From the comment of this woman respondent, it was apparent that she was dedicated to politics and she did not get a suitable proposal from anyone who would agree to allow her to continue her political activities. Kotalova (1996) notes that a woman must be given in marriage at least once and more, she should be married in time.

The study by Aziz and Maloney (1985) revealed that not only the parents of an unmarried mature girl, but the girl herself, felt guilty if she remained unmarried for some time. Parents would begin to think of her as a burden, and it is said that such a girl was viewed as the spine of a fish stuck in the throat.

In Kajiado County, arranging a suitable marriage was more important than becoming established in a career, because Maasai community did not honor unmarried women, even with high position. One female aspirant who was a respondent pointed:

“Men think that unmarried women who come to politics mix freely with men and they are seen as available for sex. Men hope that they can enjoy and use these women sexually” (K.I.3, 2016).

It is observed that, with marriage of women active politically, it was difficult; again there was a great possibility of sexual harassment in the case of unmarried women politicians.

6.10 Case Study

The study considered a case study of a Member of Parliament for Kajiado East Constituency and a farmer in the County of Kajiado. She was 47 years old, married mother of four children and a university graduate in Political Science. As a Member of Parliament, her main role was contributing to legislation processes in the national assembly. As a Maasai girl, she was destined for early marriage at the age of twelve when she nearly got married to her own teacher before sitting her standard seven examinations. Her father repeatedly considered the proposals of many suitors who came calling on his door for Paris's hand in marriage, but her desire for an education prevailed and she was able to rebuff all these proposals. The fact that her elder brother (now Director of Public Prosecutions) was already educated and doing well in the civil service, helped in discouraging her father's quest to marry her off. She eventually joined university in 1988 and completed her degree.

6.11 Summary

The chapter covered the findings on the third objective of the study, the challenges that women faced in political participation and this involved the drawbacks that women had contended with either when entering politics or upon occupying the political office. The researcher observed that women faced lack of economic opportunities, low level of education, under representation in politics and decision-making, existing laws and legislation, women subordination and patriarchal structures, lack of institutional structures at the political parties, lack of the management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries, and Women's marital status and age were

some of the drawbacks that women had contended with either when entering politics or upon occupying the political office.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter detailed the summary of the findings as per each objective of the study; provided conclusions and recommendation and highlight suggestions for further studies. The main objective of the study was to establish the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics with a specific reference to Nairobi city and Kajiado counties. The specific objectives were to: examine the nature of the political culture, analyse the influence of political culture on women participation in politics and to evaluate the challenges facing women in the participation of politics in Nairobi and Kajiado counties.

7.2 Summary

This section provided the summary of the findings in light of the respective study objectives.

7.2.1 Nature of the Political Culture

The study sought to establish how the nature of politics in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado affected women's level of participation. Majority of the respondents observed that the prevailing political developments did not favor women to contest certain elective posts, as the society viewed the aforementioned posts to be a reserve for their male counterparts. Further, the study endeavored to establish whether women were marginalized and that this had translated to their poor participation in politics. The analysis of the collected data pointed out that decision-making structures were directly in the hands of males and this hindered women's ability to make any impact in the political landscape.

Further to the above, the study sought to establish whether the inherent patriarchal structures in the Counties of Nairobi and Kajiado negatively contributed to the low/poor participation in politics. The analysis of the collected data indicated that it was clear that patriarchal structures within parties, state, and people's lives had a deleterious influence on the level of political participation by women. Moreover, the study established that the cultural stereotypes labeled against women continued to pervade the county of Kajiado to an extent that women were not viewed as equals to men.

The researcher sought to find out whether the efforts made to increase female representation had achieved the projected goals or whether women still remained underrepresented. The analysis of the responses indicated that despite the structures put in place such as the two-thirds gender rule, the representation of women in leadership positions was low. In addition, we observed that even though there were concerted efforts to increase women in the position of leadership, not much had been achieved by the structures.

The study endeavored to assess the role of political culture and the effect on the representation or participation of women in politics and the analysis of the findings established the culture of the political parties had been the reason why women did not make much impact in politics. Accordingly, the researcher sought to observe how structures within the political parties had negatively influenced women's political participation. The analysis of the responses indicated that majority of those interviewed observed that political parties did not give equal slots to both genders.

