

**THE PURSUIT OF GENDER EGALITARIANISM AMID SURVIVAL OF
PATRIARCHY IN HOMA-BAY COUNTY KENYA (1894-2021)**

BY

JOHN AKUMU ORONDO

**A Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of
Philosophy degree in History in the School of Education, Humanities and Social
Studies of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology**

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

AUGUST, 2023

DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

Declaration by the student

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for an award of diploma or conferment of degree in any other University or Institution of higher learning.

Signature..... Date.....

John Akumu Orondo

Z162/4211/2017

Approval by the supervisor

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as the University supervisors.

Signature.....Date.....

Dr. George Odhiambo Okoth

Department of Humanities and Social Studies

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

Signature.....Date.....

Dr. Isaya Onjala

Department of Humanities and Social Studies

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work in memory of the beloved late Prof. Mildred A.J Ndeda who introduced me to the research world, hard work and patience but couldn't live long enough to see the fruits of her wise and motherly counsel. It's recognition to her contribution to the ideas in this treatise that I remained to pursue. It is also my belief that this could be Professor's last scholarly work because on that fateful evening when she examined the work and gave her unreserved recommendation for re-adjustment on this study, before sending me to her co-supervisor Dr. George Odhiambo, saying, "*for objective four let Dr. Odhiambo and you get a philosophical idea as you streamline the rest of the work with him*". Few hours before reaching my house that evening, I was called that the good Professor rested with angels. The work is also recognition of Mama Phoebe Asiyu, *Nyagoro*, for her immeasurable contributions, nuggets of wisdom and invaluable repertoire of the political and cultural knowledge systems about gender issues across pre-colonial to colonial Kenya which I tapped verbatim.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All glory to God, for His unfailing opportunity and good life during the period of this study. I am in particular grateful to JOOUST for the opportunity to undertake my Ph.D. studies in history on the Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism amid Survival of Patriarchy. Special thanks go to my supervisors Late Prof. Mildred A.J Ndeda, Dr George Odhiambo Okoth and Dr. Isaya Onjala for their valuable, persistent mentoring and guidance without which this work would have not been possible.

Special thanks to Dr. Samuel Okuro for being a ‘special friend’ and mentor in many ways than I could imagine. To all those who assisted me in one way or another during my fieldwork, I say, “Thank you so much”. I am indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. Budy Nashon and Bildard Tom Ouma Ondiek whose support during my data collection and editing was most valuable and much appreciated. Many thanks go to Mama Phoebe Asiyo who was one of my key informants in many countless sessions which were illuminating during my fieldwork. This work is hopefully the best way I can thank you for your immense contribution in this work’. To the management of Kenya National Archives who offered me a great support during the collection of historical data on gender egalitarianism and correspondences on the area under study I say thank you. Most special thanks go to my wife Sally Nael and daughters Nussy, Shynnel, Ishyl, Dolphine, Mary, Xyle and Clytee for their unparalleled support and patience for braving many days and nights of my absence during study. I owe greatest appreciation and thanks to my mother Maria Achieng’ who is the gender bridge to my studies of gender relations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND APPROVAL.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
ABBREVIATION AND ACCRONYMS.....	viii
GLOSSARY OF LUO TERMS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
ABSTRACT.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	10
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	11
1.3.1 General objective of the study.....	11
1.3.2 Specific objectives of the study.....	11
1.4 Research Questions.....	11
1.5 Significance of the study.....	11
1.6 Justification of the study.....	13
1.7 Scope and delimitation of the study.....	17
1.8 Limitations of the study.....	18
1.9 Definition of Terms as used in the study.....	19
1.10 Literature Review.....	20
1.10.1 Influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the pre-colonial African societies..	20
1.10.2 Gender relations in Africa during the colonial period.....	24
1.10.3 Gender mitigation strategies and their effect on political transformation in post-colonial societies.....	28
1.11 Theoretical framework.....	33
1.12 Research methodology.....	37
1.12.1 Research Design.....	38
1.12.2 Area of study.....	38
1.12.3 Study population.....	39
1.12.4 Sampling method, procedure and sample size.....	40

1.12.5 Research instruments	41
1.12.6 Data Collection procedures	43
1.12.7 In-depth Interviews	44
1.12.8 Focus Group Discussions	45
1.12.9 Key Informant Interviews	46
1.12.10 Secondary Sources	47
1.12.11 Data analysis and Presentation.....	47
1.12.12 Ethical consideration.....	48
1.12.14 Summary of Chapter one	48
CHAPTER TWO: THE IMPACT OF PATRIARCHY ON GENDER RELATIONS IN PRE-COLONIALHOMA-BAY UP TO 1894	50
2.1 Introduction.....	50
2.2 Patriarchy and Gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay	50
2.2.1 Role of patriarchy on social gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay	51
2.2.2 Patriarchy on economic gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay.	57
2.2.3 Patriarchy on political gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay	64
2.2.4 Conclusion	68
CHAPTER THREE: EFFECT OF COLONIAL POLICIES ON GENDER RELATIONS IN HOMA BAY(1894-1963).....	69
3.1 Introduction.....	69
3.2 The Establishment of Colonial rule in South Kavirondo in Luo Nyanza	69
3.3 Influence of colonial policies on gender relations in Homa Bay	70
3.3.1 Colonial taxation on gender relations in Homa Bay	71
3.3.2 Colonial religion and education system on gender relations	80
3.3.3 The colonial political system on gender relations.....	92
3.3.4 Colonial Labour policies on gender relations in Homa Bay	101
3.4 Gender relations in the independent Kenya	106
3.4.1 Impact of administrative structure on gender relation in independent Kenya	107
3.4.2 Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation on gender relations in independent Kenya	120
3.4.3 Role of education system on gender relations in independent Kenya.....	127
3.4.4 The wage labor on gender relations in post-colonial Homa Bay	141
3.5 Patriarchal culture on gender relations in post-colonial Homa Bay	148
3.6 Conclusion	151

CHAPTER FOUR: GENDER EQUALITY MITIGATION AND IT'S POLITICAL IMPACT ON POST COLONIAL WOMEN OF HOMA-BAY (1963-2021).....	154
4.1 Introduction.....	154
4.2 Social strategies for gender equality mitigations	155
4.3 Political gender equality mitigation	166
4.4 Economic gender equality mitigation strategies	174
4.5 Impact of gender equality mitigations on women political development in Homa Bay	178
4.5.1 The emergence of women political participation in Kenya upto 1992	178
4.5.2 Women political involvement in Homa Bay since 1992 to 2010	193
4.5.3 Women and political party in Homa Bay 1992-2021	200
4.6 Conclusion	212
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE STUDY.....	224
5.1 Summary of the study	224
5.2 Conclusion of the study	250
5.3 Recommendation of the study.....	257
REFERENCES.....	259
Archival Sources	269
News Paper and Magazine Articles	269
The Party Documents.....	270
Key Informant Interview.....	270
Focuss group discussions	273
APPENDICES.....	274
Appendix I: Focus Group Discussion Guide	274
Appendix II: Sample Research Interview Schedule.....	275
Appendix III: University Authorization Letter	282
Appendix IV: Research Permit	283
Appendix V: Ministry of Education Research Authority Letter.....	284
Appendix VI: Maps of the Study Area	285
Map of Homa Bay in relation to Kenya	285
Map of Homa Bay County showing major roads and towns	286

ABBREVIATION AND ACCRONYMS

CBO	: Community Based Organization.
CEDAW	: Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	: Convention on the Rights of Children
CRWAC	: Convention on the Rights and Welfare of All Children
FBO	: Faith Based Organization
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
FGD	: Focus Group Discussion
GIA	: Gender Impact Assessment
GoK	: Government of Kenya
ILO	: International Labour Organization
IPU	: Inter-Parliamentary Union
IMD	: International Men [’] s Day
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
KNBS	: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPHCR	: Kenya Population and Housing Census Report
MDG	: Millennium Development Goals
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
SDA	: Seventh Day Adventist
SID	: Society for international Development
UAE	: United Arab Emirates
UNO	: United Nations Organization
USA	: United States of America
USAID	: United States on International Development

GLOSSARY OF LUO TERMS

1. *Adita*: A weaved grass purposely for serving Ugali
2. *Anyuka*: Luo wild fruit with a scientific name of *vanguera linearisepala*
3. *Apenj orindi mondi*: Proverb to mean getting consent of wife before making decision
4. *Be komi leny*: Luo maxim used to refer to the rich who milk several cows
5. *Chi*: The wife of somebody
6. *Dak*: Big pot that Luo women used to store grains or alcohol
7. *Dapi*: Sizeable pot where the Luo women used to store water for domestic use
8. *Dero*: The general family grain store
9. *Golo nyathi oko*: Exposing the born child to the public after period of seclusion
10. *Jagam*: The suitor or ago between
11. *Jobilo*: The experts who overturns the evil spirit
12. *Jodwar*: Hunters
13. *Jojuogi*: Those who have spirits that causes harm
14. *Jonawi*: The benevolent spirit that overturned the bad spirit and treated the sick
15. *Loch mar Chuo*: Leadership of men where women are disregarded
16. *Mikayi*: The first wife in the home of a polygenic family
17. *Mondo*: Men's grain store located at the center of the home in which he had a rights
18. *Nyar*: The daughter of somebody
19. *Nyasaye*: Luo name of God
20. *Ochwoga*: One of the wild fruits among the Luo scientific name is *carca adulis*
21. *Ogwang*: Derogatory term used to refer to girls as they were temporal in their homes
22. *Ohigla*: a medium pot designed purposely for cooking fish or meat
23. *Orundu*: Woman Kitchen Garden
24. *Piny owacho*: the peoples movement that made major decisions in the society
25. *Por*: The practice where girls eloped with boys unknowingly
26. *Ruoth*: The heads several clans which is equivalent to modern chief
27. *Sangla*: Luo wild fruit that has fruits like millet scientific name is *rhus natalerisis*
28. *Siwindhe*: Training of girls by elderly women on their roles in the pre-colonial period
29. *Tawo*: A clay bowl for serving fish or meat
30. *Tello mar Jodongo*: Leadership of the elders in the homes and community

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.3.2.1: The Missions and the Dates on which schools were established in Nyanza	91
Table 3.4.1.2: Membership of Kenya National Assembly by Year and Gender	117
Table 3.4.3.2: The enrolment of children in schools per gender and class in 1963.....	138

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.4.1.1: Membership of Kenya National Assembly by Year and Gender	118
Figure 3.4.3.2: Enrolment of Luo girls and boys Nyanza primary schools in 1963	138

ABSTRACT

In response to the gender disparities in Kenya, various policy frameworks have been formulated since the country gained independence. These frameworks aim to tackle the gender gap and include the National Gender and Development Policy 2000, the Kenya Vision 2030, which serves as the government's comprehensive plan for development, and its medium-term plans spanning from 2008 to 2020. Additionally, the County Integrated Development Plans (CIDP) have emerged as a recent initiative in this regard. The significance of these policy frameworks cannot be overstated; nonetheless, it is crucial to emphasize the historical dimensions pertaining to the advancement of gender equality in order to establish a comprehensive intervention framework for addressing gender disparity. This study aimed to examine the pursuit of gender egalitarianism in the context of the persistence of patriarchy in Kenya, focusing specifically on Homa-Bay County from 1894 onwards. The study's analysis of Robert Filmer's patriarchal theory emphasizes the influence of culture on discussions surrounding gender equality. It elucidates how patriarchal ideology reinforces the notion of male superiority, resulting in women's dependence on males for their sustenance. The theory posits that patriarchal ideology serves to legitimize the hierarchical power dynamics between men and women in society by attributing them to intrinsic biological distinctions between the sexes. Therefore, adherence to patriarchal authority is deemed significant and is a component of women's political duty. In the context of a patriarchal paradigm, it is evident that legal, institutional, and administrative measures aimed at promoting gender equality in Kenya face significant challenges. This study examined the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics in pre-colonial Homa-Bay County, the effects of colonial policies on gender dynamics in Homa-Bay County during the period of 1894-1963, and the state of gender relations in post-colonial Homa-Bay County up until 2021. The research employed a historical research design, as described by Gottschalk Louis, to gather, authenticate, and amalgamate historical information in order to establish factual support or contradiction for the gender egalitarian hypothesis. The study employed non-probability sampling methods, specifically purposive and snowball sampling approaches, to identify the respondents. A comprehensive data collection approach was employed, consisting of 67 informant interviews and seven focus group discussions. The data was gathered through the utilization of interview schedules and focus group discussion guides. In order to enhance the validity of the research findings, supplementary primary data was collected from the National Archives, thereby employing a triangulation approach with the existing oral and secondary data sources. The researcher gathered secondary data from many sources, including theses, journal articles, books, and online publications, obtained from academic institutions and libraries. The obtained data is systematically categorized into topical chapters within the thesis, aligning with the study topics. The study employed content and thematic analysis techniques, and ensured the validity and trustworthiness of the findings by cross-referencing primary and secondary data sources. The study's results indicate that women in pre-colonial Kenya actively engaged in the decision-making process, took part in communal rituals, and had a significant role in economic endeavors. However, it is important to note that patriarchal cultural norms persist, perpetuating the subjugation of women. In addition, despite the implementation of legislative, structural, and administrative measures in Kenya since 1992, the patriarchal system continues to hinder the well-being and progress of women in the nation. These findings will provide guidance for policy makers to reevaluate and examine the approaches and strategies implemented in the quest of gender equal societies.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Patriarchy refers to a societal structure wherein men possess predominant power and authority in various domains, including political leadership, moral influence, social advantages, and ownership of assets. In civilizations characterized by patriarchy, men are afforded social privileges and property rights based on their ancestry. Patriarchy is thus linked to a collection of concepts that serve to elucidate and rationalize the prevalence of male dominance, attributing it to intrinsic biological disparities between males and females (Bryan & Varat, 2008).

Hewlett, Lamb, Shannon, Leyendecker, and Schölmerich (1998) posit that based on anthropological, archaeological, and evolutionary evidence, it can be argued that the prevalence of patriarchy in prehistoric social systems was not as pronounced, as these civilizations exhibited a rather egalitarian structure. According to Brunton (1989), the establishment of patriarchal social systems can be traced back to the post-Pleistocene era. During this historical era, there was a notable societal and technological shift characterized by advancements in agricultural practices, specifically in the cultivation of crops and the domestication of animals. Therefore, patriarchy has undergone a transformation from ancient times to the present day.

According to Talbot (2002), the establishment of patriarchy in early Europe can be attributed to successive migrations of kurgan-building invaders originating from the Ukrainian steppes. These invaders interacted with the early agricultural societies of Old Europe, particularly in regions such as the Aegean, the Balkans, and southern Italy. The Kurgan conquerors implemented systems of male hierarchy, which afterwards facilitated the emergence of patriarchy in Europe. According to Bourke and Andrew (2011), it can be observed that the emergence of patriarchy in Europe is closely associated with the development of politically stratified societies characterized by robust family structures and aristocratic systems. Patriarchy persists in various aspects of society, including social, legal, political, religious, and economic systems, as seen by Marlowe (2005).

The concept of patriarchy can be traced back to the Ancient Near East, specifically as early as 3100 BCE. The state, during this particular period, endorsed limitations on a

woman's ability to reproduce and their exclusion from political engagement (Stol, 2016). Liczek (2005) noted that the Hebrews also exhibited such patterns, as women were marginalized from participating in religious ceremonies. In contrast to the preceding statement, the historical records of ancient Egypt depict a semblance of egalitarianism. According to the historical accounts documented by Herodotus, it is evident that women in ancient Egypt were actively involved in commercial activities. Furthermore, women belonging to the middle-class were granted the opportunity to participate in local tribunals, engage in real estate transactions, and were entitled to inherit property from both their husbands and parents. According to Badahdah and Pedersen (2011), it was possible for women in Egypt to obtain loans. The aforementioned records delineate a juxtaposition between the societal duties assumed by women in ancient Egypt and those in the city-state of Athens.

According to Ferguson (2006), it is argued that patriarchy in Africa is established from the onset of marriage, as a man provides a bride price to acquire his wife, so positioning her as the possession of her husband. The concept of spousal ownership is represented through different symbolic manifestations. In many regions of Nigeria, the practice of bride price payment is commonly regarded as a direct transfer of a woman's rights to the family of her spouse. This phenomenon is further exemplified by the customary practice of women adopting their husband's surnames while relinquishing their paternal surnames. Hence, it is commonly considered that the sexual agency of married women is situated under the purview and influence of their husbands (Galperin et al., 2013).

In Botswana, it is culturally expected that a single-parent lady refrains from engaging in sexual relations with any male other than the one with whom she has conceived children. In contrast, it is customary for women to be restricted from maintaining relationships with multiple men simultaneously, but men are afforded the freedom to engage in polygamous unions by taking on additional wives or concubines, as noted by Adams and Turner (2005). Leeder (2004) asserts that women faced discrimination through the imposition of traditional norms that prohibited premarital sexual activity for young women, but no such limitation was placed on young males or older men seeking to marry younger girls. In many African civilizations, the identification of good wives was contingent upon their manner of relating to their husbands. Additionally, women sought

to enhance the value of their daughters as potential brides by emphasizing the importance of maintaining virginity until marriage (Badahdah & Pedersen, 2011).

The underlying factors contributing to gender discrimination and biases in Kenya, as well as other African countries, can be elucidated from multiple perspectives. These encompass cultural biases and preconceptions that are particularly perceived as hindrances to the advancement of women's empowerment. Within the majority of Kenyan communities, there exists a system whereby social, political, and economic responsibilities are allocated to persons of both genders. This allocation of duties serves to establish and delineate the relationships and social standing of individuals within the broader societal context. For example, it is commonly believed that women possess an inherent understanding of their designated role within the societal framework. According to Ochwada (1997: 21), there exists a societal expectation for women to unquestioningly accept the prevailing assumption that men are inherently inclined towards intellectual pursuits such as critical thinking, philosophy, scientific inquiry, political engagement, breadwinning, and even spiritual leadership. Conversely, women are commonly categorized as homemakers, followers, submissive individuals, laborers, dependents, and primarily fulfill the role of nurturing mothers for the nation.

This elucidates the reasons behind the limited involvement of women in the political decision-making process throughout the majority of pre-colonial and colonial communities in Kenya. With the exception of certain instances observed within the Luo, Kikuyu, Gusii, Giriama, and Meru groups. Within these communities, certain women leaders have been observed to play substantial responsibilities in the realm of leadership among their respective populations (Ahluwalia, 1996). The aforementioned leaders encompassed Chief Mang'ana of Kadem (Luo), Wangu Wa Makeri (Kikuyu), Moraa Moka Ngiti (Gusii), Mekatilili (Giriama), and Ciokalaine - 0 - M'barungu (Meru) (Nzomo, 1995).

Despite their involvement in administration at the apex of the political hierarchy, it remains evident that men were the primary agents and keepers of actual power inside these cultures. Furthermore, it is worth noting that within the realm of economics, men held a dominant position and assumed the role of ultimate decision-makers. For example,

the authors provided guidance on the utilization of agricultural surplus within households, which resulted in the overall marginalization of women. Drawing upon this notion, radical feminism posits that women occupied a lower position relative to men among indigenous communities.

Upon reflection, it can be observed that colonialism implemented legislative measures in Kenya with the aim of promoting colonial control and the exploitation of the African population. The educational system underwent restructuring in order to align with the objectives and priorities of the colonial powers. The colonialists exhibited a significant degree of ethnocentrism when addressing matters pertaining to social, political, and economic domains (Nzomo, 1995). African institutions were analyzed through the lens of Western cultural values. Therefore, according to the colonialists' perspective on gender relations, men held the true authority. The concentration of power was predominantly observed among men, a pattern that was further maintained to maximize economic benefits for the colonial capitalists. According to Nzomo (1995), many legislations were implemented, such as labour laws, tax regulations, rules concerning the mobility of individuals, and the land tenure system.

The absence of provisions for women to hold land within these laws resulted in the marginalization and disempowerment of women in gender relations. Furthermore, it was observed that women were confined to rural regions, while men were obligated to engage in labor for the colonial administration, as well as on European settler agricultural estates and industrial enterprises. The colonial administration in Kenya functioned as a mechanism for facilitating primitive accumulation by implementing commercial and banking systems that heavily favored men. Additionally, the colonial power engaged in the appropriation of land and livestock from African communities, implemented coercive labor practices, and constructed port facilities and railways (Berman & Lonsdale, 1980). These techniques were utilized to exploit and dehumanize Africans, significantly impacting gender relations as a whole.

As an illustration, women experienced an increased burden of community responsibilities in addition to their traditionally assigned domestic obligations within the household. In addition, colonialism began to acknowledge four distinct systems pertaining to marriage:

Customary Law, Moslem Law, Hindu Law, and Civil Law, the latter of which encompasses the English concept of life and Christian ethos. Nevertheless, among the four legal systems analyzed, only Civil Law and Hindu Law acknowledge monogamous marriages, but Customary Law and Moslem Law also recognize polygamous partnerships (Kameri-Mbote 1995). However, it can be argued that the concepts of separation and divorce are inherently intertwined with the fundamental principles of patriarchy. It has been observed that men possess a greater degree of entitlement to property compared to women within the context of the institution of marriage.

Throughout the nationalist fight in Kenya, women transcended the confines of stereotypical roles that relegated them to the domestic sphere. Instead, they actively engaged in the decolonization process, contributing significantly to the efforts of liberation. The question of whether women experienced the impact of colonialism similarly to men has been a subject of intense scholarly discussion within the field of decolonization literature (Presely, 1992). The introduction of colonialism has profound consequences on the gender dynamics of the Kenyan population. For example, the Kikuyu, Maasai, and Kalenjin populations experienced significant land dispossession. The implementation of taxation and forced labor had a profound impact on several societies in Kenya.

These factors had a significant influence on the social and economic dynamics between men and women throughout the entire country. This elucidates the significant transformation of women's societal roles by the 1930s, wherein they had assumed the position of wage laborers and experienced adverse consequences attributable to British colonialism. Indeed, by the late 1930s, certain women in Kenya had successfully formed influential associations of individuals engaged in the profession of sex labor. During the colonial period, the emergence of three separate groups of sex workers can be observed, namely: watembezi (street walkers), Malaya (those who resided in their rooms awaiting clients), and wazi-wazi (open). Similar to men, women too have to actively pursue jobs in order to meet their financial needs (Muli, 1992).

