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Abstract
Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population and they are actively involved in socio-economic activities of their nations. In Kenya, women are underrepresented in Political Leadership due to patriarchal state of the nation. Studies on women’s representation in political leadership have received little scholarly attention hence a gap in knowledge that the study intended to address. The study covered women’s representation in political leadership in Trans-Nzoia County. The period 1963 is the starting point because this was the time Kenya attained independence and formed the first Government. The year 2017 represents the recent and current government in place. The study chose Trans-Nzoia County because women have not been well represented in the political arena. Worldwide women are not well represented in Political arena. Scholars have researched on women in corporate organizations and educational institution in many other places but none has studied women’s representation in Trans-Nzoia County. The study sought to assess women’s representation in political leadership during Kenyatta’s regime. The study was guided by feminist theories of Gender and Patriarchy framework.

Patriarchy has been advanced as a theoretical explanation of its own in accounting for the subordination of women, scholars have conceptualized patriarchy within a narrow, and wider meaning. The researcher employed the use of mixed research designs such as descriptive survey, stratified random sampling, snowball and purposive. The researcher used questionnaires and interview schedules as research instruments. The researcher collected primary and secondary sources. 139 respondents were interviewed. This included 108 registered voters, 10 female politicians and 21 elderly informants who were all males. Data collected was analyzed using thematically capturing verbatim from the field and presented findings in the tables. During the study, it came out that women may not ascend to power due to financial constraints, cultural factors and beliefs, political parties favor male candidates than female candidates and violent election campaigns. Kenyatta’s government did not involve women in its administration as compared to President Moi’s regime.

Introduction
Globally, political leadership as we have seen in recent decades in Gandhi, Bandaranaike, Eugenia Charles and Margaret Thatcher is a comparative novelty in modern society. Notable women in world political leadership include, Theresa May (Britain), Angela Markel (Germany), Benazir Bhutto (India) and Hillary Clinton who have directly and indirectly contributed to political leadership in the world.

Omuse and Wapukha (2020)
Despite high level women in global leadership, they are still undermined based on gender hence their contribution cannot be fully felt in the world (Nzomo, 2002).

In Canada the women representation in parliament remains considerably lower than that of men. Agnes Macphail became the first woman elected to the House of Commons in 1921. While the decades following her election witnessed a steady growth in women’s representation in parliament, progress appears to have remained near the 20% level over the past decade (Cool, 2010). With 24.7% of seats in the House of Commons currently held by women, Canada is still far from the 30% minimum necessary to ensure a critical mass of women, and ranks 42nd internationally in the representation of women in the lower house of parliament (IPU, 2012). The representation of women on municipal councils (23.4%) (Cool, 2010).

In Asia, women, who compose half the population, are still poorly represented in policy making bodies. Although there have been substantial improvement in recent decades, only a very small number of women rose to positions of political leadership (Iwanaga, 2008). The percentage of women parliamentarians is a paltry 17.9 percent in both houses (IPU, 2012). India, one of the largest democracies in the world ranks 106 in the world representation of women in parliament (IPU, 2012). After more than 63 years of independence, one would expect the representation of women to be higher (Cole, 2011).

In 2002 General Elections, women in Trans-Nzoia could not make it to parliament despite the strong wave of change agenda. Male candidates except at civic level where several women attempted without success dominated the race. However, two women were lucky to be nominated to the county council of Nzoia. These were Mercia Muliro and Florence Sigei (The Kenya Gazette, 2003, The Local Government Act, 2003).

During the 2007 General election, 253 candidates presented themselves for election as councilors. Out of this, only 16 were women candidates. However, none of them was elected. 4 women were nominated in the county council. These women were Janet Nangabo, Nancy Imali, Florence Sigei and Bilhah Kipcho all from Ford-K, a dominant party in the region by then. That same year, 49 candidates vied for a member of National Assembly. Out of this, only 5 were women (The Kenya Gazette, 2007). None of the women made it to parliament.