The study sought to establish how non-adherence to the affirmative action by the government both at national and grass root level led to poor participation in politics by women. The analysis

of the collected data revealed that both the Assemblies of Nairobi and Kajiado Counties did not embrace the affirmative action as put forward by the constitution. Further, the study established that political culture and stereotypes against women influenced their participation in politics. Moreover, the analysis of the responses inferred that women who displayed rational styles of leadership were more likely to be marginalized in their organizations.

In addition, the analysis of the collected data pointed out that once women were elected as leaders, they often ended up conforming to the strong male culture in politics, and adopted male leadership styles. In other words, women often averted to the male traits of leadership upon resuming office. Accordingly, the study established that women preferred to use the approaches employed by men as a means of attracting recognition during campaigns. Further, the analysis of the responses indicated that women depended on their husbands, brothers or fathers and this translated to their poor performance in political participation. Accordingly, for women to make into political leadership, they must get support from the family members.

7.2.2 The Influence of Political Culture on Women Participation in Politics

The study established that Politics was traditionally been a male domain that many women found it unwelcoming or even hostile. In the County of Kajiado, traditional or patriarchal values remained strong and as such, the community frowned on women entering politics. Consequently, women found it difficult to enter into politics, as the community often scorned on those who expressed their intention of vying for elective seats such as governor or senator. Against this backdrop, the analysis of the responses from Kajiado County indicated that majority of the women aspirants went for the position of women representative because other elective seats were deemed a reserve for them. The study's focus in Nairobi County established that because of the

cosmopolitan nature of the city, individual's cultural predisposition did not necessarily influence their participation in politics.

The findings of the study established that the political arena in the county of Kajiado was organized according to male norms, values and lifestyles. In other words, politics were more appropriate for men and that women had a limited role in them. To this end, the study revealed that both counties still embraced patriarchal systems, whereby men held power in all the important institutions of society. Further, the study established that the family as an agent of socialization influenced the level of women participation in politics as the women were socialized to take up some roles because other roles were a preserve of the male. This assertion was in tandem with Kadaga (2013) who argued that patriarchal thought limited opportunities for women participation in politics and that how favorably or unfavorably the society viewed women's involvement in politics depended on where it's culture lay in the egalitarian-hierarchical cultural spectrum.

It was evident from the analyzed data that socialization provided the necessary ingredients needed by women to participate in the activities of the larger society. On the other hand, the analysis of collected data indicated that most of the major political parties were not determined to offer meaningful training to women on the different dimensions of politics. The study established that political parties did not formulate approaches of empowering women in terms of political participation to an extent that women were unable to get more seats during the nominations. This was in tandem with Nzomo (2011) who pointed out that major political parties in Kenya were in the hands of men who controlled their internal affairs. In addition, political parties did not adhere to the two-thirds gender rule, which translated to poor participation of women at the parties. The study established that with the right training and empowerment of

women at the level of political parties, women could generally have better chances of emerging as candidates.

The study sought to establish how the culture of egalitarianism was instrumental in enhancing the participation of women in politics. The analysis of the collected data established that an egalitarian culture fostered women's involvement in electoral politics, but hierarchical culture impeded it. Moreover, women were grossly under-represented at all levels of government and this was because of the hierarchical culture, which pervaded the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. This observation was in tandem with United Nations Report (2000), which pointed out that stereotypes were among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination thus largely responsible for undermining gender equity. The study established that with equal opportunities, women were likely to realize economic empowerment, which was a direct predictor of political participation. This assertion was consistent with Nzomo (2011) who suggested that although women played important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties, rarely did they occupy strategic decision-making positions in Party structures or benefit from political parties' resources for conducting election campaigns.

The findings from Kajiado County pointed out that the lack of women participation in politics was because of the way the community viewed women who entered politics. Responses from Nairobi County suggested that the perceptions of the community did not necessarily influence the level of women in politics. In other words, political culture in the County of Nairobi was very complex and in some ways had a contradictory entity that combined traditional elements with aspects of modern culture.

The analysis of the responses established that women were less likely to be encouraged to run and less likely to be considered as potential candidates when positions opened up. Against this backdrop, the study revealed that whether women were from politically connected families, it was not easy for the same families to encourage women to run for seats. The findings indicated that political gatekeepers tended to recruit from their own networks, and men tended to operate in male-dominated networks and, therefore, women would not easily get opportunities to participate in politics even if they came from elite backgrounds. The observation by Githinji (2015) argued in this line by suggesting that major political parties did not accept women to compete against women because of the societal constructs that a woman cannot defeat a man.