The constraints brought about by colonialism in Kenya necessitated women to actively advocate for modifications within the African indigenous social framework. The Kikuyu

women, for instance, enthusiastically participated in African nationalism with their male counterparts. Nevertheless, in instances where males failed to acknowledge their involvement in the decision-making procedure by confining women to traditional home responsibilities, women expressed their dissent and established the Mumbi Central Association (MCA) in 1930. The primary objective of this organization was to advocate for women's rights and liberation from colonial rule. Subsequently, Kenyan women persistently advocated for their integration into the political mainstream, as documented by Muli (1992).

Over time, men developed the perception that women were their allies in the pursuit of nationalist objectives. Women had a significant role in the Mau Mau independence movement, actively participating in military engagements, engaging in political decision-making processes, and even assuming the responsibility of giving traditionally male-exclusive oaths inside the Kikuyu community (Kanogo, 1987; Presley, 1992). This event signified the initiation of a shift in gender roles within the Kikuyu society, mirroring similar changes observed in other Kenyan societies.

Upon achieving independence, nationalist leaders made a solemn commitment to uphold and protect the fundamental principles of human rights and equality. This also implied that women will be incorporated into the government process of Kenya. The Government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, titled "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya," explicitly outlined the principle of gender equality in political participation in Kenya. This principle encompassed equal opportunities for men and women, including the right to run for elective positions, as enshrined in the independence constitution of Kenya. According to Oduol's observation, though;

Women came to the realization that, similar to how their contributions were disregarded in the colonial period, the attainment of independence would not yield significant improvements in their circumstances. The administration shown a deficiency in ensuring equitable inclusion of women in the nation's economic, political, and social institutions. The initial period of independence till 1971 does not demonstrate significant milestones in terms of women's participation. According to Oduol (1993:28),

During the Lancaster Conference in 1962, which marked the negotiations for Kenya's independence constitution, a female representative was present alongside a delegation consisting of five male members. The individual in question was Mama Priscilla Ingasiani Abwao. The governor appointed her as the inaugural African female member of the Legislative Council (Legco). She exhibited strong moral principles and actively supported the advancement of women's rights. The examination of this historical account holds significance in order to ascertain the extent of women's involvement in the process of decision-making (Tripp, 2017). Nevertheless, the initial constitution of Kenya exhibited gender discrimination by prioritizing personal laws over the rights of women. According to Section 82(4) of the constitution of Kenya, discrimination is generally forbidden, with the exception of cases involving non-citizens and situations related to adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, devolution of property upon death, and questions of personal law.

The issue of women's under-representation in the public decision-making sphere in post-independence Kenya is a cause for concern, as it reveals a gender bias within the country's political dynamics. Between the years 1963 and 1969, there was a notable absence of female representation in Kenya's National Assembly, as evidenced by Johnson's research in 1990. During the period from 1969 to 1974, there was a modest improvement in the representation of women in Parliament, with their presence comprising 0.56 percent and 8 percent of the elected and nominated members, respectively. In the latter part of the 1980s, the parliamentary representation in Kenya witnessed the presence of 5 women who were elected and 2 women who were nominated as members of Parliament. The visual representation shown few changes despite the subsequent implementation of a multi-party political system in the nation in 1991. The pluralist political system, which pledged to facilitate widespread engagement in the democratic process, has failed to fulfill its commitment. However, it is worth noting that there has been a marginal rise in the presence of women in Parliament, as shown by Ochwada (1997).

In the year 2010, there emerged a genuine sense of optimism regarding the pursuit of gender egalitarianism, as a constitution that prioritized gender sensitivity was successfully ratified and implemented. The inclusion of a strong and gender-specific

affirmative action clause in this legislation was seen as a significant advancement and a promising step towards achieving gender equality in the nation. This provision aimed to promote the representation of women in both elected and appointed positions, thereby fostering a more egalitarian society. According to Cheeseman (2014), Article 8 (b) stipulates that the electoral system must adhere to the premise of ensuring that no more than two thirds of the members are of the same gender. These clauses were intentionally implemented in Kenya as strategic measures to promote gender mainstreaming. One of the notable provisions adopted by the constitution was the acknowledgment of women's rights as fundamental human rights. This recognition encompasses the principles of dignity and encompasses several aspects such as economic, social, and cultural rights. These rights include but are not limited to the right to education, housing, health, and reproductive healthcare. The principle of equality and non-discrimination, which is enshrined as a fundamental value of leadership, is articulated in the Constitution of Kenya (2010).

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) outlines a set of national values and principles of government, which encompass various key elements such as human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusion, equality, human rights, non-discrimination, and the safeguarding of marginalized groups, among other important considerations. In accordance with the provisions outlined in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, Kenyan women have been granted the authority to confer citizenship upon children born outside of Kenya with non-Kenyan males, as well as upon their foreign spouses. This marks a significant development, as it represents the first instance in the past five decades since Kenya gained independence where such empowerment has been extended to Kenyan women.

The Kenyan Constitution contains sections that demonstrate a strong dedication to fulfilling international and regional obligations derived from treaties, conventions, and other commitments that have been signed and approved. Kenya has ratified two significant treaties, namely the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEAFDAW) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (PACHPR), which play a crucial role in advancing women's rights. The African Call has strived to achieve equal female representation, aiming for a 50:50 ratio.

In recent times, the Kenyan parliament has enacted legislative frameworks that provide the necessary support for the implementation of the Constitution. The legislative acts that are relevant to the discussion are as follows: a) The Marriage Act (No. 4 of 2014), b) The Protection Against Domestic Violence Act (No. 21 of 2015), c) The Basic Education Act, d) The Matrimonial Property Act (No. 49 of 2013), e) The Micro and Small Enterprises Act (No. 55 of 2012), f) The Employment and Labour Relations Court Act, g) The Treaty Making Ratification Act 2012, h) The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act 2011, i) The Counter Trafficking in Persons Act 2010, j) The Sexual Offences Act 2006, k) The Citizenship and Immigration Act, 2011, l) The Law of Succession Act 2012, and m) The National Gender and Equality Act 2011.

The policy framework encompasses various components, including but not limited to: a) The National Gender and Development Policy 2000, which is currently being reviewed to ensure its alignment with the new constitution. b) Sessional paper No 2 on gender equality and Development 2006. d) The Kenya Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth Creation (2003-2007). e) The National Policy for Response to Gender Based Violence. g) The National Policy for the Abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation, among other policies.

To promote the realization of gender equality and the eradication of discrimination, the government has established the State Department of Gender within the Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender. This department is tasked with several responsibilities, including the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming across various ministries, departments, agencies, as well as at the devolved county level and within the private sector. Additionally, it is responsible for promoting the development and revision of gender policies and legislation, as well as overseeing the implementation of socio-economic empowerment initiatives aimed at benefiting women and youth. In spite of the provisions outlined in the aforementioned articles and constitutional texts, there has been a persistent exacerbation of the gender disparity in Kenya. This study aims to investigate the persistence of patriarchal structures in Homa-Bay County, Kenya, since 1895, and its impact on the quest of gender egalitarianism.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Scholarly investigations have indicated that during the pre-colonial era in Homa-Bay County, women actively participated in decision-making procedures, engaged in communal rituals, and played a significant role in the local economy through trade and agriculture. However, it is evident that in contemporary society, women in this region continue to experience marginalization across various domains of involvement. The enduring effects of colonial policy on gender relations, namely around property rights and political discrimination, are still evident in Homa-Bay County today. The political landscape of Homa-Bay has exhibited insufficient progress in promoting gender equality, notwithstanding the liberalization of democracy in Kenya since 1992.

Despite the presence of a constitution that espouses principles of gender equality and women's empowerment, gender inequality continues to persist as a significant concern within Homa Bay County, located in Kenya. According to the gender policy of Homa Bay County in 2020, it has been observed that women in Homa Bay County experience several forms of discrimination, including but not limited to issues related to property ownership, sexual assault, and limited access to education. The prevalence of wife inheritance and other antiquated cultural customs has a detrimental impact on the empowerment of women. Given the current circumstances, the KELIN Kenya organization has undertaken the task of providing training to elders and women residing in Homa Bay County.

The objective of this initiative is to enhance their understanding of land and property rights, with the ultimate aim of empowering them to act as catalysts for societal transformation, thereby mitigating instances of gender-based discrimination. The training conducted in Homa Bay town, spanning from the 21st to the 23rd of October, was influenced by a patriarchal framework, traditional practices, and historical legislation that imposed additional challenges on women, particularly in relation to their ability to obtain and possess assets, including land.

The achievement of gender equality and women's empowerment has been hindered by the patriarchal social order, which is upheld by statutory, religious, and customary laws and practices, as well as the administrative and procedural processes for obtaining rights.

The implementation of progressive legal measures has not resulted in complete gender equality in practical terms, hence necessitating an examination of the efforts to achieve gender egalitarianism in Homa-Bay County, Kenya, since 1894, in light of the continued existence of patriarchy.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General objective of the study

The general objective in this study was to investigate the historical developments on gender equality in Homa Bay County since 1894.

1.3.2 Specific objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. Investigate the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in Homa Bay in the pre-colonial period upto 1894
- ii. Examine the influence of colonial policies on gender relations in Homa Bay (1894-1963)
- iii. Evaluate gender equality mitigation in and its impact on women of Homa Bay between 1963 to 2021

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What was the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the pre-colonial Homa-Bay upto 1894?
- ii. What was the influence of colonial policies on gender relations in Homa Bay County(1894-1963)?
- iii. What are the gender equality mitigations and its impact on women of Homa Bay from 1963 to 2021?

1.5 Significance of the study

This research investigates the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics throughout the pre-colonial era. It sheds light on the enduring presence of patriarchal ideologies and behaviors within traditional Kenyan communities, which detrimentally affect the status of women's rights within society. The potential for exacerbating conflicts between genders and causing family disorganization arises from the presence of patriarchy and other

cultural biases. To mitigate these effects, it is imperative to identify and eliminate harmful cultural practices, while also enforcing legal provisions that safeguard women's rights and overall welfare.

This study offers a comprehensive overview of the underlying factors contributing to gender discrimination and biases in Kenya, as well as other African nations. It specifically examines cultural preconceptions and stereotypes that perpetuate the marginalization of women, particularly in relation to their empowerment. This statement also elucidates the underlying foundations of patriarchy, which have resulted in the allocation of social, political, and economic responsibilities predominantly to men within the majority of Kenyan communities. Consequently, this has led to the marginalization of women within the political sphere. Contemporary researchers have failed to adequately address certain underlying difficulties, as they have been influenced by prevailing western modes of thought.

This study elucidates the influence of colonial policies on gender dynamics by examining a range of legislative measures and policies implemented in Kenya during the colonial era. These measures were designed to facilitate colonial dominance and the exploitation of the African population, primarily by incorporating men into the colonial capitalist system, consequently marginalizing women. The discourse also encompasses an examination of instances wherein the government of independence and nationalist leaders failed to uphold their commitments to protect human rights and promote equality.

This study emphasizes the elements of the 2010 constitution regarding gender mainstreaming, as well as the progressive articles that demonstrate the adherence to international and regional commitments on gender relations. This study provides an in-depth analysis of the many policy frameworks that have been formulated and implemented in Kenya to address and elucidate the management of gender relations.

This work is a valuable contribution to the field of gender historiography, offering novel methodological and theoretical perspectives that can guide future scholars in their examinations of gender relations within our society. Additionally, it offers valuable insights for government planners and non-governmental groups in their efforts to

promote gender egalitarianism through their initiatives. The study additionally presents insights on pertinent mitigation techniques for integrating gender considerations in Kenya, with the aim of facilitating the advancement of societies towards achieving equitable political participation, economic empowerment, and social dignity.

1.6 Justification of the study

There exists a substantial body of research indicating that the involvement of women in political and developmental endeavors in Kenya yields advantageous outcomes for their respective communities, societies, and the overall promotion of peace and stability. Regrettably, the ongoing presence of gender inequality poses significant obstacles in achieving these objectives. Gender inequality continues to endure despite the presence of various international agreements and legal frameworks that aim to safeguard women's political rights. This necessitates modification. The incorporation of women into political processes and development constitutes a fundamental component in the attainment of a genuinely inclusive democracy. It is imperative that women are afforded the opportunity to exercise their political entitlements and engage in all facets of political decision-making.

Kelin Kenya (2015) asserts that Homa Bay County encounters difficulties pertaining to gender and property rights, which are evident within the socio-economic and political domains. This encompasses the limited access to education for women and the prevailing patriarchal values within the society. According to the aforementioned study, it has been observed that women residing in Homa Bay County have significant challenges in terms of political representation and possess limited authority over property ownership and family resources. According to Yambo's (2012) analysis, it is evident that Homa Bay County is seeing a growing disparity between genders, despite the existence of gender development policies at both the national and county levels. This statement highlights the necessity of conducting an inquiry into the current status of gender relations within Homa Bay County.

According to the Kenya Health Policy Research (KHPR) report of 2019, the female population in Kenya constitutes 52 percent. Nevertheless, they are infrequently included in conventional historical literature. According to Zeleza (2014), there exists a bias

against women in the documentation of historical changes in Africa. This phenomenon is similarly observed in the context of Kenya, as elucidated by Ochwada (1997), who posits that women are mostly overlooked in the majority of historical literature pertaining to Kenya. The author additionally notes that conducting study at the local level is necessary in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the social, economic, and political circumstances that grassroots women experience. This research enhances the comprehension of the discussions around gender dynamics and the impact of patriarchal systems in Homa Bay County. This study addresses a significant lacuna in the historiography of Kenya by enhancing the visibility of women in relation to their contributions to political and social progress within their communities.

The film *Mama* (1995) suggests that the limited participation of women in African governance may have contributed to the delayed scholarly exploration of gender dynamics within the realm of statecraft and politics. However, the author asserts that historically, the majority of national resources and decision-making authority have been concentrated in the domains of statecraft, politics, and government, from which women have been systematically barred (Mama, 1995). The exclusion mentioned above has led to the recognition of women's constitutional and legal status in various levels of government as significant markers of a country's overall level of democracy.

In Africa, including Kenya, women have historically been subjected to oppression and marginalization, despite their significant contribution as a vital national asset (Oduol, 1993). According to Obbo (1980), the inclusion of women's innovative approaches, contributions, and concerns in promoting social unity has the potential to positively impact the overall quality of life within a society. This study makes a valuable contribution to the comprehension of gender inequality in the realm of politics in Kenya. The provided analysis presents a valuable historical perspective that might be of great relevance to individuals, both male and female, who are engaged in the pursuit of achieving gender equality in socio-economic and political spheres.

Gender equality is widely recognized as a fundamental element of sustainable development by various international entities such as the United Nations, regional agencies, development partners, and national governments (Muli, 1992). While the notion

is put into practice through the establishment of policies, legal provisions, and programs in the majority of jurisdictions, the execution and outcomes differ throughout regions and countries, often failing to fully achieve the intended objective. According to the 2016 Africa Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme, the level of gender equality for women and girls in Africa remains significantly inadequate (UNDP, 2016). The assessment of progress in the advancement of gender equality, as well as the recognition of remaining challenges, can be gauged through the examination of the lived experiences of individuals in their daily lives (Nzomo, 1995).

The Round 7 survey conducted by Afrobarometer included a specific module that inquired about the perspectives and encounters of Kenyan individuals about the advancement of equal rights, instances of gender-based discrimination and violence, the election of women to political positions, and the political and civic engagement of women. The responses provided by Kenyans indicate that there are perceived advancements in the realm of gender equality. However, it is evident that there exists an uneven level of support for women's empowerment, particularly among men. This disparity in support has the potential to hinder initiatives that seek to incorporate the principle of gender equality into development agendas and policy discussions.

In many communities in Kenya, there is a prevalent perception that gender is marginalized and relegated to a subordinate status, resulting in the widespread idea that women are primarily suited for domestic roles, particularly in the realm of culinary activities. This phenomenon has resulted in significant distortion of women's representation, both within the context of the family unit and throughout broader societal structures. The Kenyan society can be seen as a manifestation of a conventional patriarchal social structure. The concept being discussed pertains to a social framework characterized by a collection of interpersonal connections rooted on tangible resources, facilitating the exercise of male dominance over females. The Kenyan woman is often perceived as an item that can be exploited for purposes like as prostitution, forced marriage, street selling, and involvement in other forms of trafficking. Consequently, she is marginalized and does not fit into the societal norms. Therefore, the perceived lack of significance attributed to the societal position of women has effectively diminished the average woman to a subordinate object.

Despite the implementation of numerous legislative, institutional, and administrative measures in Kenya since 2010, the patriarchal system continues to persist, so undermining and jeopardizing the well-being and progress of women inside the nation. The majority of scholarly investigations of gender relations emphasize patriarchy as the fundamental cause of gender disparity, spanning from theoretical perspectives to practical applications. These studies also shed light on social institutions, such as the home, school, and religious establishments, as the primary sources of patriarchy.

Kenya has demonstrated a commitment to gender mainstreaming by incorporating it into its constitutional provisions, policies, legislation, and establishing appropriate structures and processes for their implementation. These entities encompass the National Gender Equality Commission as well as the gender issues offices present within all government ministries and departments. Kenya has ratified several international agreements and declarations pertaining to gender equality. These include the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the 1980 Copenhagen World Conference Programme of Action, which emphasized the importance of women's involvement in development as both experts and beneficiaries, and the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which recognized affirmative action as a crucial approach for integrating gender perspectives into policies and programs (United Nations, 1995).

The Draft National Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Policy of Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2017) defines gender equality as the provision of equal opportunity for women and men to achieve their complete human rights and fulfill their potential. This encompasses the imperative of guaranteeing equitable participation and mutual advantages for individuals of both genders in the realms of national political, economic, social, and cultural progress. The strategy delineates women's empowerment as the process of augmenting the position and status of women within society through the integration of gender equality and equity into endeavors such as poverty reduction, democratic governance, crisis prevention and recovery, and sustainable development. Despite the aforementioned commitments, the government itself acknowledges the existence of several gender equality shortcomings. These include insufficient representation of women in elected and appointed positions, economic disparities, and the

persistence of detrimental socio-cultural norms and beliefs in certain communities, such as female genital mutilation and the acceptance of gender-based violence (Government of Kenya, 2017).

The present study aimed to investigate the pursuit of gender egalitarianism in the context of the persistence of patriarchy in Kenya. The study designates the year 1894 as the initial timeframe, acknowledging its significance as the earliest point of examination. However, it maintains a degree of flexibility due to the ongoing exploration of the precolonial society's transformations, which have had enduring effects on the subsequent political landscape of the region. This entailed an analysis of the era preceding 1894. The year 1894 holds particular significance as it marks the period when Western Kenya was placed under the governance of the British authority. In the year under consideration, Sir Colville, the inaugural commissioner of the recently formed administration of the Uganda Protectorate, created an administrative outpost at Mumias, appointing Sir Frederick Valet Spire as its head. The year 1894 is significant as it signifies the commencement of British colonial governance in western Kenya. Our inquiry extended into the year 2021.

1.7 Scope and delimitation of the study

The scope of this study was limited to the physical boundaries of Homa Bay County in Kenya. The research is centered on the time frame spanning from 1894 to 2021. While the year 1894 is identified as the earliest reference point for this study, it is important to note that this starting point is subject to flexibility. The rationale behind this inquiry stems from the necessity to examine the dynamics of gender interactions among pre-colonial societies, since these interactions may have served as a basis for their subsequent engagement in later historical periods. The year 1894 holds significance since it marks the formal establishment of Kenya as a British Protectorate. This study examines the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics throughout the pre-colonial era, as well as the implications of colonial and post-colonial policies on gender relations. Additionally, it explores various techniques aimed at mitigating these effects and their subsequent impact on gender transition. Additionally, it evaluates the current status of gender and political transformation within Homa-Bay County as of 2021.

1.8 Limitations of the study

Counties represent a recent constitutional advancement and establishment, emerging in 2010 with the promulgation of a new constitution. Consequently, locating pertinent instrumental documents pertaining to policies and strategies of the county government in Homa Bay County, specifically addressing gender relations issues, proved to be challenging. The challenge at hand was addressed by conducting oral interviews with key personnel in various county departments, such as the County Assembly Clerk, County Secretary, and Head of County Public Service Board. These interviews were conducted in order to gather information pertaining to the development of gender inequality. Additionally, data from national government and secondary sources were triangulated to further enhance the analysis.

During the course of the research, it was observed that the majority of the existing secondary data pertaining to gender relations mostly focuses on overarching national issues, with limited coverage on individual regions within Kenya, such as Homa Bay County. The resolution of this issue was achieved by the utilization of expert respondents possessing extensive expertise and knowledge in the field of gender relations. Gender-based organizations such as Abedo, PLAN, APHIA, and DREAMS were also shown to be useful.

The research period was marked by the challenge of addressing the subjectivity inherent in both genders while examining issues related to gender relations. Both male and female individuals residing in Homa Bay County has distinct viewpoints, attitudes, and interests regarding gender issues. The resolution of this issue was achieved by corroborating oral information with secondary and archival sources.

1.9 Definition of Terms as used in the study

- Culture conflict Theory:** Readers are expected to understand that this theory is used in this study to show a theory that develops when people adamantly violate set rules and standards because they have different values and beliefs on what is acceptable. There are both primary and secondary culture conflict theories depending on the value and people under study.
- Gender-Egalitarianism:** It is used in the study to explain the doctrine that holds equality of male and female in Homa Bay County. Having rights and privileges from birth without discrimination in the society
- Gender-mainstreaming:** Used in this study to mean legal, conventional and deliberate attempts and strategies aimed at promoting gender equality and perspectives in Homa Bay County.
- Patriarchal society :** This is used to show a society where customs and past discriminatory laws, as well as, socio-economic and political systems are dominated by men rather than female for the benefit of men.
- Persistent patriarchy:** Is used in this study to show how masculine cultural dividend fails to disappear or change in Homa Bay County in spite of national and county gender mainstreaming efforts and strategies. It also indicates the continuity of patriarchal culture in Homa Bay County despite attempts to establish gender egalitarianism in Homa Bay County.