In 2013 when Trans-Nzoia County produced two elected women MCAs Angeline Too of Chepsiro ward and Betty Chemtai of Matisi ward, out of the 25 county assembly wards, 23 county assembly wards were won by men. Therefore, women had no option other than to be nominated as MCAs by their respective political parties. That year, a total 12 women were nominated into Trans-Nzoia county assembly. This research sought to assess the history of women participation in political leadership with the main focus on politics of exclusion, identify steps taken by local and international actors to address political marginalization, establish factors responsible for exclusion of women in political leadership and propose both policy and constitutional steps including negotiated democracy to address the mess. (Wamalwa, 2013; Parliamentary Report, 2013; The Kenya Gazette, 2013).

Literature Review

Women’s Representation during Jomo Kenyatta’s Regime (1963-1978)
The first decade of Kenya’s independence under Jomo Kenyatta was characterized by economic growth and diversification. Young people who had received some education during colonial period occupied most of the senior positions left by the British. Given that many women had not enjoyed as good education as men, most of these positions were taken up by young men. It is not surprising therefore, that the first Kenyan parliament did not have any woman elected or even nominated. However, even though education level may have played a role, the male dominant inherited from both the colonial and many of the traditions of the people of Kenya meant that women would not be the first choice as leaders (Nzomo, 1995). During the study, the findings of Nzomo were confirmed as lack of education and male dominance has continued to exclude women in political leadership in Trans-Nzoia.

Those who control the economic domain invariably exercise similar control over the political arena as well. Political leadership and important decision making in Africa as elsewhere in the world, continue to be dominated by men. Despite the fact that women political participation at the level of voting is
generally much higher than that of men, available evidence points to extremely low female participation at the level of holding public and decision making positions. Kenya is not exempted from this disparity. For example, women constituted less than three percent of the parliament whose term ended in 1983. Out of the 28 cabinet ministers, there was not a single woman and there has never been one since independence in 1963. Out of about 54 Assistant Ministers there was only one woman among 158 elected members. In addition, out of 26 Permanent Secretaries, there has never been a woman. Indeed, none of the many government incorporations in Kenya had been headed by a woman prior to 1986 presidential appointments (KNA-DC/UG/2/2/11, 1957-1960; KNA-DC/KMG/2/27/299, 1947-1965).

During the 2002 general elections as opposition parties driven by manifestos combined forces against the independence party, KANU, whose presidential candidate was Uhuru Kenyatta. The opposition (NARC) election manifestos was to form a government of national unity that ensured the participation of all citizens, including gender equity in appointments, in key decision making organs of the government. This pledge was partly achieved as reflected in an increase of women in the cabinet. For the first time in 40 years, women secured seven ministerial positions, three full cabinet positions, and four assistant ministers. Women further succeeded in securing five out of seven nominated parliamentary seats allocated to NARC and three out of four allocated to KANU. The NARC government broke away from the convention of reducing women to heading ministries that are viewed as less important. Of the three cabinet ministers, two headed the ministries of health and water and one was in the office of the vice president; while the assistant ministers were in the ministries of education, science and technology; local government; environment and natural resources; and gender, sports and social services (United Nations Development Programme, 2002; KNA-DC/KMG/2/16/5, 1963-1964).

Table 1: Elected and Nominated Women in Kenya’s Parliament, 1963-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Election</th>
<th>Elected women</th>
<th>Nominated Women</th>
<th>Total men and women</th>
<th>% of women in Parliament</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA)

From the table above, it is clear that women’s representation in Kenya which is also true in Trans-Nzoia county is still low due to patriarchal culture of women subordination. In all the general elections held in Trans-Nzoia County from 1963 to 1997, no single woman was elected a member of parliament neither in the county assembly and only two women, Justin Sitti and Jenifer Masis battled out with men but they were not successful. Between 2002 and 2017 only one woman, Janet Nangabo was elected and the reason is that the seat is a reserve for women. Therefore, there is need for gender equity in political representation of the county.

Theoretical Framework

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 (Nyakwaka, 2012). Feminists characterize gender relations as relations of inequality and subordination that need to be changed (Meena, 1992; Hann, 1998; Nyakwaka, 2012). Gender has consequently been utilized as an analytical tool in explaining the nature of social relations between men and women (Waylen: 1996; Mwangi, 2004; Choti, 2013). According to Cammack et al, (1993) gender as 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).

