
BY

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REG NO: C50/CE/26115/2011

A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.

JUNE, 2015
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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C50/CE/26115/2011

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISORS:

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DEDICATION

This work is a special dedication to my daughters: Gloria Mokebo and Precious Javan.

The study is further dedicated to all African women, policy makers and Non-Governmental Organizations and other political actors working towards gender equity in parliament and decision-making at all levels of governance in Kenya and Africa in general.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am particularly and endlessly grateful to my supervisors; Dr. Susan Waiyego Mwangi and Dr. Lazarus Kinyua Ngari whose intellectual input, criticism and advice greatly helped me shape this thesis. I specifically thank them for their critical reading of versions of this thesis and earlier drafts of my proposal. I am indebted to their intellectual kind that helped me grow academically.

Secondly, I am greatly indebted to my lecturers in the History, Archaeology and Political Studies Department: Dr. Ndiiri (Chairman), Dr. Kakai, Dr. Kinyanjui and other lecturers that I have not individually mentioned for their scholarly advice and invaluable mentorship. Similarly, I thank the School of Postgraduate Studies and Kenyatta University for their support and recognition.

Additionally, I most sincerely thank all the institutions I visited and their staff for making available to me relevant data that I sought from time to time. Special appreciations go to the librarians in Kenyatta University’s Post-Modern Library, Egerton University main and FASS libraries, Kisii University Library, University of Nairobi Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library, Kenya Scientific Information and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Education Library, Kisii Public Library, Kisii County Government Offices and Kenya National Archives-Nairobi.

Finally, I thank all my respondents who generously provided me with resourceful data. Equally important is my appreciation to my lovely wife Janet Simon, family, friends, all women and men who supported this research directly or indirectly in their motivation and interest.
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DEFINITION OF TERMS

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: Refers to policies and legislations by government or institutions aimed at giving women more representation and participation in electoral politics and decision making. The aim of affirmative action in this study is to reduce inequality between the men and women.

EMPOWERMENT: Refers to the process of enabling women gain an understanding of the underlying issues. It entails enabling them gain a voice and power over decisions that affect their lives and community.

GENDER ANALYSIS: Refers to the process of examining inequalities in power relations between men and women in socio-economic and political spheres with the aim of identify gaps.

GENDER RELATIONS: Refers to hierarchical power relations between men and women. These relations constitute unequal power relations between men and women. The relation creates inequalities that perpetuate women subordination.
GENDER EQUITY: It refers to descriptive and substantive representation of either men or women by paying attention to their respective interests and differences.

MARGINALISATION: It refers to discriminative acts that disadvantage marginalised groups in accessing and having a say in socio-economic and political arena.

WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: In the post-independent period, it refers to the involvement in formal politics as aspirants for political office or holding political office at civic and parliamentary level. It also refers to chairing of House Business committees and articulating women and societies interests in the council/county/national assemblies. In the pre-colonial period, women political participation referred to women’s power in relation to social, economic and political spheres.

POLITICAL PLACE: Refer to the arena where political activity occurs and the spatial distribution between men and women as political actors. In this study political place can imply to political space.
**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAWORD</td>
<td>Association of African Women for Research and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CODESRIA</td>
<td>Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECK</td>
<td>Electoral Commission of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIDA</td>
<td>Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.G.D</td>
<td>Focused Group Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>International Commission of Jurists-Kenya Chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDS</td>
<td>Institute for Development Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPU</td>
<td>Inter-Parliamentary Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KI</td>
<td>Key Informants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNA</td>
<td>Kenya National Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNBS</td>
<td>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPU</td>
<td>Kenya People’s Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>LNC:</td>
<td>Local Native Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCA:</td>
<td>Member of the County Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDP:</td>
<td>Ministry of Devolution and Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.P:</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYWO:</td>
<td>Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDI:</td>
<td>National Democratic Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEMU:</td>
<td>National Election Monitoring Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCSW:</td>
<td>National Committee on the Status of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.I:</td>
<td>Oral Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAWO:</td>
<td>Pan African Women Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.S:</td>
<td>Polling Station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.C:</td>
<td>Provincial Commissioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WID:</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SID:</td>
<td>Society for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIFEM:</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSRISD:</td>
<td>United Nations Research Institute for Social Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP:</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

**ABAMASAI**  The children of Omomasai, second wife of Kimonge a sub-clan head

**ABAMBORI**  The children of Ombori the third wife of Kimonge a sub-clan head

**ABANYANKINI**  The children of Nyankini the eldest wife of Kimonge

**AMASAGA**  Joint working parties

**CHINSONI**  Moral laws

**EBISARATE**  Cattle villages

**EGECHABERO**  Honey moon

**EKERAUNI**  Colonial government

**EKIAGE**  Granary

**EMENYONCHO**  Baskets

**EMONGA**  Piece of land belonging to the homestead patriarch

**ENCHARA YA OINO**  Famine caused by Oino

**ENYAMUMBO**  Mumboism

**ENYANGI**  Final marriage party

**ENYOMBA**  House in singular, in plural chinyomba (houses)

**ETUGO**  Livestock

**OGOSERA**  Giving out hand-outs to voters to influence voting in a given manner
Women constitute more than half of the world population yet they are marginalized in political participation globally. Although literature on politics in Africa is growing the vast majority of detailed research has addressed women political engagements at the national level while grass root level has received minimal scholarly attention. This work studies women political participation in Bomachoge constituency in Kenya, 1963 - 2013. The study interrogates women’s participation in elective politics as candidates and political office holders at both civic and parliamentary levels. The study examined the patterns of women political participation and the structural impediments to their participation at a micro level. The study was flexible in retrospect to cover periods prior to 1963 particularly the colonial and pre-colonial period on the eve of colonialism. Bomachoge, for purpose of this study was limited to the current Bomachoge-Borabu and Bomachoge-Chache constituencies formerly referred as Bomachoge constituency. This study employed gender and patriarchy as theoretical approaches in the analysis of women’s political place in Bomachoge. The two theoretical approaches were used to complement each other. The study employed mixed methods research design that was largely qualitative in nature. The research design was explorative, descriptive and interpretive in nature. The study relied on primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was obtained from oral interviews and archival sources. Archival sources were mainly sourced from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi. Secondary data comprised of published and non-published works that were collected from public university libraries, national libraries, and government departments in Kenya. The study target population were women and men aged 18 years and above; and, registered as voters by February, 2013. A total of 103 informants were interviewed. The study employed the use of stratified purposive and snowballing techniques of both probability and non-probability sampling designs in the selection of informants. The research instruments for this study involved the use of structured interview schedule and questionnaires for key informants, church members, focus group discussions, voters, candidates and political office holders. An observation checklist was also used. Data was collected using a combination of methods that entailed content analysis of documents, interviews, observation, and focus group discussions. The collected data was qualitatively and quantitatively analysed, compared and interpreted in relation to the study objectives and respective historic period. The study established that although women political engagement has been insignificant, they have made some progress at civic and parliamentary level. The study revealed that structural challenges continue to impede women political participation at individual, institutional and societal levels. The study recommended for the need to engender political space through multi-dimensional intervention by various political actors and policy makers.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY


In pre-colonial African societies, women exercised varied and considerable decision making-power directly or indirectly as chiefs, Queen mothers, and advisors to the councils (Wipper, 1984; Martin and Hashi, 1992:4; Uchendu, 1993; Soiri, 1996; Tamale, 1999; Atanda, 2010:6). Women’s political place in the pre-colonial communities was largely ignored by mainstream historians due to their androcentric preconceptions (O’Barr, 1984:141). The perception of women question as “soft” and lacking academic seriousness has also demotivated some women scholars from its study (Obbo, 1980:1). Consequently, very little has been written on the role of women in politics (Buijtenhuijs and Rijnierse, 1993:67).
Existing studies on pre-colonial communities in Kenya show that women had considerable degree of political power in the both private and public spheres (Meena, 2003:213; Choti, 2013:60). Ayot, (1990:212) and Nyakwaka, (2012:45) observe that the Luo women of Western Kenya, accessed positions of leadership and decision-making process due to gender flexibility. The Kikuyu women of Central Kenya similarly exercised considerable influence on their part, though in varying degrees when compared to their male counterparts (Mwangi, 2004).


The status of African women in Western Kenya for instance deteriorated due to imposition of colonial policies (Ndéd, 2002:223; Nyakwaka, 2012:235). Additionally; Christian Mission education particularly the Seventh Day Adventist Church also relegated women to the domestic sphere in Gusiiland (Bogonko, 1977; Getui, 1985; Okemwa, 1993; Choti, 2013). It is important to interrogate the role of SDA mission education on women’s political space Scholars agree that the deterioration of women’s status in Africa is largely attributed to colonialism (Musisi, 1992:185; Cammack et al, 1993: 211; Meena, 2003:117).
A retrospective survey reveals that women’s political participation in post-independent Kenya has been wanting in both descriptive and substantive terms (Likimani, 1979:8; Republic of Kenya, 1994:2; Oduol, 1995; Wanyande, 2006; Kamau, 2010:10; UNIFEM, 2010; Nyakwaka, 2012; Choti, 2013:2; FIDA, 2013). As of 2014, women constituted 19.1 per cent of the members of parliament in Kenya’s National Assembly behind Rwanda’s 63.8 per cent, Uganda’s 35 per cent and South Sudan’s 26.5 per cent (FIDA, 2013; IPU, 2014). A survey on local government documents by Republic of Kenya, (1994), Electoral Commission of Kenya (1997:110), UNIFEM, (2010) and FIDA, (2013) estimated that women representation in Local Authorities has been below 6 per cent and wanting. An overview of political engagements in civic and parliamentary level in Kenya is highlighted in Table 1.1.1 and Table 1.1.2.

**Table: 1.1.1 Situational Analysis of Women Political Participation at Civic Level in Kenya 1997 to 2013.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.of Civic Candidates</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1997</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8050</td>
<td>6630</td>
<td>13856</td>
<td>9287</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>2279</td>
<td>623</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8468</td>
<td>7011</td>
<td>15334</td>
<td>9910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.of Councillors/ MCAs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2887</td>
<td>2043</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1359</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2919</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>2234</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1.2: Situational Analysis of Parliamentary Representation in Kenya, 1963 - 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Aspirants</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1969</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1974</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-1979</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1983</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1988</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1997</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-2002</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2013</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Bomachoge women constitute more than 56 per cent of the total adult population (KNBS, 2010:160), yet they have never elected a woman member of parliament since Kenya’s independence in 1963 (Kihoro, 2007; Adede, 2010:208; Ministry of Devolution and Planning, 2013:40; Choti, 2013:131). In all elective positions in the 2013 General Elections for instance, only one woman was elected out of the 7
elected members to the Kisii County Assembly (IEBC 2013). This is because women are conspicuously absent as candidates and elected leaders (Nzomo, 1987:121; Choti, 2013). This invisibility of women and paucity of data on their political participation have resulted in severe academic gaps at the local levels in Kenya (Mwangi, 2004; UNIFEM, 2010; Migowa 2012; Choti, 2013). Kamau, (2010) and UNIFEM, (2010) posit that there is need for gender differentiation analysis at constituency levels in Kenya that looks beyond numbers to the underlying structural practices that impede the realization of women’s equitable participation in elective politics. Little scholarly focus has been paid on women political engagements in Bomachoge.

**1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Women constitute more than half of Kenya’s population and majority of the electorate, yet they are politically marginalised at individual and group levels. In Bomachoge, women constitute more than half of the adult population and electorate. However, they are largely invisible as candidates and political office holders for both civic and parliamentary levels in practice. This work therefore, sought to study women’s political participation in Bomachoge constituency in Kenya from 1963 to 2013 due to fore mentioned gender gaps. This was necessary in understanding the origin and structural practices that have historically perpetuated women’s political silence and under-representations in elective politics.
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How did the colonial culture impact on Bomachoge women politically?

2. What are the patterns of women’s political engagement in post-independent Bomachoge?

3. What are the structural factors that hinder women’s political participation in post-independent Bomachoge?

1.4 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study was based on the following research objectives:

1. To examine the impact of colonial socio-economic policies and administrative on women’s political participation in Bomachoge;

2. To interrogate the patterns of women’s political engagement in post-independent Bomachoge and;

3. To identify social, economic and political structures that impedes women’s political participation in post-independent Bomachoge.
1.5 RESEARCH PREMISES

This study was premised on the following research assumptions:

1. Aspects of colonial socio-economic policies, administrative structures, and S.D.A mission education impacted negatively on women’s political place in Bomachoge during the colonial era.

2. Women’s political participation patterns are progressively changing with women making inroads into electoral politics in Bomachoge.

3. Some socio-economic and political structural practices have continued to impede women’s political engagements in post-independent Bomachoge.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

Pala, (1978) and Mwangi, (2004) had noted earlier on that little scholarly focus had been paid on women’s political participation at the local level in Kenya. However, the problem of women’s invisibility in politics persists today. The justification for this study is based on assertions made by Kamau, (2010), Migowa, (2012:40), Nyakwaka, (2012) and Choti, (2013) on the need for further scholarly focus on women’s political participation at local level in theory and practice.

Although some studies exist on women political participation at the national and ethnic levels (Onsarigo, 2005; Nyakwaka, 2012; Choti, 2013), this work however, was a micro-study of women political participation at a constituency level in Kenya. The study therefore contributes to knowledge by filling a gap in gender dynamics and statecraft at the local level, particularly in understanding women political participation history in two constituencies namely, Bomachoge-Borabu.
and Bomachoge-Chache.

A general survey shows that women are either absent or under-represented as candidates and political office holders in Bomachoge since 1963 (Onsongo, 2001; Adede, 2010:208; Choti, 2013; IEBC, 2013b; MDP, 2013). The fact that women are virtually absent as candidates and political office holders implies that women’s choice to elect candidates of their own desire is constrained. Madeline (former U.S Secretary of State) argued that governments in excluding women from electoral competition rob themselves a pool of critical human resource and talent (FIDA, 2013). Silencing women who constitute 56 % of Bomachoge’s adult population (KNBS,2010) is an injustice and against Kenya’s 2010 constitution on two-thirds gender rule, the Millennium Development Goals and African Women Decade theme 7 and 8 on promoting women political participation (Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:98; Butegwa, 1995:56; Tripp, 2000:223; Ellis, etal, 2007: xii; Kamau, 2012:50;FIDA,2013).

Getui (1994:4), Mwangi (2004) and Prah (1996:17) posit that the clan is the most appropriate political unit to be used in studying the role and place of rural women. This is because women traditionally belonged to their husbands’ clans (Mwangi, 2004). Additionally, Abagusii organised themselves politically around the clan (Maxon, 1971; Ochieng, 1974:179). Constituency on its part was the most relevant unit of contemporary political analysis because elections are organised on the basis of constituency representation. This study’s locale was of interest because in Bomachoge-Borabu within the former Bomachoge constituency, the gap between the number of eligible voters and the number of registered voters is so
wide in the entire Kisii County (MDP, 2013:16). This phenomenon raised a number of questions on women’s political engagements at group and individual levels.

This study provides an avenue for Bomachoge women to analyse their social situation and enable them develop strategies for challenging existing patriarchal structures at household, group and societal levels that impede their political participation. This study additionally, highlights the progress made by Bomachoge women in electoral politics, and; assesses the impact of Kenya’s 2010 Constitutional provision on women politically. The study will further help policy makers, researchers, and Non-Governmental Organizations working towards achievement of inclusive and sustainable democratic institutions of governance question and understand the exclusion of women in local electoral politics.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY.

This study examined women’s political participation in the former Bomachoge constituency from 1963 to 2013. This is the current Bomachoge-Chache and Bomachoge-Borabu constituencies (Appendix 1, Pp.180). Where necessary, the study referred to Kenya and Kisii District/County in relation to Bomachoge.

Period prior to 1963, which involved colonial and the pre-colonial period, was also referred to provide a historical base to the study. The year 2014 was referred to in order to comprehensively capture Kisii County Executive Committees’ composition. The year 1963 was chosen as the starting point for this study because it was expected that women’s political participation would improve at
independence (Oloo and Oyugi, 2003:241). However, 50 years later, a lot remains to be done despite the progress that has been made. The year 2013 was significant because it marked a new political dispensation in line with Kenya’s 2010 constitution that made provisions for affirmative action and gender rule in all elective and appointive positions (FIDA, 2013). Furthermore, it provided adequate time frame of over ten general elections to amply interrogate patterns of women political participation.

The study focused on women as aspirants and political office holders for civic and parliamentary levels. The study was flexible to allow examination of women involvement in chairing of former councils committees within Bomachoge and current Kisii County Assembly. Although this study’s concern was on women political participation, it also dealt with aspects of their non-participation in electoral politics. Men were incorporated in this study for comparative purpose and in order to achieve a complete gender picture.

The study was limited in that it did not cover all active women in politics. However, the researcher relied on Babbie’s (2014:200) suggestion that when it is impractical to sample all leaders, a sample of the most visible leaders can yield sufficient data. There were instances where some of the women informants sought were busy. The researcher was forced to reschedule interview for some other time. The other limitation was Bomachoge men’s culture of treating women as inferior to be trusted with male strangers. The mistrust was overcome by interviewing respondents in neutral environment.
1.8. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A survey of existing literature reveals that women are obscure in social-economic and political history, globally (Zeleza, 1997). Women are absent from their societies’ debates, history and social change because reality has been constructed from men’s lenses (UNESCO, 1975:14-5; Hagaman, 1977:16; Obbo, 1980:1; Wakano, 1985:7-327; Ngaiza and Koda, 1995:1; Zeleza, 1997:86; Waliggo, 2002:8; Mama, 2005b:105). Asante, (2007:106) for instance depicts African history as a giant game of Mankala that is widely played across Africa. Asante’s conceptualization of African history is a clear evidence of how women have been excluded from the public sphere given their minimal role in the game of Mankala.

Scholars concur that women are under-represented in decision-making assemblies globally (Oakley, 1981:297; Silvard, 1985:34; Nzomo, 1994:204; Matembe, 1996:113; UNRISD, 2005). Nzomo, (2003) and United Nations, (2010:27) suggest that apparent invisibility of women in political engagements at a global scale should be analysed through examining the structural impediments facing women at national levels. This is crucial in developing appropriate affirmative action strategies for redress. Equitable political participation and decision-making between men and women is primary in achieving democratic equilibrium in institutions of governance (Butegwa, 1995:54; UN, 1996; UN, 2010).

Scholars found out that women constitute a critical percentage of Africa’s population and yet the diverse constraints they face in politics have not adequately been investigated (Mama, 1996; Waylen, 1996:1; Tripp, 2000; Poluha, 2002; Nyakwaka, 2012:7; Choti, 2013:14). There is need to interrogate how political
processes alter gender relations and the distinctiveness of ‘women’s political activity” (Waylen, 1996:1). This is because existing studies on African women have paid considerable attention to women’s domesticity (Nyakwaka, 2012:7).

A retrospective analysis on the hunter and gatherer societies placed both men and women at the centre. Women wielded some degree of political power derived from their economic independence and discretion in selection of their spouses (Lee, 1995:145; Hann, 1998:125). Existing studies in Pre-colonial African societies show that women played significant political roles through institutional provisions (Hay and Stichter, 1984).

Kaberry and Chilver, (1967:136), Wipper, (1984:70), Amadiume, (1987), Moore, (1988) and Uchendu, (1993:96) found out that the Igbo women of Nigeria and Kom women of Cameroon transacted their affairs in political gatherings while others belonged to secret societies that created unity among women, made major communal decisions and provided a balance of secular political power. In Igbo society for instance, the office of the male Obi existed side by side with that of the female Omu. The Obi was in charge of the general Igbo society. However, the Omu on her part transacted over women affairs assisted by the cabinet, Ikpoani and a police woman, awo in controlling market activities (Okonjo, 1976:47).

Studies by Sweetman, (1984) and Loth, (1987) found out that in the past some African women served as legends, co-legends, city founders, empire builders, army commanders, soldiers and body guards. These include Empress Helena and Sabla Wangel of Ethiopia, Queen Amina of Songhai in mid-Niger, the legendary rulers of the ancient kingdom of Congo Donna Veronica and Donna Susanne.
Awogu, (1985:56) study on the Swazi kingdom in South Africa, note that the Swazi king owed his position to a woman who determined his selection. The ruler Ingwenyama, (lion) shared political power with a queen mother, Indlovukati (female elephant) who not only checked his power but also had authority to distribute land.

Loth, (1987) however, argues that in some instances like in Botswana, women have been seen as Mosadi ke ngwana wa monna meaning that “a woman is a child of a man”. Generally, there is a consensus among scholars that regardless of the cultural configuration, women have always exercised veto power through ascribed or achieved bases of female power (Sanday, 1981:115; Silberschmidt, 1999:36; Nyakwaka, 2012:7). These studies provided a framework for analysing women’s bases of power in the pre-colonial and colonial Kenya and Bomachoge.

Studies on colonial Africa reveal that colonial regimes impacted negatively on women across Africa under the Victorian conception of state, society and family (Tamale, 1999). Studies by Uchendu, (1993:96-97) point out that British colonial administration in Nigeria disregarded Umuada and Otu Alutaradi women organizations, the office of the queen in Onitsha and the office of the Omu. Women were further excluded in village administration as warrant chiefs thus the dual system of government that existed before was undermined (ibid.). The assertions by Uchendu are relevant in interrogating how colonial administrative structures reinforced positions of male patriarchs and subordinated women’s bases of power at local levels in Africa, Bomachoge notwithstanding.
Additionally, Mutiso (1975:251) and Bogonko (1982:84-5) posit that generalisations on the impact of Christian missionaries on various communities exist however; there is little scholarly focus on the impact of specific church missions on modernization in Kenya. Okemwa, (1993:14) further argues that Bogonko did not make adequate effort to analyse the effect of S.D.A education on women. The assertions by Bogonko and Okemwa are relevant in interrogating the role of S.D.A Mission education on Bomachoge women politically.

The Kenya year Book Editorial Board, (2012:210) has documented that during the first Kisii Constituency elections to Legco, the elections were reduced into a supremacy battle between Catholics and S.D.As. The Catholics supported Sagini while the S.D.A supported Nyamweya. This observation was relevant in interrogating the role of S.D.A Church on local politics in relation to women.

Thadani, (1976:36) and Meena, (2003:117) have shown that women played a significant role in African resistance and nationalistic movements for independence in Tanzania and Zimbabwe among others. However, in the re-writing of African history, women’s contribution in nationalistic struggles was devalued (ibid). Thadani and Meena challenge us to find out the nature of women initiatives at the local levels towards European colonialism.

Studies show that in contemporary Africa, women have been underrepresented in electoral politics (O’Barr and Firmin-Sellers, 1995:2002). Although, they could be more represented at the local than the national levels there is little evidence that analyses the nature and extent of their participation (ibid).
A study by Ndeda, (1999:4) revealed that majority of Women Organisations in Africa and post-independent Kenya in particular have continued to be modelled along Western preconceptions on women’s place in society. She notes that these organisations are mainly concerned with women issues at the welfare levels. The assertions by Ndeda are helpful in assessing the impact of MYWO on women’s political agenda in Kenya and the grass root level.

Tamale, (1999) notes that legal framework; the society’s capitalistic and patriarchal nature has muted women’s voice in Uganda. A similar study by Poluha, (2002) revealed that structural framework and socialization is linked to women’s inadequate participation in Ethiopian politics. The studies by Tamale and Poluha will help in understanding how the legal framework, socialization and patriarchal Kenyan state impact on women’s political progress at the local level.

Nzomo, (1987:125), Schmitz and Hutchful, (1992:1); Kabira and Wasamba, (1998); Migowa, (2012:40) and FIDA, (2013:58-68) concur that African women and Kenyan women in particular, suffer multiple sources of discrimination entrenched in social, economic and political structures that impede women’s political participation. Additionally, Mwangi (2004) and Atanga (2010:1) observed that gender structure and patriarchal ideology in most African communities has reinforced male dominance over women to the extent that men are perceived as natural leaders. Women are therefore unable to choose their candidates freely because their male relatives determine whom they vote for (Okemwa, 2002:85). These assertions are relevant in investigating how the fore
mentioned structural factors impact on women’s participation in electoral politics at the local level.

Studies by Kabira and Nzioki, (1993), Nyakwaka, (2012) and Choti, (2013) have situated women within the traditional political structures among some Kenyan communities over time. The weakness of these works is that they have focused on the communities as a whole. Ochieng, (1974:3) posits that the best way of studying Abagusii in pre-colonial times is by analysing them in terms of clans. The main strength of the study by Choti, (2013) on Gusii women, is that it paid attention to women’s voice. However, other scholars recommend for further studies that capture a complete gender picture of society where views from both men and women could be analysed (Kamau, 2010; Nyakwaka, 2012). This micro study builds on the foundation of Mwangi, (2004), Kamau, 2010; Nyakwaka, (2012) and Choti, (2013) to study women’s political participation in Bomachoge Borabu and Bomachoge Chache constituencies in Kenya.