1.10 Literature Review

This section provides an overview of the pertinent literature and associated research pertaining to the topic. Considerable scholarly interest has been directed towards the examination of gender relations and the persistence of patriarchal systems. Nevertheless, the topic of gender relations and patriarchy in Homa Bay County has only recently garnered attention within broader socio-political discussions and scholarly study. As a result, there exists a scarcity of literature on the topic, with limited attention given to the examination of gender dynamics in Homa Bay. Furthermore, the existing studies have predominantly overlooked the exploration of governance, statecraft, and political aspects in relation to survival. Furthermore, the existing literature on gender egalitarianism primarily concentrates on topics historically linked to women and predominantly situated inside the domestic sphere, such as the family, subsistence economics, and various socio-cultural establishments. The literature has been systematically examined according to thematic categories aligned with the research objectives.

1.10.1 Influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the pre-colonial African societies

The presence of patriarchy is seen in virtually all communities around the globe. However, it is important to acknowledge that the nature of [the subject under discussion] varies among societies, within different social strata within the same society, and even across different historical times (Lerner, 1986). The family, seen as the fundamental unit of society, is commonly acknowledged to exhibit a mostly patriarchal structure across various countries. In traditional societal structures, the male figure is commonly regarded as the primary authority inside the family unit, responsible for overseeing the labor or productivity and movement of women. The male members typically exert influence over decisions pertaining to reproduction.

Weiler (2002, p. 104) has observed that women's reproductive arrangements are subject to various forms of patriarchal oppression due to the pervasive male authority under which they reproduce and nurture. Within the realm of religion, it is evident that all globally recognized religions exhibit a patriarchal structure, wherein male dominance is upheld as the ultimate power. According to Brahmanical and Vedic ideas, women were characterized as possessions. According to Desai and Krishnaraj (1987), the Bhagavad-

Gita categorizes women, vaisyas, and shudras together and characterizes them as being born into sin. Additionally, the text states that the consequences for killing either a lady or a shudra are identical. According to Koziel (2017), African traditional religion acknowledges the existence of gender disparity, which is attributed to cultural circumstances.

The presence of patriarchy and its impact on families and religious systems across various societies has been widely acknowledged. However, it is worth noting that the manifestation of patriarchy varies across different regions. In the realm of pre-colonial African history, scholars have dedicated considerable attention to examining gender relations and patriarchy. However, it is notable that previous studies have predominantly focused on either gender or patriarchy in isolation, without establishing a comprehensive connection between the two. The interplay between patriarchy and gender dynamics in pre-colonial Africa was so deeply intertwined that comprehending either concept necessitates an examination of the other (Chereni, 2017). The scholarly discourse surrounding various Kenyan communities exhibits an imbalance in its examination of gender dynamics throughout the pre-colonial era, as well as its exploration of the interplay between gender relations and patriarchy (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). Therefore, it is imperative to analyze the dynamics of gender relations and the persistence of patriarchal structures in Homa Bay County.

Regarding the relations of production in pre-colonial Africa, Parpart (1994) highlighted in a comprehensive historical analysis of the Shona people in Zimbabwe that women were systematically denied the ability to own land. However, it is important to note that they were able to engage in cattle investment, which naturally necessitated access to grazing area. In a separate investigation conducted by Pikirayi (2002), it was observed that within the Zimbabwean culture, women actively participated in economic activities such as agriculture and craft production. While they possessed a certain degree of authority over grain storage, they did not exercise control over the means of production in agriculture and metallurgy. Instead, women primarily contributed to the labor force associated with these occupations.

According to Gray and Kevane (1999), the exclusion of women from direct control over the means of production and the family product can be attributed to patriarchal institutions. They argue that this exclusion was facilitated through the practice of bride wealth, which involved the transfer of a woman's labor and reproductive capacity from her own family to that of her husband. Additionally, bride wealth served as a form of compensation to indemnify the woman's family for the loss of these rights. It is of great importance to analyze gender relations and the persistence of patriarchy in Homa Bay County in order to delineate the historical development of socio-economic and political expressions of this dynamic.

Based on the preceding discussions, it is evident that gender disparities exerted a significant influence on interpersonal relationships within pre-colonial African communities. According to Leeder (2004), cultural interpretations of gender have had a significant effect in shaping societal expectations and individuals' self-perception of their gender identity. The allocation of gender roles within a culture is seemingly determined by the effect of societal conventions, attitudes, and actions. Furthermore, Newman and Grauerholz (2002) argue that disparities in behavior between males and females are not solely attributable to biological distinctions, but are also shaped by societal influences. Consequently, all behavior is inherently gendered or influenced by gender, as individuals' attitudes towards others are influenced by their perceptions of gender, and vice versa.

In accordance with the findings of Lomazzi and Crespi (2019), individuals' roles within the family structure are influenced by their gender-related views, resulting in differential power dynamics where certain individuals exert greater authority. Society plays a significant influence in shaping individuals' identities through imparting societal norms and expectations associated with gender roles, thereby instructing them on the appropriate and inappropriate behaviors deemed suitable for each sex. These positions encompass attitudes and behaviors that are widely recognized and acceptable throughout society, sometimes characterized by prevailing stereotypes. Gendered behaviors are enacted in accordance with societal expectations, which encompass established conventions dictating appropriate attire, communication patterns, emotional expression, occupational engagement, and interpersonal interactions for individuals identifying as female or male, within particular contexts.

The perks and duties of a given position are determined by social standards. In this particular scenario, the responsibilities of the mother, father, daughter, and son are accompanied with distinct statuses (Liczek, 2005). One illustration of conventional gender roles is the assignment of men as the primary earners in the family, with an expectation of assertiveness and decision-making, while women are expected to embody qualities of affection, caring, homemaking, and submissiveness (Lomazzi & Crespi, 2019).

According to Kanogo (2005), when considering the many ethnic groups that comprised pre-colonial Kenyan society, it can be argued that women were systematically prohibited from holding formal politico-judicial authority, which included the power to allocate land, among other responsibilities. According to Kabira (2019), it is argued that Kenyan women exerted authority in various capacities. This authority was evident in their roles as mothers, particularly in relation to their daughters. Additionally, they exercised control over the education of their brothers' children. Furthermore, women held influence as ancestors, regulating the reproductive capabilities of their female descendants, although the extent to which they could control their own fertility remains uncertain. Moreover, women who possessed specialized skills in areas such as pottery or healing held power over the earnings derived from their own work. Lastly, as mothers of married daughters who had paid for accommodation, women also had authority over property.

According to Robertson and Berger (1986), it can be observed that in pre-colonial African communities, older males possessed greater political authority and enjoyed more access to productive resources compared to women. However, it is important to note that women also possessed a significant degree of autonomy, which played a role in mitigating the prevalence of male dominance. According to Tripp (2001), certain cultures exhibited a system wherein women possessed authority structures that ran parallel to those of men. These structures facilitated women's ability to exercise power over their respective domains of activity. The author maintains that women's involvement in agriculture and their roles as both social and biological reproducers granted them various sorts of power and status, hence refuting the notion that they were solely subjected to male control without agency. They had the capacity to exercise control over several aspects of society, including daily activities, ownership of land, religious ceremonies, and

even the domain of politics. Nevertheless, the advent of colonial governance precipitated a scenario in which gender dynamics were altered and manipulated to align with the new conditions. According to McClendon (1995, pp. 535-536), the establishment of a new social order resulted in the reinforcement of gender power dynamics, specifically the subjection of women. This was facilitated by the intersection of patriarchy within traditional cultures and the influence of colonialism.

1.10.2 Gender relations in Africa during the colonial period

The implementation of neo-patrimonialism and the delegation of power to indigenous male leaders via the mechanism of indirect rule resulted in the marginalization of women in the realm of political advancement inside the colony. Njoku (2005) asserts that the implementation of indirect rule by colonial powers during the era of colonization facilitated the subjugation of the domestic sphere, allowing indigenous male leaders to exert control over gender dynamics by redefining various aspects such as women's societal roles, sexuality, marital practices, divorce, adultery, and childbirth.

African chiefs and male elders, who were entrusted with the responsibility of adjudicating cases based on customary law, developed norms that resulted in an increase in their authority relative to women (Geisler, 2004). As a result, the codification of customary law placed significant emphasis on the privileges and dominance of males and seniors, while concurrently highlighting the subordinate status and subservience of women and younger men. The laws pertaining to personal concerns, particularly those related to gender dynamics in the context of marriage, divorce, inheritance, child custody, and property rights within marriage, were significantly impacted (Chanock, 1982). According to Amadiume (1987), the colonial state played a significant role in facilitating the creation and formalization of gender discriminatory laws. These laws not only justified the marginalization of African women in political affairs but also reinforced their subordinate position within the private sphere. Consequently, this initiated a pattern where gender reforms are driven by the objective of reinforcing the dominant patriarchal political power held by the elite.

The implementation of these laws resulted in a decrease in women's ability to obtain productive resources, including land and opportunities in the labor market. Consequently,

this further solidified the exploitation of female labor for the advantage of male patriarchs, the capitalist system, and the governing authorities. The colonial officials, acknowledging the significance of male elders in upholding local authority, accepted this interpretation, albeit with their own contributions, as they understood the crucial role of sustaining colonial order (Pateman, 2016). Moreover, the establishment of the Native Authorities and Native Authority Courts served to strengthen the power of local leaders in enforcing the rebuilt customary law (Parpart, 1994).

The status of women was further deteriorated due to the displacement of their land by white immigrants, the implementation of Hut and Poll taxes, and the following departure of male laborers. The imposition of taxes by the colonial state was aimed at compelling African men to seek employment on settler farms or in urban areas as a means to afford their tax obligations (Kitching, 1980). Consequently, this policy resulted in a significant exodus of male individuals. As a consequence, women assumed an indirect role in bearing the tax burdens of men, given that husbands and sons frequently engaged in extended absences (Kabira, 2019).

The labor time of women grew excessively utilized as they were required to sustain agricultural output in the absence of male counterparts, with the objective of providing sustenance for themselves and their offspring. According to Kitching (1980), the implementation of the new rules established the necessary legal framework for facilitating transformative shifts in the social, cultural, and economic aspects of African women's responsibilities. As exemplified, the colonial labor market's preference for male workers resulted in men assuming the role of primary income earners. Consequently, this shift in economic dynamics had a transformative effect on the gender identities of rural African women, as they were no longer the principal providers of income or wealth (Nzomo, 1996).

On one side, this phenomenon facilitated the transition of males from customary economic activities to concrete economic pursuits. On the other hand, it resulted in the relegation of women to the realm of unpaid household labor encompassing both productive and reproductive tasks. This particular situation not only resulted in a modification of gender power dynamics and further marginalization of women, but it also

serves as an illustration of how gender relations may be manipulated and controlled by the elite in order to serve the interests of the state and patrilineal lineage (Nasong'o & Ayot, 2007).

According to Biscaldi (2017), during the colonial era, the representation of women in public positions was significantly limited, despite the fact that women were granted suffrage rights in the 1950s in the South and in the 1980s in the North. The Women's War of 1929, sometimes referred to as the Aba Women's Riots, was a significant instance in which Igbo market women employed their customary influence to challenge British taxation. This event serves as a prominent illustration of women leveraging their traditional authority to resist colonial governance (Koziel, 2017). Women, burdened by their roles as caregivers and financial providers for their families, collectively advocated for their own sphere of influence within both the extended family unit and the broader community.

The engagement of women in political events throughout the colonial era in Africa was significant, as seen by the experiences of the Yoruba and Igbo communities. Within the framework of dual-sex systems characterized by female and male power, women played a crucial role in freedom fights and made vital contributions. According to Kozieł (2017), women residing in southern Nigeria actively contributed to the freedom movement by effectively mobilizing themselves through various associations, such as the Market women, in order to collectively advocate for their cause. This action was undertaken due to the implementation of certain legislation and restrictions by colonialists that restricted the social, economic, and political rights and opportunities available to women.

Kanogo (2005) asserts that throughout the colonial period in Kenya, African women experienced oppression and occupied a subordinate position relative to African men. In the treatise titled "African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900–50," Amutambi (2007) makes the observation that there appeared to be a collaboration between Europeans and African elders in the legal oppression of women. This collaboration resulted in a situation where, during the colonial administration, individuals in positions of authority expressed little satisfaction with the prevailing definition of women's legal status (Kanogo, 2005, p. 17). Kanogo suggests the existence of a gender conspiracy, wherein men conspire against

women. According to Zeleza's observation in 2003, African men maintained a dominant role in the generation of knowledge across numerous subjects. However, this dominance was accompanied with a tendency to marginalize and devalue the contributions of women, hence perpetuating gender inequalities.

Women in Kenya actively engaged in various stages of the anti-colonial conflict as early as the 1950s. Female individuals actively participated in the clandestine Mau Mau movement that surfaced subsequent to 1948, whereby they willingly pledged their allegiance to the cause (Nyagosia & Nyamwaka, 2017). In the context of traditional practices, the act of making a serious commitment was predominantly associated with males. However, with the emergence of the Mau Mau movement, women also participated in taking oaths and assumed the role of administering oaths to both male and female recruits. According to Ogamba (2017), the participation of Mau Mau women devotees in the movement was significant as they challenged traditional gender roles by actively engaging in the process of delivering and receiving vows.

Gender barriers were successfully dismantled in both leadership roles and combat roles. Prominent female commanders, namely Rebecca Njeri Kari and Wambui Waiyaki (later Otieno), played significant roles within the women's wing of Mau Mau. They were instrumental in establishing a network of female spies and gathering intelligence on British facilities and operations (Nyagosia & Nyamwaka, 2017). Furthermore, women have also emerged as leaders at both the district and village levels. Throughout the revolt, the British political and military entities apprehended, incarcerated, and confined both the leadership and ordinary members of the Mau Mau movement. Females were among the individuals who were apprehended and held in custody. Prominent female leaders, such as Kari, Waiyaki, and Wambui Wangarama, were subjected to prolonged periods of incarceration due to their political convictions (Ogamba, 2017).

Contrary to the assertions that portray women in colonial spaces as helpless, Kanogo (2005) argues that the colonial system actually had some positive effects on the role of women in Kenyan society. Kanogo observes that women in colonial Kenya employed various strategies to negotiate against adversity and even exerted influence on diverse social processes. According to the author, the colonial system created conditions that

facilitated the empowerment of women, as the introduction of formal colonial legal procedures had an impact on the societal perception of women and provided them with opportunities to express themselves and exert agency within the framework of cultural norms and customary laws (Author's Last Name, p. 42). Kanogo argues that African women were to some degree benefited by colonial legislation, as the colonial mindset prioritized the restructuring of social systems in a manner that favored women (Kanogo, p. 59).

1.10.3 Gender mitigation strategies and their effect on political transformation in post- colonial societies

The evident outcome of the prevailing male hegemony in social, economic, and political spheres facilitated by colonial institutions in Africa was the persistent marginalization of women from these domains during the time of independence (Kamau, 2008). The issue of women's marginalization in terms of political leadership prospects and access to resources is prevalent in several independent African nations (Amutabi, 2007). In addition to reinforcing and validating patriarchal norms, the post-independence government of Kenya also organized the political landscape in a manner that restricted, and in some cases obstructed, the possibility of women assuming leadership positions. The political landscape and governance were mostly controlled by a predominantly male governing political elite, which exhibited an unabashed adherence to masculinist ideologies (Kamau, 2008). In their pursuit of hegemony, the post-independent nations employed women's subordination and the ideology of male domination as cohesive elements that could mobilize collective backing from men, in conjunction with the implementation of neo-patrimonial politics (Desai, 1987).

Fatton (1989) posits a comparable line of reasoning, contending that the marginalization of women in Africa can be attributed to the dominance of the ruling class inside post-independent African nations. The ruling class, burdened by the historical inheritance of colonialism characterized by bureaucratic authoritarianism, widespread patron-client relationships, and a multifaceted ethnic dynamic of assimilation, fragmentation, and competition, faced a legitimacy deficit. Consequently, their primary focus was on safeguarding their own interests, often at the detriment of marginalized groups, including women. During this particular process, gender was employed as a tool to solidify the

stratification of social classes. This entailed the ruling class impeding the inclusion of self-governing and self-reliant women by dismantling their independent channels of representation and diminishing their involvement in the decision-making process (Fatton, 1989, p. 47-57).

This implies that post-colonial African leaders failed to fulfill their commitments to address women's issues and promote gender equality, which were initially promised during the nationalism movements. Contrary to the notion of empowering women, the governments that emerged in Sub-Saharan Africa after gaining independence aimed to confine women to domestic roles and establish a distinct African female identity that aligned with tradition and represented African nationalism (Walby, 2013). The aforementioned construction was commonly followed by moral discussions that centered around women's sexuality, thereby assuming a pivotal role in the concepts of nationhood and national identity. The discourses prioritized the idealization of motherhood while neglecting to acknowledge women's additional social, economic, and political responsibilities.

The lack of commitment by the African state and governing class towards women's emancipation can be attributed to their complicity in perpetuating patriarchal structures, which ultimately serves their own interests. According to the observations made by Obbo (1980), the African elite rely significantly on the patriarchal family production system in order to generate surplus resources that they appropriate for their own power and wealth. Consequently, they have demonstrated a willingness to utilize state institutions as a means to uphold and perpetuate African patriarchy. For instance, despite the establishment of legislative frameworks in many African nations to ensure gender equality in land ownership, women still face several obstacles related to social, economic, and cultural factors that hinder their ability to access and have control over land (Harrington & Chopra, 2010). Longwe and Clarke (1994) assert that gender inequality is not a result of arbitrary or unreasonable disparities, a viewpoint that is consistently supported by this observation. Instead, it is inherent to a system of patriarchal dominance, which is administered by males for their personal advantage. In his seminal work published in 1989, Obbo explores the significance of discourses surrounding the ideal woman and her reproductive capacity in relation to the construction of national identity.

The adverse consequences of patriarchy and male dominance within power structures have been further intensified by the neo-patrimonial characteristics of Kenyan politics. By establishing a setting wherein the pursuit of state power is driven by personal gain and wealth. The primary objective of the majority of politicians and political parties is to acquire and maintain power. This is achieved by appointing political allies to public positions and distributing public resources among ethnic power bases, thereby garnering political support and legitimacy (Cammack et al., 2007). Due to the presence of a gender component in the structure and functioning of patron-client relationships, negotiations typically occur in private settings. Consequently, Kenyan women have predominantly been marginalized as beneficiaries within the context of state-associated clientelism (Tripp, 2001). Instead, male political elites at the national level sustain their authority by collaborating with male leaders from sub-national ethnic and religious factions.

Elections exhibit a heightened level of competitiveness, leading certain candidates to resort to electoral malpractices like as violence and bribery in order to secure victory. These unethical tactics have the adverse effect of discouraging women from actively participating in the democratic process (Mama, 1995). Moreover, it is frequently observed that women have a dearth of financial resources, which hinders their ability to effectively engage in political campaigns or get access to male-dominated clientelistic networks that exert significant influence over electoral processes. Various barriers hinder women as a collective entity, irrespective of their socioeconomic status and ethnic backgrounds, from engaging in their constitutionally granted entitlement to vote and engage in political activities (Robertson & Berger, 1986).

The exclusion of women results in their limited representation in state government, leading to the marginalization of women's issues (Fatton, 1989). For instance, in addition to Rwanda, which exhibits a parliamentary participation of over 50% by females, followed by South Africa with 46%, numerous countries within the continent significantly trail behind in this aspect (Devlin & Elgie, 2008). According to Yoon (2011), the Sub-Saharan region exhibits a female Parliamentary representation of approximately 20 percent. Although there have been some women involved in Kenyan politics, their representation has been limited and they have often been influenced by an androcentric political culture or have been closely associated with the ruling class

through femocracy, so limiting their effectiveness in addressing the needs of the majority of Kenyan women.

According to Mama (1995), femocracies manipulate the dedication of the global movement aimed at achieving increased gender equality to serve the interests of a select group of privileged women. In the context of Kenya, the implementation of femocracy has not only resulted in the exclusive allocation of patronage networks to privileged women, but has also contributed to the perpetuation of patriarchal societal structures. This phenomenon arises from the assumption made by femocrats that they possess the authority to represent the interests and concerns of all female citizens. However, it is important to note that they often align themselves with the political objectives of their husbands and/or male relatives (Gouws, 2016).

This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that a significant majority of female political leaders tend to have affiliations with the ruling elite either through their social class or marital connections. In December 2001, the ruling party KANU initiated a parliamentary motion with the objective of diminishing the quantity of female nominees to the East African Legislative Assembly (Nasong'o, 2007). Three female Members of Parliament nominated by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), one of whom holds a leadership position in the Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO), chose not to participate in the voting process. Conversely, a female nominee from a different political party actively voted in favor of the resolution. The potential explanation for the lack of advocacy for women's issues by Kenyan women leaders may be attributed to the prevalent practice of appointing women to leadership roles primarily as a symbolic gesture or as a means of rewarding political allies, rather than as a genuine commitment to advancing women's rights.

Hence, the political and policy power of female leaders is contingent upon their affiliation with a patron, rather than only relying on their positions inside the legislative body. According to Njoya (2009), the presence of defective masculinities in Kenya's political systems and institutions hinders the potential for women in politics to effectively challenge and transform gender relations, as they often become assimilated into male-dominated spaces. The assumption that the mere placement of women in positions of

authority inherently leads to advancements in gender equality, justice, and peace should be critically examined.

The notion of affirmative action was incorporated into the Kenya Constitution of 2010 with the aim of promoting gender equality and facilitating the equitable involvement of both men and women in government. While the existing body of research on the advantages of greater female representation in Parliament lacks definitive conclusions, empirical studies have indicated that women in positions of political leadership contribute unique perspectives, experiences, and expertise to the political arena. Moreover, these studies have found that female political leaders exhibit a higher propensity than their male counterparts to prioritize legislation that promotes the interests of women, particularly in areas such as education, healthcare, childcare, and the prevention of violence against women (Tripp & Kang, 2008). Vyas-Doorgapersad (2014) asserts that feminist research has demonstrated that the inclusion of women in leadership and management roles can offer a distinct viewpoint on political leadership. Griffin and Newman (2005) have observed that the inclusion of women legislators in the United States of America has led to a greater emphasis on various important issues, such as healthcare, childcare and support, sexual harassment, domestic violence, and gender-based wage disparities.