Methodology

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. The study was descriptive in nature by attempting to describe women’s representation in Trans-Nzoia county by using numbers, simple tables and percentages to highlight their level of presence in political leadership. The researcher classified the sample by gender strata, making sure that the females were over sampled as opposed to males. Data was managed and analyzed using MS Excel. Although numeric and text data were collected concurrently, they were analyzed separately, compared and interpreted. The data was thematically analyzed in respect to the study objectives, literature review, respective historic period and gender theoretical framework.

Findings

Table 2: Trends of Women’s Representation in Politics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jomo Kenyatta’s government involved women in its leadership</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moi’s government included more women in political leadership positions</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35.71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter apathy was more during Moi’s regime</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19.84</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing conference on women turned around women participation in women</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.05</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19.84</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kibaki’s government implemented the affirmative action for the first time</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.33</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.05</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women were beneficiaries of the grand coalition government</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34.92</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Together with increased participation and improved educational policies as regards to the women more specifically those of Trans-Nzoia County, remained relegated to the periphery especially in the realms of politics. Though women formed more than half of the
Trans-Nzoia population, none participated in politics as candidates for elective offices. The majority only participated as voters, in the preparation and distribution of food in meetings, leafletting, and dances and as mobilizers during elections. Thus between 1963 and 1978 there was not a single woman elected in Trans-Nzoia County. Apart from electoral politics and party membership, it is quite clear that collective action of the concerned against political power. For instance, setting a long-term goal of social transformation to ensure liberation from exploitation, degradation, subjugation and injustice is also part of political participation (Patel, 1994). Women’s mobilization for collective action to address some of their issues is a political tool and thus an empowering process. One positive trend observed in this regard is the proliferation of women’s organizations which improved during the Kenyatta era. Just as oppressed and discriminated workers organized various collective initiatives against their oppression and discrimination which they had been internal victims since the colonial period, women’s effect and grew as one of the instruments to fight against social, economic and political inequalities and marginalization (Mwangi, 2004)

In 1964, the National Plan for Community Development was launched to support and accelerate economic development, prevent social ills, promote the general welfare of the community and strengthen family life and improve the care of children and women. The government released a National Community Development Policy in 1964; the policy laid heavy emphasis on self-help and people’s involvement in achieving the type of change they wanted (KNA-AHQ/3/1, 1991-1993).

After independence (1963), the government did not emphasize on the development potential of women’s self-help groups; services as well as finances were cut down. The role of women’s self-help groups declined. The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake leaders joined the government ministry as Community Development Officers. These leaders got involved in different community projects such as building health centers, schools, social halls, rural access roads and nursery schools (Wafula, O.I., 18/12/2018; KNA-MSS/57/9, 1980). Activities such as digging, planting, harvesting building houses among others, Colonial administrators’ wives had formed MYWO in the early 1950s as a women’s club after the realization that there was need to address the Plight of African women, colonial administrator’s wives began to hold classes for African women the villages(KNA-DC/KMG/1/1/181, 1951-1960).

Ndeda (1994) posits that one activating factor for the formation of these women groups and clubs in Kenya seems to have been African Veterans of the Second World War who went to Jeanes School with their wives to attend leadership classes. They also engaged in teaching the best use of leisure through games, African dance and song, teaching proper standards of behavior and spiritual guidance. When these women returned to the rural community, they wanted to keep in touch with each other so they organized clubs assisted by colonial administrators. The women’s organization started under the auspices of colonial governmentdepartment of community development and rehabilitation to promote the advancement of the African woman and to raise their standards (Mwangi, 2004; KNA-DC/KMG/1/1/181, 1951-1960).

In 1951, after a series of meetings between the white ladies interested in the African welfare and African training at Jeanne’s School, it was agreed that the existence of the women’s institutes (Ndeda, 1994). Many of these women’s clubs joined it at pre-independence but the organizations link with the colonial government caused bitterness and damaged its credibility among indigenous women for years to come (Wipper, 1976).

In addition, older women felt that the training that was being offered in sewing, basketry and weaving was so technical that most of them abandoned it. In spite of this setback at the time, the formation of MYWO accelerated the growth of the women’s movements in Kenya. Although the impact of women’s activities seemed small, it was however evident those women had done a tremendous job in society building. Their efforts and devotion had helped to inspire men to work harder. Other women were involved in group farming and home industries (Chemutai, O.I., 3/1/2019).