Further to the above, the analysis of the data collected revealed that most women, who enter into politics more often than not, derived power from the family members. The study revealed that for women climbing to economic or political power needed resources and support from men at each step and this observation was consistent with Githinji (2015) who suggested that women not only required financial resources but also support from their families and political parties.

7.2.3 Challenges that Women Face in Political Participation

The analysis of the collected data revealed that politics is an expensive affair and that for one to succeed, the aspirants must have financial resources as an approach to carrying out proper campaigns. Because women lacked solid financial backing, the said women were unable to compete with men who possessed huge financial muscle. This was consistent with Arriola and Johnson (2014) who pointed out that women's dismal performance was because of weak financial muscle. Further, the study revealed that the huge nomination fees demanded by political parties hindered women participation in politics. The study established that financiers of politicians in Nairobi and Kajiado County preferred male political aspirants compared to female

ones based on the societal value assumption that political activities were masculine and male candidates were believed to stand better chance of winning elections.

The study indicated that lack of educational opportunities for women was one of the biggest hindrances in political participation, as they were required to have degrees before they were cleared to vie. For that reason, the study pointed out that because most women did not have education; the capability to communicate in English was hampered to an extent that even if elected constitutionally they remained unqualified. The analysis of the responses from Kajiado County revealed that low education levels had deterred women from full political participation.

The study sought to establish the extent of women's underrepresentation in politics and decision-making affected their participation in politics. Majority of the respondents pointed out that the underrepresentation of women in political seats or decision-making at the political party level meant that the policies formulated were not geared towards the political welfare of the women. This assertion was in line with Oduol (2011) who pointed out that lack of institutional political party structures translated to low levels of women in politics and thus their limited representation in Parliament and within parties. Moreover, the analysis of the collected data established that the developments in the role of women and the supportive Constitutional provisions had translated to a discernible increase in the number of women in boards in Kenya.

The study established that underrepresentation of women in decision-making and political participation was attributed to appointment standards, which might have been stricter even though women's competencies and skills were equivalent to those of their male counterparts. This assertion was in tandem with Paxton and Hughes (2016) who suggested that to achieve equality and equity between men and women and enabled women to realize their full potential.

Women had to be fully involved in political and economic life. The study established that the major political parties in the two counties had not implemented the two-thirds gender rule as their county assemblies constituted more than two thirds of the same gender. The study established that the creation of the two-thirds gender rule encouraged women to vie for elective positions. Further, the study revealed that the two-third-gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in the last general election and this was in tandem with Nyanjom (2011) who claimed that the low participation of women in politics hinged on the lack of laws to encourage women to participate in politics. The author pointed out that gender equality platform was gaining momentum to an extent that it had encouraged women to give a hand in politics.

The study revealed that the community's perception of the female was largely negative and as such, women were regarded as mothers to an extent that this darkened their political participation. The study established that subordination of women at the family level was more pronounced in the County of Kajiado, as the structure of these families was patriarchal meaning that they were male dominated. In addition, the study established that societal norms were one of the biggest hindrances to women participation in politics.

The analysis of the responses further suggested that marriage boosted the chances of men to win an election compared to the single marital status while it had a strong negative effect on the women. The study findings indicated that lack of transparency during the nomination process, more often than not, translated to low levels of women participation in primaries. Lack of the management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries pushed women to join smaller parties, which were not known. By women joining small parties, their chances of emerging winners were extremely limited and by extension, their representation in the county and national assemblies was minimal. The analysis of the responses established that majority of

the women did not take up politics because they did not have time to concentrate on a political career and that political parties had predetermined nomination outcome. This finding was in tandem with Rotich and Byron (2016) who observed that women were shying away from other elective positions due to acrimonious nature of competitive politics and lack of management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries

7.3 Conclusions

The overall objective of the study was to establish the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics with a specific reference to Nairobi city and Kajiado counties in Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were: to examine the nature of political culture, analyse the influence of the political culture on women participation in politics and to evaluate challenges facing women in the participation of politics in Nairobi city and Kajiado counties. The study reviewed literature and theories in relation to the objectives of the study, whereby the conceptual framework described the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The study adopted a descriptive survey research design and targeted ordinary members of the public, civil society groups, men and women aspirants, and church members. The study adopted the use of a questionnaire and interview schedule and collected data from a sample size of 240 respondents and this generated both qualitative and quantitative data. The researcher was able to collect data from all the 240 respondents, whereby there were 190 females (79.2%) and 50 males (20.8%). The high percentage of female respondents was encouraged since the researcher wanted to get the in-depth information about women's level of participation, and what influenced their participation in politics.