The Constitution of Kenya, enacted in 2010, includes provisions for gender quotas as a form of affirmative action. Quotas serve as a manifestation of affirmative action or equal opportunity strategies aimed at mitigating the persistent sluggishness in the inclusion of women and minority groups in sectors of society where their presence has historically been lacking, such as the realms of employment, education, and political institutions (Dimitrova-Grajzl & Obasanjo, 2019). In order to enhance the participation of women in the decision-making procedures at the national level, Article 81(b) of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya stipulates that "the electoral system must adhere to the following principle: the proportion of members belonging to the same gender in elective public bodies should not exceed two thirds." In order to guarantee adherence, Article 27(8) additionally requires the state to enact legislative and other measures for the purpose of implementing the concept outlined in Article 81(b). The significance of these clauses lies in the fact that the historical exclusion of women from state organizations responsible for

policy-making has resulted in not only the implementation of policies that prioritize males over women, but also the marginalization of matters pertaining to women.

Despite the failure to fully meet the Constitutional standards for women's representation, it is noteworthy to observe the notable growth in the presence of women within the legislative bodies of Kenya. It is anticipated that the expression of women's and gender-related matters by the women's representative would have a higher degree of prominence when compared to previous years. However, this has not been the case. Contrarily, female representatives have faced allegations of prioritizing their personal interests, akin to their male counterparts, so neglecting the interests of the group they were intended to represent. The female legislators have additionally faced allegations of collaborating with the political parties that endorsed their candidacy, thereby potentially disadvantaging women as a collective.

1.11 Theoretical framework

This research employs the framework of patriarchal theory to analyze the progress made towards achieving gender equality in Homa-Bay County, in the face of the continued existence of patriarchal systems, starting from 1894. The term "patriarchy" has undergone redefinition in recent decades in order to examine the historical roots and contemporary circumstances surrounding the subjugation of women by men (Asiyanbola, 2005). Initially, the term was employed to delineate the authority wielded by the paternal figure in the domestic sphere. The term 'patriarchy' has been employed to describe the systematic arrangement of male dominance and female submission in the post-1960s era (Stacey, 1993). Scholars within the field of feminist theory have posited that throughout many historical manifestations of patriarchal societies, such as feudal, capitalist, or socialist systems, there exists a concurrent operation of a sex gender system and an economic discrimination system. These thinkers conceptualize patriarchy as an inequitable social structure that imposes oppression upon women.

According to Makama (2013), patriarchy can be understood as an extensive framework or structure of hierarchical arrangement that spans various domains such as politics, economics, social dynamics, religion, culture, industry, and finance. Within this framework, a significant majority of the highest-ranking positions in society are held or

controlled by men, indicating their dominance. Therefore, this study examines any institution that implements a hierarchical structure that grants men unjustifiable privileges over women as patriarchal.

The patriarchal theory provides a comprehensive explanation for the repressive and exploitative dynamics that exist between men and women within society. It serves to define the nature of gender relations across various domains of interaction. The utilization of patriarchal theory facilitates the examination and classification of various manifestations of gender dynamics that have arisen in contemporary society, leading to the subjugation and mistreatment of women. According to Abbott and Wallace (2006), the theory classifies various manifestations of exploitation and oppression into three categories: materialistic, sexual, and cultural.

The materialistic perspective posits that the oppression of women is a systemic phenomenon that is inherent in the societal framework. This particular theoretical framework examines the subordination of women as being rooted in material conditions, specifically within the context of capitalism and a class-based society that is organized through hierarchical patriarchal structures. The argument put forth by this group is based on two underlying premises. One primary factor is the socialization of women into occupations that often offer lower wages. Furthermore, women not only participate in paid labor but also perform unpaid household labor that falls beyond the realm of capitalist production (Ogle & Batton, 2009).

The labor performed within households, commonly referred to as domestic labor, is characterized by its lack of monetary compensation and is notably excluded from economists' calculations when determining a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the context of capitalist systems, it is imperative to acknowledge the indispensable role of household labor in facilitating the smooth functioning and perpetuation of the economic machinery. According to Walby (2013), this theory posits that domestic work or housework constitutes a form of productive labor and serves as a concealed means of generating profit inside the capitalist system. In contrast to the perspective held by many Marxists, several historians argue that it was inconceivable for working-class men to act as oppressors within their own households, or for women belonging to the bourgeois

class to experience oppression as well (Delphy, 2016). Therefore, this study offers a critique of the materialist perspective, particularly the orthodox interpretations rooted in Marxism, due to their excessive focus on material variables and class analysis.

According to Pateman (2016), feminist and political theorists argue that the distinction between masculinity and femininity, as constructed by patriarchal systems, represents a political dichotomy between freedom and subordination. Within feminist philosophy, the notion of patriarchy frequently encompasses the various societal mechanisms that perpetuate and enforce male supremacy over women. Feminist theory commonly conceptualizes patriarchy as a societal construct that may be surmounted through the process of uncovering and critically examining its various expressions (Caprioli, 2004). This study conceptualizes patriarchy as a hierarchical structure characterized by male dominance, exerting oppressive control over women throughout various social, political, and economic spheres.

According to the perspective of radical feminists, the subjugation of women is not primarily derived from economic ties, but rather from particular dynamics related to reproduction and sexuality. According to Robertson (1986), it is argued that housework might be conceptualized as the reproduction of labor power rather than the production of labor power. According to Firestone (2015), a radical feminist, the concept of sex-class is distinct from economic class as it originates directly from biological differences between men and women, suggesting that they were formed inherently unequal rather than equal (Weeks, 2015). This work critiques the stance of radical feminists for placing excessive emphasis on matters pertaining to reproduction and sexuality. The prevailing perception suggests that women experience subordination primarily due to their reproductive function of childbirth. Certain researchers have observed the intriguing phenomenon of feminists seemingly embracing overt biological determinism (Makama, 2013). Therefore, this study highlights that the subordination of women extends beyond the realm of reproduction.

The postmodernists argue that the subordination of women is a consequence of the cultural formation of gender identities for both men and women. The authors contend that the utilization of language and vocabulary has an impact on our psychological perception

of the concepts of masculinity and femininity. Walby (1992) argues that language has the ability to alter our beliefs and aspirations regarding gender relations, highlighting its usefulness in this regard. This study presents a critique of the postmodernist perspectives on the causes of women's oppression, highlighting their omission of the social context of power dynamics and their failure to acknowledge the systemic oppressions rooted in gender, class, and race.

The literature documents that the historical development and perpetuation of male domination over women and children is a complex phenomenon shaped by both men and women, with the patriarchal family functioning as a fundamental organizational unit. This study upholds Lerner's (1986) perspective, which positions patriarchy as the dominant power inside the home. According to Lerner, patriarchy exercises control over productive resources, the labor force, and reproductive capacity, all of which are justified by concepts of superiority and inferiority rooted in gender and generational inequalities. This is due to the fact that the study conceptualizes patriarchy as a system of social interactions that is grounded in material conditions, characterized by hierarchical relations among men, and facilitated by a sense of solidarity among them, ultimately resulting in the subordination of women, as articulated by Asiyanbola (2005).

The paper presents Ademuson's (2016) perspective on the material foundation of patriarchy, which posits that men exert control over women's labor power. This control is upheld by the exclusion of women from essential economically productive resources and the imposition of restrictions on women's sexuality. This aligns with Badahdah's (2011) assertion that patriarchy is evident through men's exertion of control in receiving personal services from women, their avoidance of household chores and child-rearing responsibilities, their entitlement to women's bodies for sexual purposes, and their experience and demonstration of power. According to Ademuson (2016), the key components of contemporary patriarchy include heterosexual marriage, the responsibility of women for child rearing and household tasks, women's economic reliance on men, which is further reinforced by labor market arrangements, the state, and various institutions rooted in male social relations such as clubs, sports, unions, professions, universities, churches, corporations, and armies.

Therefore, this study conceptualizes gender relations as an integral component of social relations, encompassing the various ways in which the societal constructs of men and women, as well as male and female, interrelate across all levels of social structure. This extends beyond the scope of individual interactions between men and women within personal relationships or solely in the context of biological procreation. According to Ahmad and Naimat (2011), several dimensions of social activity encompass the allocation of production resources, compensation for labor, distribution of consumption, money or goods, exercise of authority and power, and engagement in cultural, political, and religious endeavors. This study examines the institutions that mediate interactions between individuals of different genders and draws the conclusion that gender relations encompass the societal interpretation of masculinity and femininity, hence shaping the norms and expectations of suitable behavior and activities for men and women.

The theoretical examination of gender issues serves to illuminate the manner in which patriarchal forces, at their core, uphold the prioritization of hierarchy and male domination over women. This empowerment of men enables them to exert their authority without constraint, to the point that they are widely seen as "natural" leaders in the region of Homa Bay over an extended period of time. Theories demonstrate how the establishment of gender dominance as a fundamental aspect of power leads to the distortion of power structures. Consequently, examining patriarchy outside its conventional definition is a highly helpful approach for comprehending the intricacies of gender dynamics within society. It is crucial to emphasize in this study that despite the commonly perceived impact of patriarchy, it is noteworthy to observe that in Homa Bay, there is a discernible trend of diminishing patriarchal influence. This is evident through the election of female leaders in local politics within the region, such as Phoebe Asiyo, Caren Bondo, Mildred Odhiambo, Lilian Gogo, and Eve Obara. It is worth mentioning that within the scope of this study, it was observed that among the eight seats in Homa Bay County, four female candidates were successfully elected and currently hold positions in the national Assembly of Kenya.

1.12 Research methodology

This section provides an overview of the methodologies and protocols employed in the research. This document outlines the research design and provides an overview of the

methodological elements employed in the study over the course of the research period. The components encompassed in a thesis typically consist of research design, field of study, study population, sampling techniques procedure and size, study tools, data collection methods and procedure, as well as the approaches employed for data analysis and presentation.

1.12.1 Research Design

The study focuses on the utilization of applied historical research design, which has been created by several scholars like Gilbert (1946) and Louis Gottschalk (1950). The design offered valuable approaches and recommendations for collecting data throughout the research and documentation of historical accounts pertaining to gender egalitarianism in the face of persistent patriarchal systems. The historian utilized both secondary and primary sources in order to construct a comprehensive understanding of the historical context of gender egalitarianism and the persistence of patriarchy in Homa Bay County. The historian's expertise was crucial in identifying these sources, assessing their respective levels of credibility, and effectively integrating their accounts to establish a precise and dependable portrayal of the past.

1.12.2 Area of study

The research was carried out in Homa Bay County, located in Kenya. The County is located in the southern region of the old Nyanza Province. The area under consideration is situated in the southwestern region of Kenya, in close proximity to the eastern boundary of Lake Victoria. It is predominantly inhabited by the River Lake Nilotes, with a particular emphasis on the Luo Community. It is noteworthy to acknowledge that urbanization has served as a magnet for several linguistic groups, such the Bantus, Cushites, and a small number of trading Asians, who predominantly reside in urban areas.

The region is partitioned into multiple clans, including Karachuonyo, Kasipul, Kabondo, Kochia, Kagan, Gem, Kanyada, Kabuoch, Kanyamwa, Kawabwai, Gwasi (wagasi), Chula, Kaksingri, and Mbita. Homa Bay County is geographically next to Kericho and Kisumu Counties in the northeast, Nyamira and Kisii Counties in the east, and Migori County in the south. The study region is situated within the longitudinal range of 34°25' East to 35° East, and the latitudinal range of 0° 15' South to 45' South. The total land

area of the region is approximately 3,447 square kilometers, with an additional 2,736 square kilometers of water in Lake Victoria excluded from this calculation. The County is geographically partitioned into eight constituencies, namely Karachuonyo, Kabondo Kasipul, Rangwe, Homa-Bay town, Dhiwa, Suba south, and Suba North (formerly known as Mbita) (KPHCR, 2009).

Despite the predominant Luo group residing in the County, it also exhibits a variety of main and secondary migration and settlement histories, resulting in a rich tapestry of cultural diversity. The economic activities within the County under examination are contingent upon the geographical locations and residences of diverse clans or individuals. Individuals residing in proximity to the lake tend to specialize in fishing and boat craftsmanship, and those residing in close proximity to urban centers engage in small-scale trading. Meanwhile, the remaining population in rural areas predominantly consists of peasant farmers or small-scale traders. Small-scale scattered sand harvesting and quarrying activities are also observed along riverbeds. Homa Bay town is equipped with a range of social services, including hospitals and educational institutions like as primary and secondary schools, as well as a middle level college. Additionally, there is an upcoming Tom Mboya University in the area.

The predominant religious affiliation among the populace residing in Homa Bay County is Christianity, encompassing a diverse array of churches and sects. The Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist churches hold prominence within the religious landscape. According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (www.knbs.org.ke), certain regions of the county also acknowledge the influence of Islamic and conservative beliefs. The County is inhabited by individuals residing in both rural and urban areas. According to the Kenya Population and Housing Census report of 2019 Volume IA, the primary urban centers in Homa Bay County consist of Homa Bay Town, which serves as the county headquarters, as well as Kendu Bay, Kosele, Mbita, Ndhiwa, Oyugis, Ringa, Rodi Kopany, Rangwe, Sori, Magunga, and several smaller market areas.

1.12.3 Study population

The population under investigation encompassed not only the individual residents, totaling around 1,200,000 individuals residing in around 200,000 homes (KNPHC, 2019),

but also included the gender-based organizations and institutions within Homa Bay County. The presence of individual populations was observed in all eight seats in Homa Bay, namely Kabondo-Kasipul, Kasipul, Karachuonyo, Rangwe, Homa Bay Town, Ndhiwa, Suba South, and Suba North. Karachuonyo and Ndhiwa were found to have the highest population among the studied areas. The investigation specifically focused on Key Informants who were pre-selected as a finite population within individual residences (Koul, 1980). This group encompasses individuals who have made significant contributions and garnered respect in the realms of gender equality within Homa Bay County and the broader context of Kenya. The individuals who were included in the aforementioned list are Dr. Phoebe Asiyo, Hon. Gladys Wanga, Roselyne Onyuka, Dr. Eve Obara, Dr. Lilian Gogo, and Hon. Mildred Mabona. The study also utilized data from prominent gender-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Abedo organization, Inua Dada Foundation, Plan International, World Vision, and APHIA PLUS.

The entities responsible for addressing matters pertaining to gender and population in Homa Bay County include the National government County gender office, County Assembly, County Public Service Board, education officials, and government administrators. These entities were also identified as Key Informants (KI) for the purposes of this study. The infinite population consisted of persons and organizations that were identified through the utilization of snowball sampling techniques during the study phase. The numerical values were established following a state of saturation, wherein 39 Key Informants (KI) were involved, along with 28 individual Informants and 7 gender-based Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) that were utilized for Focus Group Discussions (FGDs).

1.12.4 Sampling method, procedure and sample size

The study employed non-probability sampling approaches, specifically purposive and snowball procedures, to choose a subset of the population within Homa Bay County. This approach was utilized to draw conclusions from the larger, infinite population. Non-probability sampling methods have shown effective in addressing resource-related difficulties, including time constraints, limited human availability, material constraints, financial needs, and geographical inaccessibility (Onimode, 1985). The initial step in the

research process involved the implementation of purposive sampling within a limited population. This sampling technique specifically targeted individuals known as Key Informants (KI) who possessed identifiable qualities, such as being government administrators (including village elders), specialists in the field of gender, officials in various government departments (including education), and representatives of gender-based non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The utilization of the snowball sampling method proved to be advantageous in this study, as it facilitated the identification and inclusion of knowledgeable informants regarding gender egalitarianism, a topic that was not initially the primary focus. The composition of the sample under investigation consisted of persons who were specifically targeted and affiliated with gender-based institutions, serving as Key Informants in Homa Bay County. The snowball sampling technique was employed to identify Key Informants (KI) who, in turn, identified more competent informants from the public. This process continued until the saturation point was reached, resulting in a sample size of 39 Key Informants (KI), 28 identified Informants (II), and 7 gender-based groupings.

The determination of the validity and reliability of data derived from this qualitative investigation is contingent upon the extent of the information gathered and the observational or analytical competencies employed. The qualitative inquiry approach relies on meticulous verification of primary and secondary data, prioritizing the relevance, usefulness, credibility, and significance of the information sought, rather than emphasizing the sample size of informants and respondents (Koul, 1980). Hence, the determination of the sample size was based on the point of saturation, which occurred when the repetition of information regarding gender egalitarianism and the persistence of patriarchy became evident.

1.12.5 Research instruments

During the research period in Homa Bay County, primary data was collected from oral informants using an interview schedule and a focus group discussion guide (see Appendices i & ii). The utilization of an interview schedule facilitated the acquisition of insights into individuals' attitudes, behaviors, and the underlying factors contributing to the presence of gender egalitarianism and the persistence of patriarchy within Homa Bay

County. The data collection process involved conducting personal or group interviews, wherein the researcher engaged in one-on-one interactions with the informants within their own environments.

The interviews were primarily done in the residences of the informants, although in certain instances, they took place in their professional offices. This approach was adopted to guarantee that the interviews were performed in authentic settings, free from any external disruptions or influences. During the course of the interviews, there was an opportunity to address and provide further explanation on matters that were unclear in relation to the goal of gender equality in the face of the persistence of patriarchal systems. The utilization of question guides contributed to enhancing the correctness, reliability, and validity of the obtained data.

The focus group discussion comprised a cohort of individuals ranging from 6 to 10, who possessed a collective alignment in terms of ideology and comprehension about the subjects of gender mainstreaming and the perpetuation of patriarchy in Homa Bay. The debate was conducted in a themed and structured manner. In this approach, the researcher posed methodical inquiries to the participants, aligning them with the study questions outlined in the handbook. The utilization of this method facilitated the researcher in collecting perspectives regarding the attitudes, preferences, aversions, and aspirations of the participants in relation to the advancement of gender equality amidst the persistence of patriarchal systems in Homa Bay County. The composition of groups consisted of either familial members, organizations based on gender, or diverse professional associations.

Throughout the course of the interviews and focus group discussions, several arduous circumstances and conditions were experienced, including the consumption of time, incurred expenses, and the sluggish nature of the data gathering instrument. Occasionally, certain targeted informants exhibited a lack of availability during the interview sessions. These issues were addressed through the process of verifying primary and secondary data. Archival information proved to be a helpful resource in examining the historical correspondence of colonial societies towards gender egalitarianism in the face of persistent patriarchy.

The focus group discussion yielded a substantial amount of data regarding the presence of gender egalitarianism in the face of persistent patriarchy. This data was collected from many sources, including family members and other groups with similar interests, within a certain timeframe in Homa Bay County. Nevertheless, the process of conducting group interviews was more time-consuming in comparison to individual interviews due to the fact that each participant was given the opportunity to extensively express their opinions on a single topic of discussion at a time. Occasionally, a limited number of individuals were afforded the opportunity to express their thoughts, as certain participants exhibited a tendency to monopolize the discussion session. Certain individuals inside the group hindered a member who attempted to present an accurate depiction of the gender dynamics, particularly when such material was deemed unacceptable by the group, particularly if it pertained to personal or private matters specific to the group under investigation.

1.12.6 Data Collection procedures

The data included in this study were gathered during the period spanning from January to November of the year 2021. Given the understanding that the research site encompasses a vast geographical area and that locating individuals possessing pertinent information within the county proves challenging in a centralized location, the researcher undertook the task of contacting and scheduling appointments with potential participants. These individuals were identified through their affiliations with various groups, organizations, government departments, and even sourced from the Independent Electoral Commission of Kenya's election results register.

At the time of data collection, a comprehensive study was done, which involved interviewing a total of 67 informants and conducting seven Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The participants who were questioned consisted of individuals with KOI and OI, selected by purposive and snowball sampling methods, as previously mentioned. The reason for this was due to the impracticality of probability sampling approaches. The researcher selected this sampling approach because to its simplicity and adaptability in terms of implementation within the given limitations of time, resources, and other constraints.

The research conducted primarily utilised in-depth interviews as the major method of data collecting, indicating a predominantly qualitative approach. In addition to the aforementioned methods, supplementary data was gathered through key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Furthermore, additional data was acquired through secondary sources, encompassing published and unpublished works as well as online resources.

The study was largely qualitative in which in-depth interviews were employed as the primary method of data collection. Supplementary data was collected through key informant interviews and focus group discussions apart from the above, additional data was obtained from secondary sources which included published and unpublished works and online resources.

1.12.7 In-depth Interviews

The primary strategy employed for collecting primary data was the utilization of in-depth interviews (IDIs). In contrast to survey questionnaires, which often include respondents providing responses to predetermined and organized questions, the IDIS approach involves the researcher posing questions orally to respondents in a non-sequential manner, while recording their answers. Interviewers also serve as a safeguard against the potential for goods to become confusing. In instances where a respondent has misinterpreted a question, the interviewer took the necessary steps to provide clarification, resulting in the acquisition of pertinent responses (Babbie, 1992). In-depth interviews (IDIs) were considered the most effective strategy for collecting information from informants, as it provided researchers with the opportunity to ask pertinent questions, seek clarification, and delve into issues that were not adequately explained. Consequently, this approach yielded a comprehensive dataset that quantitative methods would not have been able to provide.

The In-depth Interviews (IDIs) were carried out with a total of 39 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), 28 Individual Interviews (IIs), and 7 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with participants of both genders who possessed the requisite knowledge. Data collection was conducted using a semi-structured interview guide, as detailed in Appendix 1. The interviews were conducted using an open-ended face-to-face question and response

approach. The interviews conducted in this study exhibited a predominantly conversational tone, with the researcher use probes to get further clarification on topics that were not adequately expressed or comprehended. The interviews were done in a controlled environment to minimize external interference, specifically in a private room. Each interview session had a duration of approximately 50-60 minutes.

The researcher guided all of the interviews, while a note taker, who was selected from the study site, documented the responses. Additionally, a digital camera was used as a direct data capturing device. The IDIS were conducted in either the English or Kiswahili language. Nevertheless, in certain cases, the interviews were carried out using the indigenous Luo dialect due to the fact that the researcher possesses native fluency in this language. At the conclusion of each day, the transcripts underwent careful examination to ensure comprehension of the research procedure, the interconnections among different sub-themes under investigation, and to identify instances of insufficient information or the necessity for additional clarification.