Scholars have observed that the persistent gender inequality in decision-making assemblies that has muted women’s voice calls for review of the mainstream political thought and practice (Kendrigan, 1984:91; Nzomo, 1987; Jones & Jonasdottir, 1988:1; Okin, 1998:119; Philips, 1998; Sapiro, 1998:162; Tamale, 1999; Choti, 2013). This is because the conceptual terrain offered by democratic theory has been silent on women’s political space in its analysis. Schmitz and Hutchful (1992:10) and Prah (1996:16) argued that political participation in contemporary Africa has inherent structural biases. The question of who participates in politics must therefore be asked from a popular participation
perspective owing to the fact that women are likely to be side-lined (Mouffe, 1997:87; Rutto and Njoroge, 2001:41; Kabira, et al. 2006:10).

From the literature reviewed, it was clear that the political space in Africa and Kenya was wanting. Furthermore, there was need to explore women’s political participation at the grass root level. Olin, (1983:63), Ngaiza and Koda, (1995:2) challenge us to rethink on how to transform the state of affairs that has persistently undervalued women’s contribution to societal advancements. This is significant in recognising the role of women in a nation’s history at both national and local levels. This study therefore sought to interrogate women's political activities at a constituency level in Kenya.

1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are varied theoretical approaches that have been used to explain the unequal power relations between men and women. This study integrated Gender and Patriarchy framework in its analysis. These theoretical frameworks were used to complement each other.

Gender as a concept can be traced to Millett, (1969) notion of sexual politics and the second wave of the feminist movement’s attempt to explain the origin of women’s oppression and means of their emancipation (Davis and Oldersma, 1991:2; Hann, 1998:219; Nyakwaka, 2012). Feminists characterize gender relations as relations of inequality and subordination that need to be changed (Meena, 1992; Hann, 1998:219; Nyakwaka, 2012). Gender has consequently been utilised as an analytical tool in explaining the nature of social relations between
According to Cammack et al. (1993:210-211) gender as a tool of analysis was advantageous because first, it created a complete gender picture of society. Secondly, it paid attention to personal relations and experiences of a critical section of the population. Thirdly, it was a bottom-up approach to state centered top-down approach. Furthermore, it was useful in explaining the interaction between international division of labour and internal situation on women in Africa. And finally, gender framework addressed socio-economic and political transformation together rather than looking at them as separate entities. These assertions were significant to this study because there was a close interaction between socio-economic and political spheres in African societies (Okonjo, 1976; Choti, 2013).

Gender has been conceptualized in a number of ways. Davis (1991:65), Morghadan, (2005:15) and Nyakwaka, (2012:17) conceptualizes gender as: the meaning assigned to femininity and masculinity; the differential situation of men and women; a social structure; and the inequality in power relations among the sexes. Lorber, (1994:5) and Risman, (2011:10) conceptualized gender as: a process of social construction; systems of social stratification and an institution that is deeply embedded in the state, language, sexuality, family, culture and other institutions that structure aspects of both men and women. Thus, to Lorber and Risman, gender is basically conceptualized as a social structure. According to Risman, (2011:12) gender as a structure differentiates opportunities and constraints based on sex category with three dimensional consequences, namely at
individual, interaction and at institutional levels. This study used gender structure framework in analysing women’s political participation in these three dimensions.

In conceptualizing how gender structure operates at individual level, Tichenor, (2011:421) observes that gender structure constrains both sexes in constructing their identities. However, at interactional level West and Zimmerman, (1987) argue that both men and women “do gender” in the process of interaction. At this level, language is used as an invisible tool of discrimination in face to face interaction that reflects, creates and sustains gender division in society (LaFrance, 2001:246; Yieke, 2004:154). Men therefore dominate conversations in public places by use of aggressive language or insults as a means of silencing women’s voice (West & Zimmerman, 1975:125; Yieke, 2004:154; Choti, 2013:43). Masculine forms of power are mediated through being assertive and decisive. However, when women use assertive language they still tend to be less successful (Crawfield and Unger, 2004:43). Eventually women and men submit to the normative requirements of feminity or masculinity “doing gender” resulting in men doing dominance while women do deference (ibid).

Atanda’s, (2010:40, 68) study on *Gender, Discourse and Power in Cameroonian Parliament*, argues that power in language use is social power which manifests other forms of achieved power. To her, hegemonic language has been used by men to dominate women in institutional settings because women lack access to symbolic capital to make them visible in parliamentary debates. According to Atanda titulation-referring on how female and male parliamentarians are addressed, quantitative and qualitative talking between male and female
legislators is useful in assessing power relations in parliament.

At institutional level gender exists in terms of symbolic orders and organizational practices that reinforce our ideas on masculinity and feminity (Tichenor, 2011:420). The gendered ideology of private and public sphere constructs men as bread winners, rational and stronger while women are characterized as mothers through the family, community, legal, educational and cultural institutions (Agarwal, 1989:14; Henn, 1998:219). These institutional beliefs influence the behaviour of men and women at individual and interaction levels (Tichenor, 2011:420). Crawford and Unger, (2004:78) argue that if women’s lack of power is as a result of their roles in the domestic sphere then there is need to re-engineer the domestic sphere. This observation was used to identify barriers to women’s political participation at the individual, interactional and institutional level.

Patriarchy framework as an ideology of women’s subordination was also used in highlighting the structures of women’s subordination. This is because patriarchal relations in Africa have been identified as the primary source of women’s invisibility in Africa’s history. Additionally, patriarchal ideology is the basis of the subordination of women as a gender group in economic and socio-political structures (Ngaiza and Koda, 1995:3; Masinjila, 1997:1). Patriarchal ideology furthermore regulates the allocation of tasks based on gender at the household, community and international levels (Okemwa, 1993:22; Fiorenza, 1994; Ngaiza and Koda, 1995:3). Allocation of tasks based on patriarchal ideology was useful in examining the allocation of tasks to men and women in Bomachoge and how the allocation led to women’s subordination.
Mwangi, (2004) posits that patriarchy has been advanced as a theoretical explanation of its own in accounting for the subordination of women by use of gender as tool of analysis. According to Mwangi scholars have conceptualized patriarchy within a narrow and wider meaning. Patriarchy literary refers to a system derived from the principle of *patria protestas*, meaning; to give all power to the father or tribal head (Reeds, 1970; Randall, 1987:19; Ford, 2011). Historically, Greco-Roman, African, Semitic, Indian, Chinese and Japanese civilizations have been dominated by patriarchal patterns that relegated women to the private sphere (Reeds, 1970; Nzomo, 1987:111-115).

Mosse, (1993:50), Rai, (2008) and Ford, (2011) assert that the concept of patriarchy in a wider conceptualization is used in referring to the systematic exercise of male authority over women through social, economic and political institutions. This study employed the wider conceptualization in its analysis. The structures that have perpetuated women subordinate status include the family, polygamy, religion, the colonial systems of governance and the Victorian conception of the place of women (Masinjila, 1994:2; Kabira, 1997; Murindwara-Ratanga, 2011:50). These patriarchal structures are helpful in analysing impediments to women’s political participation in Kenya and Bomachoge.

Patriarchy as an ideology of women subordination is premised on the assumption that women are weak biologically and depend on men for defence (Masinjila, 1994:1). This ideology has therefore legitimized the perception of male leadership as natural. Women are therefore expected to locate their places in their husbands’ clans as followers in most African communities (Mwangi, 2004; Kabira, 1997).
These assertions posed by Mwangi and Kabira are useful in interrogating women’s political space in past and contemporary Bomachoge.

The colonial legacy also reinforced the ideology of public and private sphere in which men and women were prepared for service in the public sector and domestic sphere respectively (Masinjila, 1994:1; Kamau, 2010:11). This different spheres ideology impacts on the way in which the society is ordered, how power is distributed and in the creation of public policy (Ford, 2011). The gendered nature of the Kenyan state is thus reflected in various institutional appointments that are male dominated (Kamau, 2010:11; Nyakwaka, 2012:13; Choti, 2013). Women political participation was analysed in this study by examining the gendered nature of electoral politics at the national, constituency and civic levels.

Fig 1: Conceptual Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Depended Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Structures</td>
<td>Women Political Participation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Structures</td>
<td>• Candidates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Structures</td>
<td>• Political Office</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher
1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.11 RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employed mixed method research design in which qualitative and quantitative data collection procedures, methods and analysis were mixed to understand the research problem. As argued by Barbour (2008), David and Sutton (2011:296), mixed methods were used to generate multiple perspectives, complement the data sources and provide avenues for comparison. Although the study embraced mixed methods; it was largely qualitative in nature. Scholars concur that qualitative design gives the insiders a say in narrating their insights first hand (Marshment & Rossman, 1995:39; Mwangi, 2004; Nyakwaka, 2012:19). The study was descriptive in nature by attempting to describe the place of Bomacho ge women in politics and by using numbers, simple tables and percentages to highlight their level of presence in electoral politics. Additionally, the study was explorative in nature by surveying structural barriers faced by women aspirants and political officeholders. Finally, the study was interpretive in nature by generating themes from both quantitative and qualitative data.

1.12 CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS

In this study, women political participation was treated as the dependent variable. The dependent variable had two units of analysis namely candidates and political office holders. They were measured by looking at the number of women candidates and political office holders in ward and parliamentary levels. Substantive participation was measured by assessing quantitative talk time
between male and female MCAs in Kisii County Assembly. The socio-economic and political structures that impede women’s political participation were treated as the independent variables.

1.13 RESEARCH LOCALE

The research locale was the former Bomachoge constituency (Appendix, p.180). This is the current Bomachoge Borabu and Bomachoge Chache constituencies with a total of seven electoral wards. Bomachoge Borabu constituency comprises of Boochi Borabu, Bombaba, Bokimonge and Magenche wards. Bomachoge Chache constituency is also made up of three wards; Majoge Bassi, Boochi/Tendere and Bosoti/Senger (IEBC, October, 17th, 2010: XXXVI-XXXVII). Description of Bomachoge is highlighted in Table 1.13.1 below.

Table 1.13.1: Description of Current Bomachoge constituencies as per of 2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Area sq.km (Approx.)</th>
<th>CAW Number</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bomachoge Borabu</td>
<td>107,179</td>
<td>115.10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomachoge Chache</td>
<td>93,530</td>
<td>106.30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Bomachoge has a total of 130 polling stations with Bomachoge Borabu and Bomachoge Chache having 66 and 64 polling stations respectively. The total population for Bomachoge as per the 2009 census report is 200,750 with a total of 82,771 registered voters (KNBS, 2010, IEBC, 2012; MDP, 2013). In Bomachoge,
women and men over 18 years as per 2009 accounted for 54.92% and 45.08% of the adult population respectively (KNBS, 2010:160). Administratively, Bomachoge is the current Bomachoge-Borabu and Bomachoge-Chache Sub-Counties with a total of 10 locations and 20 sub-locations. Bomachoge covers an area of approximately 221.4 (sq.) km (MDP, 2013).

1.14 TARGET POPULATION

This study targeted population was 82,771 women and men registered as voters in Bomachoge as of February 2013. Although 90 years was treated as the maximum age limit, flexibility allowed interviewing of informants slightly above this age where necessary to generate relevant data.

1.15 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE AND SAMPLE SIZE

The informants were selected through stratified purposive and snowballing techniques of both probability and non-probability sampling designs. The informants were made up of women and men knowledgeable on political trends in Bomachoge. According to Mwangi (2004), purposive sampling is appropriate because not everyone in the target population is knowledgeable on political trends in a given study domain.

The informants were identified first through the IEBC, Kisii County Assembly, former Gucha county council and Ogembo urban/town councils’ records. A stratified sample frame was established comprising former and current civic and parliament candidates, and councillors/MCAs and members of parliament. The sample frame was further into men and women. The second phase of
identification was done through suggestions from key informants. Stratified purposive sampling was further used to identify candidates, political office holders, IEBC officials, SDA members, administrators and voters. Stratified purposive sampling was appropriate in achieving sufficient representativeness by ensuring the researcher interviewed men and women, leaders and non-leaders, aspirants and political office holders.

This study was flexible to interview as many informants as possible, the saturation point notwithstanding (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:65). The total sample size was 103 informants comprising 49 men and 54 women. As argued by Mugenda (2013:40), the sample size was arrived by carefully taking into account the issues being studied and the sampling strategy employed as indicated in Table 1.15.1

Table 1.15.1: Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sex</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Office Holders</th>
<th>IEBC Staff</th>
<th>MYWO Members</th>
<th>SDA Members</th>
<th>Voters/Admin.</th>
<th>KI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.16 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The research instruments for this study included the use of structured interview guides, questionnaires for key informants, aspirants, political office holders, church members and focus group discussions (Appendix 3, Pp 182-192). The questionnaires comprised a list of closed and open ended questions. The questions
were divided into various sub-themes and historical periods under investigation. Field note books and cameras were used in storing captured data. The researcher trained two research assistants whom he used to distribute the questionnaires.

1.17 DATA COLLECTION

The researcher collected both text and numeric data. The study employed a number of data collection methods namely, interviews, focus groups, direct observation and document analysis of primary and secondary sources of data. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently. Combining both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods was advantageous to this study. As argued by Nyakwaka (2012:19), multiple sources of data enabled the researcher access adequate information during the research process.

Primary sources comprised of archival, oral data, focus group and observation. These were mainly first-hand information. Archival data was obtained from the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi and comprised Kisii district quarterly and annual reports, diaries and correspondence of colonial officials. These sources provided descriptive information of Bomachoge on the eve of colonialism and during colonial rule. Information that was collected and analysed dealt with taxation, labour, education, agricultural policies and colonial administration. Archival materials were compared against each other and information obtained from interviewing for consistence in relation to the objectives of the study. Oral data on the hand was obtained through interviews. The researcher used questionnaires with open and closed questions. Personal interviewing was advantageous because it enabled the researcher to probe for clarity and accuracy.
Four focus group discussions (FGD) interviews were held. The focus group discussions comprised five informants each. Each focus group was a homogeneous representation of a given group. The criteria for inclusion were based on involvement in elective politics as candidates or political office holders, gender and membership to MYWO. This necessitated easy management of the discussions. The first two FGDs involved women as representatives of MYWO and as civic aspirants. The other two FGDs dealt with male civic aspirants and councillors. These focus groups were adequate representation of Bomachoge’s political strata and their viewpoints generated data on impediments faced by Bomachoge women in elective politics. Barbour (2008:134) argued that focus groups are effective means of understanding political decision-making and practices. The informants were purposively drawn from the seven wards of Bomachoge depending on their knowledge and experience on Bomachoge political domain. The researcher posed questions to the groups, probed for more information and moderated discussions. The informants were interviewed in Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English languages where necessary. Informants’ responses were recorded in field note books or captured on camera by two research assistants who had been trained by the researcher.

Direct observation method was used to note differences between male and female MCAs question and answer session in the Kisii County Assembly by use of observation checklist. The focus was on quantitative talking and use of language in domination of women in institutional setting. Additionally, the researcher surveyed the assembly through direct observation to check whether there were
women friendly structures.

Secondary data consisted of published books, articles, journals, periodicals, non-published theses, periodicals, seminar papers, election monitoring observation reports, local newspapers, credible online sources, publication by women organizations and government departments. These secondary sources were collected from Kenyatta University Post-Modern Library, University of Nairobi Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library, Egerton University Main and Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Libraries, Kenya Scientific Information and Documentation Centre, Ministry of Education Library, McMillan Memorial Library, Kisii Public Library, Kisii County Government, Former Gucha and Ogembo town Council office sand key government departments. These documents were then subjected to content analysis. The data was first used to create the background on women’s political participation and subsequently referenced in the study.

1.18 DATA ANALYSIS

Although numeric and text data were collected concurrently, they were analysed separately, compared and interpreted. The qualitative and quantitative data obtained was analysed by integrating the procedures documented by Marshall and Rossman, (1995:113), O’leary, (2011:231) and Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003:213-14) and Mwangi, (2004). In borrowing from their data analysis techniques, some of the collected data was first transcribed from audio to text. Data reduction involved reducing data collected from statistical analysis and writing summaries for qualitative data. The data was then displayed using simple tables and percentages guided by gender theory’s comparative approach. The data
was then transformed mainly from quantitative to qualitative. However, in few instances the data was transformed from qualitative to quantitative. The data was then correlated, compared and integrated. The data was thematically analysed in respect to the study objectives, literature review, respective historic period and gender theoretical framework. Conclusion was drawn and recommendations were made.

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher obtained research authorization from Kenyatta University (Appendix 4, Pp.193), Kisii County Government (Appendix 6, Pp.195), Ministry of Higher Education Science and Technology (NACOSTI) (See Appendix 7-9, Pp.195-198), Kisii County Commissioner (Appendix 10, Pp.199) Kisii County Director of Education (Appendix, 11, Pp.200) and Kisii County Commissioner (Appendix 10, Pp.204). These authorizations facilitated the researcher carry out research work in Kenya, Bomachoge and any other relevant institution.

The researcher further obtained informants’ consent by use of a phone call and through a formal introductory letter (Appendix 2, Pp.181). He further: explained the objectives and benefits of the study, how the study was to be carried out, the risks involved and informant’s rights of withdrawal. Additionally, the informants were interviewed in neutral environment such as open spaces and work places. However, majority of the informants were interviewed in their own homes during day time. The interviewing was done in an open and respectful manner established through trust.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 THE PLACE OF ABAMACHOGE WOMEN IN COLONIAL POLITICS.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter interrogates women political participation in Bomachoge on the eve of British colonialism and during the colonial period. This section was guided by patriarchy and gender theoretical framework in analysing the place of women generally and in Bomachoge. Women political participation in Bomachoge was analysed on the basis those socio-economic and political structures that were inter-related and amenable to change. This chapter highlights the place of Abamachoge women on the eve of colonialism, the establishment of colonial rule and its subsequent impact women. The chapter further, highlights the impact of the SDA Mission education on the Bomachoge women politically. Additionally, it presents the subordination of Bomachoge women in the Legislative Council and early political associations.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ABAMACHOGE AND BOMACHOGE CONSTITUENCY

Current Bomachoge Borabu and Bomachoge Chache constituencies comprise the Bomachoge clan. The Abamachoge clan traces its origin to Mogusii and his wife Nyakomogendi, the founder of the other clans of Abagusii of Western Kenya (Choti, 2013:88). The Gusii ethnic group is generally comprised of the Machoge, Bassi, Getutu, Nyaribari, Gisero, Girango and the Nchari clans who occupy
defined territories (Maxon, 1971:7). According to Mayer, (1949:10) the Gusii clans operated as autonomous political units at clan and lineage levels before the dawn of British colonial rule in Gusiland.

The Abamachoge sub-clans namely the Abakione, Abaochi, Abambaba and Abamachoge were named after the sons of Ntindi (Ochieng’-Opondo, 1971:187). Ntindi was the son of Mosweta Ngoge the founder of Abanyaribari, Abagetutu and Abamachoge clans. The clan’s migration patterns and intra-clan relations shaped its socio-economic and political organization (Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014). It was Northcote, the first District Officer sent to Gusiland that named the four Abamachoge clans “Majoge” in 1907 (Maxon, 1971 Ochieng, 1974:158; Silberschmidt, 1999:13; Keraro, O.I.16/06/2014). In 1963, Majoge location and Bassi locations of Kisii District subsequently formed the Majoge-Bassi constituency (Gertzel, 1970:8).

2.3 THE POLITICAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN BOMACHOGE ON THE EVE OF COLONIALISM

2.3.1 GENDER RELATIONS, ECONOMIC ORGANISATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR IN BOMACHOGE

Gender and age played a significant role in Abamachoge’s economy and division of labour. Tasks in economic production were guided by individuals’ sex and age (Levine, S. And Levine, R. 1979:4). However, some tasks were performed by both men and women (ibid). This flexibility and balance in sexual division of labour existed across the Abagusii clans (Choti, 2013:58). The base of
Abamachoge economy was agriculture. However trade, crafts, iron smelting, hunting and gathering played a significant role in material production and distribution (Ochieng, 1974:62; Kinara, 1988/89).

Awogu, (1975:83) argued that in traditional African societies land was communally held. The household head was the nominal owner who acted as a trustee for his household. According to Awogu this arrangement was prevalent in Africa particularly among the Ashanti of Ghana, the Lozi of Central Africa, the Swazi of South Africa and the Buganda of East Africa. At the local level, land was highly valued among the Abamachoge. It belonged to the clan under individual patriarchs (Masese, 2006:257). Land ownership was through inheritance to the grown up sons of the household patriarch through their mother (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955; Silberschmidt, 1999:15; Masese, 2006:257). Grown up and married daughters could not inherit land from their father. They instead accessed land through marriage (Silberschmidt, 1999:15).

The patriarch divided the land among his principal wives or chinyomba (houses). However, the patriarch reserved a portion of land for himself popularly known as emonga. The eldest wife of the patriarch traditionally received a big junk of land as compared to the co-wives (Masese, 2006:256; Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014). Each of the wives of the household head cultivated her portion of land together with her children. She also controlled the production and distribution of her produce. The produce was stored in her granary, ekiage or kept in emenyoncho, (baskets) that were kept in hut rafters’ storage space, irongo (Silberschmidt, 1999:36; Choti, 2013:92; Masese, O.I. 15/06/2014). It was a taboo for the
household patriarch, father in-law or grown up relative to set foot in a woman’s granary. The fact that men could not set foot into granaries and rafter storage area which were dominantly women’s spaces is clear evidence that men’s dominance had limitations (Silberschmidt, 1999:36).

Every woman’s hut was located in her portion of land which she safeguarded for her children until they were fully grown up, whether the husband was dead or alive. Apart from controlling her produce every wife of the patriarch had her own etugo, livestock. According to Mayer, (1948:63), Levine, S. & Levine, R. (1979:6) women held considerable autonomy and considerable influence in control of their produce and livestock. These autonomy of women over their own fields, granaries and houses gave them authority that enhanced their positions in the homestead (Mayer, (1948; O’Barr, 1984:141; Choti, 2013).

The patriarch’s emonga was cultivated by the all co-wives or chinyomba and the produce from emonga was stored in the patriarch’s granary. The produce from this granary was used to supplement the wives’ empty granaries. It was shared openly and equally among the wives of the patriarch in times of need (Masese, 2006:256; Shadle, 2006:10; Keraro, O.I. 16/06/2014; Mogusu,O.I. 19/06/2014).

Hagaman, (1977:325) argues that in West African societies women controlled economic production and the distribution of agricultural produce in relation to their male counterparts. In Bomachoge, a woman’s enyomba was the basic unit of economic production (Levine, S. & Levine, R. 1979). It has been argued that since women were the primary food producers and distributors among the Abagusii and Abamachoge in particular, they can be said to have been the “bread winners”
Tasks were culturally defined at the household and clan level. Women undertook
the bulk of agricultural work which included tilling, planting, weeding,
harvesting, transportation and processing of produce along other social chores
(Henn, 1984:4; Okemwa, 1993:31; Silberschmidt, 1999:35; Choti, 2013). Men on
the other hand milked cows, cleared bushes, defended the household or clan,
grazed livestock, smelt iron, hunted game, built granaries and huts (Levine, S. and
Levine, R. 1979:5). Majority of tasks performed by men were seasonal while
women and girls did most of the household tasks (Mayer, 1948:1; McNamara,
1979:6; Ngoko and Boera, 1980:4; Henn, 1984:1; Silberschmidt, 1999:15; Choti,
2013:92; Keraro, 16/06/2014). However, colonial and post-colonial Africa,
women’s substantial contribution in food production, storage and labour force has
been less acknowledged (World Bank, 1989: V; Moguche, O.I. 29/07/2014).

Scholars have documented the existence of joint working parties among
households in pre-colonial Africa, particularly among the Gikuyu, Kamba and
Luo of Kenya (Mwangi, 2004). It was observed that women sometimes worked in
form of joint work parties commonly referred to as amasaga or ebisangio (joint
rotating work parties) to accomplish individual household or clan functions
Men also used the risaga in bush clearing, hunting and in the building of huts.
The host Omonyaisaga normally a woman utilized her power as food producer to
make beer which was used as mode of payment to the men who, responded to the
husband’s call for Risaga (Haring, 1974:108; Levine, 1979:15; Akama,
Only elderly women would sip some beer (Mayer, 1949:17). Young men meanwhile used the *egesangio* in protecting the cattle at *ebisarate*, cattle villages which were located away from the homesteads and in hunting wild game (Silberschmidt, 1999:37; Akama, 2006:86,239; Mokebo, O.I. 11/07/2014).

Although allocation of tasks was based on gender lines, men’s and women’s tasks complemented each other (Masese, 2006:257). Men for instance milked cows at the *ebisarate* and built huts while women collected milk from the cattle villages and smeared huts. Some tasks especially basket making was done by both men and women (Levine,S. and Levine, R. 1979:9; Choti, 2013).