The study concluded that the prevailing political culture translated to low levels of women participation in politics because it was inclined to support men compared to women. The study

revealed that there were differences in women participation in politics in the counties of Nairobi and Kajiado. The conclusion of the was that current political developments did not favor women to contest certain elective posts, as the community viewed the posts as a reserve of male and this was principally because decision-making structures were directly on the hands of the male and this hindered women's ability to make impact in the political landscape.

Further, the researcher observed that patriarchal structures within parties, state, and people's lives had a deleterious influence on the level of women's political participation and this hinged on the fact that despite the structures put in place such as the two-thirds gender rule, the representation of women in leadership positions was low. Conclusively, the researcher found out that in the County of Kajiado, traditional or patriarchal values remained strong and as such, the community frowned on women entering politics while in Nairobi County the researcher established that because of the cosmopolitan nature of the city, individuals' cultural predisposition did not necessarily influence their participation in politics.

7.4 Recommendations

7.4.1 Policy Recommendations

1. It was evident that there was no equal representation of men and women in politics, yet equal participation of women and men in decision-making institutions was a key element in the democratization of governance. There was need for the government and political parties to effectively increase representation of women in political life at all levels. This would help ensure change in political practices and, therefore, in outcomes towards the empowerment of women could be better realized, thereby promoting a more democratic and just society.

2. The presentation of the findings pointed out that the two-thirds gender rule had not been implemented largely because of the lack of political goodwill. Accordingly, the study recommends the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule would enhance women participation in politics, as more seats would be reserved for them both at the national and county level. Quotas could be effective. Evidence from around the world provided examples of where quotas had immediate and direct effect on women's participation.
3. The researcher found out that political parties' internal structures did ensure that women played critical roles because the parties were the vehicles that propel individuals into leadership. There was a strong linkage between the presence of women in party leadership positions and their numerical presence both in elected and appointed office (parties also tended to nominate from among their leadership circles). Therefore, the study recommends that political parties that seek to mobilize voters around a set of positions on policy issues could be pressured by women's groups, party members, and representatives to include gender equality policies into their political programmed.

7.4.2 Recommendations for Further Studies

The study was limited to the counties of Kajiado and Nairobi and since most of the Kenyan societies are still practicing some cultural traditions, and the major political parties are present all over the country, there is need to conduct a study across the country with a view of establishing how the political culture in the country influences the level of women participation in Kenya. Moreover, there is need to conduct a cross-sectional study to establish whether the new constitution that provided for the new legal and regulatory framework has been effective in realizing the two thirds gender rule. A cross-sectional study will provide insights as to whether the country has been able to make strides and realize gains, and how to consolidate the gains

with an objective of forging for more gains. Further, studies should be conducted on how best to increase women representation, as political participation is not a means to an end, rather, political participation is perceptual in nature and as such women cannot be forced to participate.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Cover Letter to Respondent

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

School of Peace and Conflict Studies

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

P. O. Box 190, 50100

Kakamega, Kenya.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: Invitation to Participate in a Research

I am a PhD candidate at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology conducting a research on “*The Nexus Between Political Culture And Women Participation in Colitics in Nairobi and Kajiado Counties in Kenya*”. It is also expected that this study would help to identify factors that affect women in politics. This would assist policy makers to formulate appropriate policies to involve women in decision-making.

I humbly request that you spare a few minutes off your schedule to complete the attached questionnaire. The questions seek your opinions regarding the subject. There are no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers; I just need your honest opinion. Your anonymity is assured and the information you provide will remain confidential.

Thank you for participating in this study. Your cooperation and contribution in this research is very much appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

Lorna Ndirangu (PhD Candidate)

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Kenya undertook a great step in adapting the new constitution in August 2010. With the new constitution comes the Bill of Rights which addresses inequalities previously encountered by minority and marginalized groups in the Kenya's society especially women. This questionnaire seeks to understand the nexus between political culture and women participation in politics in Nairobi and Kajiado counties in Kenya. It also seeks to understand the challenges and experiences women political aspirants face while seeking political office. Kindly fill all applicable sections in this questionnaire. All questions have multiple answers to choose from. Your response data and information collected will be treated with confidentiality and used for research purposes only. All your support in this study will be highly appreciated. Please answer the following questions in the spaces provided. You may also provide detailed data and explanations on separate sheets of paper.