During this period, the Spirit of Harambee initiated by Kenyatta emphasized the spirit of working together and pooling resources for development. It stimulated a high degree of community participation especially in community based social political and economic projects.
In Saboti, Cherang’any and Endebess women’s groups organized harambees for the education of their children. Others organized harambees to buy grade cows for members. As most men were engaged in local beer drinking, women through these harambees helped in establishing nursery schools in some local areas (Kipruto, O.I., 5/1/2019; KNA-AHQ/3/1,1991-1993).

The women’s movement expanded relatively slowly during the first decade of independence. Women groups engaged in social welfare activities but steered off political activities and issues of women’s empowerment. Their constitutions barred them from engaging in matters deemed to be political. Thus, although there was not a single woman in parliament until 1969, and no women holding top management or decision-making public positions, no women voices were heard at that time protesting the subordinate status women continued to hold despite the exemplary record in the struggle for political independence (Nzomo, 1993; KNA-DC/KMG/2/16/5, 1963-1964). Nzomo continues to state that laws discriminating against women continued to be enforced and progressive ones withdrawn such as the 1969 repeal of the Affirmative Act by a male dominated parliament. No significant protest had been heard from women until much later (KNA-DC/KMG/2/27/299,1947-1965).

And yet the only and giant movement Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) which had prided itself with being the oldest women’s organization with links from the grassroots to the national level, continued to operate in silence. MYWO retained much of the social welfare orientation inherited from its colonial beginnings having great emphasis on the role of women as “homemakers”, rather than as decision makers (Oduol, 1993; KNA-AMP/5/62, 1980-1981).

Before 1975 Kenya development policies were gender insensitive. All developments were assumed to benefit both men and women alike. It took the provocation of the 1972 ILO report on employment, income and equality for the Kenya government to make its position known on the women question in the country. It associated the disadvantaged position of women with poverty, education, training and employment. It recommended that with regard to rural women measures be taken to improve the living conditions and reduce workloads (KNA-MSS/57/9,1980).

In response to the ILO recommendation that the government should begin to address the problem of access and equality for women in Kenya, the government reported:

“The government is not aware of overt discrimination against women in the country; women are employed in important positions in the prisons and in government as well as private sector (Nzomo, 1989)”.

Up to the declaration of women’s decade in 1975, the government maintained the position that Kenyan women were not discriminated against and therefore did not need to struggle for rights they were already enjoying. However, apart from the Special Rural Development Project set up in 1970/71, no more programmes were set up prior to 1975. Apart from the women’s non-governmental organization (Maendeleo Ya Wanawake) set up in 1952 and National Council of Women in Kenya set up in 1964, no other national machinery for women existed. It was only after the declaration of the Women’s Decade that the government began to demonstrate an active interest in the existing women organizations and in addition created Women’s Bureau (Nzomo, 1989; KNA-MSS/57/9, 1980).

The bureau became the effective focus for policies towards women and a major means of acquiring international funds for aid specifically directed at women. Such funds were welcomed by the government and were relatively easy to come by due to the western enthusiasm for women’s development projects as a new object of third world charity. It was also established by law that support and financial aid could be afforded to associations which were registered with relevant government authorities and which had properly elected leaders and properly audited accounts (Ndeda, 1989; KNA-AHQ/3/1, 1991-1993).

Despite the existence of the Bureau, support of the Kenyan government was primarily verbal, focusing on staffing at the district level rather than specific resources that actually reached all women. The Ministry of Housing and Social Services (Now Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts), placed a female officer in most districts to faster programmes and to assist women in their organizational efforts. These officers were often energetic and dedicated,
but extremely limited budget and resources hampered work. The officers former Trans-Nona district were not able to carry out the various activities due to the limited resources (Rose Ruto, O.I., 7/1/ 2019). The Ministry sponsored seminars to train female leaders and provided guidelines for group registration and for financial accountability. The Department of Community Development also encouraged chiefs and Assistant chiefs to support women groups. Such support most frequently consisted of exhortation to form women self-help groups for development purposes. In Response to this, chiefs and assistant chiefs from locations and sub-Locations of Trans-Nzoia encouraged women through barazas to form self-help groups. Occasionally, these chiefs and assistant chiefs allocated specific resources such as land for the use of a group (KNA-DC/KMG/2/4/21, 1966).