Women were also engaged in inter and intra-clan trade activities in Bomachoge. Trade took place in open spaces within the boundaries of the clans because market places were not clearly demarcated (Kinara, 1988:99; Nyakwaye, O.I. 14/06/2014; Nyaora, O.I. 14/07/2014). Given that clan feuds were rife among the Abagusii clans (Ochieng, 1994), they were the one who were engaged with trade activities. This is because the Abagusii moral law *chinsoni* forbade men from attacking or confronting women (Kinara, 1988:99). Secondly, *chinsoni* discouraged men from involving themselves in trade as it was feared that they would become lazy (ibid).

However, Abamachoge men who were blacksmiths engaged in minor trade. The blacksmiths’ trading activities were confined to their homesteads from where they sold items (Ochieng, 1974:62; Kinara, 1988:99). Bomachoge women therefore exploited their power to monopolize the little trade that existed and made their families self-sufficient (Kinara, 1988:99; Shadle, 2006:10).
Abamachoge clan and sub-clans namely Moochi, Otire, Nyagenke suggest that men were a lazy lot or that they comprised an idle labour force to some extent. Nyagenke, a sub-division of Machoge sub-clan, is derived from a verb *okogenka* literally meaning to backbite. Otire meanwhile refers to people who rely on other’s help to grow but are mean in helping others. Moochi is derived from a verb *ogoochera* meaning to waylay. Aboachi are said to have derived their name from the habit of spending long hours in footpaths waylaying or stopping lonely travellers (Ochieng’-Opondo, 1971:190; Oichoe, O.I. 19/07/2014).

Hay and Stichter, (1984) and O’Barr, (1984:143) observed that in most pre-colonial societies women derived their political power as a result of their control over agricultural production, food preparation, trade and reproductive functions. Ngoko and Boera, (1980:39) concur with Hay and Stichter by noting that households with many girls were sufficiently stocked with food crops. To them food reserve possibly declined after the girls got married.

The informants additionally revealed that some “houses” founded by women show they were food crop producers, food providers and animal keepers. The eldest wife of Kimonge was Nyankini, derived from the word *orokini*, a belt which she used to fasten her waist while cultivating her field. Consequently, her children were called *Abanyankini*. Despite being hard working, Nyankini was mean even to her own children. She told them to fasten their waists whenever they asked for food. Abamasai, the children of Kimonge’s second wife, derived their name from big ugali baskets *amasai* that their mother Omomasai served her children in. It is argued that it was difficult to be hungry in this woman’s house
hence her children were referred to as *abamasai* literally meaning “the one that consume a lot of ugali”. The youngest wife of Kimonge kept a large herd of goats *chimbori* and was nicknamed *Ombori*, making her children to be referred to *Abambori* literally meaning the “house of Mbori” (Bosibori O.I. 12/07/2014; Onyinkwa, O.I. 26/07/2014). The arguments raised by the informants reveal that women were visible as producers and distributors of material goods. Most crops cultivated by women included sorghum, millet, bananas, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and traditional vegetables.

### 2.3.2 INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

Silberschmidt’s(1999) study on Gusii women identified marriage as an important institution where gender ideology is produced and reproduced. She observed that marriage and sexuality have prestige and social values attached to them. Marriage was highly regarded by Abamachoge people. Men and women achieved a higher social status and respect through marriage (Shadle, 2006:7). However, it is the men who were the prime beneficiaries as a result of the combined accomplishments of their wives’ achieved and ascribed status (Levine, S. and Levine, R. 1979:7; Henn, 1984:5; Silberschmidt, 1999:39; Shadle, 2006:7).

Taking beer (*Amarwa*) was a male preserve and a symbol of prestige. However, respectable women could drink undiluted cold beer, *egechuri*, with men. These were normally elderly women with married daughters (Onkware, 2006:168). These elderly women *Abang’ina*, in addition to the prerogative of taking beer could speak more openly in public spaces and could occasionally become confrontational (Levine, S. and Levine, R. 1979:11; Moturi, O.I. 26/07/2014).
Young Bomachoge women on the other hand had freedom on their sexuality before marriage. They engaged in sexual relations with boys as long as they did not elope. Both boys and young men too were engaged in *ogochobera*, meaning to “ambush girls,” but this act could not be directed to married women for it was against *chinsoni*, the Abagusii morals (Silberschmidt, 1999:40; Shadle, 2006; Masese, O.I. 15/06/2014). This freedom by young women over their sexuality is highlighted in the girls’ circumcision song, *esimbore ya abangína* which suggests that young women freely took lovers.

**Ekegusii**

Yaye oyee! Yaye oyee!
Goko okorire buya! Yayee oyee!
Orenge mokabaisia…..
Obeire Mokabamura!

**English Translation**

Yaye, oyee! Yaye oyee!
Granny has done well! Yayee oyee!
She was wife to the uncircumcised boys…
She has now become a wife of the young men!


After the initiation of girls, potential suitor’s visited the girl’s home. The young woman had the veto to determine whether negotiations were to begin. In case the young woman gave consent, she served the visitors some porridge after which elaborate marriage negotiations and procedures begun. However, if the young woman swept or spat in the direction of the potential suitor, it signified that the intention of the potential suitor had been rejected (Akama, 2006:211; Shadle, 2006). Young women were therefore given freedom by parents to accept or reject marriage proposals even from the initial proposal phase (Shadle, 2006).
The marriage procedures offered young women opportunity to discontinue marriage arrangements at the end of the honey moon *egechabero*, or before *enyangi*, the final party that finally sealed marriage with payment of bride wealth (Mayer, 1948:9-10; Akama, 2006:215; Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014). Privileged obstructions were also allowed to female actors in wedding ceremonies. The women consented to wedding plans after receiving some gifts (ibid.). Sometimes marriage agreements were mediated by a go-between *esigani* (Akama, 2006:210). However, young women who could not withstand the elaborate procedures partly because their potential husbands did not afford the bride elope. According to Ngoko and Boera, (1980:55), and Silberschmidt, (1999) the couple were expected to amicably solemnize their marriage even though such pledges turned out to be empty promises as summed up by a Gusii proverb:

“*Sira ng’iri moiseke*”, meaning “Debt took a way a daughter”(Ngoko and Boera, 1980:55).


O’Barr (1984:42) and Sudarkasa (2005:25) argued that in most African communities women exercised direct political power through using resources in their possession to achieve their desired ends or even in supporting a course. In Bomachoge as in Gusii generally, marriage secured a woman access to land. If, she got married outside the clan upon her husband’s demise she then forfeited her
land rights. A married woman automatically remained the primary trustee to her sons’ inheritance upon her husband’s death (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). Married women who were unable to bear children on their part easily manipulated their marital status to be “women husbands.” These women were allowed to “marry” other women to bore them children.

According to the informants the “woman husband” would use her produce and livestock, etugo, to pay pride prize to the woman “wife” so as to get custody of children. The “husband” woman could collect and pay bride wealth where necessary as a patriarch does. The “Patriarch woman” assumed that the wife belonged to the son she never had (Keraro, O.I. 16/06/2014; Moturi, O.I. 29/07/2014). Kenyanya (O.I. 11/06/2014) further observed that cultural flexibility allowed widows who had no sons, to use the brides wealth from her married daughters to undertake the woman-to-woman marriage.

2.3.3 SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF ABAMACHOGE CLAN

Political organization among the Abagusii was based on the clan (Mayer, 1949:10; KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). This is because the Abagusii was a collection of social and political entities based on exogamous patrilineal clans (Akama, 2006:82-4). Normally, one large clan with associated sub-groups or families would occupy a distinct ridge or ridges close to each other (Maxon, 1971:7; Ng’ang’a, 2006:57). It has been argued that the Abagusii social-political structure and settlement patterns were largely influenced by the circumstances surrounding their migration (ibid).
The basic socio-political unit was the household *enyomba*, referring to a wife’s house. *Enyomba* comprised a wife and her children (Mayer, 1948:4). *Chinyomba* or houses of the patriarch formed the homestead. Political organisation was therefore based on the lineage system from the household upwards to the clan level (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955; Mayer, 1948:4; Akama, 2006:82).

At the homestead level, the patriarch made major decisions (Akama, 2006:83). According to Okemwa (1993:34), a woman had to consult her husband before making major decisions in the homestead. The patriarch additionally settled disputes involving his wives and children at his *egesa*, hut (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). He however, consulted grown up males in his household (Akama, 2006:83). Rosaldo and Lampere as cited in O’Barr (1984:141) argue that at times African women worked through husbands or sons to influence outcomes in a given way. This influence over sons or husbands constituted women’s indirect power (ibid). In Bomachoge, the mother of the house wielded considerable influence especially in uniting the house founded by her (Mayer, 1948:62). At times, a woman with grown up sons manipulated them to veto decisions of the patriarch or his confrontational behaviour towards her (Levine, S. and Levine, R. (1979:9). However, cordial relations existed between husbands and their wives given that homesteads were the primary unit of internal governance.

Appeals from the homestead levels could pass on to the elders of the sub-clan, *Etureti* or *Abatangore* (Bogonko, 1977:8; Okemwa, 1993:33). The *Etureti* presided over disputes involving more than two homesteads alongside undertaking important judicial-political affairs involving the sub-clan (Mayer,
1949:17; Akama, 2006:90). The Etureti elders were men who were perceived as role models. They were chosen on the basis of their wisdom and impartiality in presiding over disputes (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955; Maxon, 1971:8-9).

At the clan level, Abamachoge was made up of four main sub-clans namely; Kimonge, Mombaba, Moochi and Majoge. The Majoge are divided into; Mwakungu, Ongera, Nyagenke, Motire, Moseri, Motaranda, Gesianko, Kanyimbo and Nyatache. The Bokione clan is sub-divided into the Mosoti, Momotoro, Kimonge and Momocha. The Bombaba sub-clan is divided into Abamosansa, Abanyabongo, Abamotondo, Abamosunya and Abamosera. Moochi clan is divided into Abamosambi, Abamomwamu and Abakienge. These sub-clans were divided into houses up to the lineage level under various Egesaku (sub-group) elders. The Egesaku elders settled disputes involving members of their sub-group and heard appeals from the Etureti elders (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955).

At the apex of Abamachoge political organization was a clan elder, Omokumi (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). He was an elderly man referred to in issues touching on warfare and peace. He was anointed by other clan elders within his clan to the informal Gusii Supreme Court (Akama, 2006:96-7). All the Gusii clans were represented by an Omokumi (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). The Abakumi or Abanguru court regulated the number of cattle to be paid as pride wealth, clan disputes and declarations affecting Gusii as a whole (Akama, 2006:100-102). The Abakumi arrived at unanimous decision through consensus (ibid.). The clan was therefore an autonomous political entity with a defined territory (Mayer, 1949:9; Okemwa, 1993:32). Women were excluded from clan deliberations because they
were treated as outsiders (Okemwa, 1993:32; Nyakwaye, O.I.14/06/2014; Kiboi, O.I. 14/07/2014; Moraa, O.I.26/07/2014).

Murindwa-Ratanga, (2011:15) argues that in the pre-colonial, Kigezi men dominated military and political affairs of the lineages while women with specialized skills wielded some degree of social and political influence. The Abamachoge society accorded men a great say in military affairs with the elderly men approving military activity offending clans (Levine, S. and Levine, R. 1979:7). During such instances, women would veto their husbands or sons through direct and indirect means. It was a taboo for a man to ignore a wife or mother’s objection on his participation in military offensive (Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014).

O’Barr (1984:143) argued that African women wielded direct political power through connection with supernatural or ability to handle nature. Women in Bomachoge and Gusii society particularly were involved in rituals such as the ending of seclusion after child birth while others were herbalist abanyamete, birth attendants, abaragori diviners, circumcisers and dispensers of love portions, abaebi (Levine, S. and Levine, R.1979:13-14; Getui, 1985:19). The diviners were largely composed of middle aged or elderly women (Mose, 1997:32).

Scholars concur that Gusii women generally had autonomy on the domestic sphere particularly in tasks related to cultivation, food processing, firewood, girls’ circumcision and other associated rituals. Swartz, R. and Swartz, M. (1979:3) observed that the Swahili women of Kenya visited women in neighbouring homesteads to discuss local issues. Women in Bomachoge met in adjourning
households or their married sisters in neighbouring sub-clans to gossip over family affairs. Men had limited control over women’s gossip (Ngoko and Boera, 1980; Onyinkwa, O.I. 26/07/2014).

Women therefore used the fore mentioned spaces and bases of power to veto male dominance (Mose, 1997:32; Levine, R. and Levine, B. 1966/1977; Silberschmidt, 1999:36). This study validates O’Barr and Firmin-Sellers (1995:189) argument that women political participation varied across African communities. And, that women’s power was secured through ascribed or achieved status in their clans or tribes.

2.4 THE POSITION OF BOMACHOGE WOMEN DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

2.4.1 THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES ON BOMACHOGE WOMEN

When the British declared Uganda as their protectorate in 1894, the Abagusii were ignorant that Gusii land was part of this protectorate (Ngáng’a, 2006:57-58).

The British deployed Northcote as the first District Officer in 1907 to bring the Gusii under British colonial rule (Ochieng, 1975:5). As argued by Kiogora (1996:24) the colonialists introduced bureaucratic socio-economic, religious, political and legal structures. At the time, the Gusii clans lacked a centralised political organization (ibid).
Northcote started establishment of colonial rule in Gusii land in 1907 by appointing chiefs, headmen and hut counters for all Gusii locations (Maxon, 1971:45). The chiefs and assistant chiefs were in charge of their respective clans and were assisted by headmen who were in charge of their respective *chinyomba* or sub-clans (Omanga, O.I.23/07/2014). As Obbo, (1980:1), Bogonko, (1984:2) and Nyakwaka, (2012) argue, all colonial administrative hierarchy was purely male dominated from the governor down to chief, headmen and hut counters. Women were kept off from the administrative structure in Kisii district and Majoge location (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1, 1908-1912; Mayer, 1948:3; Omanga, O.I.23/07/2014). As argued by Masinjila (1997:3), exclusion of women in colonial administrative structure was a function of the British Victorian conception of the family and society based on the public sphere ideology that treated women as secondary to men.

According to the informants, the colonial administrators imposed legal and cultural apparatus that relegated women to subordinate positions (Nykwayne, O.I.14/06/2014; Juma, O.I.27/07/2014). As argued by Meena, (2013:116) women suffered multiple sources of oppression first as colonized class and secondly as women under gender oppression. As O’Barr (1984:144) and Firmin-Sellers (1995:159) argue women were treated as male appendages under the Victorian conception of society that strengthened the patriarchs’ position that led to further deterioration of women’s status. Table 2.4.1.1 presents the first colonial chiefs for all Kisii locations.
Table 2.4.1.1: List of Chiefs for Kisii Locations in 1908

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Name</th>
<th>Chief</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Majoge</td>
<td>Nyamosi</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassi</td>
<td>Churi</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyaribari</td>
<td>Nyamwamu</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Mugirango</td>
<td>Okech</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanjare South</td>
<td>Oyugi</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitutu</td>
<td>Angwenyi</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiserw</td>
<td>Ombati</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanjare North</td>
<td>Oloo</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Mugirango</td>
<td>Ndubi</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KNA/DC/KSI/1/1, 1908-1912; KNA/NZA/1/4, 1909; Mayer, (1948:3)

The Majoge chiefs, beginning with the first colonial chief Nyamosi and subsequent chiefs; Boundi, Onyancha, Alex and Assa alongside their headmen and hut counters were all men (KNA/DC/KSI/3/2, 1907-1924; Makori, O.I. 12/06/2014; Nyakwaye, O.I. 14/06/2014). The chiefs from Bomachoge were selected based on their influence and social status among their people, especially, from accrued accumulation of wealth or by being polygamous (NZA/PC/NZA/1/4 Memorandum for Provincial and District Commissioners, 1910).
The Headman Ordinance of 1902 which was subsequently replaced by the Native Authority Ordinance in 1912 gave chiefs and headmen powers to administer areas that fell under their jurisdiction at the lower levels of the colonial administrative hierarchy. The Native Authority Ordinance of 1912 laid new emphasis on the revival of the indigenous council of elders which had exercised political and judicial functions. The chiefs having been included in their respective council of elders were therefore, vested with administrative and judicial undertakings (Official Gazette of the East African and Uganda Protectorates, 1902; Mungeam, 1978:113; Omosule, 1974:528).

The chiefs were required to act as the direct link of the colonial government at the location, collect tax, recruit men into compulsory unpaid labour or government public works, try offenders and act as witnesses in criminal cases (Maxon, 1971:69; Koopman, 1995:15; Omanga, O.I. 23/07/2014; Juma, O.I.27/07/2014). The chiefs also implemented government policies relating to agriculture, health and education. The chiefs were instrumental in encouraging their people to embrace cash crop production and to take their children to school (East Africa Protectorate Official Gazette, 1902:347; Maxon, 1971:69; Bogonko, 1984:10; Omanga, O.I. 23/07/2014; Juma, O.I.27/07/2014).

Chief Alex of Majoge was most influential in encouraging his people to embrace cash crop production across his location (KNA/DC/KSI/1/4, 1908; KNA/DC/KSI/7/1, 1943). Chiefs played a primary role in socio-economic development of the people, especially, in development of secular schools in Kenya up to 1940s (Bogonko, 1984:1-4). The fact that women were side-lined
from the so called “modernization” process led to their marginalization in the society in relation men (ibid).

Zeleza, (1997:104) and Shadle, (2006:42) note that the British colonialists strengthened positions of African patriarchs by planting a restrictive customary law that negatively impacted on the position of women in the family structure. The Native Tribunal of Majoge was established in 1932 by the Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, Harold Robert Montgomery and was supposed to administer native law and customs of their area (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1945-1955).

The president and Vice- President for Majoge Native Tribunal including the 18 additional elders were all men. The African courts were referred to as Amatongo. The Ritongo, court was mandated to hear a wide range of cases majority of which were marriage disputes (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1945-1955). Ritongo elders were expected to balance the rights of both married women and men. One of Ritongo was established at Kuja, present-day Ogembo in Bomachoge (Shadle, 2006; Keraro, O.I. 16/06/2014). In judging young men involved in illicit relationships, the courts interfered with young women’s freedom to choose their spouses through okobasa, “marrying without following the procedure of bride wealth payment” (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1945-1955). Consequently, young men who could not afford to raise pride wealth resorted to abductions (Chweya, O.I.26/06/2014).

The Kisii court of Appeal was led by Nsungu Angwenyi and Nyakoe Maeba who were its president and Vice-President respectively. All the other locations of Kisii sent elders as representatives. Majoge, Nyaribari, North Mugirango, Wanjare and Bassi were represented by three elders each. Kitutu and South Mugirango were
represented by four and two elders, respectively, in the Kisii Court of Appeal. The Kisii Court of Appeal was purely a male institutional network as women were not represented (KNA/KSI/5/3, 1945-1955; O’Barr and Firmin-Sellers, 1995:194; Chweya, O.I.26/06/2014).

2.4.2 THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL TAX SYSTEM AND LABOUR POLICIES ON WOMEN IN BOMACHOGE

Maxon, (1971:81) and White, (1984) argue that the introduction of tax in East African Protectorate by the British colonial government was chiefly a function that would guarantee the growth of cash crop economy through providing a constant supply of labour from the natives and infrastructure in areas of their interest. It is the Hut Tax Ordinance of 1901 that fixed hut tax at 2 rupees per annum for all native dwelling places that were categorized as huts or “homestead” and, “poll” tax for every adult man who did not have his own hut (Mungeam, 1978:407; Berg-Schlosser, 1979:88; Alila, 1984:20; Nchaga, O.I. 12/06/2014).

The Gusii clans did not have challenges in remitting tax in cash as ordered by Northcote in 1907. The people sold their livestock from which they settled their tax bills albeit, for a short while (Backer, 1950:22). The sale of livestock affected the Abamachoge more because they were known to have stocked the best cattle in the entire South Kavirondo (KNA/DC/KSI/1/4). Some of the livestock and crops sold to pay hut tax belonged to women (Mayer, 1948:63; Levine, 1979:6; White, 1984:58; O.I, 14/07/2014). Hut tax was first collected in Kisii in 1907 and 1908 (Maxon, 1971:84). The tax payable by Abamachoge from 1907-1911 and a comparison between 1908 and 1933 is indicated in Table 2.4.2.1.
Table 2.4.2.1: Hut Tax for Machoge Location 1907-1911

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1907-1908</th>
<th>1908-1909</th>
<th>1909-1910</th>
<th>1910-1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No: of Huts</td>
<td>1801</td>
<td>2054</td>
<td>2029</td>
<td>1944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupees</td>
<td>3852</td>
<td>6126</td>
<td>6087</td>
<td>5832</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KNA/DC/KSI/1/2; KNA/DC/KSI/1/4, 1933; KNA/DC/KSI/3/3:72

Table 2.4.1 indicates that there was an increase in huts in Majoge from 1907 to 1908. It was expected that the number of huts would increase or at worst remain constant. The decline in the number of huts between 1908 and 1910 imply that the negative impact of tax system led to reduction of the number of huts in Bomachoge between 1908 and 1910.

However, there was a corresponding increase in both population and taxation in the subsequent years in Bomachoge location of Kisii district (KNA/DC/KSI/1/4, 1933). By 1933; all the eight locations of Kisii district witnessed an increase in the number of huts. This was due to population increase between 1908 and 1933. In Bomachoge, the number of huts and polls rose from 2054 in 1908 to 4303 by 1933. The increase in the number of huts and polls was approximately 110 per cent. These increases are highlighted in table 2.4.2.2.
Table 2.4.2.2: Hut & Tax Census for Kisii District, 1908 and 1933.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1908</th>
<th>1933</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hut &amp; Poll</td>
<td>Huts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majoge</td>
<td>2054</td>
<td>4222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitutu</td>
<td>8694</td>
<td>10616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyaribari</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>4540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanjare</td>
<td>3333</td>
<td>3708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassi</td>
<td>2986</td>
<td>3957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Mugirango</td>
<td>2145</td>
<td>4295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Mugirango</td>
<td>3208</td>
<td>9628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KNA/DC/KSI/1/4, 1933

Mungeam (1979:394) observes that the *Labour Circular No1, October 23, 1919* addressed the issue of native labour provision for non-native farms and other private undertakings. The chiefs were required therefore to identify and induce able bodied men from their areas to provide labour in white settlers’ plantations. Mayer, (1949:2) observed that at any given period a significant population of Gusii men, about one-third of their total population were induced as labourers in European owned farms, companies and mines outside their district. Consequently, migrant labour in Kenya was highest in Kisii (Mayer, 1949; Silberschmidt, 1999:16). Given that Kisii led in outflow of male labour, the migration impacted negatively on women who were left behind with increased workloads related to men’s work and cash crop production (KNA/DC/KSI/3/1; Maxon, 1948:81;

John Ainswoth had earlier on advised against increasing taxation in South Kavirondo (Maxon, 1971:105). Bomachoge Location of Kisii District fell squarely under South Kavirondo. The Nyanza Provincial Commissioner and District Commissioners however, decided to arbitrarily increase taxes. The tax burden on the natives following Nyanza PC’s declaration to all DCs of revised hut tax rates in Nyanza province in 1935 is highlighted in table 2.4.2.3.

Table 2.4.2.3: Tax Rates for Nyanza, 1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>AMOUNT: KSH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Single women</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Single men</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Married man with one wife</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Married man with two wives</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Married man with three wives and so on</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The declaration forced able bodied men abandon their roles in cash crop production to provide labour for public works and European farms (White, 1984:58). Moguche, O.I. 29/07/2014) concurred with Ndeda (1991:154-5) that the absence of married men disrupted patterns of gender allocation of tasks that
existed in pre-colonial period. Women were burdened from undertaking tasks that were previously done by their husbands. Consequently, women’s control over informal and subsistence economy declined (Pala, 1976:22; Henn, (1984:11; Masese, O.I. 15/06/2014; Moturi, O.I. 29/07/2014).

Furthermore, the new tax rates as highlighted in table 2.4.2.3, impacted negatively on the family structure by discouraging polygamy (Nyakwaka, 2012). This was especially so given that hut tax was based on the number of huts in a given homestead. The increase in taxation impacted negatively on Bomachoge women because the Abamachoge homestead had a hut for each wife unlike the Wasuba where many wives of the homestead patriarch could be housed in a single hut (KNA/DC/KSI/1/1, 1908-1912; Masese, O.I. 15/06/2014). As argued by White (1984:58), increasing hut tax therefore translated to taxing women.

2.4.3 BOMACHOGE WOMEN AND PROTEST MOVEMENT

The main religio-political movement that resisted colonialism in many locations of Gusii was Mumboism (Nyaundi, 1997:41; Makori, O.I. 12/06/2014). According to Ochieng’ (1974/75:12) and Silberschmidt (1999:33) Mumboism continued with its anti-European calls until it was proscribed by the British colonial government.

Mumboism was a Luo religion that spread to the Gusii locations namely, Machoge, Wanjare, Nyaribari and Kitutu by 1920 (Maxon, 1971:106; Makori, O.I. 12/06/2014). It is the forceful recruitment of men into colonial services, increased taxation and poor economic hardships that led to acceptance of
Mumboism across the Gusii clans (ibid). According to the informants, the Mumbobites opposed westernization of the natives. Mumboism leadership was majorly men although wives of the leaders played some significant role. The leaders included Mochoronge bwo’ Omote, Nyamacharara from Kitutu, Ndigiti of Nyaribari and Oino of Majoge (Nyaundi, 1997:42; Nchaga, O.I. 12/06/2014; Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014).