Section A: Demographic information of the Respondent

Provide the following information about yourself (tick where applicable)

Name of the respondent (optional)	
1. Gender of the respondent:	Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>
3. Position vied for	President <input type="checkbox"/> Senator <input type="checkbox"/> Governor <input type="checkbox"/> Member of parliament <input type="checkbox"/> Women representatives <input type="checkbox"/>

	MCA <input type="checkbox"/>
4. Age in years	Below 29 years <input type="checkbox"/> 30-39 years <input type="checkbox"/> 40-49 years <input type="checkbox"/> 50-59 years <input type="checkbox"/> Above 60 years <input type="checkbox"/>
5. Religious background	Muslim <input type="checkbox"/> Christian <input type="checkbox"/> Hindu <input type="checkbox"/> Other specify.....
Level of Education	None <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> College Diploma <input type="checkbox"/> University <input type="checkbox"/>
Number of Children	
Occupation (Past and present)	
Marital Status	

Section B: The Nature of the Political Culture

1. In your view, the nature of politics is an important factor for the inclusion or exclusion of women in politics.

Yes

No

Describe your answer above

.....
.....
.....

2. In your view, to what extent have women been marginalized in political participation because men monopolize the decision-making structures and are in the majority?

No extent

Moderate No extent

Large No extent

Very large No extent

Describe your answer above

.....
.....
.....

3. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that underlying problem for women has been the difficulty in dealing with the inherent patriarchal structures that pervade the lives of people, the processes of state and the party.

Agree

Disagree

Kindly describe your answer

.....
.....
.....

4. Is it true that despite efforts made to ensure female representation is achieved at all levels of governance, women are still underrepresented in many government and non-government organizations particularly in positions of power and leadership.

Yes

No

Describe your answer above

.....
.....
.....

5. In your view, to what extent does the political culture of the major parties are the main barriers to women's election representation?

- No extent
- Moderate No extent
- Large No extent
- Very large No extent

explain your answer above

.....

.....

.....

6. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that political parties and culture of formal political structures is a factor that hinders women’s political participation

Agree

Disagree

Kindly describe your answer

.....

.....

.....

7. To what extent do you agree that women are usually not elected at the position of power within party structures because of gender biases of male leadership?

- No extent
- Moderate No extent
- Large No extent
- Very large No extent

8. In your view, do women prefer taking positions that are not demanding due to responsibilities at home and fear of their husbands?

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

.....

.....

.....

9. The affirmative actions is not followed to the letter by the government both at national and grass root level, in that few women are elected to decision making positions. What is your opinion on this statement?

.....
.....
.....

10. Has the political culture and stereotypes of how women lead made it difficult for women to access or even stay in leadership positions?

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

11. In your opinion, to what extent do women who display more relational styles of leading likely to be marginalized within their organizations and viewed as outsiders?

No extent

Moderate No extent

Large No extent

Very large No extent

12. Women who seem to make it as leaders often end up conforming to the strong male culture in politics, and adopt male leadership styles. What is your opinion on this statement?

.....
.....
.....

13. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that female leaders see gender as a hindrance, they are compelled to lead the way men do as it is considered the norm.

Agree

Disagree

Kindly describe your answer

.....
.....
.....

14. Is it true that in most cases, women are dependent to their husbands, brothers or fathers and this translates to their poor performance in political participation?

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

15. In your view, do educational factors influences entry of women into politics?

Yes

No

If yes, explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

Section C: The Influence of Political Culture on Women Participation in Politics

1. In your opinion, to what extent do cultural practices affect a women's participation in political participation?

No extent

Moderate No extent

Large No extent

Very large No extent

2. How do patriarchal systems affect a women's participation in political participation?

.....
.....
.....

3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that child socialization and family background affect a women's participation in political leadership.

Agree

Disagree

Describe your answer above

.....
.....
.....

4. The political culture at the Political parties level account for the absence of women in their structures with the argument that preference is given to the most professional and competitive candidates. What is your opinion on this statement?

.....
.....
.....

5. In your view, do political parties have any interest in targeted training, increased participation or empowerment of women in their structures or activities?

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

6. How true is the statement that an egalitarian culture fosters women's involvement in electoral politics, but hierarchical culture impedes it?