The only women’s movement that would have spearheaded women’s interests during this period was MYWO. However, in later years the organization was accused of inadequate representation of all women’s interests especially of those in rural areas. Consequently, women had for long suffered various forms of gender discrimination, inequality and exclusion especially in the area of politics (Oduol, 1993). The government overtime helped to eradicate the belief that women’s contribution to development was minimal or insignificant as compared to that of men. This seems to have given women more confidence and determination to participate fully in development as could be seen by the number of projects they were involved in throughout the country (Nyakwaka, 2012). These projects included diverse income generating projects such as dairy farming, seedling planting, cash crop farming and poultry keeping. They also established a revolving fund, which was given to the members in turns to help members meet their immediate financial problems. Most of the groups made a start without outside help such as government funds and demonstrated that they could initiate and successfully undertake development activities. However, this did not mean that they need not seek financial assistance from either government or nongovernment organizations in order to expand their capital (KNA-MSS/57/9, 1980).

Politically, these women groups played a big role in the outcome of elections. Once political leaders gave their contributions to these groups, they could influence women to campaign and vote for them (Michael, O.I., 8/1/2019). Accordingly, the government was the key factor in the formation of women groups in Kenya generally and Trans-Nzoia County specifically although most often it did not provide them with resources. Given women’s disadvantaged position in society, women groups were viewed as chief means of improvising the position of rural women in Trans-Nzoia County (KNA-DC/KMG/2/16/5, 1963-1964). In recognition of the women’s groups to development, the Kenyatta Government established a special Rural Development Program to provide financial support to women’s groups. This program was however headed by men. Funds were embezzled and the few women in the program were co-opted by male leaders. The initiation hence collapsed and in 1971. The government established a women’s division in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services that resulted in the formation of women’s Bureau in 1976 (Ahmed, 2000).

The Bureau mandate included policy formulation, implementation and coordination of all government initiatives and programs for women, collection, analysis and dissemination of data and information for the design, monitoring and evaluation of policies and projects for women and support for and liaison with women centered NGO projects and women’s groups (KNA-MSS/57/9, 1980). Apart from engaging in political and economic activities through women’s groups and women’s organizations, the Kenyatta era witnessed increased number of girls attending school. The abolition of gender and racial segregation in education at independence created opportunities for access to education for both African men and women (Caulfield, 1993). Education and professional training of girls and women is important to build skills, confidence and knowledge that women require for active involvement in politics. Education instills interest in political matters and educated women would be more adept to seek elective office. Education raises women’s consciousness by making women aware of the benefits of their participation in politics. Thus, without education, women could not participate in county development and political leadership (KNA-DC/KMG/2/4/21, 1966).
Despite the fact that Kenyatta era witnessed an increased number of girls attending school, there were no revolutionary changes in gender equality in the provision of education. Part of the government plan at independence was to expand the education system to cater for all children and illiterate adults, in order to combat ignorance, disease and poverty amongst the populace. In addition, it was also believed that the government had an obligation to provide its citizens with the opportunity to participate fully in the socio-economic and political developments of the country and to attain a descent standard of living. Therefore, the government’s effort to expand educational opportunities women in Trans-Nzoia County has been reflected in its policy documents and development plans (Chege & Sifuna, 2006).

The most important concern at independence was to achieve equitable distribution of educational opportunities and relate education to county needs and aspirations (Mbeo & Ombaka, 1989). Thus there was need to revise the laws that governed education during the colonial period. As a result, in 1964, the then Minister for Education appointed and education commission chaired by S. Ominde. Its purpose was to survey the existing educational resources in the county and advice the government on the formulation and implementation of national policies of education which was moved down to Trans-Nzoia County (Chege & Sifuna, 2006).

This commission had a great impact on the national educational policy since independence. These policies were equally applied in Trans-Nzoia County at large. Education for human resource development was considered a key priority Education was to produce a high level and middle level human resource so desperately required by Trans-Nzoia County (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). The commission also endorsed the provision of free primary education as an education policy objective, although it was not viable immediately. Thus, the government chose to put more emphasis on the expansion of higher education in order to gear it toward the human resource needs of the country and Trans-Nzoia respectively (Nyakwaka, 2012).