The most pronounced Mumboism teacher was from Majoge popularly known as Oino Nyakibang’aina (Oino the Great cheat). He hailed from the Nyagenke sub-clan of Machoge. Oino a Mumbobite teacher had asked women not to cultivate sorghum but instead build granaries and cattle pens. He taught the people that wimbi would fall from the sky and that cows could come from the fences into the pens. Women neglected the cultivation of finger millet due to the appeal of Mumboism. The great hunger in Gusii between 1918 and 1919 was associated with Oino “Enchara ya Oino.” literally meaning “hunger caused by Oino” (Ochieng’, 1975:11; Nyaundi, 1997:42; Nchaga, O.I. 12/06/2014; Keraro, O.I. 16/06/2014; Mogusu, O.I. 16/06/2014). According to the informants, Mumboism largely undermined women’s ability and control over food production and trading activities as the surplus grains were depleted due to famine.

Mumbobites rejected the teachings of Christianity and Western mode of dressing (Ochieng, 1975; 8; Ngáng’a, 2006:60). Adherents were asked to put on clothes made of animal skins and treat all Europeans as enemies whose occupation of Gusiiiland was temporal. Oino’s teaching was embraced by men and women in Bomachoge and Gusiiiland to an extent that Mumboism nearly displaced Christian
teachings which had taken root for almost over a decade (Nyaundi, 1997:42). Sakawaism began under Bonareri, a woman prophetess who gained a huge following due to her calls for expulsion of the colonizer. By 1954, Sakawaism and Mumboism had declined (Ochieng’, 1974/75:12)

2.4.4 THE IMPACT OF WORLD WAR I (1914-1919) AND II (1939-1945) ON BOMACHOGE WOMEN

On the onset of World War I, young men had been tricked into going to Kisii station to cut grass on arrival; they were seized and sent in large numbers to carrier corps (Nyaundi, 1997:33). According to Nyaundi, those who saw the men being led away likened the event to that of slave caravans. The men recruited into carrier corps were overworked and under-paid (KNA/DC/KSI/1, 1938; KNA/DC/KSI/1/4/8, 1933-1939; Momanyi, 1996:24). The first batch of Kisii men conscripted into carrier corps began to arrive by 1914 and 1915 (Nyaundi, 1997:41). Those that returned were on verge of death, an incident that scared potential carrier corps recruits (Nyaundi, 1997:41).

“Many can barely walk and deaths on arrival are frequent. A large number of Kisii men who were here undergoing quarantine bolstered after seeing and talking to these men” (KNA/DC/KSI/3/2/1, 1914).

Ainsworth, the P.C for Nyanza, estimated that about 162,000 men from Nyanza tribes had been enlisted as porters, army personnel or as labourers in German East Africa. He further observed that about 24,000 of men from Nyanza had died in service (Backer, 1950:22). The fore mentioned assertions led us to conclude that the conscription of men into carrier corps was inhuman and led to disruption of
family socio-economic and political arrangements in Gusii and Bomachoge. The burden of ailing returnees in addition to locust invasion greatly destabilized the Gusii people in 1915. These hardships made the Gusii readily accept the anti-European religio-political movement, *Enyamumbo* (Nyaundi, 1997:42).

It was further observed that large sections of people from the Gusii clans had been thrown into a wave of panic resulting from rumours spread by Indian shopkeepers over impeding World War II (KNA/DC/KSI,1/4/1939; Momanyi, 1996).

Meanwhile the Kisii of North, Bassi and Majoge had given way to certain amount of panic, and a number of young men had left their homes to hide in the bush lest they be seized and taken as warriors (KNA/DC/KSI/1/4, 1939).

Momanyi, (1996:38) notes that among the diligent chiefs in Gusii, who provided recruits for military service and “essential work”, was Chief Alex Nyakwaye (1943-1953) of Bomachoge. The informants noted that headmen such as Ombura Otwori, Moriango and Machabe identified able bodied men of Bokione and sent them to Kisii *Boma*, Northcote’s office. From the Kisii *boma* they were taken to Maseno, later Milimani and Ruiru in Nairobi for military training. They were then send to India by sea and fought alongside the British soldiers in Asia. The informants observed that young able bodied men had been conscripted into Carrier Corps from across Bomachoge (Kenyanya, O.I. 11/06/2014; Nyaora, O.I. 14/07/2014). As observed by Hodges (1999:38,211) South Nyanza produced the highest recruitment to Carrier Corps because of strong headmen and councils.
When the Second World War broke out, the Governor, by use of emergency powers directed the Provincial Commissioners to produce quotas of workers for military and essential services (Henn, 1984:14). Young men were conscripted into the Second World War beyond the initial “Martial tribes” (Momanyi, 1996). Alila, (1984:20) observes that the forceful conscription of men into the military was to fulfil the wartime requirements. Able bodied men who did not get absorbed into the army were rerouted to pluck tea leaves in Kenya Tea Company in Kericho while others were sent to Macalder mines in South Nyanza (KNA/DP/1/19; Momanyi, 1996). Table 2.4.4.1 shows the number of recruits conscripted from Majoge location.

Table 2.4.4.1: List of Kisii Locations’ Recruits Sent to E.A.M.S, 1940-1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quota</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Excess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Kitutu</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Majoge</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Nyaribari</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Wanjare</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Bassi</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>North Mugirango</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>South Mugirango</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: KNA/DP/1/19, 1940; Momanyi, (1996:36)
The informants observed that in homes where young men were not sent to the military, their cattle were confiscated and taken to Itumbe and later to the District Commissioner to feed the military men (Sereti, O.I. 14/06/2014; Mogusu, O.I. 16/06/2014; Kenyanya, O.I. 11/07/2014).

Women whose husbands had been enlisted as military officers suffered the most. Married women’s labour and decision making expanded leading to the emergency of female headed households that was a function of irregular remittances from their husbands (Silberschmidt, 1999:44; Mogusu, O.I. 16/06/2014). These female headed households were left under custody of the fathers-in-law and brothers-in-law (ibid). Those who found it unbearable returned to their natal homes. According to the informants, songs had been composed asking women to be wary of military returnees. It was believed that ex-world war soldiers had contracted deadly diseases overseas. The songs stigmatized the wives of returnee soldiers who nevertheless lived with their husbands, albeit with fear of contracting imagined diseases (Sereti, O.I. 14/06/2014; Oichoe, O.I. 19/07/2014).

2.4.5 THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL AGRICULTURE ON BOMACHOGE WOMEN

Cammack et al, (1993:212) argue that the colonial structure disregarded the family structure and task allocations that existed before and strengthened the position of men by giving them control over land, credit, cash crops and the export of crops. The female autonomy was negatively affected as women lost
their control over land, trading and mining activities (Pala, 1976:22; Zeleza, 1997:103). The expansion of cash crop farming accompanied by male labour migrations led to an increase in women’s work load (Zeleza, 1997:104; Silberschmidt, 1999:45). This is because intra-household co-operation egesangio, was weakened as women food farmers lost the field clearing labour of their absentee husbands (Koopman, 1995:15).

In Bomachoge, the British colonial policy led to abolition of cattle villages, ebisarate, to create more land for cash crop cultivation (Maxon, 1971:74; Silberschmidt, 1999:45; Juma, O.I. 29/07/2014). This resulted in reduction of men’s traditional responsibilities and increased women’s workloads (Silberschmidt, 1999:15). Furthermore, marriage age for girls was reduced to about 15 years because young men no longer spent time in the cattle villages, ebisarate where they left at almost the age of 25 years. Subsequently, the young girls were circumcised and married earlier than before because of the presence of a group of young men who desired to marry. The young women would bore up to 15 children by the age of forty five years (Akama, 2006:56; Masese, O.I. 15/06/2014; Mogusu, O.I. 16/06/2014). The informants concurred that the abolishment of cattle villages increased women’s reproduction burden in Bomachoge and elsewhere in Gusii.

According to Maxon, (1971:80) the colonialists’ insistence on tax payment to be made in cash was a ploy to make the natives cultivate more cash crops. They also used propaganda to induce the Gusii to grow other varieties of cash crops. Ainsworth the Nyanza P.C had encouraged the natives under his jurisdiction to
begin cultivation of maize through supplying them with maize seeds sourced from white settlers’ farms (Backer, 1950:22). By 1944, the cultivation of maize had occupied large parts of Majoge leading to the decline of cultivation of sorghum and sweet potato (KNA/DC/KSI/7/1, 1943). According to the informants, the decline in sorghum production undermined women’s ability as food providers given the significance of sorghum in beer making and use as a mode of payment in joint working parties (KNA/DC/KSI/7, 1944; Kenyanya, O.I, 11/07/2014; Masese, O.I, 15/06/214).

By 1940, Magena, Mogonga and other areas of Machoge were largely under coffee cultivation. The scaling up of coffee in Bomachoge led to establishment of a second coffee pulping factory in Mogonga (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). The colonialists had encouraged the growth of cash crops for export such as coffee, tea and pyrethrum in Bomachoge. Wattle trees were also planted in Bomachoge from 1946 until the recommended acreage was attained as set by the East Africa Tanning Extract Company and the Director of Agriculture (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955). The colonialist expected the natives (men) to benefit from cash crop farming with an estimated average of £100 per annum (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3; 1943-1955; Backer, 1950:22).

Markets were established across Bomachoge with specific market days. The colonial marketing officer and his inspectors regulated markets and determined the quality of produce to be sold. The colonial government and marketing societies were in charge of policies on the development of cash crop growing, collecting, processing and marketing of produce (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955).
It was the men who were given opportunity in controlling cash crop farming through agricultural education. Only boys and adult men benefited from agricultural education provided at the Kisii Farm Institute (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955; Anyieni, O.I.26/07/2014; Mogire, O.I.26/07/2014). The co-operatives in South Nyanza also strengthened men’s control over agricultural production:

In very generally terms the objective of co-operation is to make it possible for the man who has only a small quantity of some commodity to sell process or transport it at large-scale rate by means of a group action (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955).

Bomachoge women were introduced into capitalist economy that led to their exploitation by men and the colonialist who devalued their labour in cash crop production. Women had no control over proceeds from cash crop farming (Henn, 1984:14; KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955; Moguche O.I, 29/07/2014; Mogire, O.I. 30/07/2014). Additionally, introduction of cash crop cultivation significantly altered sexual division of labour by increasing household labour time requirements. As argued by Henn, (1984:1); McNamara (1979:6) and Tordoff, (2002:39) the informants concurred that it is the women who spent most of the time tending to cash crops consequently reducing their devotion to subsistence crops which were under their control. Furthermore, the patriarchs controlled proceeds from cash crop farming and expected wives’ food crop cultivation to meet all family needs as was the case in pre-colonial period (ibid).
2.4.6 BOMACHOGE WOMEN AND SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST EDUCATION

The colonialists and missionaries had realised the centrality of education as a tool for social change and overall modernization. However, the form of education offered by the colonial government and mission centres was discriminatory in gender terms and it entrenched the subordination of women in society (Tamale, 1999; Ndeda, 2002:233). The colonial policy on education was guided by the Victorian perception of society that undermined women’s social status guided by a gendered curriculum (Musisi, 1992:172; Tamale, 1999; Choti, 2013:65). The role of education on the place of the native women in Kenya is captured below:

With regard to the education of the native women it was pointed out that possibly 99 per cent, perhaps 100 per cent, of them marry, and therefore they ought to be developed along the lines for producing good wives and mothers (Report on the Kikuyu Conference, 1922; Mungeam, 1978:223).

An education department was established in 1911 by the colonial government. However, education was mainly left to Christian missionaries (Beecher Report, 1949:3; Maxon, 1971:86; Rouyer, 1971:82). In Gusii and Bomachoge in particular, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission played a leading role in provision of education alongside Roman Catholic mission (Bogonko, 1977; Getui, 1985). Although the relationship between the SDA Mission and colonial government was ambivalent, they nonetheless collaborated with the colonial government (Bogonko, 1982:84-5). In areas where SDA Mission was less welcomed to establish mission schools, the mission threatened locals on invoking the help of
colonial authority, “Ekerauni” (Kiogora, 1996:25; Nyaundi, 1997:63. Between 1943 and 1955, Bomachoge had one intermediate school, five aided primary schools, 8 non-aided primary schools and majority of these were managed by the S.D.A. mission, few by Roman Catholic, the District Education Board (D.E.B) and others (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3, 1943-1955).

Nyaundi (1997:68-9) argues that while SDA pioneer teachers would be credited with enlightening boys and girls. However, they similarly attracted an equal measure of blame for the increased dropout rates mostly for the girl child. Many of these teachers treated students with a lot of cruelty. Missionary education additionally, neglected girl child education from the beginning. The Gusii and SDA Mission valued boys the more by giving them priority in accessing education (Bogonko, 1977; Okemwa, 1993:23). The neglect of girl education in Kenya is evident in the intake of women into teacher training centres which were more than twice in number to those of women (The Beecher Report, 1949:25).

Girls who attended SDA mission education were taught domestic science and wifely duties in addition to basic reading skills (Getui, 1985:166; Okemwa, 1993:80-5; Kwamboka, 1995:4). In the SDA villages established across Bomachoge as far as Mokomoni and Magenche, women were prepared for kitchen work (Nyaundi, 2012:15). On completing of education, young women were sometimes paired with mission educated boys and expected to marry each other (Okemwa, 1993:82). Young women therefore lost their veto autonomy over who their husbands would be as guaranteed under the Gusii custom before
colonialism. Furthermore, young women who took up teaching jobs were also required to quit their jobs to create time for their new engagement as housewives (Getui, 1985:166; Okemwa, 1993:80-5).

Githige, (1982:113) argues that the main nexus between the missionaries and colonial government was on the issue of “interests.” The missionaries were obsessed with the idea that it was their moral duty to penetrate the natives and civilise them. According to Bogonko (1981:8), an assessment of the impact between the Catholic and protestant mission’s efforts on socio-economic progress reveal that the SDA mission education contribution in cultural re-engineering was immense. The SDA mission was more instrumental in Gusii and Bomachoge through establishing mission villages.SDA missions’ model villages gave a better example of heavenly life and women were educated on abandoning their culture (Nyaundi, 1997:97; O.I, 15/06/2014).The educated “Abasomi” SDA women were allowed to eat chicken which was forbidden by Gusii culture.

“Abakungu Abasomi barire etwoni nyarogoncho” (Adventist women have consumed a rooster) (Nyaundi, 1997:123).

Additionally, most SDAs were encouraged to have semi-permanent or permanent houses than the Roman Catholics homesteads (Bogonko, 1981:4). The assertions by Bogonko and Nyaundi lead us to conclude that although SDA mission education relegated women to the domestic sphere, it equally liberated Bomachoge women from discriminative aspects of Abamachoge and Gusii culture.
2.4.7: WOMEN REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL (LEGCO) AND EARLY POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

According to Strayer, (1975:17) Kenya as a colony was under a Governor appointed by the colonial office in London rather than the natives in Kenya. The colonialists from the beginning sought to control the growth of African political activities through institutional Provincial administrative framework (Nyakwaka, 2012:63). Local Native Councils (L.N.C.) established in Kenya in 1924 was a male bastion comprising of the chiefs, headmen and presided over by the District Commissioner (Mulusa, 1970:3; Mueller, 1972:8). In the subsequent Town Councils formed in 1929, the Africans were never represented (Mulusa, 1970:3).

Nyakwaka, (2012:63) argues that political representation is a critical issue when dealing with empowerment or disempowerment. This is because a group of people who are not represented are likely to be silenced in the daily affairs of governance. Nyakwaka notes that the absence of women in decision making among the Kikuyu, Meru and Luo women led to their subsequent marginalization in colonial politics. In South Kavirondo, the District Commissioner manipulated elected African nominees to the Luo and Kisii Native Council under South Kavirondo. Crampton’s letter to Hemsted read as follows:

The question of this council was exhaustively discussed yesterday with all Kisii chiefs and headmen and a representative number of elders from every location. The elected members were produced and it was once noticeable with only one or two exceptions very young men, many of them mission boys, had been chosen… I informed the meeting that I would not accept all these representatives and that half must be replaced by men of mature age (KNA/PC/NZA, 1925; Omosule, 1974:202).
It is clear from this letter that women were not part of the Local Native Council of Kisii. Given that a reduction in representation of S.D.A mission educated boys in the L.N.C. was followed by a top up of elderly men.

Additionally, the Legislative Council that existed since 1907 was neither representative nor democratic (Kihoro, 2007:134; Nyawalo et.al, 2010:31-2). It only served as a kind of parliament providing advisory services to the Governor (Strayer, 1975:17; Oloka-Anyango, 2000:14). Africans did not have a representative in Legco until 1944. Yet, they comprised majority of the population. Instead, they were represented by a white missionary. The elections were based on racial lines with Europeans, Indians and Arabs voting along their racial identities (Strayer, 1975:17). The domination of the Legco by the Europeans and white settlers guaranteed them influence over policy making in securing their interests. Women were not represented in Legco because racist interests took centre stage and a gender issue was not a subject of interest to the colonial masters (Kihoro, 2007:134; Nyakwaka, 2012: 112).

It is clear that women were scantily represented in Legco during the colonial period despite increase in Legco membership. Only two women, Mrs. Priscilla Abwao and Mrs. Jemima Gecaga managed to serve in the Legco in 1958 and 1961 respectively (Amin and Moll, 1975; Kihoro, 2007:135-9). The table 2.4.7.1 highlights composition of African members in Legco between 1944 and 1961.
Table 2.4.7.1: African Members of the Legco 1944-1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Membership Type</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944-1956</td>
<td>Nominated</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>First African Elected by Limited Franchise</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Additionally Elected</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Specially Elected”</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>Additional Members</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>African Replacements</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Elected under Universal Adult Suffrage</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Members Elected March 1961</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/05/1961</td>
<td>Members Nominated by Governor to Legco</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kihoro, (2007:135-139)

At the local level Owino-Ombudo, (1972:8), Alila, (1984:27) argue that 1955 is appropriate starting point in debating Kenya’s election practice. According to them, this is the year the colonial government provided for a framework for formation of African political associations at the district levels. Some of these associations included the Kisii Highlands Abagusii Association of South Nyanza and the South Nyanza District Political (Owino-Ombudo, 1972:80). According to Ochieng, (1973:12) and Bogonko (1977:398-398) the Kisii Union which had been formed in 1945 was purely a patriarchal association. The union positions were
shared among men with Kebaso, serving as the chairman, David Ogega and Washington Ondicho serving as treasurer and secretary respectively. The other locations of Kisii namely Majoge, Bobasi, Nyaribari, Bogetutu, Bonchari, West Mugirango, North Mugirango were represented by 12 committee members. Women were not included as members because they could not represent clan interests (Momanyi, 1996; Keraro, O.I. 16/06/2014; Kenyanya, O.I, 11/07/2014).

Alila, (1984:27) and Gertzel et.al, (1969:106) argue that the colonial government’s strategy of restricting political associations to district levels was a deliberate mechanism to control the pace of African political advancement. However, the colonialists argued that they wanted to ensure that “sensible and stable men” were mentored at the local levels to take-up higher political roles in Kenya. The argument presented by the colonialists expose a clear strategy in which women folk were not groomed to ascend to the reigns of state power. This policy effectively locked out women from active participation in colonial politics.

Prior to the 1957 Legco Election, a Report on the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Methods for the Selection of African Representatives to the Legislative Council, 1955 sent to the Governor by Coutts, W.F, recommended that women should be excluded from voting and holding political office. The Memoranda received by Coutts commission included ones from the Kisii Highland Commission and the African District Council, Kisii. The people who gave oral evidence on behalf of Bomachoge location were all men. Parts of the Memorandum read:
2. **Who is to be registered?** Time is inappropriate for women to vote and only men of full age that is at the apparent age of 21 shall vote, on the understanding that at the moment women are subject to submission and at times are quickly moved by emotion….Kenya African women will take ample time to qualify to register…

The submissions presented above unquestionably laid a complex discriminative foundation that excluded women from active political arena everywhere in Kenya. In the elections to the Legislative Council (LEGCO) in 1957, the Abagusii as an ethnic group intended to vote for one candidate sponsored by Kisii Union. The three candidates presented for the December 1956 contest were all men. Bomachoge was represented by Christantus Ogari (KNA/DC/KSI/1/18, 1956). Women were excluded in this early political organisation not only in Bomachoge but, Gusii as a whole (Kenyanya, O.I, 11/07/2014; Nchaga, O.I, 12/06/2014). This scenario of invisibility of women in Legco and early political associations in Bomachoge and Kenya generally, as designed by Gusii and Colonial gatekeepers is captured by Gertzel, (1969:107):

“The election also reflected the growing group of educated leaders. Though limited in number, these men represented a greater proportion of tribal groups hitherto.”
2.5 CONCLUSION

The study revealed that Abamachoge women enjoyed relative autonomy in the clan through ascribed and achieved status. Women had clear political spaces in trading, control of produce and acted as trustees for their children. Women could also veto husbands’ decisions through direct and indirect means. The study established that women subordination during the colonial period was a function of aspects of colonial socio-economic and political structures such as taxation, labour policies, colonial agriculture, administrative structure, SDA mission education. The colonial culture undermined women bases of power that existed on the eve of European colonialism.

The study used patriarchy framework as a tool of analysis to highlight how the colonialist guided patriarchal ideology subordinated Bomachoge women by limiting them to the domestic sphere. On the other hand, the colonialist prepared Bomachoge men for responsibilities in the public sphere particularly through education system, colonial public service, and control over cash crop farming. The chapter further established the role of the colonial legacy and Abamachoge patriarchal culture in laying the base for subjugation of women in Kenya and Bomachoge’s Post-Independent politics as highlighted in chapter three.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN BOMACHOGE’S ELECTIVE POLITICS FROM 1963 TO 1992

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on women political participation at parliamentary and civic levels in Bomachoge as candidates and political office holders. A comparative approach was used in examining the trends of women’s political engagement. Presence or absence of women in Ogembo Urban Council, Gucha County Council and Bomachoge as a constituency was interrogated. The chapter also focused on the structural practices that perpetuated women subordination in Bomachoge’s elective politics. Gender and patriarchy were employed as tools of analysis. Gender make-up of society was utilised in examining the gendered nature of candidature and political office holding either through election or nomination. Patriarchal ideology was used in uncovering structural barriers to the subordinated status of Bomachoge women in elective politics.

3.2 WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT PARLIAMENTARY LEVEL IN BOMACHOGE, 1963-1992

Haugerud, (1995:25) observes that a survey of western scholars until 1990s portrayed Kenya as an icon of economic and political success. However, feminist scholars have challenged the western paradigm of Kenya’s political success given the exclusion of women in both descriptive and substantive participation in electoral politics as candidates and political office holders (Nzomo, 1994;
Mwangi, 2004; Kabira, et.al 2006:11; Kamau, 2010; Nyakwaka, 2012, Choti, 2013; FIDA, 2013). These scholars challenge us to answer the question, “Who were the beneficiaries of Kenya’s independence?” This is because first, it has been argued that before Kenya got its independence from the British in 1963, political activity based on one man one vote was unknown (International Commission of Jurists-Kenya Chapter, 1997:6). Secondly, as argued by Thadani, (1976:202) historical changes in a country alter participation opportunities available to both men and women. Therefore, the December 1963 Independent constitution alongside government’s Sessional Paper on African Socialism guaranteeing equal political participation to both men and women (Gertzel, 1970:25; Wipper, 1971:43; Oduol, 1993:28). Despite the guarantee on equality in political participation, women realised that the equality promise was a mirage in practice as women became underrepresented in political institutions (ibid).

In the general election of May 1963, there were only seven women parliamentary aspirants. And there was no woman elected or nominated to parliament (Amin, 1975; FIDA, 2013:2). In Kenya’s second post-independent General Election of 1969, there were six women candidates for parliamentary seats namely; Jael Mbogo-Bahati; Wambui Otieno-Langata; Beautice Nyagah-Embu South; Grace Onyango-Kisumu Town; Naomi Ramtu-Lamu West and Mary Koinange-Embakasi Amin and Moll, 1975). According to Kihoro, (2007) Majoge-Bassi and Kitutu East constituencies of Kisii had the highest number of parliamentary aspirants standing at five candidates each. However, none of the candidate was a woman. Hon. Grace Onyango became first woman to be elected to parliament in

According to Amin and Moll (1975), and Oduol (1993:28) the 1974 general election in Kenya, saw an increase in the number of parliamentary aspirants. Majoge and Nyeri had a total of 11 aspirants each. However, it was Eldoret North which led with a total of 12 candidates including a woman candidate, Chelagat Mutai. Other constituencies that followed with a total of 10 candidates each included; Kitutu East, Nakuru West and Langata. It is clear from Amin and Moll that Bomachoge did not have any woman aspirant for 1974 General Elections. In Nyanza Hon. Grace Onyango got re-elected to parliament to represent Kisumu Town constituency in 1974. Hon. Chelagat Mutai won the Eldoret North Parliamentary seat while Hon. Julia Ojiambo, Hon. Nyiva Mwendwa clinched the Busia Central and Kitui West parliamentary seats, respectively(Amin and Moll, 1975; Kihoro, 2007:91-6).