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

7. How favorably or unfavorably the society views women's involvement in politics depends on where its culture lies in the egalitarian-hierarchical cultural spectrum. What is your opinion on this opinion?

.....
.....
.....

8. In your opinion, does the present political culture predispose women to greater obstacles toward political office in societies where traditional attitudes reign?

.....
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.....

9. The few women who enter into politics are those, someone in their family had participated in politics, as this determines any political changes that would affect their chances to win or gain resources.

.....
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.....

10. In your opinion, do most of the women inherit power from the family, father or husband

Yes

No

Explain your answer above

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.....

Section D: The Challenges Facing Women in the Participation of Politics

1. In your view, how does lack of economic opportunities translated to women's poor participation in politics?

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.....

2. Has the denial of access to education by women influenced women's poor participation in politics?

Yes []

No []

If yes, explain your answer above

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.....
.....

3. Does women's under representation in politics and decision-making affect their participation in politics?

Yes []

No []

If yes, explain your answer above

.....
.....
.....

4. In your opinion, how do traditional conservative norms of female subservience affect women's participation in politics?

.....
.....
.....

5. In your view, how do existing laws and legislation affect women participation in politics?

.....
.....
.....

6. To what extent does patriarchy and women subordination affect women participation in politics in county?

No extent []

Moderate No extent []

Large No extent []

Very large No extent []

7. In your assessment, how does oppressive culture affect women's participation in politics?

.....
.....
.....

8. How does lack of resources for political facilitation affect women participation in politics?

.....
.....
.....

9. Does lack of institutional political party structures affect women's participation in politics?

Yes

No

If yes, explain your answer

.....
.....
.....

10. Does lack of management framework to support free, fair and credible primaries affect women participation in politics?

Yes

No

If yes, explain your answer

.....
.....
.....

11. To what extent does the marital status of women affect their political participation?

No extent

Moderate No extent

Large No extent

Very large No extent

Explain your answer

.....
.....
.....

12. How do stereotypes about women affect women's levels of representation or participation in politics?

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.....
.....

13. How does religion exclude women from mainstream leadership?

.....
.....
.....

14. In your view, how does socio-economic status of women affect their participation in politics?

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.....

15. How does discrimination of access of women to means of production especially land and property rights affect their participation in politics?

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.....

Thank you for your participation

Appendix III: Interview Guide

1. Which is the main challenge that women aspirants face in their endeavor to campaign for political offices in your County?

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2. How does the level of education affect the performance of women in electoral campaigns in your County?

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.....

3. Do you think the two-thirds gender rule has enhanced equal representation in elective offices?

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.....

4. To what extent has the activities of civil groups enhanced the participation of women in politics?

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.....

5. Do women aspirants with better political connections get favors during party nominations?

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.....

6. Do women aspirants with better financial muscle stand better chances of being elected?

.....
.....
.....

7. Do internal party structures of your party allow for women's participation?

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.....
.....

8. To what extent has patriarchy and marginalization of women led to their low participation in politics?

.....
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.....

9. Do women need action measures to enhance their participation in party affairs?

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.....

10. Are political parties doing enough to advance the cause of women's emancipation and empowerment and ensure that a gendered approach informs all its policies and practices?

.....
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.....

11. Has the lack of voter registration by women translated to their poor performance in electoral campaigns and party affairs?

.....
.....
.....

Appendix VI: Research Authorization – NACOSTI



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No: NACOSTI/P/16/42689/9307

Date:
24th March, 2016

Lorna Njambi Ndirangu
Masinde Muliro University of
Science and Technology
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“Influence of women on conflict mitigation in Kenya: A case of Mathare Informal Settlement year 2007/2008 Post Election Violence, Nairobi,”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for a period ending **16th March, 2017**.

You are advised to report to the **County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

Appendix VII: Research Clearance Permit– NACOSTI

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT
MS. LORNA NJAMBI, NDIRANGU
of MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 0-200
NAIROBI, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County
on the topic: INFLUENCE OF WOMEN ON
CONFLICT MITIGATION IN KENYA: A
CASE OF MATHARE INFORMAL
SETTLEMENT YEAR 2007/2008 POST
ELECTION VIOLENCE, NAIROBI
for the period ending
16th March, 2017

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/42689/9307
Date Of Issue : 24th March, 2016
Fee Received :Ksh 2,000



[Signature]
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

- 1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit**
- 2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.**
- 3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.**
- 5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one(1) soft copy of your final report.**
- 6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.**

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NACOSTI

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