1.12.8 Focus Group Discussions

The focus group discussions (FGDs) were performed throughout the mid-morning period. The sessions commenced with the researcher introducing themselves, as well as the note-taker or assistant. Subsequently, the researcher provided an explanation to the participants on the purpose and goals of the study. Furthermore, the participants were provided with a guarantee that the data gathered from them would be treated with confidentiality and anonymity. Participants were provided with the opportunity to inquire about any uncertainties or seek further explanations regarding the study. Subsequently, they were requested to provide verbal agreement before the initiation of data collection. The talks primarily centered around topics deemed relevant to the research subject and were concluded after saturation levels were reached, indicating a lack of novel ideas being generated. In general, the focus group discussions (FGDs) did not yield any novel information that diverged from the data gathered from individual in-depth interviews (IDIs).

A series of seven Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out specifically with different organizations located in Homa Bay. Each FGD consisted of a varying number of

participants, ranging from 6 to 10 individuals. The study encompassed gender-focused organizations and female candidates who had participated in prior electoral contests. The focus group discussions (FGD) were intended to complement the data acquired from the Individual Depth Interviews (IDIs). In contrast to individual interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) provided participants with the opportunity to articulate both convergent and divergent viewpoints regarding the status of gender equality and the persistence of patriarchy. Consequently, FGDs unveiled the genuine perceptions and perspectives of the participants concerning these significant matters. In the focus group discussion sessions (FGDS), there was no predetermined sequence of questions, and instead, probing questions were employed in consecutive FGDS sessions to include emergent themes. The focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted at discreet venues such as hotels located within Homa Bay County or within the premises of the participating organizations. The duration of each FGD ranged from 80 to 120 minutes. The researcher assumed the role of the discussant/moderator, and the discussions were either digitally recorded or documented by a designated individual responsible for taking notes. The FGDS were performed in English as all participants were proficient in that language.

1.12.9 Key Informant Interviews

In addition to employing the methods of IDIS (In-depth Individual Interviews) and FGDS (Focus Group Discussions), the researcher performed a total of 39 Key Informant Interviews (KIIs). These interviews were done with individuals who possessed significant knowledge, expertise, vast experience, and active involvement in the subject matter of gender equality and patriarchal survival within the community of Homa Bay. The individuals present at the event encompassed notable gender advocates, namely Phoebe Asiyo and Roselyne Onyuka, as well as representatives from Maendeleo ya Wanawake Homa Bay branch, non-governmental organization personnel engaged in gender and governance initiatives, and officials from both the national and county government responsible for addressing gender-related matters. The data obtained through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) was utilized as a supplementary source of information to complement the data collected through the other two approaches. The inclusion of such information was considered valuable and essential for substantiating or refuting the central claim put forth during in-depth interviews (IDIs) and focus group discussions

(FGDs). A KII Guide was designed in order to facilitate the maintenance of focus during interviews (see Appendix-1).

1.12.10 Secondary Sources

Data of both qualitative and quantitative kind were gathered from multiple secondary sources pertaining to the study area. The references provided in this study encompass a range of academic resources, such as policy papers, manuals, maps, research reports, textbooks, and internet sources.

1.12.11 Data analysis and Presentation

The qualitative data acquired from the field was analyzed thematically in accordance with the research goals. The analysis of field notes and electronic data involved the utilization of two analytical frameworks: documentary review and thematic content analysis. These frameworks were applied within the context of pre-colonial and post-colonial frameworks. The resulting findings were then gathered and presented in the form of a thesis.

The utilization of the historical method in the analysis and interpretation of data has been seen to have distinctively contributed to the promotion of gender egalitarianism as well as the development of patriarchal historical knowledge (Wafula, 2000). This was conducted in order to gather data obtained from the field in reference to the literature that was evaluated. Furthermore, it facilitated the development of a comprehensive timeline about the state of gender equality and the persistence of patriarchy in Homa Bay County until the year 2020. The selection and validation of information sources were conducted with meticulous consideration, ensuring that prior records were consulted and evidence was evaluated and presented accurately. According to Aseka (1989), the application of facts is necessary to prove the historical distinctiveness of a social phenomena, specifically in respect to its constituent elements and the relationships between these elements. As a result, this determination influenced the framework of the phenomenon and provided consistent data about gender egalitarianism and the persistence of patriarchy. The analysis process involved the verification of primary and secondary data to enhance the credibility and dependability of the data content.

1.12.12 Ethical consideration

Throughout the research period, strict adherence to ethical principles was maintained. It served as the regulatory framework and guiding principle that dictated the manner in which research was carried out and applied. These issues served as a reference point and criterion to establish the investigator's responsibility towards the informants, thereby ensuring accountability. The implementation of this measure served to guarantee both the reconciliation and safeguarding of informants against potential misuse during the research period. The researcher maintained the security of respondents' privacy and safeguarded them from any potential manipulation. The preservation of confidentiality regarding the individuals participating in the investigation was also maintained.

The participants were safeguarded against inquiries that had the potential to inflict injury or induce shame. The informants who exhibited reluctance to disclose information regarding gender relationship issues were treated with respect. This study unequivocally disapproved of plagiarism and took measures to ensure that the creative contributions of others were not misappropriated for personal gain, but rather were duly acknowledged.

The preservation of private and confidential information was appropriately executed. In this particular instance, certain individuals providing information were afforded anonymity through the utilization of pseudonyms, thereby safeguarding their identities, particularly in relation to sensitive information that could potentially lead to shame. The investigation took into account the voluntary participation of the informants and their agreement. The research assistant involved in data collection underwent a comprehensive briefing on ethical considerations prior to commencing fieldwork.

1.12.14 Summary of Chapter one

This chapter aims to critically examine the challenges associated with the goal of gender egalitarianism and the persistence of patriarchy. The insufficiency of gender equality in Homa Bay has been a subject of debate, despite the collective global, regional, national, and local endeavors to foster its presence. Consequently, this research holds significance and urgency. This chapter presents a critique of theoretical frameworks, specifically the perspective advocated by radical feminists, which place excessive emphasis on reproduction and sexuality as the primary factors contributing to the subordination of

women. The chapter offers a critique of the materialist perspective on gender relations within orthodox Marxism, arguing that it places excessive emphasis on material issues and class analysis. The chapter additionally offers a critique of postmodernist perspectives on the causes of women's oppression, highlighting their omission of the social context of power dynamics and their failure to acknowledge the systemic oppressions rooted in gender, class, and race.

Therefore, this study has chosen to employ the patriarchal theory as it provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the oppressive and exploitative dynamics that exist between men and women within society. By doing so, it enables the examination of gender relations across various domains of interaction. The theory facilitated the examination and classification of many manifestations of gender relations that have arisen in recent years, leading to the exploitation and subjugation of women in Homa Bay County. This chapter has included both primary and secondary techniques of data collecting to effectively obtain, analyze, and present data within the context of a thesis. An equally significant aspect addressed in this chapter is to the adherence to ethical considerations. Chapter Two explores the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics during the pre-colonial era within Homa-Bay County.

CHAPTER TWO: THE IMPACT OF PATRIARCHY ON GENDER RELATIONS IN PRE-COLONIALHOMA-BAY UP TO 1894

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examined the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics. This study examines the societal, economic, and political impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics within the population of Homa Bay. As posited by Asiyanbola (2005), patriarchy is a societal structure characterized by the hierarchical arrangement and differentiation of individuals based on their gender, wherein males are afforded material benefits while females face significant limitations in their roles and activities. These constraints are based on cultural norms and taboos that serve to enforce adherence to prescribed gender roles. In the pre-colonial era of Homa Bay, the concept of patriarchy was commonly referred to by the Luo community as 'loch mar wuone' or 'telo mar jodongo,' which directly translates to 'the rule of the fathers or rule of elders.' According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), the term 'patriarchy' may encompass a wider range of implications beyond its specific designation within the Luo society. According to her, patriarchy encompassed not only a social structure characterized by the dominance of the father within the clan or family, but also a legal framework that established the reliance of women and children on their fathers. Additionally, it involved the tracing of lineage and inheritance through male ancestry, as well as the expectation of complete submission to male authority.

This study also characterizes patriarchy as the establishment of the father as the head of the household and the systemic arrangement of male dominance, which requires women to adhere obediently to their subordinate roles. Therefore, this study conceptualizes patriarchy as a structural framework wherein males exert control over females, as evidenced by the prevailing values, attitudes, customs, expectations, and institutional arrangements within society. This dominance is perpetuated through the process of socialization, which shapes the dynamics of male-female relationships. This chapter examines the socio-economic and political impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics within the Luo community in Homa Bay.

2.2 Patriarchy and Gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay

In pre-colonial African communities, there existed a close interconnection between the

social, economic, and political domains of existence. According to the findings of Nyakwaka (2013), discerning economic power from political influence or socio-religious authority from political power among the pre-colonial Luo societies posed a considerable challenge. The author posits that whereas pre-colonial culture exhibited clear patriarchal structures, women occupied specific domains that were considered their legitimate spheres, in contrast to the post-colonial age. According to Obonyo (OI, 14/03/2021), it is said that the pre-colonial patriarchy system marginalized women, confining them to social-economic roles, while only a select few were granted limited political rights. This study examines the coexistence of gender harmonization and patriarchy in pre-colonial Luo civilizations, specifically focusing on the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay as a singular principle.

2.2.1 Role of patriarchy on social gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay

According to Ndeda (1994), the presence of patriarchy exerted a significant influence on the marital systems within the Luo communities. The author argues that the many forms of matrimonial arrangements observed within the Luo culture were structured in a manner that perpetuated male dominance. Nyakwaka (2013) provides support for the aforementioned stance by identifying and examining three distinct manifestations of traditional matrimonial unions. The author mentions a form of marriage in which child betrothal occurred throughout the early stages of a girl and boy's lives. During the first focus group discussion (FGD1), it was established that male senior adults from both families reached a consensus on formalizing a relationship between the two households. The primary objective of this friendship was to facilitate the eventual marriage of their children once they reached adulthood. According to Owala (OI, 07/03/2021), in such circumstances, the male's family initiated the practice of providing a bride price as a means of ensuring the union with the female.

The alternative form of marriage, commonly referred to as "por" or elopement, involved the coercive abduction of a young woman by her prospective husband and his companions, typically occurring when they encountered her along a pathway or at a marketplace (Nyakwaka, 2013). Subsequently, the young woman proceeded to transmit a communication to her relatives, informing them of her recent nuptials. In such conditions, the consultation and involvement of females and their family were absent, as decisions

were predominantly made by males based on their physical power and capabilities. In instances where the male individuals exhibited insufficient physical strength, they were unable to successfully transport the female individuals in tandem with their own movements. Consequently, the male individuals were compelled to exert significant effort in order to establish their manhood and evade potential instances of mockery. According to Oraro (2021), any female who entered into marriage in such a manner was obligated to remain within the confines of that particular household as a spouse, irrespective of her age or social standing.

In accordance with Nyakwaka's (2013) research, an alternative form of matrimonial arrangement involved a young man who, desiring to enter into wedlock, would engage the services of a jagam, a mediator, to procure a spouse from a reputable household on his behalf. Jagam would initiate contact with the young woman, primarily engaging with her male father or relatives. If their response was favorable, subsequent arrangements would be made for a meeting between the two individuals. The author affirms that the efficacy of these marriages was contingent upon the male's decision-making capacity, namely in terms of selecting a partner and his financial capability to fulfill the bride price need, as exemplified by the pre-marital rituals. These ceremonial practices reached their climax with the disbursement of ayie, which refers to the bride prize, followed by nyombo, which denotes the payment of the bride price.

According to Ougo (II, 20/03/2021), the custom of the bride prize entailed a reciprocal exchange of presents between the families concerned as a means of expressing their mutual agreement and acceptance of the marriage. The gift in question held significant feminist connotations, as it was bestowed upon the bride's mother and aunts by the groom's family. The bride price served as a means of formalizing the marriage ceremony and was intended to be presented to the father of the bride in the form of a predetermined quantity of cattle and other animals, as determined by prior discussions among the male parties involved. According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), it is established that the bride prize, in contrast to the bride price, lacked formal recognition and enforceability beyond its ceremonial delivery to the mother of the bride. The preceding considerations substantiate the prevalence of complete male hegemony in matters pertaining to marriage and its institutions. Similar to the perpetuation of exogamous marriages, the research

findings indicate that post-marriage residence patterns were predominantly patrilocal, and inheritance practices followed a patrilineal system.

In the pre-colonial era in Homa Bay, children held a significant status within couples, with both male and female offspring being esteemed. However, male children were more revered in comparison to their female counterparts (Ajengo, II; 21/03/2021). The aforementioned phenomenon was noted in the manner in which males were intricately woven into the fabric of society and esteemed as the wuoi siro (symbolic support of the household), while girls were derogatorily labeled as "ogwang" (feral cat) due to the societal expectation that they would depart from their familial abode at any given time (Ocholla, II; 05/03/2021). According to Omollo (OI, 14/03/2021), it has been shown that males were bestowed with alternative appellations associated with formidable and merciless creatures like as Elephants, Leopards, and Rhinos, among others, in order to symbolize their influential status and societal functions. According to Asiyo, within this particular society, the perceived happiness and success of a marriage were contingent upon the wife's capacity to conceive children, particularly male offspring.

In the pre-colonial society, marriage could only be enjoyable to the wives following their ability to reproduce and raise healthy children. Women who gave birth to boys were highly valued and respected. The inability to give birth was always blamed on wives and such women though were not sent away, another wife was married when they could not attach their sister or close relative. Same was also experienced by wives who could not bear male children in the family(Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

According to Ogola's (2001) argument, infertility was considered the most significant tragedy experienced by married couples within the Luo community during the pre-colonial era. According to Nyakwaka (2013), while wives were consistently held responsible for cases of barrenness, there existed measures to address infertility that disproportionately favored men. According to her statement, in the event that women encounter difficulties, they are often expected to arrange for their younger sisters or cousins to marry their husbands and bear children on their behalf. This practice serves to facilitate the inclusion of their husbands into the patriarchal sphere of societal recognition as "men." According to Ominde's study conducted in 1952, it was observed that in certain cultural contexts, it was permissible for a man to enter into a marital union with another woman for the purpose of procreation. In the rare circumstance where the man faced infertility issues, familial

arrangements were made to facilitate the conception of offspring through the involvement of a brother or a closely related cousin who would assume the role of the biological father. Consequently, the resulting children would be recognized as the legitimate offspring of the man in question (Mule, II; 02/03/2021). According to Omamo (KII; 02/04/2021), the aforementioned solutions were mostly designed to cater to the satisfaction of men, while women were left with limited alternatives, predominantly centered around compliance.

Despite the patriarchal nature of pre-colonial society, Ogola (2001) underscores the significance of both the female and male children within the Luo community. In traditional societies, daughters were often regarded as a symbol of fertility and renewal, while the birth of a son was seen as crucial for the perpetuation of the family lineage. The male offspring was perceived as a significant factor within the patrilineal framework due to the belief that a man without any male children was deemed to have a diminished status. According to Awidhi (II, 06/03/2021), dads who did not have a male child faced the absence of an individual to continue their patriarchal lineage. The primary focus of discussion during the fifth Focus Group Discussion (FGD) revolved around the notion that daughters were considered a source of income for their fathers through the practice of bride price. However, it was also noted that upon marriage, their primary role was to continue the lineage of their husbands.

In accordance with the findings of Nyacharo (II, 19/03/2021), there was an observed increase in the social standing of both women and men subsequent to the arrival of their initial offspring. As the kid progressed through the many stages of development, including childhood and marriage, the social standing of the parents also experienced an upward trajectory, culminating in the role of "degendered" grandparents, particularly for women. According to Okulo (II, 22/03/2021), women who had become grandparents and had menopause achieved a social standing that was more like to that of men. This statement aligns with Ndeda's (1994) assertion that this particular group of women engaged in a range of social activities that were not accessible to other women.

The members of the community were subjected to medical care and psychotherapy. In Nyamolo's (II, 02/03/2021) analysis, the author highlights the significant role of women in fulfilling responsibilities related to the delivery, nurturing, and education of young

children. Additionally, these women are tasked with socializing youngsters and exposing them to a broader societal context beyond the confines of the family. Similarly, according to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), women in pre-colonial Homa Bay assumed leadership roles in matters pertaining to women and were occasionally sought after for their insights on community-wide concerns due to their post-menopausal status, which positioned them in closer proximity to men compared to other women.

Furthermore, the influence of patriarchy can be observed in the realm of informal education and cultural initiations. Boys were socialized to perceive themselves as possessing a higher status than girls. According to Ouma (2021), initiates had training in various aspects of their culture, customs, and the societal expectations placed upon them within the context of a patriarchal society. Similarly, Oyier (II, 17/03/2021) provides evidence that boys were socialized into masculine roles as the leaders of their families, whereas girls were educated in the virtues of subordination to men and the skills necessary for fulfilling the responsibilities of spouses and mothers. Likewise, these individuals received instruction in matters of hygiene, tidiness, and personal adornment, with the aim of appealing to males. Additionally, they were educated in various forms of entertainment, including as games, sports, songs, and dances. Furthermore, they were taught to rely on men for socio-economic and political stability.

In the pre-colonial Luo society, the influence and control of patriarchy over religion were minimal. Hafkin (1996) posits that religion constituted a domain wherein patriarchal influence did not extend to certain women. The author posits that religious systems prevalent in East Africa provided women with avenues to transcend their prevailing state of inferiority. In the declaration provided by the retired chief of East Kanyada site, Ndiga confidently says that;

In pre-colonial community, the Luo were deeply religious, believed in a supreme creator God, (*Nyasaye*) to whom they held prayers and offered sacrifices at sacred places often located at places with unique physical features such as huge trees, hills or rock formations. It was the place without patriarchal restriction since comparatively women were more involved on their own rights in the service and consultation during the war and epidemics on the community (Ndiga, KII; 04/04/2021).

According to Nyakwaka (2013), in addition to their belief in Nyasaye, the community also held a belief in the presence and significance of ancestral spirits who served as intermediaries between them and Nyasaye. According to Ndeda's (1994) scholarly work, it was necessary to placate these spirits through the act of making sacrifices or by bestowing upon children names associated with them. This was believed to result in the acquisition of blessings in the form of wealth and good health. These entities possess the potential to exhibit either malevolent or beneficent characteristics.

According to Asiyu (2021), malevolent entities, commonly referred to as evil spirits, were employed by practitioners of witchcraft and sorcery, and specifically known as Jojuogi, with the intention of inflicting pain and devastation upon individuals. However, it is worth noting that good spirits, denoted as Jonawi, as well as individuals possessing medicinal expertise, referred to as Jobilo, possessed the ability to counteract these malevolent forces through consultation and intervention. There is a widespread consensus that the entities sought for guidance and assistance in promoting societal well-being were predominantly female, as exemplified by the instance of Isabela, as immortalized in the song performed by Owino Misiani. The phrase "janawi madhako Isabella muga ma nyar Asego nego to chiero" suggests that Isabella possessed a level of authority over matters of life and death that was unparalleled by men.

According to Hafkin (1996), the presence of spirit mediums in pre-colonial Africa can be interpreted as manifestations of religious activities that provided women with opportunities to express their resistance against male dominance. According to Ndeda (1994), it can be argued that these spirits granted women temporary authority in ceremonial contexts, enabling particular women to achieve positions of significant political influence within the society. In the pre-colonial Luo community, Tamale (1999) asserts that women played a significant role as divine-mediators, serving as a crucial link between the living and the spiritual realm. In accordance with the aforementioned argument, Elseba (OI, 06/04/2021) cites the example of a divine mediator who possessed considerable power and influence, demonstrating the ability to perform extraordinary feats such as healing the infirm, prophesying conflicts, and exhibiting capabilities beyond the reach of ordinary individuals. This aligns with the assertion made by Asiyu (KII, 08/03/2021) that Luo women diviners and prophetesses, who held the ability to heal the

ill, ward off malevolent forces, foretell conflicts, and establish communication with the supernatural realm, enjoyed greater renown and admiration compared to their male counterparts.

Similarly, Nyacharo (II, 19/03/2021) argues that these women had a crucial role in facilitating the community's awareness of phenomena that were otherwise incomprehensible, such as infertility, epidemics, and natural calamities. In the Luo civilization, both religion and spirit-mediums were domains in which individual contributions were acknowledged, regardless of gender, based on one's aptitude and competence. According to Ayot (1994), the rise of Luo women such as Mang'ana nyar Ugu to the position of chief in Kadem might be attributed to their status as jobilo (medicine women), as well as their possession of potent medicine and strong personalities. This occurred during a period characterized by patriarchal dominance in Luo society. In certain instances, Ayot elucidates that Mang'ana employed the practice of using males as her regal seat during communal gatherings as a means of retribution against husbands who were accused of inadequately managing their households.

Similarly, Okong'o (KII, 05/04/2021) affirms that certain individuals of ill repute, who were accused by their spouses, were occasionally subjected to public punishment by the chief, either through corporal flogging or by being utilized as a seat for her majesty during communal gatherings known as barazas. The preceding discourse demonstrates that patriarchy was present within pre-colonial Luo civilizations, yet post-colonial society did not subject feminists to subjugation. The male-female interaction was characterized by complementarity, wherein order and respect played significant roles.

2.2.2 Patriarchy on economic gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay.

Ndeda (1994) confirms that major economic resources that determined gender economic relations in pre-colonial society were land, animals, and labor. African women, especially Luo women in particular had varying degrees of economic power and independence despite the patriarchal systems that placed them under the authority of their fathers and or husbands (Hafkin, 1996). By custom, Luo women were not allowed to own land they had to contend with the land that either belonged to men of her clan or those men of the clan into which she was married (Ndeda, 1994). The antithesis of her explanation is that it is

the mother that shared land acquired from the mother-in-law for her house to her sons as they got married.