Studies by Oduol (1993:29), Kabira and Maina (1997:16) and Kabira, et.al (2006:11) revealed that elected women to the National Assembly in Kenya had not surpassed 3 per cent by early 1992. According to them only one woman got elected in 1969, five in 1974, three in 1979, one in 1983 and six in 1992. Similarly there was no single woman who had contested for parliamentary seats in Kisii and Bomachoge in particular from 1963 to early 1990s in Bomachoge. This resulted in their effective exclusion as Members of Parliament (Choti, 2013:131; Makori, O.I, 12/06/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGDs, 13/07/2014). Table 3.2.1: gives a comprehensive gender picture of members of Parliament in Bomachoge since 1963 to 2013.
Table 3.2.1: Analysis of Bomachoge Members of Parliament, 1963-2013.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Election</th>
<th>Name of M.P</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st, 1963-1966</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Hon. Anyieni Z.M</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>KANU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By-Election</td>
<td>Hon. Onsando J.M</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>KANU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd, 1974-1979</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Hon. Rosana A.A</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>KANU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th, 1979-1883</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Hon. Anyieni Z.M</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>KANU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th, 2002-2007</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Hon. Onyancha J.O</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>FORD-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th, 2007-2009</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Hon. Onyancha J.O</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>FORD-P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>By-Election</td>
<td>Hon. Ogari S.N</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>ODM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hon. Ogari S.N</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>ODM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3.2.1, establishes that women are absent as political office holders since Kenya’s first parliament to the current 11th parliament. This invincibility of women as members of parliament contradicts the gender make of Bomachoge given that women comprise 56 % of (KNBS, 2010). This gender gap illustrated in Table 3.2.2 further contradicts democratic theory and practice at the local level.
It was further observed that in both the Kenyatta I and Moi governments’ women got very few nomination slots and as such Bomachoge did not secure any of the slots reserved for women (Kihoro, 2007). As indicated in Table 3.2.2 below, out of the twelve nomination slots, none was reserved for women. Nomination of women during Kenyatta I’s rule rose from 0 % in 1963 to 16.6% by 1979. However, during his successor, Daniel Arap Moi, slots allocated to women nominees accounted for a mere 8.3%. Maina and Mbugua (1996:30) argued that the only woman nominated from Kisii between 1988 and 1992, after the death of Dr. Lawrence Sagini was a political arithmetic of retaining tribal as opposed to gender balance concerns. Although nomination slots would have been used to bolster women political representation in parliament, it was skewed in favour of male politicians as highlighted in Table 3.2.2 highlights.

Table 3.2.2 Nominated Women Parliamentarians, 1963-1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Nominee</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963-1969</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-1979</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1. Hon. Eddah Gachukia</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Hon. Jemimah Gecaga</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1983</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1. Hon. Eddah Gachukia</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT THE CIVIC LEVEL IN BOMACHOGE, 1963-1992

Women have been under-represented as councillors in Kenya since Independence. Studies by Oduol, (1995:86), Kabira and Maina (1997:15) and Kabira, (2006:11) established that women representation in all the 77 councils in Kenya by 1985 accounted for a mere 2 per cent. Women representation at the local authorities progressively rose to 2.7 per cent by 1992. This under-representation of women was replicated in County Council of Gusii. It was observed that women had not been elected as councillors in Bomachoge in particular to the Gusii County Council and Ogembo Urban Council up to 1992. Additionally, women were absent as candidates for electoral office (Choti, 2013; Various Minutes of Ogembo Urban full Council Meetings; Makori, O.I. 12/06/2014; Nchaga, O.I, 12/06/2014; Omaticha, O.I. 02/07/2014).

Ogembo Urban Council was created in 1988. Before then all the wards in Machoge were under the Gusii County Council (Minutes of Gusii and Ogembo Town Councils; Nchaga, O.I, 12/06/2014; Onchomba, O.I, 19/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). By 1992, Gusii County council had a total of 39 councillors out of whom only three were women. The four Bomachoge wards comprising Majoge Masaba, Majoge Borabu, Kanyimbo and Majoge Sengeria as part of Gusii County Council were represented by male councillors namely Zephaniah Osoro Marube, Zachary Momanyi Omboga, Patris Ogembo and Onyancha Kibari, respectively (Ogembo Urban Full Council Minutes, 1988-1992; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).
The invisibility of women in Bomachoge and other Gusii wards was eventually responsible for male dominance as chairpersons of the County Council of Gusii from 1963 to early 1992. The absence of women as councillors also led to their invisibility in holding chairpersons position in Gusii Council (Minutes of Gusii and Ogembo Town Councils; Omambia, O.I.26/06/2014; Onchari, O.I, 27/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). Table 3.3.1 highlights representation of chairpersons in Gusii County Council from 1963-1988.

Table 3.3.1: List of Chairpersons in County Council of Gusii from 1963-1988.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snr. Chief Musa Nyandusi</td>
<td>22/1/1962- 10/10/1963</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnaba E. Arang’a</td>
<td>11/10/1963- 08/08/1965</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley N. Mwancha</td>
<td>09/08/1965-09/09/1966</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samwel Mobegi</td>
<td>09/09/1966-05/09/1974</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winston R Obara</td>
<td>06/09/1974-27/12/1979</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley O Mweberi</td>
<td>28/12/1979-20/10/1983</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David N Ongori</td>
<td>21/10/1983-12/04/1988</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from County Council of Gucha Minutes; Gusii County Council Chairmen’s List Board; Nzioki and Dar, (1982:73).
In the 1988 General Elections, there were no women candidates for either parliamentary or civic seats (Choti, 2013; Omaticha, O.I, 02/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014). All the four wards of Bomachoge namely Getare, Egetuki, Central and Mangere forming Ogembo Urban Council were occupied by elected men. The single nomination slot was not given to a woman either. The other two remaining wards; Sameta and Mosora, although forming part of Ogembo Urban Council, fell under Bobasi constituency (Various Minutes of Ogembo Urban Council). These were equally a male preserve as highlighted in the table 3.3.2.

**Table 3.3.2: List of Councillors and Wards of Ogembo Urban Council 1988-1992 Term.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 John Ondigi Nyaosi</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Getare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Johnson Omwenga</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Egetuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Charles Onchomba</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 James Kionge</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mangere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 John Moenga Oange</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mosora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Thomas Omosa</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Sameta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Joel Mokua</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Nominated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the informants, women have been absent as aspirants for civic seats since the inception of Ogembo Urban Council in 1988, from Gusii County Council to its eventual amalgamation as part of Kisii County Government in 2013 (Ombura, O.I. 02/07/2014; Nyaundi, O.I. 29/7/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). As indicated in Table 3.3.3, since 1988 only men were elected into Ogembo urban/town council. The absence of women as councillors is partly attributed to their lack of participation as candidates for the respective civic seats. Nomination was equally skewed with one woman being nominated 2007-2012 term however; she belonged to a ward in a neighbour constituency. (Minutes of Ogembo Town Council Meetings, 2007-2008); Mititi, O.I. 17/06/2014; Asumari, O.I. 27/07/2014).

Table 3.3.3: Analysis of Civic Representation in Ogembo Urban/Town Council 1988-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No: Wards</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1997</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-2002</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2012</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from various minutes of Ogembo Urban/Town Council meetings, 1988-2012; Mititi, O.I, 17/06/2014; Nchaga, O.I. 12/06/2014.
The informants observed that the period between 1988 and 1992 when Wilkister Onsando was serving as the national chairperson of MYWO in Kenya. Women political participation was enhanced through formation of local women organisations, articulation of women issues and contacting public officials. Many women in Bomachoge joined MYWO notable ones included the late Hellena Ogechi and Esther Onami. Esther owes their political skills to MYWO.

A number of women joined MYWO in the late 1980s in Bomachoge. At the local level, we were affiliated to the Kisii Branch MYWO. When Wilkister Onsando took over as the chairperson of MYWO at the national level we felt happy for her achievement and this motivated us to be active in MYWO activities. Wilkister mentored us for leadership. I had been nick named “councillor” then. My greatest impediment was finance; it kept me off at the civic level. I did not bow out of politics yet; instead iwas recruited to drum up support for Magara, a parliamentary aspirant who later won the parliamentary seat. My other friend, Hellena Ogechi contested for a civic seat in which she nearly won after defea after defeating several male contestants. This is because of her active role in MYWO activities and her interaction with many women organisations and denominations at the grassroot level. We were recruited to drum up support for male parliamentary aspirants for many years (Onami, O.I. 26/06/2014).

3.4 STRUCTURAL BARRIERS TOWOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN BOMACHOGES ELECTIVE POLITICS FROM 1963 TO 1992

The question that kept cropping up in current debates is why women have continued to persistently perform poorly in electoral politics at all levels (Kamau, 2010:27). The absence of women as an elite class and their subsequent low political participation in 1950s and 1960s is captured in the Report of the Commissioner Appointed to Inquire into the Selection of African Representative to the Legislative Council, 1955:12. Here, it is argued that women were not allowed
to vote until 1960 apparently because; they lacked a political mind to venture into the thorny path of politics. It is evident from the above submission that the tribal and racial interest dominated in colonial Kenya. Since women could not effectively represent tribal interests, their roles and status deteriorated in Kenya during the colonial period (Cammack et al, (1993:216). This justifies Nzomo and Kibwana, (1993:8) that majority of the barriers that have been erected to bar women’s full political engagements are “man-made” as argued in the current study.

Under representation of women in early political associations’ structures was responsible for their invisibility in electoral politics in post-independent Kenya. Associations and political parties formed before Kenya’s independence were mainly tribalistic and paternalistic in nature (Ochieng, 1973:11-2). Subsequently, the constituencies that were later formed along tribal lines (Gretel, 1970:8). Kenya African Union (KAU) and Kisii Union office bearers locked out women from their leadership (Bogonko, 1977:398-398; Ochieng, 1973:12). KAU was preoccupied with achieving national outlook and subsequently ended up recruiting men as representatives of various ethnic groups across Kenya (ibid). As indicated above in Table 3.4.1, political organisations were male dominated. Consequently, Ochieng’ (1973:11) characterized the period between 1944 and 1963 as the, “Gestation period for tribalism in Kenya”.
Table 3.4.1: Representation of Interim KAU Leadership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Ethnicity/Region</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Harry Thuku</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary General</td>
<td>Francis Khamisi</td>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Albert Owino</td>
<td>Luo</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Harry Nangurai</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Ng’anga, F.M</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>John Kebaso</td>
<td>Gusii</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Jeremiah, J.</td>
<td>Taita</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Simieon Mulandi</td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>Jackayo, S.B</td>
<td>Luhya</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committee Member</td>
<td>James Gichuru</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the post-independent Kenya, Hakes (1990) and Oduol (1995:94) argued that the composition of the first Kenyan parliament was purely a male domain. This is because tribal rivalry remained a strong force in Kenya’s politics during the reign of Kenyatta I. Power and resources were bargained through ethnic prisms (The Times, September 21, 1973:1; Alila, 1986:19; Gertzel, 1970:44:Hakes, 1990: 94: Kanyinga, 2006:353-381;Kamau, 2010:11). Women’s limited influence over ethnic or clan affairs limited their access to political positions. Mwangi, (2004:85-123) and Kamau (2010:11) argued that despite the general progress witnessed
during the Kenyatta regime, women exploitation and marginalization was perpetuated by male political elites. The male political elites additionally monopolised KANU and eventually co-opted MYWO. Mwangi further concurred with Her Excellency Margaret Kenyatta in highlighting the paucity of women in the KANU hierarchy during the reign of former president Daniel Arap Moi. They both argue that women remained at the periphery as electoral politics continued to be a province of men (Kenya NGO-Sub-Committee, 1985, July; Mwangi, 2004).

Manipulation and lack of support for MYWO by the KANU government impacted negatively on women’s progress at the national and local levels in Kenya (Ndeda, 1999; Ndeda, 2002). Himmelstrand, (1985) argues that between 1979 and 1981, Women’s Bureau within the Ministry of Social Welfare and Culture had been funded by Sweden to finance women activities throughout Kenya by use of women groups. However, a joint study conducted by Scandinavian donor agencies in 1982, found out that Women’s Bureau lacked comprehensive policy on issues that were affecting women and development. Additionally, Kenyan government did not provide adequate financing to women groups and later used delaying tactics of shelving the proposals of the Forward Looking Strategies in lieu of the Beijing Conference (Oduol, 1995:90; Ndeda, 1999:17).

Moi (1986:110-11) notes that his honest understanding of the role of MYWO was to work towards creating happy homes and nation by restoring the balance that existed in the garden of Eden. In assessing the objectives of MYWO in the closing months of 1975-1985 Decade, Moi asserts that men were the major obstacles on women’s socio-economic and political progress. This is because
since independence, MYWO had been arm twisted to become a wing of KANU to drum up support for male politicians (Kibwana, 2004:194; Nasongo and Ayot, (2007:183). As Oduol (1995:89) argues, MYWO had become entangled in KANU political affairs and was surviving by the established patron-client relations. On the other hand KANU stereotyped women by placing women issues alongside youths and children under the welfare docket (Maina and Mbugua, 1996:26).

The informants noted that at the local level in late 1980s and early 1990, MYWO organisation had become operatives of KANU in determining who accessed state power. At the time, MYWO nationally was chaired by Wilkister Onsando from Bomachoge. MYWO leaders worked alongside KANU in drumming up support for KANU candidates who were largely male (Mogire, O.I. 30/07/2014; Metobo, O.I. 23/07/2014). Similarly, the Kisii MYWO got co-opted by KANU between 1980s to about 1993 due to its association to the parent body (AAWORD, 2001:82). The fact that MYWO did not come up strongly in support of women’s political engagement led to their peripheral political participation (Nasimiyu, 1993:102). In practice, KANU continued implementing skewed parliamentary nomination with little or no resistance from MYWO (Nasimiyu, 1993:102; Maina and Mbugua, 1996:29; Metobo, O.I. 23/07/2014).

Women were more politically estranged from political participation as a result of being side-lined during the Kenyatta I and Moi governments despite the achievements that had been witnessed. The KANU government and party leaders paid little attention to women issues. Consequently, little progress was made in addressing discriminative legislations, policies and practices that faced women
Inadequate formal education was a structural barrier to women’s political participation in electoral politics. This is because formal education played a key role in determining prospective candidates who had to prove their competence in reading and speaking English before being cleared to contest for political positions in Kenya since 1963 (Okelo, 1977:198; Amin and Moll, 1975). According to Hakes, (1990) as of 1962 census, about three quarters of the adult population were ineligible to stand for elections because they lacked competence in English language as required by law.

Mutiso (1975:254) argued that majority of rural women were purely non-asomi during the colonial period. Hakes argue that the voters too desired individuals with good mastery of English to enable them bargain with the colonialists. This meant that members of parliament in the first and second parliament were either properly educated or had served as labour organisers and teachers during colonial era. Women parliamentarians who made it into Kenya’s National Assembly up to 1978 were well educated too. This include Eddah Gachukia, a university lecturer; Ms Jemima Gecaga, a member of Governing Council, University College Nairobi; Ms Chelagat Mutai, a holder of political science degree from the University of Nairobi; and, Nyiva Mwendwa, a M.SC graduate and lecturer (Amin and
Moll, 1975). The *non-asomi* population were therefore majorly excluded from politics and statecraft in Kenya (Mutiso 1975:73, 79).

A survey of former Members of Parliament from Kisii reveals they were all well-schooled and had remarkable track record in government service. Members of Parliament from Bomachoghe were educated in mission schools and had secured higher education abroad (Amin and Moll, 1975). Kenyan politics at independence and thereafter was highly elitist with men monopolizing state politics because they had enjoyed better access to educational opportunities than women. The contender from Bomachoge for Legco Seat Mr. Chrisantus Ogari was educated in Mangú and his school mates included Hon. Mwai Kibaki, Hon. Tom Mboya, Hon. Moody Awori, Hon. Lawrence Sagini and Lawrence Oguda. It was the Alliance, Mang’u, Maseno and Makerere networks that dominated Kenyatta government (Kenya Year Book Editorial Board, 2012:20).

The first Majoge-Bassi MP Hon. Zephaniah Anyieni and his successors were well schooled (Amin and Moll, 1975; Gertzel, 1970:39). Across Kisii, majority of the M.Ps were articulate Ph.D holders who additionally, were each decorated by President Kenyatta with highest honours as Elder of the Golden Heart and Member of the Burning Spear (Kenya Year Book Editorial Board, 2012). Women in this period had been disadvantaged by earlier colonial and Seventh Day Mission systems of education that had given priority to boys’ education (KNA/DC/KSI/5/3; Mutua, 1975; Kwamboka, 1995:4). The practice of S.D.A mission that required trained women to quit teaching upon marriage had further denied them public visibility and hence their peripheral political engagements.
Additionally, Gusii culture has socialised women to belief that they are weak and that leadership was meant for men (Nyang’au, O.I. 30/07/2014). Choti, (2013) argues that women’s obscurity as electoral candidates and political office holders in Gusii is attributed to their unwillingness to present themselves electoral competition. This is because Gusii culture has defined specific spaces for women and men. In Ekegusii language for instance, a man is referred to as *omosacha* derived from a verb *Ogosacha*, meaning to look for, provide. While a woman is referred to as *omokungu*, derived from a verb *ogokunga* which means to care for or nurture (Choti, J. 1998:29). The Abamachoge women are limited by cultural mind-set that defines what is deemed appropriate for women and what is not. Women who violate cultural expectation of their gender roles are perceived as deviant and ungovernable (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

Odhiambo-Oduol, (1993:85) argued that there is close relationship between language and reality. According to her what a group or an individual is, it is what that individual or group sees. The naming system has also been used to reinforce women subordination in Bomachoge and elsewhere through stereotyping. Names like Okindo refer to a wealthy man. Ogetare is another common male name in Endereti village in Bomachoge. It is derived from the word *Egetare* meaning rock. Women are seldom called *Ogetare* because they are expected to be soft. Instead, they are named after edible plants, items of beauty or weak animals.
“Our names portray who we are. We have been made to believe that we are soft, as a result we have lost our identity and depend on our husbands. We even felt insecure when our identity cards did not have our husbands’ names “Married women identify themselves with their husbands’ names. We are,moka…the wife of…. while the men identify themselves with their real names or their fathers’ names. That is why moka…the wife of….gets in trouble during the campaigns because the opponents and voters perceive as “untameable or spoil. When a woman’s husband dies she is deemed to have no home, omoboraka, this is worse than a widower who is referred to omotakanwa (meaning one who does everything by himself). Although widows are more free than married women, the act of being widows negatively impacts them politically (Nyamwamu, 11/07/2014).

The informants concur with Choti, (1998:29) that naming system and language use has been used to socialise women into the domestic sphere and subordinate positions (MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).

The baraza, public gathering is yet another political structure that has been used to limit potential women’s political space and ambition for elective positions in Bomachoge (Osoro, O.I. 20/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). Haugerud, (1995:101) argued that in both the colonial and post-colonial state, the Baraza was used by state agents to dish out public resources in return for citizen’s obedience in Kenya. Haugerud further argues that the baraza has been used by politicians and political entrepreneurs to build reputations or pull down reputations whether real or imagined rivals. Chief Omanga of Bomachoge was allegedly fired for recognising Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) operatives in a public gathering held in Bomachoge in 1966 (Mueller, 1972:309-12; Nyakwaye, O.I. 14/06/2014). Choti, (2013) observed that in Gusii the baraza has been used as a centre of negotiating for public influence. Choti further notes that the sitting
arrangements in public gatherings reserves the podium for males while women find their place as listeners quietly sitting on the ground in front of the podium to be addressed by a pile of male speakers.

The informants observed that public gatherings have contributed to women political subordination in Bomachoge. Potential women who find their way to the podium are occupied with ushering in male speakers, dusting seats and offering prayers. Male politicians introduce the women by asking them to just wave to the crowds whereas they are the recipients of songs, cheers and first class treatment (Choti, 2013:112; Makwae, O.I, 11/06/2014; Marando, O.I, 23/07/2014; Onyinkwa, O.I. 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). According to the informants, women have been denied opportunities to develop their political skills during public gatherings. Even in the public spaces women are assigned tasks designated for the private domain. This practice has reinforced women as mothers at the expense of enhancing their visibility as leaders.

Patriarchal nature of Kenya’s elections and political systems has hindered women’s political progress in electoral politics (Muiruri, 1997:29; Oduol, 1995:85). Oduol, (1995:87) and Wanyande, (2006:74) argued that Kenya’s election from 1963 to early 1990s had paid less attention to gender issues. Furthermore, women were socialised into inferior roles that subsequently overshadowed in the male dominated electoral politics. Additionally, they note that that gender issues in politics begun to attract serious attention from 1992. The informants noted that the electorate had viewed elections as male activity (Onyinkwa, O.I. 04/07/2014; Obara, O.I. 11/07/2014; Nyaundi O.I, 29/07/2014).

Women’s invisibility was also attributed to unfair nominations at both national and civic level. Women have been side-lined in the allocation of nomination slots since 1963 (Kabira, 2006). As presented in Table 3.2.2, (See Pp76) very few women were nominated to parliament. In the first parliament no woman was nominated out of the twelve slots. Women were allocated one slot from the fifth parliament with an exception of third parliament where two women were nominated. This was witnessed in both county council and Ogembo town council in which men have always received a lion’s share compared to women (Various Gusii County Council; Minutes for Ogembo Town Council; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).
3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the level of women engagements in electoral politics as candidates and political office holders at civic and parliamentary levels in Bomachoge. It was established that in post-independent transition period from 1963 to 1992, politics was purely a male domain. Women were absent as candidates and political office holders at parliamentary and civic levels. Women did not contest for the Bomachoge parliamentary or civic seats under the Gusii County Council. In the created Ogembo Urban Council, women were also invisible in the 1988 General Election.

The chapter revealed that women’s obscurity in electoral politics in Bomachoge constituency has been a function of multiple structural impediments faced by women. These impediments include colonial socio-economic and political structures that undermined the formation of women political elites at national and local levels in Bomachoge; the absence of women in early political associations; ethnic nature of Kenya’s post-independent politics; manipulation of MYWO by the male political leaders and the exclusion of women from KANU leadership. However, women political participation increased during the Kenyatta and Moi regimes at the National level while it remained minimal at the local level. Women’s minimal participation in post-independent Kenya was attributed to high levels of illiteracy, aspects of socialization, language stereotyping, gendered nature of public baraza, and patriarchal nature of Kenya’s elections and nominations.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 BOMACHOGEWOMEN DURING THE MULTI-PARTY POLITICS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION, 1992–2013

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examined patterns of women political participation at parliamentary and civic levels in Bomachoge. Additionally, the chapter focused on social, economic and political barriers to women’s participation in multi-party politics despite increased democratisation and constitutionalism. At the civic level women’s engagement in council committees was also interrogated. In this chapter a comparative approach was used in examining trends of women political engagement. Gender framework was used in reflecting the status of both women and men in the allocation of tasks, particularly in chairing of House Business Committees. Gender as a tool of analysis was used in analysing how at interaction level, language is used by men to dominate question and answer sessions in the Kisii County Assembly.

4.2 PATTERNS OF WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BOMACHOGE DURING THE MULTI-PARTY ERA, 1992-2013

1992 is a landmark in Kenya’s history particularly in the political arena; both at the national and local levels. The period was marked by increased political participation of women as candidates and political office holders (Oduol, 1993:21; Kabira, et.al 2006:12). This was attributed to the re-introduction of multi-party democracy and the emergence of women organisation such as the National
Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW) that conducted training workshops for women candidates for civic and parliamentary positions (Nzomo, 1993:144; Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:x; Cowen and Laakso, 2002:24; Kamau, 2010:11).

1992 is significant at the local level particularly in Bomachoge because Wilkister Onsando, a woman from Bomachoge was serving at the helm of MYWO. She was the National Chairperson of MYWO in the late 1980s and early 1990s alongside Ms. Clare Omanga who was serving as MYWO’s provincial representative for Nyanza (KANU National Secretariat, 1990:132). During this period a number of women organisations were formed at the local level whereas other women joined MYWO. According to the informants, women were later trained on political participation after the 4th World Conference, Beijing China, 1995. The conference advocated for inclusion of women in political and decision making. Abuga Mongóni was one of the women from Bomachoge who had received training on political empowerment before the 1997 general election (Onami O.I. 28/06/2014) Masenge O.I. 04/07/2014).