A world conference was held in Mexico the same year. Among the most significant issues articulated during this conference was the concept of women’s development that emphasized equality, peace and development of women. The women in development stand advocated for women’s development in terms of education, employment and empowerment. Education in this case was understood as a pre-requisite for improvement in women’s status. Access of girls and women to formal education was therefore encouraged (Staudt, 1990)

In terms of equality, the UN women’s commission discovered that legal rights for women had been down played and that though most governments had constitutions that granted women equality, too often these rights were not enforced in the face of custom and patriarchy. This they argued resulted into the marginalization of women in both political and economic participation. The conference also encouraged the participation of women in income generating activities to help poor women since they considered economic activities as key to improving the status of women in society (Tinker, 1990; Hay, 1995). This global enlightenment in effect was spread to Trans-Nzoia County.

Though this year marked some considerable improvement in the status of women in Trans-Nzoia County, not much was realized until 1985 when the women’s decade was celebrated in a conference in Nairobi. The projects that the conference advocated for failed since the leaders of these programs lacked not only the experience in creating visible income generating activities for the poor but also experience in running these organizations on a business basis (Mwangi, 2004).

Since the organizations had non-social programs, they tended to retain stereotypes about women’s domestic roles and they set up income generating projects based on incorrect assumptions about women’s needs, daily activities or skills. These projects assumed that women were predominantly housewives with ample free time who only needed pin money for supplementary food or clothing. Further, these new income generating activities assumed that women had skills in traditional women’s crafts like pottery, basketry and sewing, activities quite foreign to most poor women in rural areas (Mwangi, 2004). As a result, such projects seldom resulted in economic returns without constant subsidies thus affecting women involvement in political leadership which needed financial muscles. The responsibilities meant that a woman worked hard to provide food for the family. The routine of a rural
woman started early in the morning when she woke up to milk the cows before taking them to the fields at daybreak. She prepared porridge for the children and set them to school. Then she had to attend to the cattle by taking them to the river for water. In the afternoon she started preparing for the evening by looking for firewood from the forest and fetch water from the river. Her children especially the girls, if of age, may assist her in some of these chores. (Nangekhe, O.I., 10/1/2019, KNA-MSS/57/9,1980). All these burdens as Nzomo (1998) observes indicate a level of exploitation by men. Women had little or no time to discuss the social, economic or political issues of the community. The responsibilities of those living in urban areas were not any different as their services were required later after work by their children and husbands. This was because as research has indicted many men demanded unlimited services from their wives arguing that they married the wife for such services. If the husband was working far from home, as is the case in the modern capitalist economy, the domestic responsibilities of a woman are even increased (Presley, 1992; KNA-RZ/DPM/24/361, 1961-1962).

The exploitation of women in the domestic sphere was reinforced by the traditional practices which the modern laws have upheld. This exploitation was further exemplified by considering the products of the woman’s labor. For instance, while women supplied most of the labor for agricultural production especially in cash crops such as tea and coffee, men being the custodians of account numbers of the sales earned the money and drank all of it without minding the laborers-wife and children.

Basic discriminations against women embedded in the legal and other institutional structures had remained unchanged before and after the women’s decade, without any audible voices of protest from within or outside the women’s movement. For instance, the 1969 repeal of the Affirmative Act remained in place. In addition, the Law of Marriage and Divorce Bill had already twice come up for debate in parliament and was defeated by the male-dominated parliament, without any significant protest from women. It has also been noted that, there was continued retention of the law that denied house allowance to married women in public service and lack of provision for paid maternity leave for women (KNA-DC/UG/2/2/11, 1957-1960).

**Conclusion**

After independence most of the women did not have much expectation because the newly formed government had inherited the constitution from the colonial government which did not have adequate representations of women in politics. Therefore it was evident from the findings that Jomo Kenyatta’s government excluded women from political leadership.

**Recommendation**

It is recommended that the government through legislation create a special fund which will enable women aspirants to meet the campaign costs hence, encourage them to participate in elective positions in the county.

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