Emphatically, Obonyo (II, 14/04/2021) asserts that a mother gave her son a part of her farm and his wife used and retained the land later to be passed on to the married sons. Omollo, M (II, 08/04/2021) therefore attest to the fact that, land was inherited by a man through his mother and wife since unmarried men were not assigned land. In the explanation above Asiyo further contends that;

Man became the owner of the land and the homestead, on which the couple settled but his wife became the owner of the house and coordinated labor in the farm. In the home, there were certain rites that governed the day to day economic activities relations. These were tied to the responsibilities of the man and his wife (wives). Most of the activities in the home rotated around the man and wife (wives). For example, when one started breaking the ground for planting, weeding, eating the first fruits from the field and harvesting, all these activities had to follow a laid down procedure, as well as, conjugal economic rituals. This in most cases required a man to sleep in his *mikayi* (first wife's) house so that she becomes the first to undertake such economic activity then followed by the second, third wives depending on their numbers. This gave first wife both social, economic and political power in the homestead over the co-wives and even the husband had to consistently consult and concur with her to reduce the chances of withdrawal as a punishment (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

Furthermore, according to Mijungu (II, 10/04/2021), there existed a significant connection between economic rites and sexual activities. It was observed that in cases when the first wife was out from home, whether intentionally or unintentionally, agricultural tasks would not be carried out. The individual in question necessitated waiting, and in the case of any miscommunication, it was imperative to implore her presence for the ceremonial proceedings, lest all activities stay stagnant. In the course of the fourth focus group discussion (FGD), it was affirmed by the participants that the primacy of the first wife, *Mikayi*, inside the institution could not be circumvented in relation to any economic affairs concerning the household. Furthermore, it was established that the absence of *Mikayi* could not be compensated for by the presence of other women.

According to Ndeda (1994), it is firmly established that disregarding the customary practice of waiting for the first wife to initiate economic activity at the beginning of the

season is equivalent to inviting misfortune and violating household norms. Therefore, Adhiambo (II, 14/04/2021) expresses remorse over the fact that certain primary wives utilized their status to exert economic and political influence in order to control their husbands and co-wives within the household. According to Osodo (II, 12/04/2021), Mikayi was also involved in the resolution of land issues within the homestead, including those arising between the co-wives and the husband's sons. Additionally, he affirms that the cultivation of crops on their allocated land and the management of labor were mostly overseen by the Luo wives. The aforementioned crops were utilized for sustenance within the family unit, with any surplus being employed as a medium of barter to acquire necessary goods and services. Therefore, it can be observed that the trade in grains exhibited a higher level of popularity among women as compared to men within the pre-colonial society of Homa Bay (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

According to Ayot (1990), women were primarily responsible for labor provisions on the farm and subsequently engaged in crop processing activities. The author posits that the responsibility for storing food supplies mostly fell upon women, as seen by the exclusive control women had over the dero, a designated storage area for agricultural produce. It was considered culturally inappropriate for men to access the dero. The determination of usage was not within their purview until authorized by their wives, except in cases where such authorization was granted by the husband's mondo, which was also accessed through the wives.

According to gender specialist Onyuka Roselyne,

In Luo tradition, men were not allowed to climb into granaries to draw grains such as, millet and sorghum infact it was a taboo for them. Therefore, a man needed his wife's permission to draw grains from the family granary. The men however, had their own farms and from these farms, they had a different store in the middle of the home (mondo). From this store, they could draw grains without his wife's permission but not himself getting into the granary even if it is his (Onyuka, KII; 18/03/2021).

In addition to its impact on agriculture, patriarchy exerted influence on gender dynamics within livestock production as observed in the economic activities of the Luo community. According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), the author elucidates that animals, including cattle, goats, and sheep, were traditionally passed down through inheritance but were exclusively assigned to men once entering into marriage. Poultry husbandry was also

practiced, with individuals mostly obtaining poultry from their maternal uncles (Obonyo, II; 14/03/2021). The ownership of all cattle inside a homestead was vested solely in the head of the homestead. During the second focus group discussion (FGD), it was observed that the distribution of female livestock to various households only occurred in cases where the head of the homestead practiced polygamy. Consequently, women assumed responsibility for the animals allocated to them, specifically for milking and care purposes. However, it is important to note that despite this arrangement, the ownership of these animals remained with the men, who retained the ability to utilize them after engaging in consultation (Onyuka, Key Informant Interview, March 18, 2021).

According to Otonde's research (KII, 10/04/2021), there is a clear correlation between the quantity of animals owned by a man and his socioeconomic standing within the community. Consequently, the presence of numerous daughters was perceived as an indicator of future abundance in terms of livestock. According to Ougo (II, 20/03/2021), individuals lacking livestock were deemed impoverished and faced a lack of social esteem. According to the individual's statement, it is said that these males required assistance in order to enter into marriage and acquire property. However, their viewpoints were consistently dismissed and subjected to ridicule, as evidenced by the Luo idiom 'be komi leny', which was used to associate them with individuals lacking sufficient livestock and unable to obtain adequate quantities of ghee, so placing them in the same category as women.

The pre-colonial culture of Homa Bay engaged in the economic activity of hunting and gathering, which played a significant role in shaping the dynamics of male-female relationships. According to Nyakwaka (2013), the presence of patriarchy exerted an influence on the dynamics of interpersonal relationships between men and women in the context of hunting. Hunting was regarded as a crucial economic pursuit that was predominantly associated with males, but women were primarily assigned the responsibility of preparing the meat acquired from hunting. According to Odhiambo (II, 11/04/2021), individuals who pursued hunting as a vocation were commonly referred to as Jodwar, or hunters. The individuals engaged in hunting animals primarily for the purpose of supplementing their dietary protein intake. Additionally, some animal skins, like as those derived from leopards and Columbus monkeys, were highly sought after for

their rarity and were utilized in the creation of ceremonial attire for men. It is important to acknowledge that skin was utilized as a form of currency and as material for bedding. The animal was hunted and afterwards murdered by an individual. Following this, Mikayi implemented a prescribed protocol for the allocation of various portions of the hunted animal to her co-wives, relatives, and acquaintances. However, any excess portions were sold by men (Nyacharo, OI, 19/03/2021).

As previously mentioned, the division of labor in pre-colonial Luo societies was governed by the patriarchal structure. According to Ndeda (1994), it was observed that while men were involved in hunting activities, women were mostly occupied with the harvesting of wild fruits, vegetables, medicinal plants, and insects. This assertion is supported by Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), who affirms that the majority of the vegetables collected by women were of wild origin. These included various species such as Ododo (*Amaranthus* spp), Osuga (*Solanum nigrum*), commonly known as nightshade, Dek (*Gynandronis gynandia*) or spider flower, Atipa (*Asystasia Schimperi*), Susa (*Thumbergia*), Mito (*Crotalaria bre videns*), Odielo (*Commelina Africana*), Awayo (*Commelina sabatula*), Apoth (*Corchorus Olitorius*), and numerous others. According to Nyakwaka (2013), women possess a higher level of ability and knowledge in the practice of gathering tradition, which has resulted in their greater respect and recognition in the field of medicine compared to men. This assertion is supported by Mijungu of Kabuoch, who reminisces about her past experiences by stating;

I remember how we used to collect wild vegetables and gathered wild fruits like Ochuoga, Sangla and Anyuka some of which are very scarce in the modern days. It was fun, sport and proof of prowess as some could do it better than others. It was also a skill to prove the mastery of edible from non-edible fruits and vegetables. It was a training which we acquired from our mothers. It was common practice for many women to acquire basic knowledge and skills on the herbs used to treat varied minor children's diseases such as fever and intestinal trouble which men hardly did. This made some women to specialize in medicine and treated varied diseases including infertility and repeated miscarriages and also eased child birth and for psychosomatic disorders hence the act of gathering stimulated more women than men in the field of medicine in pre-colonial Luo communities (Mijungu II; 10/04/2021).

Fishing was traditionally the main economic activity among the Luo especially those who lived along the shore of Lake Victoria and other rivers. In the fishing industry, each gender had a well-defined role. According to Tamale (1999), fish was a very important food as it formed part of the protein diet of the Luo community and it was also traded locally within and across the neighboring communities such as the Gusii. On gender relations, Omolo, M. (II, 08/04/2021) explains that fishing was done by men, while women cooked and traded on fish. He also states that there were some line industries that were indirectly connected to the fishing such as boat making and other crafts which were gender based.

In addition, pre-colonial economy also comprised basketry and pottery, black-smithing and tanning. These were specialized and practiced in different regions of Homa Bay just the blacksmithing in Kochia. Ayot (1990) asserts that the main participants in these traditional industries were both men and women specialists depending on the artifacts to be made making gender specialization in this sector. According to, Ocholla (II, 05/03/2021), weaving was done by both men and women where women weaved baskets, *Oswaro*, and *Adita* while men weaved granaries. He also states that pottery was purely women's domain and no known man practiced it within Homa Bay. In her contribution on pottery, Phobe Asiyo says;

Pottery was mainly a women's craft especially in Oriang within Karachuonyo and Gem where women molded different kinds of pots using locally available clay from the swampy areas and along river valleys. Pots were of various sizes, structures and patterns used for various purposes like for storage of grains, water, cooking food and were also used for drawing water. Women molded different types of pots such as; *dapi*, *dak*, *tawo* and *ohigla*. Specialists in pottery traded on them locally since not many women could make pots but they also traded across the borders with the Gusii and Kipsigis (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

In the article titled "When Hens Begin to Crow," Tamale (1999) elucidates that the establishment of a sexual division of labor was not exclusive to the Luo community in Uganda, but rather a phenomenon observed in several African civilizations, persisting long after the colonial era in Africa. In accordance with Nyamolo's (II, 02/03/2021) elucidation, it is evident that the pre-colonial Luo society as a collective entity adhered to a system of sexual division of labor. However, this societal structure underwent

significant transformation upon the advent of colonial capitalism.

According to Nyakwaka (2013), the Luo community in the pre-colonial era did not devalue women's labor as it currently does, as the gender dynamics at that time were characterized by a more complimentary rather than hierarchical relationship. According to Ndeda (1994), the pre-colonial division of labor can be characterized as follows: Men were primarily responsible for activities such as house construction, hunting, herding, milking, fishing, and engaging in warfare.

On the other hand, women were primarily engaged in cultivating crops, processing and marketing agricultural produce, collecting fuel and water, caring for children, the sick, and the elderly, as well as engaging in tasks such as pottery-making, cooking, cleaning, and washing. It is worth noting that the elderly individuals in the community also participated in milking activities. The community displayed a favorable reception towards these jobs and responsibilities. According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), women possessed a certain level of autonomy and power within the household and played a significant role in production. However, it is important to note that this autonomy and power were limited in their ability to be exercised against men. Despite this limitation, women fulfilled their duties in a manner similar to men's occupational responsibilities, without facing any blame, but rather in a submissive manner. According to Ogutu's (KII, 11/04/2021) analysis, it is evident that both women and men in the given context highly valued their respective roles, despite the fact that men mostly possessed extensive privileges over crucial productive assets such as land and livestock. However, it is noteworthy that women exerted significant control over labor-related activities.

This study highlights the significance of recognizing that patriarchy served as the fundamental principle governing the organization of production relations within the pre-colonial Luo society in Homa Bay. In summary, patriarchy enforced the allocation of rights to men in key domains of productive resources, including land, livestock, and as the proprietors of homesteads. In historical contexts, women assumed the roles of spouses and household proprietors, so acquiring the legal entitlement to possess residential properties and agricultural yields. In addition to their involvement in trading activities, women also exerted control over various artisanal skills like as pottery and basketry.

Therefore, due to the establishment of patriarchy, men were granted the dominant authority over property ownership, while wives were primarily responsible for managing household property and overseeing daily affairs. Consequently, this arrangement also afforded women a degree of political influence in determining the allocation of family resources, as will be discussed in the subsequent points.

2.2.3 Patriarchy on political gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay

As previously examined, the task of distinguishing between economic and religious authority and political sway in pre-colonial African communities, such as the Luo of Homa Bay, was a considerable challenge. Ndeda (1994) highlights the prevalent perception that political systems were predominantly male-dominated, with women being marginalized in relation to political matters. Nevertheless, the author highlights that this notion is flawed within the context of Africa, particularly within the Luo community, as women had significant roles as independent economic, social, and political agents. In a related discourse, Mboga (KII, 12/04/2021) asserts that the pre-colonial political landscape in Homa Bay was characterized by a pronounced male dominance, hence establishing a perception of politics as a "exclusive realm of men" within the context of patriarchal civilizations. However, Asiyo presents a contrasting perspective by asserting that the situation on the ground was markedly unlike. Asiyo further substantiates this claim by affirming that;

Luo cultural arrangements between the sexes allowed for women participation in both formal and informal politics but there were two main factors that led to the mistaken belief about women's political participation in pre-colonial Africa. They included misunderstanding of the meaning of "public and "private" life in pre-colonial society which leads to generalization of cultural evaluations of the sexes based on the domestic vs public life. The other is the male-authored history and androgen perspective influenced by the current banishment of African women from the formal political sphere where mainstream historians tend to assume that women have never played a role in the politics of their communities (Asiyo, KII 12/04/2021).

In pre-colonial African communities, women were not confined solely to the private or domestic realm. Rather, they assumed multifaceted roles encompassing private, domestic, and public domains, which in turn influenced their political obligations. According to

Okonjo (1976), the Igbo society was characterized by a patrilineal and patrilocal structure, wherein men held authority and exerted dominance throughout several domains. However, it is important to note that this did not imply women's marginalization or exclusion from societal affairs. According to Ndeda (1997), the prevailing patriarchal framework and societal beliefs have led several observers, particularly male authors of historical accounts, to make broad generalizations about the subservient status of women in African countries. In contrast, Nyakwaka (2013) highlights the significance of these beliefs in shaping a skewed portrayal of the African man as "tyrannical" in relation to the African woman who is seen as "dispossessed."

According to Anduko's (KII, 12/04/2021) analysis of the political dynamics in Homa Bay, it is evident that African women actively participated in political affairs within their respective communities. They effectively wielded their political influence both as individuals and as collective entities. According to Onyuka's research findings (KII, 18/03/2021), it has been observed that women possessed a combination of direct and indirect political authority. The author additionally asserts that women exerted indirect influence through practices like as retreat, invocation of the supernatural, and manipulation via male relatives, namely sons, dads, cousins, and husbands. She also argues that women's exercise of political power was demonstrated by their involvement in the selection and appointment of leaders, their participation in elected or appointed positions, and their utilization of resources to achieve their desired objectives.

However, withdrawal proved to be an ineffective long-term technique for exercising control. Nevertheless, it effectively highlighted a woman's position and compelled others to promptly address that stance. The use of supernatural abilities was perceived to be more efficacious than retreat in the establishment of enduring settlements. Women utilized and engaged in ritualistic practices to address enigmatic aspects of life, such as the issue of infertility. The underlying foundation of this strategy was rooted in the belief held by Africans that women's actions held influence over certain supernatural powers. It was understood that this influence could be utilized as a political asset by women to achieve desired outcomes, while also ensuring that it was not exploited to the detriment of men (Nyakwaka, 2013).

According to O'Bar's (1995) research, women in pre-colonial Africa exerted agency by strategically navigating societal structures that predominantly honored men, particularly in contexts where women's contributions were not formally acknowledged. The author asserts that women exerted influence over men who were in close proximity to them in order to sway policy in their own favor. The assertion made by Ayot (1990) in her examination of the pre-colonial Luo community in western Kenya is in favor of the present argument. According to Ayot, in situations where the outcome might impact the family, men consistently sought the input of their women. It was a frequent occurrence for men to express the sentiment of seeking guidance from the head rest prior to reaching a choice by stating, "We apenj orindi mondi."

The aforementioned headrest was employed as a means of denoting the first spouse, commonly referred to as the first wife or "mikayi" in the local vernacular. According to Ndeda (1994), it may be argued that males sought consultation from their first wives due to the significant and essential responsibilities they played in the performance of rituals inside their households. The findings of FGD 3 confirm that within the Luo leadership structure, it may be tempting to assert that women were not adequately represented. However, it is important to avoid misinterpreting their physical absence as a sign of passivity. In this context, it should be noted that women were not conventionally expected to publicly express their opinions on significant matters. Nevertheless, men frequently sought their counsel in private prior to making major decisions.

According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), it is evident that the first wife held a political role as a co-owner of the household alongside her husband. Additionally, upon reaching menopause, her sexual relations with her husband ceased, but her involvement in decision-making within their domestic sphere grew. According to Anduko (KII, 13/04/2021), it was observed that senior women within the Luo community of pre-colonial Homa Bay were frequently sought after for their opinions on many matters of importance. Additionally, in matters pertaining to the supernatural domain, women held a prominent role as influential leaders within the society.

In his study on the Luo of Uganda, Tamale (1999) argues that women played a significant role as divine-mediators, connecting the realm of the living with ancestral spirits and

possessing substantial abilities and influence. According to his statement, women were believed to possess the abilities to provide healing to the ill, ward off malevolent forces, and make predictions regarding conflicts and several other aspects within the societal context. Moreover, the author asserts that the mediators' societal function allows them to occasionally engage in political mobilization when circumstances need. The individual under discussion makes mention of the recent phenomenon of Alice Lakwena, who assumed a political role as both a mediator and warrior. Lakwena orchestrated a mobilization of individuals to engage in armed conflict against the government led by Yoweri Museveni during the period spanning from 1987 to 1993.

Following her subsequent loss, Lakwena sought refuge in Kenya. A comparable instance was documented by Ndeda (1994) in Kenya, when the Giriama community's spiritual intermediary played a pivotal role in mobilizing her people to oppose the British colonial forces. In a comparable scenario within the pre-colonial Luo community of Kenya, Ayot (1990) recounts the notable figure of Mang'ana nyar Ugwe of Kadem, who emerged as a revered intermediary between the divine and human realms. She not only assumed leadership as the chief of her people in Kadem but also gained recognition for her role in rallying her community against the European incursion in Nyanza during the late eighteenth century, a feat that no male counterpart had previously attempted.

In Oyando's (2003) work titled "The Epic of Gor Mahia," the author discusses the involvement of women in warfare, specifically highlighting the role of Odele Ny'olonde and Ayoo Owigo. These women were recognized as "thuond mon" within the Homa Bay region. They led women regiments and actively participated in battles alongside men, particularly in conflicts against the Kipsigis and Gusii communities. The author also makes mention to Aduol Nyar Ogot Katawo, whose brother Tawo Kogot was recognized as a prominent warrior and military tactician prior to the advent of colonialism. Aduol actively participated in combat alongside the Mur warriors of Ng'iya in opposition to the Gem people. In the context of pre-colonial Homa Bay, Ochola (II, 05/03/2021) argues that a significant number of women actively engaged in inter-communal warfare. They not only composed songs to extol the valor of men in fights but also served as spies, gathering intelligence on the adversaries during the territorial conflict with the Gusii community. Additionally, he asserts that the involvement of women in divination and

medicine granted them the ability to exert influence over the perspectives of male political leaders.

2.2.4 Conclusion

The preceding discourse substantiates the notion that the pre-colonial patriarchal system did not marginalize the women of the Luo community in Homa Bay, contrary to the prevailing post-colonial mindset. Despite some limited inclusion of women, the prevailing societal structure was patriarchal and characterized by patri-local norms. Consequently, the status of women was significantly unequal in comparison to that of men. Throughout history, there has been a persistent pattern of men exerting dominance in many socio-economic and political realms inside society. Nevertheless, women did not adopt a passive role, but rather emerged as prominent actors in social, economic, and political spheres, asserting their own agency alongside males. Without a doubt, the various aspects of the Luo culture revolved on women, however their subordinate role in private and home spheres not only established but also reinforced the existence of public patriarchy. This chapter elucidates that menopause has resulted in women attaining comparable positions to males. These women acquired a presence in society that occasionally mirrored that of men. After examining the impact of patriarchy on gender dynamics during the pre-colonial era, the subsequent chapter aims to assess the effects of colonial policies on gender relations in Homa-Bay from 1894 onwards.

CHAPTER THREE: EFFECT OF COLONIAL POLICIES ON GENDER RELATIONS IN HOMA BAY(1894-1963)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes an analysis of the gender dynamics within Homa Bay County over two distinct historical periods: the colonial era and the subsequent post-colonial or autonomous age. The study has additionally examined the repercussions of colonial policies, including taxation systems, educational practices, political structures, and labor dynamics, on gender dynamics within the Luo community residing in Homa Bay. The prevailing belief posits that the advent of colonialism resulted in the assimilation of African indigenous socio-economic and political systems into the imperialist frameworks. The marginalization of women in the colony was facilitated through the implementation of legal and structural frameworks, wherein colonialists opted to collaborate primarily with men in the public domain. The imposition of a colonial framework in Kenya sought to exert control over women, driven in part by pervasive racial and gender prejudices targeting African women. Furthermore, the regulation of African women's sexuality and movement served as a strategy to mitigate the disruptive consequences of migrant labor on African families, thereby safeguarding the integrity of indigenous power systems, particularly in response to the escalating opposition exhibited by women (Zezeza, 1988). The extent of control exerted in colonial and post-colonial Kenyan society played a pivotal role in shaping the dynamics of gender interactions. Consequently, the pre-existing gender dynamics throughout the pre-colonial era underwent transformation due to the establishment and consolidation of many policies and institutions by the colonial administration.

3.2 The Establishment of Colonial rule in South Kavirondo in Luo Nyanza

In June 1894, the British government officially established a protectorate status over the territory of Uganda. The aforementioned protectorate encompassed the geographical regions known as Kisumu and Naivasha districts. Subsequently, following the construction of the Uganda railway in 1901, which spanned from Mombasa to Kisumu, the colonial authorities expressed a wish to consolidate the railway's administration under a unified management system. Therefore, South Kavirondo, along with the regions that were consolidated to establish the Eastern province of Uganda, was placed under the

jurisdiction of the British East Africa Protectorate, subsequently evolving into Kenya (Zezeza, 1997). According to Ochieng's (1974) research, it is certain that in August 1903, Boughton-Knight, who was appointed as the initial acting District Commissioner, was his route to Karungu in the South Kavirondo District. During his journey, he made a visit to Rusinga Island, which is currently located inside Homa Bay County.

During the aforementioned visit, Ougo, the leader of Karungu, mobilized his constituents for an armed uprising against the British colonial forces. However, their resistance was swiftly quelled, leading to the establishment of the inaugural administrative hub for the South Kavirondo District (later known as South Nyanza) in Karungu (KNA, DC/KSI/3/2). This finding corroborates Ayot's (1981) assertion that the selection of Karungu as the headquarters was motivated by the escalating border conflict between the German forces in Tanganyika and the British forces in Kenya. Karungu served as the administrative center for South Kavirondo during the colonial period until 1907, at which point it was relocated to Kisii. Kisumu, on the other hand, continued to function as the colonial headquarters for central Kavirondo.