In the 1992 general elections, there were a total of 19 female aspirants who were nominated by political parties to contest for parliamentary seats in Kenya (WSP-K, 2006:31; Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:155; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014; Nyang’au, O.I, 30/07/2014). Table 4.1.1 presents women aspirants for parliamentary positions across Kenya.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Result</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Agnes Ndetei</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Kibwezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Beatrice, K. Nyagah</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>FORD-K</td>
<td>Gachoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Beth Mugo</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Dagoretti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Betty Tetyt</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Westlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Charity, K. Mwendwa</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Kitui Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fatuma, M. Jeneby</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>KNC</td>
<td>Mvita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Grace Emily Ogot</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Gem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Lydia, W. Kimani</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Runyenjes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Marere, M. N’chibohe</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Msambweni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Margaret, W. Mugeni</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>FORD-K</td>
<td>Runyenjes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Marie Orie-Rogo</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>FORD-K</td>
<td>Starehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Martha Njoka Karua</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Gichugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mary, W. Gichuki</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>FORD-A</td>
<td>Kinangop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Pauline Mwai</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Lari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Phoebe Asiyo</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>FORD-K</td>
<td>Karachuonyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Rose waruhiu</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Githunguri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Tabitha Seii</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>D.P</td>
<td>Kerio South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Wambui Otieno</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>FORD-K</td>
<td>Kajiado North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Winfred, N. Mwendwa</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kitui</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nzomo and Kibwana, (1993:155)
Table 4.2.1 ascertained that there was no female contestant for the Bomachoge parliamentary seat as further noted by the informants (MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014). At the civic level, there were about 130 women candidates across the country in the 1992 General Election. However, in Bomachoge there was only one woman aspirant namely Hellena Ogechi, the first woman to contest for a civic seat in Bomachoge. Although she did not clinch the civic seat, she emerged third after defeating several male candidates for the former Kenyenya ward (Obondi, O.I. 11/06/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).

At the end of the 1992 General Election six women were elected namely: Martha Njoka Karua, Charity Mwendwa, Agnes Ndetei, Winfred Mwendwa, Mary Gichuki and Phoebe Asiyo (Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:155). Bomachoge parliamentary seat was captured by Hon. Ferdinand Ondabu Obure on a FORD-K ticket (Kihoro, 2007:53, 57). According to the informants, all the civic seats in Bomachoge were captured by male aspirants (Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014; Onyinkwa O.I, 04/07/2014). It is apparent, that women were obscure as candidates and political office holders in Bomachoge at the time.

In the 1997 General Election, out of 881 parliamentary candidates across the country, only 50 were women (Kabira and Wasamba, 1998:46). Women candidates comprised a mere 6% of the total number of parliamentary candidates in 1997 general election (Grignon et. al, 2001:627). In the 1997 general election, four women were elected compared to 206 men. Elected women to parliament accounted for 1.9%. However, 5 women were nominated to
parliament, this represented 41.7%. The 1997 nomination of women was the highest since Kenya’s independence (ECK, 1997:110). At the local level in Bomachoge, there were no female aspirant for the Bomachoge parliamentary seat, all the eight contestants were male (Maobe O.I.30/07/2014; Moraro O.I. 01/08/2014). At the civic level in Kenya, 92 women were elected out of 2919 civic seats, this comprised 2.0%. However, elections were not conducted in 36 wards due to irregularities in nomination processes or inaccessibility of polling stations and other logistical factors.

Gucha County Council began in 1997 and comprised Bobasi, South Mugirango and, former Bomachoge Constituencies’ wards. In the beginning, there were five wards from Bomachoge that were represented in Gucha County Council namely Machoge Borabu, Machoge Masaba, Magenche, Sengerana and Misesi. The number of wards from Bomachoge progressively increased to ten by 2012 following the creation of Boochi Borabu, Mokubo, Kenyenya, Magenche and Nyaisero wards (Minutes of Full Gucha Council Meeting, 14/02/2012).

At the civic level, two women declared their candidature for civic seats namely Rael Omambia and Abuga Mongóni. Rael Omambia a former MYWO Vice-Secretary in Kisii district and a life member of KANU, contested for Egetuki wardcivic seat on a KANU ticket. She was the only woman aspirant for Egetuki ward. She emerged third out of nine civic candidates (Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014). The other wards of Machoge under the Gucha County Council were a male bastion.
Equally, there were no woman aspirants in the four wards making up the Ogembo Urban Council. The informants observed that the late Mrs Abuga Mong’oni did not go beyond the nomination phase (Ombura O.I, 02/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014).

In the 2002 December General Election, a total of 36 women contested for parliamentary seats in Kenya. Four of these women candidates were from constituencies in Nyanza Province namely Emily Ogot-Gem, Opar Odondi-Karachuonyo, Edith Otieno-Alego and Catherine Moraa Nyamato-West Mugirango (WSP-K, 2006:29). Bomachoge constituency did not have a female contestant. All the ten parliamentary aspirants were men (Akivaga, Mute and Khalid, 2003:236; WSP-K, 2006:29; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).

In 2007, all the candidates for Bomachoge parliamentary seat were men (Moraro O.I. 01/08/2014). Additionally, none of the nominated women parliamentarians represented Bomachoge (Association of Media Women in Kenya, (2011:6-76). At the civic level, there were few women candidates. They were Ms. Phelister Ochako Metobo of Sengera ward, Ms. Margaret Kemunto of Magenche ward and Ms. Rael Omambia of Egetuki ward. According to the informants, these were high level challengers compared to several male candidates. This is because their acceptability rate was high given the high number of ballots casted in their favour. Eventually Ms. Phelister captured the Sengera civic seat (Mititi O.I, 17/07/2014; Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014; Mauti O.I, 20/07/2014). Rael Omambia emerged second out of nine contestants despite opposition from a brother-in-law who
supported her opponents.

In the General Election of 2007, a number of women had declared their interests in contesting for civic seats. However, out of the 26 candidates who had been nominated by various political parties to contest Bomachoge parliamentary seat, none was a woman (IEBC, 2007, 23th November: Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014). At the civic level, two female aspirants dropped out at the nomination stage. Rael Omambia of Egetuki ward declined to proceed to contest even after getting cleared by NARC-Kenya. There were six notable women aspirants who contested for civic seats in Bomachoge to the Gucha County Council. Table 4.2.2 highlights women aspirants for the 2007 general election.

Table 4.2.2: Notable Women Aspirants for Civic Seats during the 2007 General Elections under Gucha County Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspirant</th>
<th>Ward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Esther Nyamwamu</td>
<td>Boochi Borabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Phelister Metobo</td>
<td>Sengera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Grace Ogonda</td>
<td>Kenyenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Peris Obondi</td>
<td>Bosoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Agnes Ombura</td>
<td>Getare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Esther Obara</td>
<td>Bomachoge Masaba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by researcher from informants.
At the end of the 2007 General Elections, only Ms. Phelister Metobo was elected. Consequently, she was elected to chair Gucha County Council and served from February 2008 to June 2009. She also served in a number of committees as a member although most of the Gucha County Council Committees were dominated by men (Gucha County Council Minutes from 2002-2012).

In Ogembo Town Council, no women had ever vied for a civic seat since its inception until 2012 when, it fell under Kisii County Government (Ondigi O.I, 02/07/2014; Metobo, O.I, 20/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). According to the informants representation in Ogembo town was a monopoly of the male political office holders. Table 4.1.3 highlights gender representation in Ogembo Urban/Town Council from 1988 to 2012.

**Table 4.2.3: Gender representation in Ogembo Urban Council, 1988-2012**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>No: Wards</th>
<th>No: Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1997</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-2002</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2012</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Minutes of Ogembo Urban/Town Council 1998-2012
Table 4.2.3 establishes that since the formation of Ogembo Urban Council no woman had been elected. This was partly because women did not present themselves as candidates for civic elections. The town council records revealed that allocation of nomination slots was a gendered process. Women were never considered except in 2007 when two nomination slots were shared between a man and a woman. However, this nominated woman was from a neighbouring constituency represented in Ogembo town council (Various Minutes of Ogembo Urban Town Council, 1988-2012; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014).

The gender gap in political office holding in both Ogembo town council and Gucha County Council was replicated in the chairing of the councils’ House Committees. The chairpersons of Ogembo urban/town council since its inception have been men (Various Minutes of Ogembo Urban Town Council; Onchomba O.I, 19/07/2014). Table 4.2.4 highlights men’s monopoly in chairing Ogembo Urban/Town Council from 1988-2012.
Table 4.2.4: Gender Representation of Chairpersons of Ogembo Urban/Town Council From 1988-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cllr. Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ondigi Nyaosi John</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>05/04/1988-25/02/1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondari S. Manyange</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27/02/1998-01/09/1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asumari S. Omweno</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>02/09/1999-14/08/2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mairura Zachary</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15/08/2001-09/11/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyang’au David</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12/02/2003-23/10/2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondari James</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25/02/2008-2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Chairmen’s List for Ogembo Urban Council / Town Council; Various Minutes for Full Council Meetings from 1988-2012.

According to the informants, most women aspirants preferred the use of minor political parties at the beginning. However, they had begun gaining acceptability in major political parties (Obondi O.I, 11/06/2014; Moreka O.I, 14/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). The National Alliance (TNA) for instance allowed Esther Nyamwanu (Plate 2) to compete against the Orange Democratic Movement candidate in the 2013 General Election (Nyamwanu O.I, 11/07/2014).
It was established that some high profile women challengers for the civic seats were convinced to drop their ambition in favour of male candidates. Additionally, these high profile challengers were strategically required to shelf their ambitions so as to campaign for ODM candidates for parliamentary, governor and senator seats. The visibility of Phelister Metobo and Grace Ogondaas candidates at the civic level was therefore reduced (Metobo O.I, 20/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). The informants further observed that it was only Phelister Metobo, Rael Omambia and Esther Nyamwamu who had vied twice for civic seats whereas, majority of women candidates were first timers.

Unlike the majority of men, it is only one woman, Hon. Phelister Metobo who had challenged male competitors as an incumbent, a pattern which has been a male preserve. The majority of women candidates after the first unsuccessful attempt quit politics. There is no woman candidate who has participated in civic elections as an inheritor (Metobo, O.I. 20/07/2014).

It was established that women aspirants who have vied more than once were majorly high level challengers for instance, Ms. Rael Omambia, Hon. Phelister Metobo and Hon. Esther Nyamwamu. It was established that Hon. Grace Ogonda and Beatrice Kerubo Makwae, first time civic candidates were high level challengers (MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).
It was further established that regardless of whether women contested by use of major or minor political parties, they were acceptable to the electorate like the male candidates. The election of Hon. Catherine Kasyoka Manzi on KNC ticket against strong political wave of TNA and CORD coalition wave shows the extent to which women candidates can command critical base of the electorate (IEBC, 2013b; Manzi O.I. 20/07/2014). The table 4.2.5 highlights the patterns of visible women in electoral politics in Bomachoge.

**Table 4.2.5: Most Visible Women Candidates in Bomachoge 1992-2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Nature of Party</th>
<th>Organizational Type</th>
<th>Challenger Type</th>
<th>Vied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Esther Nyamwamu</td>
<td>Minor (KNC), Major (TNA)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Manzi Catherine K.</td>
<td>Minor (KSC)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Beatrice K. Makwae</td>
<td>Minor (RBK)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Phelister O. Metobo</td>
<td>Major (ODM)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Hon. Grace Ogonda</td>
<td>Major (ODM)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Ann K. Masenge</td>
<td>Major (ODM-K)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Dr. Brigit Ombati</td>
<td>Minor (PDP)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ms. Rael Omambia</td>
<td>Major (KANU)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Ms. Agnes Ombura</td>
<td>Minor (NPPK)</td>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>High Profile</td>
<td>Once</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gucha County Council records 1997-2012; IEBC; (2013b)  
Source: IEBC, (2012b); Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2014; Masenge O.I, 04/07/2014; Makwae O.I, 11/05/2014; Nyamwega O.I, 20/07/2014
4.3 KENYA’S NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION OF 2010 AND
WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN BOMACHOGO

Kenya’s 2010 constitution provides for a two-third principle of gender representation. This implies that not more than two-thirds of members of elective or appointive institution shall be of the same gender (FIDA 2013:13). Gender representation has not been fully implemented in the National Assembly; however, some progress has been made at the County Assembly level (ibid).

At the local level, a total of twenty six women were nominated as MCAs given that only one woman had been elected out of the 45 elected MCAs of Kisii County Assembly (IEBC, 2013b). Three women were nominated by use of political party gender to up lists from Bomachoge to the Kisii County Assembly (Metobo O.I, 20/07/2014). A comparative gender analysis of Bomachoge MCAs reveals that women constitute 40 per cent to men’s 60 per cent (IEBC, 2013).

4.4 BOMACHOGO WOMEN ON THE EVE AND AFTER THE MARCH, 2013 GENERAL ELECTION

In the 2013 election there were 6 candidates for the Governor’s seat for Kisii County. The two Bomachoge constituencies had three male candidates two from Bomachoge Borabu and one from Bomachoge Chache. However, there was no woman candidate for the Governor’ seat. Bomachoge had the largest number of aspirants for Governorship comprising 50 per cent of the total aspirants (IEBC, 2013b:240).
At the parliamentary level, there were 15 male aspirants as compared to a single female parliamentary aspirant Ms. Naomi Ronald, the first woman to contest for parliamentary positions in Bomachoge since 1963 (IEBC, 2013b; IEBC, 2013c; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014). She emerged eighth out of the nine parliamentary candidates of Bomachoge Chache and garnered 225 votes on Restore and Build Kenya political party. The difference in vote margins was narrow with the other male candidates, the M.P elect Simion Nyaundi Ogari won with 12,654 votes cast in his favour IEBC, 2013b: 179). Bomachoge Borabu had seven parliamentary aspirants and none of them was a woman. There were also two women aspirants for Women Representative seat to the National Assembly namely; Ms. Ann Masenge and Ms. Brigid Ombati. There were additionally two aspirants from Bomachoge for the Senate seat but again, all were men (ibid).

The table 4.4.1indicates that 20 % of the male candidates who vied for the governor seat in Kenya were elected while those who vied for senator and got elected was 21 %. Women did not present themselves as candidates for governor and senate seats and they are represented by 0 per cent. The representation of women who vied and got elected as members of parliament was 14 % to men’s 16%. At the local level, the success rate for the Member to the County Assembly was 15 per cent for both men and women in Kenya. This shows that the success rate for women in electoral politics is close to that of men.
Table 4.4.1: Analysis of Representation in March, 2013 General Elections in Kenya and Bomachoge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
<th>Elected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Woman Rep</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deputy Governors</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>9287</td>
<td>623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomachoge</td>
<td>Senate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Assembly</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>County Women Rep.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IEBC 05/03/2013 Declaration of Election Results Form 36 Bomachoge Chache; IEBC 05/03/2013 Declaration of Election Results Form 36 Bomachoge Borabu; IEBC,(2013b:696-8,703-4).

At the ward level, the study established that the gender gap between male and female aspirants for MCA positions in Bomachoge was wide. There were only four female aspirants for MCA positions from the seven wards of Bomachoge Chache and Bomachoge Borabu as compared to 74 male aspirants (IEBC, 2013b).

Women aspirants for the 2013 General Election were majorly from Bomachoge Borabu as compared to Bomachoge Chache constituency. Although it was earlier noted success rate for women who vied for MCA position was at par. Table 4.3.1 shows gender representation of aspirants in the 2013 General Election.
Table 4.4.2: Gender representation of 2013 General Election at the Civic Level in Bomachoge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Aspirants</th>
<th>Sex of MCA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomachoge Borabu</td>
<td>Bombaba Borabu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boochi Borabu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bokimonge</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magenche</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomachoge Chache</td>
<td>Majoge Basi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boochi/Tendere</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bosoti/Sengera</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IEBC, (2013b; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

The number of male and female aspirants in Bomachoge Borabu was higher than in Bomachoge Chache constituency at the civic level. A gender comparison reveals that women aspirants in Bomachoge Borabu comprised 8 per cent to men’s 92 per cent. In Bomachoge Chache women candidates formed 3.6 per cent to men’s 92.4 per cent. Generally, women aspirants for Bomachoge as a whole stood at 5.1 per cent to men’s 94.9 per cent at ward level (IEBC, 2013b).

Women candidates from Bomachoge in general had a higher success rate at 25 % compared to men’s 8.1% (FIDA, 2013:50; IEBC, 2013b:696-8,703-4). According to the informants, women’s prospects at ward levels are very high compared to higher levels (Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; Matonda O.I,
Despite the low number of women candidates for civic/ward level their electability opportunity was higher than that of men. The study established women’s low level engagements were attributed to their absence as candidates for electoral office.

The study further established that most of the women candidates as earlier illustrated in Table 4.3.3 women candidates were pre-occupied with ward level electoral competition. There were few for the reserved seat for County Women Representative. Most of the female aspirants interviewed revealed that they would run for MCA positions while few would consider and for the County Women Representative seat (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

At the end of the 2013 General Election only one woman was elected as an MCA to the Kisii County Assembly namely Hon. Catherine Kasyoka Manzi (IEBC, 2013b). Further three women were nominated as MCAs following provisions of Kenya 2010 constitutional provision for affirmative action. Table 4.3.2 presents Bomachoge women MCAs to the Kisii County Assembly.
Table 4.4.3: Distribution of Women Councillors/MCAs in Bomachoge 2013-2017.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Jane Kananga</td>
<td>Nominated</td>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>Bomachoge Borabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon. Grace N. Ogonda</td>
<td>Nominated</td>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>Bomachoge Borabu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Kisii County Assembly has 26 committees with 19 committees chaired by male MCAs, four by the Speaker while female MCAs chair 3 committees (Record of Kisii County Assembly Committees, 2014). Women representation in chairing of Kisii County Assembly Committees was a mere 11.5 per cent to men’s 84.46 per cent. The three female MCAs were Hon. Catherine Manzi, Hon. Phelister Metobo and Hon. Tabitha Okong’o. Two of these women chairladies namely Hon. Manzi and Hon. Metobo were from Bomachoge. Bomachoge women Chairladies therefore comprised about 67 per cent of total slots held by women as chairladies in Kisii County Assembly Committees. However, this was about 7.7 per cent of the overall slots in the Kisii County Assembly.
It therefore emerged that despite the underrepresentation of women in chairing the committees, women MCAs from Bomachoge were more visible as compared to other constituencies of Kisii County. The Bomachoge male MCAs on the other hand secured 3 slots in chairing the Kisii Assembly Committees. Furthermore, Bomachoge’s female MCAs were dominant as members of various Kisii County Assembly Committee as compared to their male colleagues. It was also established that Bomachoge MCAs generally enjoy a dominant position in the committees as they chair five of the remaining committees (Record of Kisii County Assembly Committees, 2014; Ogonda O.I, 27/06/2014; Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014).


4.5.1: SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BARRIERS FACED BY WOMEN ASPIRANTS IN BOMACHOGE, 1992-2013

The informants acknowledged that both male and female candidates face a number of challenges before entry into competitive election; during the campaign period and after the election. The structural impediments, however, affect women differently. The differential structural impediments influence the patterns of women political participation at local level in Bomachoge in terms of the level of involvement, choice of political party, nature of campaigns and their future prospects as aspirants (Choti, 2013; Momanyi O.I, 04/07/204; Obara O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014). This study revealed that the hierarchical
pyramid of political representation where women form the base of the electoral pyramid and yet are under-represented as candidates and political office holders is a function of multiple structural impediments. These barriers operate at individual, institutional and societal levels as described hereafter.

The women candidates from the Bomachoge face cultural barriers. These include cultural prejudices in the society and the perception of politics as “dirty” (Orina O.I 10/06/2014; Osiemo O.I. 01/08/2014; NgogeO.I. 01/08/2014). Women who have been active in politics are perceived as morally corrupt or “bad” due to cultural stereotyping (Haugerud, 1995; Choti, 2013; Nyanchiri O.I 27/06/2014; Nyabonyi O.I 01/08/2014). This cultural stereotyping tends to limit potential women candidates in joining and competing in electoral politics (Oduol, 1993:34; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

According to UNIFEM, (2010) lack of a stronger women movement to lobby and support women agenda particularly in equitable representation has worked against women. Women organizations like Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization have provided women with political platform. However, the support accorded to women aspirants has not been substantive. There was consensus among women aspirants in this study that MYWO has not been able to mobilize women voters in supporting women candidates. It was observed that MYWO leadership to a large extent mobilise support for male aspirants at the local level through established patron-client networks or for achieving personal ambitions (Oduol, 1993:34; Choti, 2013; Obondi O.I, 11/06/2014; Moraa O.I 27/06/2014; Ondigi O.I, 02/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD,
The informants observed that women sometimes lack confidence to support fellow women and this is a major handicap. Additionally, church members have been conservative in supporting women in leadership in the SDA church hierarchy and in political engagement (Okemwa, 1993; Oinga O.I, 29/06/2014; Mogire O.I, 30/07/2014). Women’s absence from leadership in school and church committees, political parties and community organizations deny them necessary training and exposure in political undertaking (UNRISD, 2005:155; Choti, 2013:133; Maangi O.I, 01/09/2014).

Amin and Moll, (1975) observe that a number of university lecturers including women resigned from their positions and vied for parliamentary seats during Kenyatta I’s government. The universities served as seedbed for the political elite in Kenya. Today, gender inequality persists in higher learning institutions. Senior positions of Vice Chancellors, Deputy Vice Chancellors, Registrars, Directors, Deans of Students, Finance Officers and Heads of Departments being male dominated. Female staffs are grossly under-represented across institutions of higher learning with an exception of Kenyatta University which has made remarkable progress in allocating female staff management positions (Onsongo, 2009:96). When women are absent from management positions they are confined to the background and their public visibility is reduced.

Time limitation has been an obstacle to many women aspirants in Kenya. According to the Commonwealth Group Observer (1993:18) and Oduol, (1993:34) there was widespread dissatisfaction in Kenya with the time allocated by the ECK for party nominations in 1992. ECK allocated five hours for party
nomination in a single day which was contrary to the practice in most Commonwealth member states which provided for a window period of four to seven days. The issue of time limitation has been a persistent problem since the 1969 General Election in Kenya and had been partly used to lock out candidates coming from rural opposition zones (Amin and Moll, 1975).

The informants observed that women generally require sufficient time to organise their travel to Nairobi. The informants observed that time limitation often force women aspirants to opt out of electoral competition (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). NEMU, (1993:83) argue that sometimes polling is delayed because of technicalities leading to the polling exercise to continue to late evening. The informants observed that in the morning, lunch time and evening hours very few women are in the voting queue. This is because they are either preparing breakfast, gone to prepare lunch or to milk cows. The informants observed that when women opt out of voting queue before casting their votes due to demanding domestic chores, women candidates’ back up base is eroded (Obondi O.I, 11/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014).

World Bank, (1989: V) argues that the inside/outside dichotomy has impacted negatively on women’s overall productivity as embedded in tradition and policy. The relegation of women in society has made women depended on men in both the “outside/inside” activities. The inside/outside dichotomy has limited women’ access to information and technology (Kamau, 2010). Women therefore mostly rely on their husbands in accessing information. In Bomachoge and
elsewhere, lack of adequate political information on election calendar is a major impediment to potential women candidates who are majorly rely on their husbands or trusted male family and relatives (Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:9; Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014; Ronald O.I. 01/08/2014; Moraa O.I, 27/06/2014; Mogire O.I, 30/07/2014).

According to the informants most of the women candidates receive second hand information from husbands or trusted family relatives. This information is sometimes delivered late or incomplete. Inadequate information on the manner of nomination and venues has led to elimination of women aspirants at the initial stages. Mwangi, (2004) had earlier on noted that men’s greater access to first-hand information through mass media, wide range of social and political networks tilt the electoral play field in favour of men. The informants concurred with Mwangi that inadequate political information is a major handicap to women aspirants because it determines the course and level of political engagement (O.I, 11/06/2014; Onyinkwa O.I, 04/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

Low educational level is another structural challenge that has continued to impede potential women aspirants (Oduol, 1995:94). An earlier survey by Silvard, (1985:5) revealed that two-thirds of women above the age of 25 could not read and write in Third-World countries. Low educational level impede potential women candidates from contesting parliamentary and higher electoral positions (FIDA, 2013; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2017; Maobe O.I, 30/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).
Low educational level impacts on women aspirants and women voters simultaneously (NEMU, 1993:83; Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993; Kabira and Wasamba, 1998:64). Educational level has been powerful determinant of women’s entry into and performance in electoral politics. Majority of voter illiterate women in some instances are manipulated by party agents to cast their ballots in favour of male candidates (Kabira, 2006; Onduso O.I, 21/07/2014; Mogire O.I, 30/07/2014). This practice intimidates women from voting in favour of their preferred female candidates (Kabira, 2006:34; Kebati O.I, 15/07/2014; Mititi O.I, 17/06/2014). Studies by Khasiani (2000:9-23) and Meena (2003:119) reveal that women are under-represented at all levels of education in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa in generally. Table 4.5.1.1 highlights the under-represented women of at public universities in Kenya.

**Table 4.5.1.1: Student Enrolment in Selected Public Universities in Kenya, 2003/2004-2004/2005**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>%Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyatta</td>
<td>10,753</td>
<td>5,023</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>11,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moi</td>
<td>5,804</td>
<td>4,643</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>6,796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egerton</td>
<td>6,908</td>
<td>2,444</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>6,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maseno</td>
<td>3,429</td>
<td>2,178</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>3,413</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

High illiteracy among women voters also exposes them to manipulation by male political party agents during polling at the disadvantage of women candidates (NEMU, 1993:83). In Bomachoge, there is a glaring disparity in access to educational opportunities and attainments between men and women. Women are still lagging behind in educational level (KNBS, 2010:229). The majority of women aspirants are diploma and secondary certificate holders. Only two aspirants hold degree certificates namely Dr. Ms. Brigid Ombati and Ms. Ann Masenge (Masenge O.I, 04/07/2014; MYWO Members FGD, 04/07/2014).

The law requires contestants for all electoral positions to have specified minimum educational attainment. Those aspiring for Senate and Governorship seats need to have a degree certificate while MCAs contestants need to hold at least a form four KCSE certificate or its equivalent (FIDA, 2013; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014). Low level of educational attainment has been a handicap to potential women candidates. Peris Obondi a former female civic aspirant, noted that she quit electoral competition because she did not meet educational threshold for contesting as an MCA (Makwae O.I, 11/06/2014; Obondi O.I. 11/06/2014).

The hurdles to fair nomination at either civic or parliamentary level are not a recent phenomenon (Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:147; Kabira and Wasamba 1998:19; Ochuodho, 2012:137). These hurdles have been in existence since the election of 1969 in Kenya (Amin, 1975). In the 1992 General Election, for instance, 50 women presented themselves for parliamentary party nomination and only 20 were cleared by political parties to participate in the elections (Nzomo
and Kibwana, 1993:5). According to *ECK 1997 General Election Report*, the 1997 General Election political party nominations for instance lacked internal democracy resulting in disagreements and dissatisfactions countrywide. Some political parties resorted to the use of queue or delegate voting system. Additionally, the KANU Chairman declared several candidates nominated unopposed while some political parties issued double nomination certificates. Candidates who won nominations at the local levels were shocked on arrival at party Headquarters’ only to learn that their competitors had been cleared and issued with nomination certificates.

Some political parties perpetuate unfair nominations by issuing certificates to male candidates. Such parties only consider women candidate when they fail to identify a male candidate for either a parliamentary or civic candidate (NEMU, 1993:82). Unfair nomination processes by political parties have also forced women seek election from minor political parties or opt out of electoral race (NEMU, 1993; Kamau, 2010:67; FIDA, 2013:3; Obara O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; Miruka O.I.29/07/2014). Ochuodho (2012:146) argues that party nomination anomalies were prevalent in major political parties including Ford People, a dominant political party across Kisii. Hon. Catherine Nyamato, a former nominated M.P for West Mugirango was short changed during ford people nomination that favoured the later to be Planning Minister Hon. Henry Obwocha.
According to the informants, the current elected woman MCA, Hon. Catherine Kasyoka Manzi for instance was rigged out during the ODM nomination process before the 2013 General Election. Other candidates who had been rigged out in the nomination stage was Rael Omambia and Mrs. Abuga Mongoni (Onami OI, 28/06/2014; Omambia OI, 28/06/2014; Manzi OI, 20/07/2014).

Additionally, it was observed that nomination of M.Ps or Councillors was a skewed process at both parliamentary and civic levels (Kabira, 2006; Various Minutes of Ogembo and Gucha County Councils). This skewed nomination after elections at civic levels in Bomachoge has largely been a patriarchal process with minimal attention to equitable representation of all groups including women.

Furthermore, women candidates are limited by financial constraints which are majorly controlled by men (Oduol, 1993:34; Omosa, 1995:69). The financial resources are first, needed as nomination fees by various political divides (Kamau, 2010:29; Wanyama, 2010:75; FIDA, 2013:3; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014; Male Aspirants FGD, 21/07/2014). Wanyama, (2010:75) argues that in the 2007 General Elections in Kenya for instance, the Orange Democratic Movement had set nomination fees at Kshs 200,000 and Kshs 30,000 for parliamentary and civic positions respectively. According to Wanyama (2010), high nomination fees were scaled downwards after a nationwide outcry fuelled by the fear that the high nomination fees had been huched to protect sitting political leaders. The prohibitive nomination fee of selected political parties in 2007 is highlighted as follows in Table 4.5.1.2.
Table 4.5.1.2: Nomination Fee for Selected Political Parties in Kenya, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Nomination Fees in Kshs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parliamentary Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>PNU</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>ODM</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>ODM-KENYA</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Secondly, women are limited by finances to challenge unfair nomination or incredible elections results (Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). As argued by FIDA, (2013:19) the cost of filing a petition is a great impediment to women aspirants at the local level. This is because the costs of filing petition are beyond the reach for most women aspirants. Englund, (2002:74) observes that during elections, sometimes not all election results from each polling station are taken into account when computing final results. At times forms of declaration of results disappear too. The nullification of the Bomachoge constituency parliamentary election in 2009 was partly attributed to alleged electoral malpractices. It was alleged that a presiding officer in one of the polling stations disappeared before handing over election declaration form 35 (Mititi O.I, 17/06/2014). The table 4.4.1.3 shows the prohibitive costs of filling a petition in Kenya.
Table 4.5.1.3: Cost of Filling a Petition in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Cost in Kshs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Member of County Assembly (MCA)</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Member of Parliament (Senate/ National Assembly)</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 County Governor</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: FIDA, (2013:19)

Lack of privacy and confidentiality impacts negatively on women candidates. This is because women candidates use their homes as venues for meeting agents and supporters. However, when supporters stream into their homes daily especially during odd hours, they strain family relations and at times encounter spousal disapproval (Kamau, 2010:66; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014). Male candidates on their part freely meet in hotel rooms and can spend nights meeting supporters unlike their women counterparts who, are obliged to terminate their campaign early.

The other challenge is the huge sum of money required to meet campaign materials, feeding supporters, contributions towards funeral arrangements, fund drives, paying strategists and hiring campaign vehicles for traversing the electoral area (Okemwa, 2002:84; Mwangi, 2004; Kamau, 2010:70; Ronald O.I, 01/08/2014). Women candidates majorly rely on individual savings and spouses in funding their campaigns (Kamau, 2010:65). At times some women candidates’
spouses are mean in oiling their campaign machinery. Women’s campaign strategy is therefore limited because women candidates lack adequate control over family resources unlike their male competitors (Choti, 2013:133; Ogonda O.I, 27/06/2014; Onchari OI, 27/07/2014). Omolo and Barasa, (2006) and IED, (2002) argue that Kenya is a very costly country running political campaigns and that it is naive to rely on political party funding. Kimondo, (2002:272; Omolo and Barasa, 2006:3) observe that candidates and political parties with limited resources have minimal chances in securing electoral victory. A ward aspirant in the past 2013 General Election notes:

“I spent 1.5 Million shillings in the campaigns. This amount does not include money spent and vehicles hired by friends. After the elections I became the chief guest in most of the village funds drives where I was expected to donate generously. Where do grassroot women get such amount of money from?” (Makwae O.I. 11/06/2014).

Women candidates in some cases have painfully opted to withdraw from elections when close members of their family enter the electoral race causing a rift between family members. Ensuing propaganda have been detrimental to women who in most cases opt to resign from politics. Phelister a woman councillor elected for two successive terms and having a wide electoral mandate chose to quit the race for MCA seat in 2013 General Election when her nephew declared interest in vying for a parliamentary seat. She was also pressurized by the ODM bigwigs in Kisii to withdraw her candidature so as to drum support for the male party flag bearers at the county and parliamentary level (Metobo O.I, 20/07/2014). This patriarchal mentality has been a great impediment to women seeking political
office in Bomachoge.

“It was very difficult for me to continue with my campaigns for a civic seat when my nephew joined the race for a parliamentary seat. Although I knew I had better chances than my nephew, I had to succumb to pressure because the electorate kept on asking why we were contesting for both the seats from the same home. I had to pull out to support my nephew’s campaign. I am happy because my nephew respects me and I treat him as my own son. Campaigns where family members are contesting within the same electoral area can be nasty. I chose to maintain good relations and I have no regrets for my action” (Obondi O.I. 11/06/2014).

Additionally, propaganda and mud-slinging is another challenge encountered by women candidates. Rael Omambia,a high profile challenger from Machoge Bassi had gone to Nairobi to protest unfair nomination. On her return the political landscape had shifted due to propaganda and manipulations.

“I was shocked on my return, my brother-in-law had mounted posters everywhere with propaganda circulated that I had quit elections in his favour. My supporters were disappointed and some refused to leave my house. My husband was in great pain at the turn of events. I knew if I continued with the campaigns my family would have been seriously divided. I chose to quit the race. My brother-in-law lost and I lost too. It was a lesson but still people do not learn from others experiences” (Omambia O.I, 28/06/2014)

both parliamentary and civic levels. Kisii attracted media coverage in regard to election violence. The 1997 General Election violence included tribal clashes/tensions along the Bomachoge/Transmara border, psychological abuse and intimidation (ICJ-Kenya Chapter, 1997:42; Ocharo, 2005). Omolo and Barasa, (2008:16) observe that other forms of electoral violence which had become prevalent after the 1992 General Election included disruption of rallies and assault. The informants observed that along the Bomachoge-Transmara, tribal animosity discouraged women from contesting for elective offices. Initially, the voters thought that the area needed male civic leaders, chiefs, security officers and Border Peace Committee Members because it was a fragile security zone (Mokebo O.I, 11/07/2014; Omanga O.I, 23/07/2014).

“I was the first woman to seek employment as a chief in Bomachoge. I passed the job interview but a former Member of Parliament objected to me taking up the job. The reason given was that Borabu was insecure and only men would be suitable for the job” (Nyamwamu O.I. 11/07/2014).

Electoral violence majorly affects women candidates’ campaign patterns. Violence limits women candidates campaigns to day time unlike their male competitors whose campaigns spill to late hours (Mwangi, 2004:152; Kamau, 2010:71; Nyamwamu O.I,11/06/2014). Election in Kisii has become a do or die game, what matters is victory at all costs (Nyakundi O.I. 05/07/2014; Nyabicha O.I.20/07/2014) A male aspirant for Bonchari constituency in Kisii was stabbed several times on the head as he headed to collect Ford people nomination certificate in the 2002 General Elections (Ochuodho, 2012:157-158). In Getare ward in Bomachoge Chache, there were cases of violence in 1988 and 1992
general elections. Violence according to the informants was perpetrated to cause fear and intimidation so as to facilitate rigging in the elections (Ogonda O.I. 27/06/2014Ondigio I. 02/07/2014)

Tamale, (1999:26) argued that although the patriarchal nature of state institutions are changing through introduction of Affirmative Action strategies. These strategies widened the political space that has led to entry to electoral politics. However, patriarchal contradictions in implementing the policies have been witnessed. Negative effect of affirmative action has made women candidates shy away from vying for parliamentary seat (FIDA, 2013). Tamale, (1999:26) notes:

“The hens may begin crowing but they will continue to lay and hatch the eggs.”

The informants concur with Tamale’s assertions by noting that potential women aspirants opt for the County Women Representative seat rather than compete with men in other competitive seats like parliamentary or governorship. The male candidates also expect women to vie for the seat reserved for women or not even vie at all. When Ms. Naomi Bosire Ronald was presenting her nomination papers to Constituency Returning Officer, an IEBC staff and a male parliamentary candidate confused her for a potential poling clerk:

“Why are you stranded?”“Kama ni kazi ya ukarani mtapewa mnichungie kura.” “Unanijua?”—“In case it is polling clerk appointments, you will be considered. Ensure you secure my casted votes. Do you know me?” (Unnamed male candidate)
According to the informant the double coincidence of mistaking her for a prospective polling clerk implies that mind-set of most men in Bomachoge has not fully accommodated women’s entry into competitive parliamentary elections (Ronald OI, 01/08/2014). The informant concurred with Tripp (2000:239) that women should be prepared to encounter man-made barriers in their quest for fairness in electoral politics because absolute victory in equitable representation cannot be achieved at once. This is because social change is product of gradual transformation of the conscious, behaviour and culture.

Akivaga et.al, (2003:11) has argued that politician have formed a habit of using gifts or money to induce voters to vote in a given manner or vote for them. NEMU, (1993:67) had earlier observed that the form of bribery that was widespread in Kenya involved buying individuals beer, sodas, providing transport and promising jobs to the voters. Bribery of voters had been rampant in some areas as was the case of the 1992 General Election (ibid).

At the local levels, the informants observed that after a political meeting, the voters expect hand-outs, ogosera, a metaphor referring to dishing out money during the campaigns. The ogosera is majorly done at night by use of proxy or by the male candidates (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). Okemwa, (2002:85) argued that in the 1997 General Election for instance women queued behind their husbands during nominations depending on the nature of the bribe their husbands had received. The impact of bribery is a widespread phenomenon that has kept women candidates in disadvantaged position (Okemwa, 2002; Obondi O.I, 11/06/2014).
According to the informants Women candidates find it difficult to counter bribery because they tend to be honest in their campaigns (Former Male Councillors FGD, 27/07/2014). This is because voters have been used to hand-outs and cannot “eat honesty” as argued by Wasamba and Kabira (1998:24) the voters have perfected the art of “Shiba kwanza harafu panga laini.” This is because to the rural low status population politics presents them with an opportunity to “eat” those who have made it (Mutiso, 1975:118). As earlier argued by Mwangi, (2004) bribery and manipulation of voters to a greater extent reduce women candidate’s winning opportunity (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).

Marital status and morality concerns have also been major hurdles on women’s entry and performance in electoral politics (Obbo, 1980:15; Ronald, O.I. 01/08/2014). According to the informants, majority of male contestants and political hecklers are preoccupied with women politicians’ molarity (Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014). Women candidates therefore spent most of their campaign time defending their molarity (Nzomo and Kibwana, 1993:9). Consequently spouses develop insecurity that threatens their marriages and political careers (Kamau, 2010:66). This has been aggravated by socialisation of women that has made them despise fellow women seeking political office by seeing that as either reckless or as potential husband snatchers (Okemwa, 2002:86; Choti, 2013:115; Women Aspirants FGD, 13/07/2014).
4.5.2: STRUCTURAL BARRIERS ENCOUNTERED BY BOMACHOGE WOMEN POLITICAL OFFICE HOLDERS.

A former elected councillor and current women MCAs find it difficult to adequately address women and girl issues. This is because they are descriptively inferior in representation in the former county/town council and the current Kisii County Assembly. Their male use their numerical superiority to undermine women agenda on the floor of the house (Mititi O.I, 17/06/2014; Manzi O.I. 20/07/2014; Ronald O.I, 01/08/2014).

Women political leaders also face harassment from male colleagues perpetuated through gender stereotypes associated with improper language and intimidation. Sometimes cold war between nominated and elected MCAs hinders women’s political participation in decision-making. This is especially because women in Kisii County Assembly have only one elected woman whom they solely depend for support. Furthermore, it is not possible to pass over to her every agenda by the 26 nominated women MCAs. As earlier argued by Kamau (2010:45) the informants observed that women MCAs find it difficult to work as a solid group due to political party loyalties, and some other women who choose to align themselves alongside men (Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014).

During the Question and Answer sessions in the Kisii County Assembly in August, 2014 it was observed that Bomachoge women were active in the debate sessions. However, it was observed that women generally contributed less in the debates in terms of time taken in responding to issues. Additionally, it was observed that Bomachoge women MCA’s quantitative talk surpassed their male
counterparts. Notable contributors included Hon. Catherine Manzi, Hon Phelister Metobo, Hon. Nyamwamu and Hon. Nyamwamu. It was also observed that some male MCAs occasionally interrupted women’s contributions and that the “speaker’s eye” favoured male MCA in question and answers sessions.

It was established that women MCAs became assertive on the floor of the house whenever their male colleagues attempted to use hegemonic language to silence them. According to Hon. Catherine Manzi O.I. 20/07/2014, language is social capital in parliamentary debates and women are disadvantaged than their male colleagues in qualitative talking during question and answer sessions. The use of hegemonic language limits women’s substantive contribution during the question and answer sessions in the county assembly (Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2011).

Women leaders have been subjected to discrimination in the sharing of committee positions. Women have always taken membership position in council committees. Women have not been considered as chairpersons in committees that are considered to have more prestige and power (Mititi O.I, 17/06/2014; MetoboO.I, 20/07/2014). According to the informants, although Hon.Phelister Metobo managed to be a chairperson for Gucha County Council, she did not hold powerful council committees which were a male preserve.

The gender gap in chairing of House Business Committees was evident in the Kisii County Assembly where women MCAs have been massively side-lined. The Nominated women MCAs in Kisii County majorly hold membership positions in committees. Gender bias affects women’s substantive participation in the County Assembly. Additionally, women were chairing committees deemed to have less
power and prestige (Various Kisii County Assembly Records 2014-2015). Survey showed for instance, Hon. Catherine Manzi - Chairlady Early Childhood and Vocational Committee, Hon. Phelister Metobo- Chairlady Gender Youth and Disability and Hon. Tabitha Okong’o - Chairlady Catering and Health Committee. This was in complete contrast with male MCAs who were holding committees such as County Budget and Appropriations, Committee on Implementation, Committee on Delegated County Legislation, Committee on selection and others.

Inadequate access to higher education was blamed for under representation of women in the Kisii County Assembly Committees. This was because there was a set criteria based on necessary training or related experience for one to be considered to chair a given committee. This was a hurdle to many women MCAs (Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; Ogendo O.I, 03/08/2014). Table 4.4.2.1 highlights gender gap in Kisii County Assembly Committees 2013/2014.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Committee Name</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Bomachoge</th>
<th>Sex Of Chair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Business</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Investments &amp; Accounts</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget &amp; Appropriations</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly Procedures &amp; Rules</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegated County Legislation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children, Culture &amp; ….</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; Public Works</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands, Phy. Planning Housing</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade and Industry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECD &amp; Vocational Training</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice &amp; Legal Affairs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powers &amp; Privileges</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devolution</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Envirn. &amp; Natural Resources</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Broadcasting</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender, Youth &amp; Disability</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catering &amp; Health</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ward Development</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour &amp; Social Service</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from records of Committees in Kisii County Assembly
The informants observed that timing for debates is also not gender sensitive and sometimes debates spill into late hours. This makes it difficult for women MCAs to balance their extra domestic burden alongside their legislative roles. Kisii County Assembly has not provided baby care facilities for MCAs with young children. Absence of these facilities affect the substantive participation of breastfeeding mothers in the Kisii County Assembly debates (Nyamwamu O.I, 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; RonaldO.I, 01/08/2014).

Studies by Urdung (1984:166) and the Economic Commission for African Unity (Not dated: Pp. 45) established that women’s low political engagement was a result of their double burden in productive and reproductive roles. The unwillingness by spouses to share domestic work with women was majorly cited by women aspirants and political officeholders as a great challenge that has made their entry and performance in electoral politics problematic. Most married men have a lukewarm attitude in sharing domestic work thereby undermining women’s liberation (Women Aspirants FGD,13/07/2014; Onwonga O.I, 27/06/2014; O.I, Nyamwamu 11/07/2014; Manzi O.I, 20/07/2014; Miruka O.I, 29/07/2014).
4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter interrogated women political participation during the Multi-Party period and after the promulgation of Kenya’s new constitutional dispensation of 2010 up to December 2013. The study noted that the 1992 General Elections opened up the electoral space for Kenyan women. However, women political engagements in Bomachoge were very low. Only one woman vied for a civic seat, namely the late, Ms. Hellena Ogechi. She was the first woman to contest for an elective position in Bomachoge. Women did not contest for Bomachoge’s parliamentary seat and were equally invisible as political office holders. Similarly, in the subsequent General Election of 1997; women were obscure as candidates and political office holders.

The study established that in the subsequent elections women made progress as candidates for civic positions. The study additionally, suggests that the gap between male and female candidates has been wide in Bomachoge at both parliamentary and civic level. The study further established that most visible women are high profile challengers. The notable ones include Hon. Phelister of Sengera/Bosoti, Hon. Esther Nyamwamu of Boochi Borabu Ward, Hon. Manzi of Majoge Bassi and Beatrice Makwae of Bombaba Borabu. The study established that women are low profile challengers for parliamentary, senate and governorship seats. The study established that Dr. Brigit Ombati is a high profile challenger for County women representative seat. The study further established that although Kisii County Assembly women MCAs are under-represented,
Bomachoge women MCAs are more active and chair County Assembly committees and are well represented than their male counterparts.

The chapter presented a number of structural impediments to women’s political progress. Chief among them are: cultural prejudices; inadequate support by MYWO; absence of women in leadership and management positions; lack of adequate political information; inadequate education; unfair nomination processes; propaganda; electoral violence; voter bribery, negative effect of affirmative action, inadequate finance, marital status and lack of support from fellow women.

Women political office holders from Bomachoge are faced by structural challenges that hinder their substantive political participation. These challenges include gender discrimination by male colleagues, under-representation in County Committees, harassment by male colleagues and lack of adequate mechanisms to enhance women political participation at the county level.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter presents the summary, conclusions and areas of further research. This chapter presents an overview of the political place of Bomachoge women on the eve of European colonialism, the impact of European socio-economic policies, political structures and S.D.A. mission education on Bomachoge women politically. This chapter also presents the patterns of women political participation in Bomachoge from 1963 to 2013. The chapter further highlights the structural impediments on women’s political participation in Bomachoge.

5.2 SUMMARY

The study focused on women as candidate and political office holders at both civic and parliamentary levels. The study begun with an argument that woman constitutes a critical section of the population and electorate globally, regionally, nationally and at the local levels in Kenya. Yet, they have been invisible in electoral politics despite their country’s independence, constitutional guarantees of equality and the democratic transitions of the 1990s.
The study limited itself to 1963 to 2013. However, flexibility allowed examination of earlier periods particularly colonial and pre-colonial period; just on the eve of European colonialism, so as to build base for examination of women political participation at independence in 1963. The study was also flexible in allowing examination of 2014 so as to effectively interrogate the impacts of Kenya’s 2010 Constitutional dispensation on women’s political engagements. This study was guided by objectives that sought to interrogate the political place of Bomachoge women on the eve of colonialism, assess the impact of colonial social, economic and political structures on Bomachoge women. In addition, the study examined the patterns of women political participation in post-independent Bomachoge and identifies structural impediments to their progress in electoral politics.

This study was guided by gender and patriarchy theoretical frameworks in analysing women’s engagement in electoral politics. The theoretical approach was integrative and political in nature in questioning the extent of popular political participation at the local level. This is because democratic theory as argued has been blind on the inclusion and analysis of women in statecraft. The guiding principle was anchored on treating gender as a structured system that provides access and constraint to prestige, power, and material resources to individuals in a given society. Gender framework was a critical tool of analysis of the unequal power relations between men and women in elective politics, highlighting task allocation and how the private and public sphere ideology had led to political subordination of women at individual, interactional and institutional levels. Patriarchal ideology was useful in highlighting the structures of women
subordination as a function of men’s control over social, economic and political structural spheres. Patriarchy was instrumental in understanding how patriarchal ideology has legitimised male leadership as natural whereas women’s place in elective politics has been treated as secondary.

Chapter Two interrogated the impact of colonial socio-economic policies, administrative structures and the S.D.A mission education on women’s position in Bomachoge. The study was flexible in highlighting the position of Bomachoge women on the eve of European colonialism and subsequently, analysed the impact of colonialism on the place of Bomachoge women. The study focused on women political participation in separate sections for purpose of easier analysis of pre-colonial and colonial Bomachoge.

The study validated the interconnectedness of socio-economic and political spheres in pre-colonial Bomachoge. It was established that the pre-colonial Abamachoge clan was patrilineal and patriarchal in nature. Men dominated the political sphere and made major decisions at household and clan levels. However, women on their part also enjoyed relative influence at household and clan levels. Women’s bases of power were secured through ascribed roles as mothers and through achieved status. Women achieved status was derived from their roles as food producers or as undertakers of certain rituals and birth attendants. Additionally, women who acted as diviners, dispensers of herbal medicine and love potions were highly valued.
The study established that women acted as trustees for their sons’ inheritance, controlled farm produce, controlled trade of grains, had their own spaces in the homestead like granaries, and occasionally became women “husbands”. The other base of women’s power in pre-colonial Bomachoge was through their involvement in trading activities within and without the clan. Abamachoge men were restricted from engaging in trading activities by the Gusii culture and clan rivalry. Women exploited this opportunity under the protected by Abagusii morals, Chinsoni which forbade men from attacking women.

Additionally, elderly women who had married daughters enjoyed some respect and would be allowed to occasionally take beer which was a male preserve. It was further established that although military decision and action was purely a men’s affair, women also had power to veto their sons or husbands from going to war through direct or indirect means. The study further established that young women had control over their sexuality before marriage. They also had power to veto marriage arrangement at all the levels including the material marriage ceremony. Although young women could not inherit land in their maternal homes they accessed land through marriage. Marriage therefore gave women special status.