The establishment of colonial governance entailed the gradual infiltration of capitalist principles into African economies, resulting in the assimilation of indigenous African political structures into the imperialist systems (Ayot, 1981). Nyakwaka (2013) argues that the process of integration during the colonial period resulted in the marginalization of Luo women in political matters. This marginalization occurred because the colonialists predominantly collaborated with men in the public sphere, so establishing a new kind of patriarchy that persisted even after the colonial era. As a result, women were relegated to the periphery of political power and influence.

3.3 Influence of colonial policies on gender relations in Homa Bay

The colonial authority implemented several policies in Homa Bay, including taxation, education, political structures, and labor systems, which exerted a significant impact on gender relations within the local people. The socio-economic policies implemented by the British were subsequently refined by the patriarchal remnants of colonial rule inside the inaugural independent administration. It is widely acknowledged that future independent administrations in post-independent Kenya implemented various mitigating methods to

gradually decrease the gender gap, as will be explored in the following chapter. The perpetuation of patriarchal norms throughout the colonial era was facilitated through many policies, namely taxes, education, political structure, and labor systems. These policies will be further examined in the subsequent sections.

3.3.1 Colonial taxation on gender relations in Homa Bay

Taxation served as a significant means of generating revenue for the colonial state, enabling it to fund its various undertakings and facilitate the recruitment of workers (Leys, 1973). According to Elias (1996), the emergence of taxation and the establishment of a taxation monopoly cannot be attributed to the actions of a single individual, but rather, it is a result of the complex interplay of social forces and interactions that shape the evolution of institutions. The second focus group discussion (FGD) revealed that colonial taxation was implemented in indigenous nations, wherein tributes and dues were paid to rulers such as kings, queens, chiefs, and emirates. These payments varied over time due to the social integration of various groups. According to Leys (1973), taxation during the colonial era was primarily used by colonial powers as a means of regulating labor movement, with a secondary objective of funding colonial initiatives. However, according to Elias (1996), the fiscal strategy implemented by the colonial authority in Kenya generated funds for the purposes of governance, infrastructure development, social welfare programs, and security. The author highlights that the policy involved the imposition of taxes on individuals, either through direct or indirect means, as a means to generate the necessary funds.

The taxation policies implemented by the colonial authority and the overall fiscal structure had negative implications for the gender dynamics within the Luo community in colonial Homa Bay. According to Zwanenberg (1975), the implementation of this policy resulted in the phenomenon of overcrowding in village huts, as African males practicing polygamy sought to alleviate the financial burden of hut taxes imposed on their families, which were determined by the number of huts within a property. During the first Focus Group Discussion (FGD), it was observed that the individuals who experienced the adverse effects of colonial hut tax policies were predominantly Luo men. This demographic, due to their cultural practices, particularly polygamy, and their ownership of homesteads with multiple huts, were disproportionately affected by these policies.

It is widely acknowledged that a just taxation policy necessitates the implementation of a progressive tax system, wherein individuals with higher incomes and greater wealth are subject to higher tax rates in comparison to less privileged members of society. This principle was not observed during the colonial era in Kenya (Elias, 1996). The colonial state in Kenya exhibited a preference for European settlers and Asians, who had higher incomes and greater ownership, while being subject to lower direct tax rates in comparison to the less privileged African population (Zwanenberg, 1975). According to Stichter (1988: 23-24), Lord Fredrick Lugard, an authority on British colonial tax policies, provided a rationale for the taxation of Africans. He argued that direct taxation had a moral advantage as it encouraged industriousness and productivity among the male population, who had allegedly become lethargic and prone to alcohol consumption and conflict.

The notion is substantiated by Ndeda (1994), who posits that the colonialists held the belief that Africans were indolent and unproductive, leading them to implement taxes as a means to compel labor and engender occupation. In contrast to prevailing beliefs, Nyakwaka (2013) refutes the unfounded colonial stereotype by highlighting the diverse economic endeavors in which both genders actively participated prior to the colonial period. According to Ndiga (KII, 04/04/2021), it can be argued that the imposition of taxes by colonial states on African individuals was intended to displace them off their agricultural lands and compel them to seek job in European plantations. Upon careful examination of the colonial correspondence found in the Nyanza archives (KNA/PC/NYA/1/2/3), it becomes evident that the relocation of African men from their residences was intended to facilitate their engagement in income-generating activities for the purpose of meeting tax obligations. Additionally, this practice aimed to physically separate them from their spouses in order to maximize their productivity in labor-intensive tasks. This chapter elucidates the effects of colonial taxation on women and their subsequent responses, with the objective of reinstating the gender dynamics prevalent before to colonization.

In reference to the aforementioned, Nyakwaka (2014) asserts that women had numerous adverse consequences associated with taxation, which will be further upon in the subsequent discussion. Initially, the imposition of hut tax on indigenous individuals

resulted in the primary responsibility for tax payment falling upon men for the huts occupied by women inside their homesteads. However, this arrangement underwent subsequent modifications. The assertion is substantiated by Nyacharo (II, 19/03/2021), who drew a parallel between hut tax and the term 'wife tax'. This comparison was made on the basis that the taxed huts were constructed by men for women, so implying that the imposition of such taxes reduced women to the status of property possessed by males. In addition to the two forms of direct taxes paid in monetary form, the state also implemented a kind of symbolic taxation known as forced communal labor (Zwanenberg, 1975). This study provides reliable evidence to support the assertion that the introduction of the poll tax in 1910 was motivated by the intention to impose tax obligations on all males aged sixteen and above, thereby exerting direct influence on gender dynamics within communities.

To enhance the efficacy of taxation, the colonial authorities employed a strategy of legitimization by appointing male chiefs in geographical divisions such as locations, as well as head-men in the villages. The individuals in question were individuals who held no significant social status within their communities. However, the colonial state granted them both executive and judicial authority, notwithstanding their initial lack of recognition within their own communities (Stichter, 1982). The implementation of this policy in the Southern Kavirondo Districts resulted in significant negative consequences. Chiefs and head-men, who were responsible for tax collection on behalf of the state, abused their authority by either excessively taxing the population to benefit themselves or by subjecting their own people to harsh treatment, which ultimately led to rebellion (Zwanenberg, 1975). The subjugation of women within the political domain, especially at the grassroots level such as village communities, by colonial states is a lamentable phenomenon (Obonyo, OI; 14/03/2021). This paper posits that tax collection during the colonial administration was a politically motivated endeavor that resulted in the marginalization of women. This was achieved through the deliberate exclusion of females from positions of influence and decision-making in tax policy formulation and implementation, which were predominantly occupied by males.

This work provides additional evidence that women, including widows and war-widows, were not exempt from tax collection. However, it is worth noting that no women were

appointed to collect taxes, as all chiefs or village heads were men. This gender disparity in tax collection has had implications for future gender relations, as observed by Asiyó.

Tax collection demonstrated the power of the state in the subordination of women whom they relegated to the level of men's properties whose prices were paid in terms of hut taxes. The state delegated tax collection powers to chiefs and head-men that at times misused their power by collecting more taxes than the official amount and kept the difference for themselves so as to accumulate wealth which they later used to marry any girl of their choice. Women and men who could not pay taxes were whipped in public, their livestock confiscated, huts burnt, homes looted and women raped by the known village headmen and their agents who were politically elevated fellow Africans. At times, cases of widows being beaten and having their firewood detained for the benefit of tribunal elders were not uncommon. This harsh female treatment by the state agencies reflected the state-society relations and laid the foundation for anti-tax protests witnessed throughout the colonial period. In fact among the Luo, the payment of taxes was a burden to be avoided at all costs. For instance, men knocked down their women huts in their compounds so that women would share huts with co-wives in abid to avoid its payment. Unfortunately, colonial state issued new instructions which made hut tax payable on adult women and not on their huts(Asiyó, KII; 08/03/2021).

According to Zwanenberg's (1975) analysis, tax fraud was prevalent in Kenya throughout the colonial era, irrespective of the economic status of the regions, such as the affluent Kiambu reserves or the impoverished Elgeyo and Tugen areas. The Nyanza Province Annual Reports (PC/NZA/II119- 1914) provide evidence of prevalent instances of tax evasion in the South Kavirondo district. These reports indicate that a significant number of individuals, both male and female, were reported to have migrated to Tanganyika in order to take advantage of lower tax rates under German administration. According to Nyakwaka (1999), it is argued that a portion of the Luo population residing in Tanganyika, specifically in the regions of Tarime, Shinyanga, and Mwanza, can be traced back to those who migrated from south Kavirondo across the border. This study has successfully demonstrated that taxation occasionally resulted in the separation of families, as women sought partners who were financially capable of meeting tax obligations. Consequently, many men became hesitant to enter into marriage due to the

apprehension of tax liabilities, thereby avoiding potential administrative complications. This elucidates the prevalence of a substantial population of unmarried men throughout the colonial period in Kenya.

The gender dynamics within the Luo community of south Kavirondo were significantly impacted by the tax policies implemented during the colonial period, resulting in a societal structure characterized by spouses who were frequently away. According to Bujra's (1986) analysis, the primary consequence of taxation on gender dynamics was the enforced separation of males from their spouses and offspring, since they were compelled to engage in wage labor in order to generate income for tax obligations. According to Lonsdale (1980), it may be argued that by 1910, approximately one third of the adult male population in the Kikuyu district and the Luoland Nyanza region were engaged in labor activities at any given point in time. Initially, this involvement was limited to a few months during the first two decades of colonial administration, but gradually extended to encompass longer durations, spanning several years. Furthermore, he reinforces this point by asserting that the incomes were of such meager amounts that males were unable to support their families in urban areas. According to Omollo, M. (II, 08/04/2021), the housing infrastructure in numerous colonial towns was characterized by substandard conditions, lacking basic amenities such as water and sanitation, rendering them unsuitable for habitation by families. According to Nyakwaka (2005), the insufficiency of water resources and inadequate sanitation infrastructure in prominent colonial urban centers such as Nairobi resulted in the outbreak of plagues in the years 1911, 1912, and 1913. This statement corroborates the findings of the FGD3 debate, which concluded that a significant number of males in Nairobi succumbed to cholera during the colonial era. This was exemplified by the cases of Sipriano Liech from Kanyada and Ogola from Kagan.

In the analysis of the impact of migration on gender dynamics, Ougo (II, 20/03/2021) argues that a result of this phenomenon is the increased involvement of certain men in intimate relationships with sex workers, leading to a detachment from their spouses and families residing in their country of origin. This paper documents the case of Okelo Parasis of Kanyada Kothidha, who remained absent from his house during the colonial period despite the deaths of his son and wife. Parasis reappeared in old age, to the extent

that even his close relatives had difficulty recognizing him.

According to Ndeda (1994), the prevalence of prostitution in colonial towns can be attributed to the significant gender imbalance and limited employment prospects for women. According to Zeleza (1988), the occurrence of venereal diseases in Kisumu, Nairobi, and Mombasa during the years 1913-1914 was attributed to the engagement of individuals with prostitutes. This practice posed a significant risk to the health of women, particularly when their husbands returned home after completing employment contracts in urban areas. Nyakwaka (1999) stated that the aforementioned hazards persisted and exerted an ongoing impact on gender dynamics during the colonial era. According to Onyuka (KII, 18/03/2021), it is argued that the departure of males from their households for wage labor resulted in women assuming the responsibility of caring for their families and dedicating additional labor hours to agricultural activities, thereby fulfilling traditional male tasks such as field clearance and ground preparation. This study posits that the social division of functions within the family structure and gender roles underwent a progressive transformation, as evidenced by the arguments presented. In the context of the narrative, certain women were observed to have conceived and subsequently delivered children in the absence of their husbands. This occurrence had a detrimental impact on the dynamics between wives and husbands, exacerbating the strain on their relationship, particularly as the number of illegitimate offspring grew.

Due to the colonialists' practice of providing men with minimal pay, women were compelled to cultivate sufficient quantities of food for their families, as well as surplus produce for commercial purposes. This was necessary to augment the limited income available for taxation purposes, as well as to sustain their husbands and sons who were employed in colonial enterprises. According to the findings of the study, the prevailing circumstances led to a reversal of traditional gender roles, whereby men increasingly relied on their wives for economic support. According to Zeleza (1988), the departure of men not only increased the workload for women but also expanded their autonomy in decision-making inside their households compared to previous circumstances. According to Atieno-Odhiambo (1979), during the final stages of the colonial era, the Luo community witnessed the emergence of a societal structure consisting primarily of women, children, and elderly men, as the physically capable young men sought

employment opportunities in wage labor. This observation aligns with a previous study that revealed the prolonged utilization of Luo regions as a labor source during the colonial era. According to John Ogal, it can be observed that in Southern Kavirondo, women were primarily responsible for all domestic tasks, while patriarchal authority was passed on to elderly men within the extended families.

The absence of men made women to become household heads and the sole supporters of their households, but regardless of their absence for many years, or even forever, men were still the 'legitimate' heads of homes even if women did all the work. The male control was now exercised by old patriarchs who watched over women. However, because of the long absence of their husbands, women, to an extent, became independent in their households as farm managers for food and as the main care-takers of the children and old members of the family. Thus, there was a general remoulding of authority in rural areas (Ogal, KII; 16/04/2021).

Despite the fact that the imposition of hut tax, commonly referred to as 'wife tax', had a negative impact on Luo women and their marital dynamics, particularly when men resorted to demolishing huts in their compounds to lower the tax burden and evade colonial administrators' frustration, Zwanenberg (1975) emphasizes that hut tax collectors themselves were occasionally frustrated by men's actions of demolishing huts in order to distribute the tax burden among women and reduce it. According to Ndeda's (1994) analysis, the decrease in the quantity of huts resulted in a situation where the privacy of women was endangered. This occurred as a consequence of two or three women being compelled to reside together in a single hut, a measure taken to alleviate the tax load on men. The Native Act and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1934 (KNA/PC/NZA/1/3/47/1, 1934) introduced a provision for the progressive elimination of hut tax, which had served as the primary form of colonial property tax for several years. This legislation also included measures for exempting individuals in poverty from tax payment.

One significant amendment of the legislation involved the inclusion of a provision that held women who owned huts accountable for tax payment, thereby granting them legal ownership of property in the absence of male counterparts. Within the aforementioned Act, colonial administrators put up the contention that a significant portion of the male population had transitioned from residing in reserves to inhabiting cities or metropolitan

localities. Consequently, the administrators posited that the absence of taxation on women would result in a decline in overall tax income. The administrators believed that implementing taxation on males employed in farms or towns, as well as on their spouses residing in rural areas, would yield financial gains. This aligns with the suggestions put forth by Lord Moyne, who advocated for the imposition of taxes on widows, irrespective of their ability to bear children, on the grounds that they were responsible for the maintenance of households (KNA/PC/NZA/4/2/2/76, 1931-49).

During the 1920s in Luo Nyanza, Archdeacon Owen, a prominent member of the Young Kavirondo Tax Payers Association, advocated for the exemption of widows and elderly women from taxation. However, the colonial state administrators vehemently opposed this measure, asserting that the majority of huts were owned by women. They contended that exempting women from taxation would result in entire households being excluded from tax obligations. According to the government, if women were exempted from taxation, it would result in women registering all huts under their names, even if their husbands are there. Consequently, men would have no justification for their service (KNA, PC/NZA/1/3/48/1, 1935).

However, during the limited duration of Owens' tax exemptions, Nyakwaka (1999) elucidates that within the Luo community, the cumulative exemptions amounted to approximately Shs 120,000 per annum. Consequently, certain aspects of Luo traditions underwent modifications, particularly in the dynamics between spouses, as women began to possess huts for the first instance in their history. This study has revealed that the alteration in the social structure of traditional societies occurred when men migrated in pursuit of labor, resulting in women assuming the role of household heads and becoming solely responsible for the payment of taxes on behalf of their absent husbands. Consequently, this transformation significantly impacted the gender dynamics that were prevalent in the pre-colonial Luo societies.

The resolute commitment of provincial administrators to levy taxes on Luo women, including those who were impoverished widows, is exemplified in the case of Kolanya Raboti. In 1935, she was brought before the District Commissioner's court in Kisumu on charges of non-payment of taxes, despite her genuine inability to fulfill her tax

obligations. According to the archival record KNA PC/NZA/I/3/48/1 from 1935, Kolanya was identified as a widow who experienced significant financial hardship and emotional suffering. In order to assert their argument, the colonial authorities appropriated the livestock belonging to her relatives as a means to satisfy the Kshs 12 hut tax that was imposed upon her (Tarus, 2003). The imposition of taxation posed a significant hardship on individuals who were involved in polygamous marriages or adhered to the cultural custom of wife inheritance, which was a deeply ingrained tradition among the Luo community. In accordance with the findings of Ogutu (KII, 11/04/2021), the practice of inheritance had significant value as a means of economic stability for women who experienced the loss of their husbands' financial resources or possessions. The colonial system of taxation disrupted the longstanding pre-colonial custom, as articulated by Agutu Jakorayo through oral accounts.

A man inheritor had the responsibility of paying a hut tax for his own family and the families of those he inherited. It was expensive that some men opted to stay longer or forever in towns or disown wives and inherited widows whose chances of inheritance also diminished with colonial taxation systems (Agutu, KII; 18/04/2021).

In the colonial correspondence on the Luo, most taxpayers especially women felt that they were unfairly taxed as a consequence, in the meeting organized in 1935 by the PC Nyanza for all District Commissioners in the Province, it was unanimously agreed that the scale of tax payment be reorganized as indicated below (KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/12/53, 1930-1944);

- i) Single women had to pay Kshs 5
- ii) Single men (polls) had to pay Kshs 10
- iii) A man with one wife had to pay Kshs 15
- iv) A man with two wives had to pay Kshs 20
- v) A man with three wives and so on had to pay Kshs 25

According to a previous assertion made by Nyakwaka (1999), it was observed that on certain occasions, Luo men would seek refuge in the adjacent region of Tanganyika due to the relatively lenient and less stringent tax collecting practices compared to those implemented in Kenya. Instances of similar kind were documented within the Luo community residing in Homa Bay. Notably, individuals such as Onyango Ondiek relocated to Tanganyika, while his spouse, Isdora Oketch, remained in Wagwe-Kobiero,

situated in the Karachuonyo region. This decision was made in response to their dissatisfaction with the oppressive tax regime imposed during the colonial era in Kenya (Ouma, B. II; 05/04/2021). According to reports, during the colonial period in Kenya, Luo women and children who were living independently for various reasons were not granted exemption from taxation, including those in dire circumstances. In Mijungu's (II; 10/04/2021) discourse, a lamentation is expressed regarding the classification of decaying huts inhabited by women as taxable assets. It is further acknowledged that within the confines of traditional society, women were devoid of property ownership or inheritance rights, save for the possessions they had accumulated within their own dwellings. Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) establishes a connection between the colonial taxation controversy and women's protests during the colonial era, positing it as a catalyst for the subsequent engagement of Luo women in political endeavors within both the colonial and post-colonial contexts in Kenya.

3.3.2 Colonial religion and education system on gender relations

The influence of colonial education policies had a significant impact on gender dynamics among the Luo community. According to Tamale (1999), educational possibilities in colonial Kenya were primarily tailored for males, mirroring the situation observed in Victorian Europe. Nevertheless, the author elucidates that during the early period of colonial rule in Africa, the responsibility of providing education was assumed by missionaries. These missionaries, in their approach to education for girls, largely emphasized the goal of producing educated women who would serve as suitable wives and homemakers for educated men.

This aligns with the findings of Choti (2005), which suggest that colonizers perceived educated housewives as prospective consumers who may potentially enhance their husbands' productivity. In contrast, Nyakwaka (2004) argues that colonial education was intentionally designed to withhold the intellectual abilities necessary for women to engage in the western political system imposed by the colonial powers. Additionally, it aimed to establish new gender roles that would profoundly impact gender ideology in Kenya, relegating and confining women to domestic spheres while elevating the status of men through the reinforcement of colonial patriarchy.

According to Tamale (1999), the introduction of western education has had negative consequences on the dynamics of gender interactions between women and men. The assertion is substantiated by the archival report (KNA/AV/12/260), which indicates that women were systematically excluded from formal education, resulting in their limited ability to effectively compete with men. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while the quality of education provided to females through missionary efforts was comparatively lower than that offered to boys, it did provide women with a fundamental chance to gain exposure, develop self-confidence, and cultivate the necessary foundation for future activism, particularly in the Luo regions (Ndeda, 1991). The aforementioned argument posits that the primary objectives of missionaries, who played a pivotal role in imparting Western education in Kenya, were centered around the conversion of Africans and the education of male catechists in the reading and comprehension of the Bible. Furthermore, this phenomenon provides a rationale for the increased prevalence of education among male Africans and the following rise in its demand.

The aforementioned historical context prompted missionaries to recognize the significant influence they held over African societies through their control of education. By successfully converting numerous males to their cause, missionaries endeavored to maintain a prominent position in the realm of education, until the colonial state eventually assumed greater responsibility for educational matters within the colony. This aligns with Tignor's (2005) contention that during the initial years, the colonial administration in Kenya opted to entrust the majority of educational duties to missionaries due to financial constraints faced by the government. Prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the colonial state's involvement in African education was primarily notional (Onyuka, KII; 18/03/2021).

In 1909, J. Nelson Fraser, an Indian scholar, published a study on African Education, wherein he advocated for the government to prioritize the promotion of industrial education among the male African population. According to Nyakwaka (2013), the government implemented the Fraser report by prioritizing male industrial education. This was done through a financial incentive system, where missions were paid £2 for each male student registered in technical training. Additionally, a payment of £5 was provided for those who successfully completed the course and passed the state examination. The

aforementioned considerations provide justification for the establishment of a low-band working class of men in Luo territory. These men were employed in settler farms and served as support personnel in state offices, while women in the same region were predominantly assigned domestic responsibilities.