Gender defined task allocation between men and women in Bomachoge alongside age. There were tasks that were purely a male domain while others belonged to women. Women and men were expected to perform roles appropriate to their sexually orientation. However, these tasks were complementary to each other. Women exploited their position as food producers to have work done through
joint working party. In most cases, women used beer or porridge as a form payment and appreciation.

The study established that colonial social-economic, political policies and administrative structures undermined women’s position in Bomachoge. Colonial education and Seventh Day Adventist Mission education relegated women to domestic work. Additionally, the colonial administrative structure, being a male bastion reinforced the patriarchs’ position in colonial Bomachoge. Taxation policies led to male labour migrations increasing women’s work loads. The introduction of colonial agriculture gave men control over cash crops while women control over subsistence farming was eroded. The colonial economy generally valued male labour and devalued women’s productive and reproductive work. Women’s protest in accepting the teachings of Mumboism, recruitment of Bomachoge men into colonial essential services, World Wars and the exclusion of women from Kisii Union undermined the place of women in Bomachoge.

In Chapter Three, the study established that Bomachoge women were largely overshadowed in post-independent politics at both parliamentary and civic level. Women were absent as candidates and political office holders from 1963 to 1992. The study ascertained that women in Bomachoge faced multiple structural impediments to their political progress. The study confirmed that women’s political invisibility in Bomachoge’s political space was attributed to tribal interests, under-representation of women in early political associations, inadequate support of MYWO activities, inadequate education among women,
cultural stereotyping, and socialisation through language use, the masculine nature of public gatherings and patriarchal nature of Kenya’s elections.

Chapter four focused on women political engagements from 1992 to 2013. It was established that at parliamentary level, women did not presented themselves as candidates except in the 2013 general election when the first Bomachoge woman contested for a parliamentary seat. There were also two women who contested the position reserved for County Women Representative to the National Assembly. At the civic level, women gained momentum as aspirants from 2002 and their representation at county council has progressively improved. However, a lot still remains to be done. The study revealed that women have not yet achieved substantive political participation in the former county council and the current Kisii County Assembly in representation as elected and nominated leaders.

The study further confirmed that structural challenges continue to impede women’s political engagements in Bomachoge as candidates and political office holders. The study established that Cultural stereotyping, lack of a stronger women movement, lack of adequate political information, inadequate education, unfair nomination practices, inadequate family support, violence and negative effect of Affirmative Action have substantially hindered women’s political progress. Additionally, the study justified that women face gender based discrimination, bribery during elections, and inadequate support from fellow women, propaganda, inadequate civic education and lack of gender sensitive facilities in Kisii County Assembly.
5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the fore mentioned observations, I conclude that colonial policies and administrative structures undermined the relative societal balance that existed in pre-colonial Bomachoge by eroding the bases of women’s power. This eventually resulted in deterioration of women status. Although the S.D.A. mission education was geared towards civilizing the natives, it favoured boys over girls resulting in further perpetuation of the subordinated status of Bomachoge women.

Additionally, the findings of the current study lead us to conclude that women’s participation in electoral politics has improved however; significant progress is at the ward level. Low participation of women as aspirants for National Assembly, Senate and Governorship has been and will continue to be a male bastion. The study further concludes that affirmative action on the gender rule has significantly led to gains in women’s political participation. Women furthermore, ought to assert themselves in the political space without relying on the affirmative action strategy. The current study appears to be consistent with other existing studies on women’s political participation that suggest that “man-made” factors continue to impede women’s political participation at individual, interactional and institutional levels. As established in this study, the struggle for women to be seen and to be heard in elective politics is an on-going and unfinished agenda.
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

To achieve gender equity in politics and decision making at the local level and national level Kenya, short term and long term strategies ought to be prioritized concurrently by both the National and County Governments. They should ensure that gender mainstreaming policies are substantively implemented by avoiding indefinite progressive achievement.

Kisii County Assembly should: establish gender sensitive structures like baby care centre; timing for debates should be women friendly; ensure that the “speaker’s eye” is guided by equitable representation in Assembly’s deliberations to enhance substantive participation of women MCAs.

African Centre for Transformative and Inclusive Leadership (ACTIL), UN WOMEN, FIDA-Kenya, AMWIK and related organisations need to collaborate with National and County Governments in training women political office holders and potential women leaders on good governance and gender responsive budgeting. Additionally, women political leaders should be trained on the significance of equitable political participation in both National and County Assemblies; and, in House Business Committees.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission needsto consider having separate voting queues for men and women during polling exercises, recommend to presiding officers facilitate women voters assisted cases (VAs) to be aided by fellow women; Provide regular civic education that establishes the nexus between
fair nomination, election and equitable representation; and, provide adequate political information at the constituency level. Additionally, political parties should recruit more women in party leadership positions and ensure that nomination processes are free and fair. Political parties should therefore, delegate the conduct of their primary nominations to IEBC or a credible electoral body.

It was established that majority of women in elective politics in Bomachoge and Kenya were members and leaders of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation. MYWO can empower more women in Kenya politically following its network across the country. It should minimize its elitist nature, utilize gender provisions in Kenya’s new constitutional dispensation and government’s goodwill to empower women at all local levels and lobby for full implementation of the gender rule in elective positions at county and national levels. Community organisations, School Management Boards, and higher learning institutions should allocate women leadership position to enhance their visibility. Churches should also support women leadership in church hierarchy and in other public spaces instead of lamenting over corrupt leadership. There is need to engender the public Baraza in ways that will make them responsive to women’s political space and needs.

Women candidates should be active in politics and position themselves in political party leadership so as to master the internal party dynamics. They should be persistent aspirants, regularly attend public gatherings, and interact with women organizations and youth groups in their areas to enhance their visibility as
potential leaders. The media should additionally, enhance positive publicity of current women leaders. Furthermore, women aspirants need to understand that they enter into electoral competition from a disadvantaged position given that the electoral field is tilted in favour of male competitors.

Given that acceptability of women as candidates and political office holders has gained ground at the local levels, this study recommends that potential women leaders should contest for electoral seats at the local levels in large numbers. This can also be replicated at the national level where women should contest for governor and senate seats. Additionally, visible women at the national level like the first lady Margaret Kenyatta should take advantage of their national visibility to contest for presidency in the near future.

The women MCAs from Bomachoge should work hard in serving the people to dispel the perception that they are in leadership because of gender rule gesture. They should additionally, engage in politics as women through substantive negotiations on issues that cut across the society rather than aping men. Furthermore, they need to create time for their families, women and youth groups.

This study recommends for enhanced networking among women political office holders, women organisations, voters and potential aspirants. These networking by women political actors should enhance the involvement of women in political party activities, voting and in support of fellow women candidates and political office holders.
5.6 AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

This work focused on two current constituencies in Kisii County, there is need for further scholarly work on women political participation in other constituencies in Kisii County to analyse the patterns of their participation in the post-independent period. Additionally, following Kenya’s new constitution dispensation of 2010, providing for affirmative action through the gender rule which requires that not more than two-thirds of all elective positions is of the same gender raises a number of research questions. There is therefore, need for baseline surveys on women and leadership beyond quotas at local and national levels; the place of women in the new county level structure of government in Kisii and Kenya in general.

Scholarly focus can also be paid on public spaces and governance structures in which women can participate in decision-making and the status of affirmative policies and legal instruments at both county and national governments. These studies will be used in informing policies, civic education, empowerment programmes, monitoring and evaluation of women political participation and the level of democratisation at local and national levels in Kenya. Attention is also needed on the Social, economic and political engagements of the Nubian women in Nyanchwa-Kisii. Further studies are also recommended on the nexus between language, gender and politics in Kisii County Assembly and other public spaces.
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List of Informants

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<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
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<td>Benson O. Nyaundi</td>
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<td>Charles A. Nyakwaye</td>
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<td>Charles A. Onchomba</td>
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<td>1962</td>
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<td>24/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary B. Momanyi</td>
<td>Member MYWO</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>04/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Machuma</td>
<td>Church Member</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercy Marando</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Metobo</td>
<td>Husband to a woman MCA</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Omboga</td>
<td>Administrative Officer</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naftali N. Oichoe</td>
<td>Colonial Military Officer</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naomi Bosire Ronald</td>
<td>Parliamentary Aspirant</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>01/08/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelco M. Nyanchiri</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Mokua</td>
<td>Lecturer/ SDA Pastor</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyaboke Moturi</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyabonyi Moguche</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olpha Oinga</td>
<td>Clan Elder</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ombongi Mbunde</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ombui Moturi</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>29/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omwoyo Mogusu</td>
<td>Ex-World War II Soldier</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ondabu Keraro</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamela Osiemo</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>01/08/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascalia Masese</td>
<td>Wife, Chief Alex</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauline Nyaora</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peris Bosibori Obondi</td>
<td>Civic Candidate</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscah Orina</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rael Omambia</td>
<td>Civic Candidate</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudiah Nyandwaro</td>
<td>Voter</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>23/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth M. Nyanchiri</td>
<td>Civic Candidate</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samwel Asumari</td>
<td>Former Councillor</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samwel T. Ngoge</td>
<td>Former Councillor</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>01/08/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah N. Juma</td>
<td>Member MYWO</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibia Mong’ina</td>
<td>Wife, Colonial Military Officer</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simion Obure</td>
<td>Presiding Officer</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixtus Onchari</td>
<td>Former Councillor</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>27/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Mose</td>
<td>SDA Church Member</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa Rabera</td>
<td>Daughter Ex-Chief Alex</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Moreka</td>
<td>Representative: PWD</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turusira B. Omwoyo</td>
<td>Wife, Ex-World War II Soldier</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14/06/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkister Onyinkwa</td>
<td>Official MYWO</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>04/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wycliffe Mauti</td>
<td>IEBC Contacted Staff</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zablon M. Nyabicha</td>
<td>Former Councillor</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20/07/2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Description of Focused Group Discussions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FGD Description</th>
<th>Number of Informants</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Place of Interview</th>
<th>Interview Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MYWO Members/Leaders</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Ogembo Town</td>
<td>04/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women Aspirants (Past and Present)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Ogembo Town</td>
<td>13/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Aspirants (Past and Present)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Ogembo Town</td>
<td>21/07/2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Councillors (Former)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>Ogembo Town</td>
<td>27/07/2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

a) Articles in Journals and Books


b) Books


IEBC (2013, 23rd November) *Parliamentary Nominations: Bomachoge Constituency*
IEBC (2013, 5th March) Declaration of Election Results at Bomachoge Chache Constituency (265) Form 36.


Kisii County Government Reports 2013-2014


Nyaundi, N.M (2012)*Seventh Day Adventist Church: Marking One Hundred Years of Seventh Day Adventist Activities in Gusii, Kenya 1912-2012.*


c) Internet Sources


Omwoyo, S. “*Assessing the impact of coffee production on Abagusii in western Kenya: A historical Analysis, 1900-1963*. Available online:


__________________________


d) Magazines and Newspapers


The Times Tuesday October 20, 1970

The Times Tuesday February 22, 1972

The Times Friday September 20, 1973

IEBC “National Assembly Constituencies and County Assembly Wards” Daily Nation, October, 17th, 2010. Advertising Feature I-XI


e) Seminar Papers and Reports

*African Affairs Department Annual Report, 1955, Nyanza Province, Central Province, Rift Valley Province, Southern Province, Nairobi Extra-Provincial District.*


Bogonko, S. “Colonial Chiefs in Kenya an Assessment.” In *Historical Association of Kenya, 22-26 August, 1984*  


_____________ (IEBC, 2013c) Declaration of Election Results Form 36 Bomachoge Chache.


Official Gazette of the East African and Uganda Protectorates, No. 22 of 1902

Reports and Records Committees in Kisii County Assembly


f) Theses and Dissertations


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

A.1: Map of Bomachoge Constituency in Kisii County

Source: Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)

Documents; IEBC, January 9th, 2012: 35
APPENDIX 2

A.2 Introductory Letter Sent to Informants

JAVAN ZAUMAMBO MOKEBO,
PO BOX 4288-40200,
KISII-KENYA.
25/06/2014
MOB: 0712 338787

TO Pro, Dr, Hon, Mr. Ms...........................................

RE: INTRODUCTORY LETTER: JAVAN ZAUMAMBO MOKEBO

My name is Javan Zaumambo Mokebo, a final year student at Kenyatta University;
Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies. My admission number is
C50/CE/26115/2011.

I, am undertaking research on Women and Politics in Kenya at a micro-level. My research area
is, “Women and Political Participation: A case of Bomachoge Constituency, in Kenya 1963-
2014.”

I urgently require the information to enable me complete my post graduate studies at Kenyatta
University.

You have been identified as a respondent for this study based your knowledge on political trends
in Bomachoge or your active engagement in politics in relation to Bomachoge.

The information obtained for this research will be purely for academic purpose.

Honesty, objectivity and other research ethics will be upheld throughout the research process. In
agreeing to participate in this study where necessary the information you give will be quoted in
this study.

This study is important in creating more awareness on the need to engender the democratic
space, highlight the structural challenges facing women and the progress they have made in
electoral politics.

Kindly sign and write your name as a sign of good faith and willingness to take part in this study.
(In case you do not wish to participate indicate N/A in the space below.

Thanks,

Yours Faithfully

JAVAN Z. MOKEBO

POST GRADUATE STUDENT.

YOUR NAME..........................................................SIGN..................................................DATE........................
APPENDIX 3

A3: Research Instruments

Questionnaire Guide for Key Informants

Part A: Background

Constituency…………………………Ward…………………………

Clan……………………………… Sub-Clan……………………

a) Personal Background

Name………………Sex: Male□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

b) Year of Birth……… c) Highest level of education attained………

d) Occupation……………………………… …………………

Part B: Colonial Period

1. What was the position of women in pre-colonial Bomachoge on the eve of colonialism?

2. What aspects of colonialism impacted negatively on Bomachoge women?

3. Did colonial administration appoint chiefs from this area? If yes, who were they?

4. What were the qualities and qualification did one require to be appointed a colonial chief?

5. What was the role of chiefs in this area?

6. What were the effects of colonial agriculture on women?

7. How did colonial tax system impact on family structure and women?
8. Did Bomachoge men get recruited as labourers in colonial agriculture and public works? If yes, how did this impact on women?

9. Did Bomachoge men get recruited in the colonial army to fight in the First or Second World War? If yes, how did their absence impact on household production and decision making?

10. Did Bomachoge women participate in Mumboism? If yes, explain why.

Part C: Post Independent Period

1. Have you had women candidates for civic elections since independence? If yes, when and how many?

2. Which are the sub-clans (houses) that make up the clan in this area?

3. What are the obstacles that impede women candidates for civic and parliamentary candidates in this area?
Interview Guide for Aspirants and Political Office Holders

Part A: Background
Constituency……………………………Ward………………………

Clan……………………………………Sub-Clan………………

a) Personal Background
Name……………Sex: Male  Female ☐  Number of Dependants  ☐

b) Year of Birth………………

c) Highest level of education attained…………………………  …………

d) Occupation……………………………………………………………………

Part C: Post Indepence Period 1963-2013

1. What was your route into politics?

-Was it any or a combination of the following:

  o Political party activity

  o Trade Union activity

  o Social work

  o Family connections

  o NGO worker

  o MYWO organisation activity

  o Other (specify)…………………………

  o …………………………………………………
2. What motivated you to enter competitive electoral politics?
   - Was it any of the following factors?
     - Personal ambition
     - Public service
     - Political party official
     - Single issue
     - Political ideology
     - Role models
     - Group representative
     - Other (specify)

3. In which year did you vie or get nominated? (Specify or explain as in the table below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Ward/Constituency</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Were you endorsed by a political party or individuals? Explain.

5. Did women participate in this election as candidates? If, yes, how many?
6. Did you ever contest again or got nominated later? If yes state the year(s) and explain as provided in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Ward/Constituency</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Suppose you were to contest in future what position would you contest? (Kindly choose from the list below)

- Member of County Assembly (MCA)
- Member of Parliament (MP)
- Woman Representative
- Senator
- Governor
- Running Mate for Governor
- Presidency
- Running Mate for Presidency

8. What factors would motivate you to contest for the above position?

   i)

   ii)

9. From your experience how much influence in your opinion, does the following have in deterring women from seeking for civic/parliamentary positions what?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Great deal</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Don’t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cultural attitudes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Religion (SDA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Inadequate funds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lack of confidence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Clannism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lack of support from men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lack of support from women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Negative perception of politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lack of role models</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Lack of support by parties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Other…</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. What challenges do women candidates face?

   i) During electoral campaigns   ii) On polling day and post-election period?
11. Are there potential women candidates who not active in political activity? If yes, what demotivates them from declaring their candidature in civic parliamentary seats?

12. Do women aspirants address similar issues as men their campaigns? Explain. (Only councillors/MCAs to respond to this question)

What committee(s) have you served in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kisii County</th>
<th>Parliamentary</th>
<th>Town Council</th>
<th>County council</th>
<th>Position.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Have parliamentarians/MCAs from Bomachoge effort to address the following issues?

I. Minority groups ..........Yes/No

II. Young people ........ Yes/No

III. Women organizations .......Yes/No

IV. Religious groups ............Yes/No
V. Aged/elderly people………Yes/No

VI. Piped water………………Yes/No

VII. Girl education ……………Yes/No

VIII. FGM……………………..Yes/No

IX Women issues………………Yes/N

14. How can you describe the overall influence of the following groups of MCAs over policy and influence in the County Assembly?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Great</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bomachoge women MCAs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Bomachoge men MCAs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Kisii County women MCAs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Kisii County men MCAs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Do women political office holders addressed women issues adequately? If no, explain why.

16. What challenges do women political office holders from Bomachoge encounter?

17. What strategies can be used to enhance women political participation as candidates and office holders?
Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)/Voters/IEBC Staff/Administrators

Part A: Background

Constituency…………………………….Ward……………………

Clan…………………………………………………Sub-Clan………………

Personal Background

Name………………Sex: Male Female □ □

Number of Dependents………………

b) Year of Birth……………………………….

c) Highest level of education attained…………………………

d) Occupation………………………………

Part C: Political Participation 1963-2013

1. What factors impede emergency of women candidates to civic/parliamentary positions?

2. Describe the trend of women political participation in Bomachoge as:

   i) Aspirants for civic and parliamentary level

   ii) Civic political office holders iii) Allocation of responsibilities in Council or Kisii County Assembly Committees.

3. What networks do women political office holders use to contact the voters?

4. What are the difficulties that face women political office holders?

5. What can be done to enhance women political participation in Bomachoge?
Interview Guide for Seventh Day Adventist Church Members/Ministers

Part A: Background

Constituency………………………….Ward…………………..

Clan……………………………………….Sub-Clan……………..

Part a: Personal Background

Name………………Sex: Male □ Male □ Female □

Number of Dependents……………….

b) Year of Birth…………………………

c) Highest level of education attained…………

d) Occupation…………………………

Part B: Colonial Period.

1. What was the role of S.D.A. church in education during the colonial period in Bomachoge?

2. What was the status of women in S.D.A. mission education in Bomachoge?

3. What was the aim of S.D.A. mission education on girls and women?

Part C: Post-Independent Period

4. What is the perception of S.D.A. church on politics?

5. What is the perception of S.D.A. members over women participation in politics?

6. What is the S.D.A. position on women engagement in politics as candidates and political office holders?
Observation Checklist

Part C: Post Independent Period

1. Are women contributions shorter than those of men? YES ☐ NO ☐

2. Are the men dominating assembly debates than women? YES ☐ NO ☐

3. Are women leaders always referenced as Hon.? YES ☐ NO ☐

4. Are male MCAs regularly referred to as Hon.? YES ☐ NO ☐

5. Is the “speaker’s eye” equitable in giving members the floor? YES ☐ NO ☐

6. Are women Hon. MCAs active in addressing women issues? YES ☐ NO ☐

7. Are women MCAs leaving for home when debates are on past 5.00 p.m.? YES ☐ NO ☐

8. Does Kisii County Assembly have:
   i) Baby care centre YES ☐ NO ☐

   ii) Stairway suitable for people with disabilities YES ☐ NO ☐
APPENDIX 4

A4: Approval of Research Proposal

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: kulbps@yahoo.com
dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

TO: Mr. Mokebo Zaumambo Javan
C/o History, Archaeology & Political Studies Dept.
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

DATE: 17th June, 2014

REF: CS0/CE/26115/11

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

This is to inform you that the Graduate School Board at its meeting of 11th June, 2014 approved your M.A. Research Proposal Entitled “Women Political Participation: A Case of Bomachoge Constituency in Kenya 1963-2013”.

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University’s Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

JOSEPHINE KENDI
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Chairman, History, Archaeology & Political Studies Dept.

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Susan Wanjogo Mwangi
C/o History, Archaeology & Political Studies Dept.
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

2. Dr. Lazarus Ngari Kinyua
C/o History, Archaeology & Political Studies Dept.
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

JK/cas
APPENDIX 5

A5: Introductory Letter by Kenyatta University to the Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: kubps@yahoo.com
       dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 87530

Our Ref: C50/CE/26115/11
Date: 17th June, 2014

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology,
P.O. Box 30046,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MR. MOKEBO Z. JAVAN - REG. NO. C50/CE/26115/11

I write to introduce Mr. Mokebo who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for a M.A. degree programme in the Department of History, Archaeology & Political Studies in the School of Humanities & Social Sciences.

Mr. Mokebo intends to conduct research for a thesis Proposal entitled, “Women Political Participation: A Case of Bomachoge Constituency in Kenya 1963-2013”.

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

JK/cao
APPENDIX 6

A6 AUTHORIZATION FROM KISII COUNTY GOVERNMENT

JAVAN ZAUMAMBO MOKEBO,
PO BOX 4288-40200,
KISII-KENYA.
25/06/2014
MOB: 0712 338787

THE SPEAKER,
KISII COUNTY GOVERNMENT,
PO BOX 4550-40200
KISII-KENYA.

DEAR SIR,

RE: PERMISSION TO INTERVIEW INFORMANTS AND OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM RELEVANT OFFICES WITHIN KISII COUNTY AND BOMACHOGE.

I hereby kindly forward my requests to your office to allow me obtain information from relevant offices and interview key informants within your jurisdiction. I urgently require the information to enable me complete my post graduate studies at Kenyatta University.

The informants I intend to interview will comprise of: Honorable Members of Kisii Assembly(MCAs), former Aspirants and Political Office Holders for Civic and Parliamentary positions, Ward Administrators, Ex-World War II Soldiers, IEBC Officials, Kisii County Officials and the General Electorate. This will be based on their knowledge of political trends in Bomacho or their active engagement in politics in relation to Bomacho.


My name is Javan Zaumambo Mokebo, a final year student at Kenyatta University; Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies. My admission number is C50/CE/26115/2011.

The information obtained for this research will be purely for academic purpose.

Thanks.

YOURS FAITHFULLY,

POST GRADUATE STUDENT
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.
APPENDIX 7

A7 RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION BY NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2313471, 2243434, 310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: secretary@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

Ref. No. NACOSTI/P/14/9561/2641

Date: 6th August, 2014

Javan Zaumambo Mokebo
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Women political participation: A case of Bomachoge Constituency in Kenya 1963-2013,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Kisii County for a period ending 1st December, 2014.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Kisii 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.

SAID HUSSEIN
FOR SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Kisii County.
APPENDIX8

A8: RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. JAVAH ZAUMAMBO MOKEBO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-40200
Kisii, has been permitted to conduct
research in Kisii County on the topic: WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: A CASE OF BOMACHOBIE CONSTITUENCY IN KENYA 1963-2013
for the period ending:
1st December, 2014

Applicant’s Signature

Secretary
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
APPENDIX 9

A 9 RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

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.

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No. A 2472

CONDITIONS: see back page
APPENDIX 10

A10: AUTHORIZATION BY KISII COUNTY COMMISSIONER

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

NACOSTI/P/14/9561/2641

Javan Zaumambo Mokebo
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Women political participation: A case of Bomachoge Constituency in Kenya 1963-2013,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Kisii County for a period ending 1st December, 2014.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Kisii 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.

SAID HUSSAIN
FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:
The County Commissioner
The County Director of Education
Kisii County.
APPENDIX 11

A11: AUTHORIZATION FROM KISII COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

Telegram: “EDUCATION”
Telephone: 058-30695
When replying please quote
CDE/KSI/RECH/I/ 9
Ref: CDE/KSI/RECH/I/ 9

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISII COUNTY
P.O. BOX 4499
KISII.

1st September, 2014

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Javan Zaumambo Mokebo
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844 – 00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION.

Following your research Authorization vide your letter Ref. NACOSTI/P/14/9561/2641, to carry out research in Kisii County, this letter refers.

I am pleased to inform you that you can carry out your research in the County on “Women Political Participation: A case of Bomachoge Constituency in Kenya 1963 – 2013.” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Kisii County for a period ending 1st December, 2014.

Wish you a successful research.

RICHARD L. CHEPKAWAI
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISII COUNTY.