According to Choti's (2005) research, the colonial administration exerted authority over education starting in 1909. During this period, the government allocated funds to the missions in order to support educational programs that were predominantly focused on males. This arrangement persisted until 1911, when the state established a Department of Education under the leadership of J.R. Orr as its Director. In the region of Luo, the mission in operation encompassed various religious institutions, namely the Church Missionary Society (C.M.C.), commonly referred to as the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church, and the Seventh Day Adventist Church (Tignor, 1976). According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the establishment of a mission school and hospital by the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church in Gendia, Kendu Bay, in 1909, specifically in Homa Bay, was primarily aimed at educating the sons of local chiefs. This objective is documented in the report of J. Ainsworth, the Nyanza Provincial Commissioner, in 1910.

‘The more enlightened chiefs and headmen are very anxious that their sons should be educated and have in several instances moved the matter themselves and so at present there are a number of such youths being educated in the Church Missionary Society and Mill Hill Missions. I trust, however, that Government will eventually take upon itself the cost of education of chiefs’ sons under a set and regular code to create a future administrators for the purpose of local administrative continuity’ (KNA/PC/NZA/5/5/-1910).

A meticulous examination of the aforementioned report reveals that the colonial state prioritized the education of male individuals, with a specific emphasis on the sons of chiefs. This strategic focus, as highlighted by Ndeda (1991), stemmed from the perception that these individuals would assume key administrative roles within their respective communities in the future. The aforementioned argument posits that throughout the colonial era, girls' education was not highly regarded due to the prevailing perception that women were not destined to become future leaders. Instead, they were primarily encouraged to adopt roles as wives and homemakers. Therefore, the introduction of colonial education resulted in the establishment and consolidation of a

novel manifestation of patriarchy, leading to a division between educated men and women confined to domestic roles.

Ndeda (2002) laments the sorrow experienced by parents who adhere to patriarchal social-cultural norms, since they perceive investing in the education and development of their female offspring as an unproductive allocation of resources, given the expectation that these daughters will eventually depart from their father households. According to Asiyo (08/03/2021), the colonial education system revitalized socio-cultural norms that prescribed women's primary function as mothers or wives. These arguments thus highlight the consistent use of the term 'ogwang' to refer to female offspring, even in the colonial era, suggesting that the interplay between pre-colonial and colonial traditions resulted in the marginalization of women within the home sphere.

During the 1920s, the colonial government displayed an increased commitment towards the education of Africans. While it continued to offer financial assistance to missions for their educational initiatives, the government emphasized the need for missions to enhance their curriculum and the qualifications of their teaching staff (Tignor, 1976). Ochwada (2002) criticizes the effectiveness of missionary education, highlighting that the missionary schools faced challenges in attracting and retaining students due to the simplistic nature of their educational programs and curriculum. Okong'o (KII, 05/04/2021) argues that the reluctance of Luo parents to enroll their children in schools can be attributed, in part, to the perception that the youth played a vital role in the traditional local economy, and their participation in the colonial education system would result in their absence from this economic sector.

Therefore, our study has determined that a significant proportion of parents choose to include their children in the care of livestock and the production of crops instead of enrolling them in formal education. This is due to their perception of the missions as posing a systematic threat to the traditional ways of life. This study posits that the aforementioned condition was enabled by prevailing negative cultural views towards females among males, resulting in restricted access to education for women. The primary reasons for this perspective are rooted in the belief that women and girls are primarily responsible for domestic duties, therefore diminishing the perceived necessity of

education for them, as noted by Phoebe Asiyu.

The Luo community maintains a cultural idea that the education of girls results in a loss of vital domestic assistance and labor for moms. This phenomenon might be attributed to the presence of conflicting demands on girls' time, which consequently led to mothers' hesitance in allowing their daughters to pursue education. In addition, socio-cultural factors like as early marriages, adolescent pregnancies, and initiation rites serve as restraints that hinder the ability of girls to continue their education, hence compromising their retention within the educational system. Furthermore, within the prevailing cultural norms, girls are often perceived as lacking intelligence, resulting in a lack of investment in their education. Consequently, they are not provided with the necessary support and encouragement from their families, communities, and educational institutions to strive for academic success or attain the highest educational qualifications available in society. This perpetuates an ongoing gender disparity (Asiyu, KII; 08/03/2021).

This study examines the impact of poverty on school dropout rates in Homa Bay during the post-colonial era. It reveals that families living in poverty often face the necessity of withdrawing their children, particularly girls, from school in order to participate in economic activities such as boda boda riding, fishing, sand harvesting, and quarry work for boys. Similarly, girls often seek employment as babysitters to contribute to their families' survival. This phenomenon is accompanied by a reduction in the available resources of governments, resulting from the widespread economic crisis. Consequently, there has been a decrease in government spending on education, as mandated by the Structural Adjustment Programs implemented in the country since 1980.

Furthermore, Ndeda (2002) provides support for this assertion by claiming that the educational efforts of missionaries were directed towards fostering a rupture with African cultural practices, denouncing traditional modes of living as not only uncivilized, backward, and uncultured, but also lacking in theological significance. In his study conducted on April 4, 2021, Ndiga observed some aspects of Luo men's lives that were resistant to change throughout the process of conversion to Christianity. These aspects included the prohibition of alcohol and tobacco consumption, the retention of traditional clothes such as skins, the continued use of rings and beads, and the practice of polygyny.

These were recognized as areas in which the converts, who were preparing for baptism, were reluctant to relinquish their cultural practices. Additionally, these individuals were required to alter their identities and adopt Western attire. Furthermore, this study determined that a similar pattern of orientation was observed at various centers, including Asumbi in Gem, Mawego in Karahuonyo, Mirogi in Ndhiwa, Marindi in Kanyada, Kasarwa in Homa Bay Town-Kanyada, and Rarua in Karahuonyo. These centers were established by Catholic Missions and featured mission villages that were predominantly inhabited by males. The converts were actively encouraged to reside in these villages, with the intention of physically isolating them from the "pagans". Subsequently, these settlements underwent a transformation into urban centers characterized by male dominance.

The Protestant churches, particularly the Seventh Day Adventists, implemented a deliberate strategy through their missionary education efforts to undermine African culture. This strategy included imposing strict regulations on marriage practices for their converts. Specifically, male converts were required to have only one wife, while female converts were prohibited from marrying men who already had another wife (Asiyo, (KII; 08/03/2021). Based on the aforementioned rationale, it is evident that the influence of missionary education among the Luos of Homa Bay was constrained, save for its effectiveness in reaching the specific demographic of chiefs' and pastors' sons. Following the establishment of mission schools, there was a limited influx of individuals, resulting in classrooms with a sparse student population characterized by frequent desertions and absenteeism. This trend persisted until the year 1920, when The Young Kavirondo Association emerged with the aim of advocating for the Luo and Luhya communities. One of their primary objectives was to address various issues that adversely affected these communities, including the need for an improved education system that would duly acknowledge and accommodate their cultural values. The organization advocated for the implementation of effective formal education programs that would equip individuals with practical skills for employment, while they placed minimal emphasis on promoting gender inclusion. To address the possible protests of Africans against the colonial education system, Ochwada (2002) argues that the British administration strategically focused on providing sons of chiefs with a greater access to formal education, hence perpetuating the policy of divide and rule.

The argument for the expansion of educational opportunities for Africans was articulated by J.R. Orr, the Director of Education. Orr highlighted the potential enhancement in productivity among African laborers and emphasized the advantages of western education, particularly in relation to girls' education. According to Tignor (1976), it has been stated that the Director expressed a preference for substituting what he referred to as the three B's (Baby, Bath, and Broom) with the three R's (Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic) for boys. Additionally, he advocated for the preparation of girls for their future duties as brides and homemakers. The aforementioned colonial education program resulted in the perception among males that females were primarily confined to domestic spheres, serving as both companions to men and caretakers of their children, while also being associated with individuals of diminished intellectual capabilities (Ngala II, 18/04/2021).

The director oversaw the establishment of the first colonial education centers in Kenya by 1925, such as the Machakos Industrial School and the Native Industrial Training Depot. These institutions placed a strong emphasis on providing technical training for boys. Their primary purpose was to meet the needs of the European population by supplying trained boys who could be employed in various sectors, including the Railways, Public Works department, and settlers services, as skilled artisans (Tignor, 1976). This study provides more evidence to the aforementioned topic by asserting that these educational institutions effectively equipped males with the necessary skills for engaging in labor migration, often leading them to reside far away from their villages and separate from their wives and mothers. As a result, this phenomenon has contributed to the emergence of female-dominated Luo households in Homa Bay, representing a significant departure from previous societal norms. This treatise further establishes that the primary purpose of mission schools was to facilitate conversions and eliminate African traditions, as previously mentioned. Additionally, a third category of schools was established in African reserves with the objective of educating young men and women to enhance village life and foster rural economic development.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1920 placed significant emphasis on upholding the principle of domesticity within girls' boarding schools. It advocated for the establishment of such schools that prioritized areas such as food preparation, household amenities, child

care, and occupations aligned with women's interests and capabilities. The underlying objective was to enhance women's aptitude for fulfilling the role of a spouse, thereby contributing to their efficacy as wives for men (Ochwada, 2002). According to Ndeda (2002), the Commission acknowledged the colonial government's commendable initiatives in promoting industrial skills among boys, while girls' schools focused on domestic science. The curriculum for boys aimed to train them as clerks, masons, tailors, and general administrators within the colonial system. This study provides additional evidence to support the notion that this particular form of schooling failed to adequately equip girls for participation in public spheres such as politics, administration, and decision-making, as it did for boys. This disparity in preparation became more apparent during the post-colonial era.

In accordance with the findings of Ochwada (2002), the Commissioners expressed the belief that the responsibility of providing education for girls, namely in the context of homemaking skills, should continue to be entrusted to missionaries. According to the study authored by Mrs. MacGregor Ross in 1922, it was observed that around ninety-nine percent of African women in Kenya were inclined towards marriage. Consequently, she put forth a recommendation advocating for the training of girls with the aim of cultivating their abilities to become proficient spouses and mothers for their male counterparts and their offspring (KNA/PC/NZA/2/11/10). In her work, Nyakwaka (2013) challenges Mrs. MacGregor's advice by highlighting the inclusion of self-control, feeling of responsibility, self-respect, and powers of observation as essential components of the women's curriculum. During the course of this research, the analysis of the documentary records reveals that women were also educated in matters of cleanliness, food preparation, enhanced attire, hygiene, and physiology. These teachings aligned with the British aristocracy's attitude on domesticity. This notion was propagated in Britain and its colonies with the objective of fostering a patriarchal society in Kenya, a persistence that has endured into the era of independence.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while the education of boys at institutions like Maseno and Kisii came under the direct supervision of colonial administrators, the responsibility for girls' education in boarding schools such as Asumbi, Mirogi, and Ngiya remained with the Christian missionaries (Ndeda, 2002). According to Magak (II,

21/04/2021), it has been verified that the Catholic mission played a significant role in the establishment of girls' schools in Homa Bay, including Asumbi, Mawego, and Mirogi. The Seventh Day Adventist denomination founded Gendia in Kendu Bay and Kamagambo in Kisii as educational institutions exclusively for males. However, they declined to relinquish control of these schools to the colonial authority. Consequently, a significant number of boys from Homa Bay sought education at other institutions like Maseno, Yalla, or Kisii (KNA/AV/12/260). Based on the discourse, it can be observed that colonial schools in Kenya, particularly among the Luo community, did not serve as significant platforms for fostering political empowerment among females. Instead, these schools primarily functioned as establishments that reinforced traditional gender roles, resulting in a distinct split within the educational framework, emphasizing domesticity. In Homa Bay, it remains a verifiable observation that the majority of girls' schools are funded by mission organizations, while boys' schools are predominantly supported by the government.

According to the findings of Onyuka (KII, 18/03/2021), the introduction of colonial education resulted in a redefinition of gender roles within households. This redefinition involved a shift towards men assuming a more prominent presence in the public arena, while women progressively withdrew into the private domain and focused on domestic responsibilities. In 1925, the government established Local Native Councils, granting them the authority to impose modest taxes and allocate the resulting cash towards local development initiatives. In the district of Nyanza, this newfound opportunity was seized upon to generate funds, leading to the formulation of proposals aimed at expanding educational opportunities primarily for the male population. This aligns with Tignor's (1976) analysis of the LNC's decision in 1928 to withhold finances from the mission for school expansion and instead advocate for the creation of their own schools. According to Ochwada (2002), it is argued that the primary goals of the LNC were to educate young boys in a manner that would enable them to return to the reserve and enhance their quality of life by adopting improved practices of cleanliness and industry. Based on the aforementioned argument, it is evident that the LNC's intention in educating boys was to cultivate their comprehensive proficiency in order to meet the requirements of contemporary society, thereby enabling them to effectively engage in agricultural technical tasks.

Based on the archival record (KNA/AV/12/260), the primary objective of the LNCS was to promote parental participation in sending a maximum number of male children to educational institutions, with the intention of equipping them with practical abilities that would facilitate their integration into the colonial economic system. The omission of discussions pertaining to girls' education during the LNCs meetings resulted in the perpetuation of a patriarchal society, reminiscent of the colonial era, throughout the entire country (Asiyo, KII, 08/03/2021). In 1928, H. S. Scott assumed leadership of the Education Department, and it is noteworthy that he too espoused racially biased perspectives on education. Scott contended that the educational institutions in Kenya should not only be tailored to suit the rural and village settings of the nation, but also align with the educational capabilities of African male students (Rodney, 1983). Similarly, Tignor (1976) argues that Scott implemented novel educational strategies with the objective of restructuring primary education. This involved categorizing schools into three tiers, namely A, B, and C. The A schools, also known as bush schools, and the B schools encompassed grades one to four, and were to be administered by the missions. He additionally contended that educational institutions labeled as 'B' schools should be staffed exclusively by African teachers. The group of schools categorized as 'C', encompassing students from grades four to seven, were established with the purpose of offering vocational courses, particularly focusing on teacher training for male students. These schools, similar to secondary schools, were intended to be operated collaboratively by both missionary organizations and the colonial government.

The aforementioned observation serves as a catalyst for Nyonyango (II, 22/04/2021) to assert that Africans exhibited a reluctance to enroll in mission schools and withheld cash designated for Local Native Councils (LNCs) from the missions. This behavior can be attributed to their growing awareness that the education provided by the missions was inadequate. This is the rationale behind the desire of the LNC in North Kavirondo for a more distinct and official entity that would enhance their relevance inside the colonial state. It is noteworthy to acknowledge that LNCs did not fight for comprehensive gender education.

Regarding the significance of the Local Native Councils (LNCs) in Homa Bay, Tignor (1976) provides information on the initial inclusion of two male African individuals in

the Central Advisory Committee for African Education in 1937. These individuals were Paul Mboya, a chief hailing from Kendu Bay in Homa Bay, situated in the South Kavirondo District of Nyanza, and Eliud Mathu, who served as a teacher at the Alliance High School. In 1938, Kenya had a limited number of African Secondary schools exclusively for boys, which were operated by missionary organizations and received support from the state. These schools included Alliance High School in central Kenya, Kabaa in Machakos, Maseno School and Yala, both located in Nyanza. It is worth noting that there was no secondary school in the Southern Kavirondo District, despite Paulo Mboya's origins in that particular region. Kanogo (2005) acknowledges that by the conclusion of the 1930s, Kenya had made limited efforts to cater to the educational needs of girls. The prevailing educational system at the time was primarily designed to provide females with skills deemed essential for their roles as wives, mothers, and caretakers of the family and household. This emphasis on domestic responsibilities was considered crucial for maintaining societal stability. Based on the aforementioned discourse, Asiyo arrives at the conclusion that;

Colonial system of education could hardly promote political empowerment for women; rather it aimed at molding women to be efficient in their domestic chores which did not only make women subordinate to the educated men but also separate from them. The role of the elderly women in the indigenous Luo community was taken over by the female missionaries in charge of mission to girls. They would supervise the external transformation and re-socialization of the girls. The mission station therefore became the new *siwindhe* as was established in pre-colonial Luoland (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

The presented tabulation of the colonial education report from 1924 provides compelling evidence that the initial mission to exert influence over the Southern Kavirondo District through the establishment of schools was the Seventh Day Adventist. As Ochola (05/03/2021) asserts, this particular mission demonstrated a greater inclination towards promoting girls' education and discreetly endeavored to empower women in matters of public engagement, while also advocating for gender equality and women's rights, in contrast to other missions. This study has presented a potential explanation for the increased representation of Luo women in public affairs during the colonial and post-colonial periods in Kenya, in comparison to other groups. This investigation identified several noteworthy women, namely Dr. Phoebe Asiyo, Caren Bondo, Gladys Wanga, Dr.

Eve Obara, Dr. Lilian Gogo, Roselyne Onyuka, and Mildred Odhiambo Mabona, who were found to be adherents of the Seventh Day Adventist faith. Furthermore, this observation highlights the fact that there is a higher representation of elected women leaders in Homa Bay compared to other regions. This study has determined that in following autonomous governments, all elected women in Homa Bay originate from the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) denomination, in contrast to other regions in Kenya during the same period.

Table 3.3.2.1: The Missions and the Dates on which schools were established in Nyanza

MISSION	NAME OF SCHOOL	YEAR ESTABLISHED
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	Roman Catholic, Kibuye	1904
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	Roman Catholic, Mumias	1905
Seventh Day Adventist	Lumbwa Industrial Mission	1905
Church of God	Church of God Bunyore	1905
Church Mission Society	CMS Maseno	1906
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	Roman Catholic Kakamega	1906
Seventh Day Adventist	SDA Gendia	1909
Seventh Day Adventist	SDA Kamagambo	1911
Seventh Day Adventist	SDA Kisii	1911
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	RCM – Aluor	1912
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	RCM – Asumbi	1913
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	RCM – Rang’ala	1920
Roman Catholic Mission – Mill Hill	RCM – Kibuye	1922
Friend African Mission	Friends Kaimosi	1922
Friend African Mission	Maragoli School, Vihiga	1922
Pentecostal Assemblies	Nyang’ori School	1924

Source; *National Archive - KNA/PC/NZA/2/11/10, Schools, 1924*

3.3.3 The colonial political system on gender relations

The organizational framework of the colonial government in Kenya was structured according to the British Crown Colony model. The primary governmental entities consisted of the Governor, the Executive Council, and the Legislative Council. The Governor, serving as the official delegate of His/Her Majesty, held the highest executive position and was accountable to the Imperial Authorities. According to Nyakwaka (1999), it was necessary for all the ordinances of the Legislative Council to undergo a process of presentation to the governor, who received assistance from several administrative officials, including the Departmental Heads such as the Directors of Education, Health, and Labour. The Executive Council served as an advisory body to the Governor, although the Governor was not obligated to follow its recommendations. On the other hand, the Legislative Council was responsible for creating ordinances, within the limitations specified in the colony's Constitution (Dilley, 1966). The Governors assumed the role of presiding over the Legislative Council. The establishment of the colonial provincial organization can be traced back to the year 1929, during which a comprehensive restructuring of local governance was undertaken with the aim of addressing the needs and concerns of both African and non-African communities at the local level.

To enhance administrative efficiency, the Governor established ten provinces overseen by provincial commissioners. These commissioners were tasked with serving as intermediaries between the District Councils in European regions and the Local Native Councils in African regions (KNA/ARC/MAA/2/3/10.Vol. I). Within the recently implemented administrative framework, Dudi (II, 2/04/2021) possesses the capacity to recollect the historical manner in which African regions were governed, specifically through the utilization of Councils of Elders, Chiefs, and Headmen, since he had the opportunity to watch this system in action within Homa Bay. According to the author, the establishment of the Native Authority Ordinance in 1912 served as the basis for the administrative structure in the African regions.

The aforementioned reasoning demonstrates that the Governor possessed legal authority to appoint headmen, chiefs, groups of elders, District Commissioners, and their aides, all of whom were exclusively male without any apologies. The colonial administrative

structure can be seen as a means of legitimizing the absence of female administrators within the colonial state. This resulted in the creation of a society where women were politically marginalized, perceiving men as leaders while women themselves were rendered voiceless and subordinate. This dynamic can be attributed to the pivotal role of political representation, which determines power dynamics and influences all social relationships within a given society. These findings elucidate the manner in which colonial politics resulted in the marginalization of women from participating in societal decision-making processes.

According to O'Barr (1995), the colonial political systems exclusively featured male representation, with men assuming dominant roles in societal decision-making. These individuals possessed a greater degree of influence in the day-to-day administration of the affairs of the nation in Kenya. This study's evaluation of the status of women affirms that women, both in a general sense and within the Luo community specifically, were marginalized within colonial political frameworks. The public sphere was predominantly constructed as a male domain, relegating women to passive roles as mere spectators of the governing regime (Nyonyango, II; 22/04/2021). This study demonstrates that women were marginalized and disempowered. It has been shown that colonial officials held the view that women were primarily expected to fulfill the function of domestic companions to men.

This exclusion of women from the sphere of politics was perceived by the colonialists. This study provides reliable evidence regarding gender relations between colonial forces and women in Africa, specifically focusing on Kenya. It demonstrates that colonial powers did not actively seek to manipulate female leaders, since they often held the belief that such leaders did not exist. This finding is consistent with other research conducted on this topic. According to O'Barr (1995), the British colonial administration in Nigeria transformed the male Obi into a salaried colonial official, while disregarding the female equivalent known as the Omu. This selective treatment resulted in the dismantling of the pre-colonial 'dual-sex' political system, a pattern observed in other regions of Africa and Kenya.

According to Amediume (1987), it is in agreement with the aforementioned observation that colonial administrators in African nations were predominantly male and aimed to transform African women into a European ideal of domesticity, characterized by their role as housewives. Based on Ogutu's research findings (KII, 11/04/2021), it can be observed that the European administrators originated from societies whereby women were systematically barred from political and public spheres, and their interests were primarily advanced via the agency of men. According to Asiyo's observations and encounters with colonial politics, she asserts that...

The existence of the pre-colonial traditional values of distributed and shared political authority between genders in African societies did not find a place in colonial political system. The British transferred their own form of male-dominated politics and completely ignored African women's pre-colonial political roles. Christian missionaries just like colonial administrators brought with them Victorian conceptions concerning the place of women in society and failed to appreciate the significant contributions frequently made by women and their sense of independence. By doing so they introduced a new version of patriarchy which was both public as well as private that even African patriarchs had to learn for future application (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

The preceding chapter demonstrated that the demarcation between private and public spheres in pre-colonial Kenya was tenuous. However, Schmidt (1991) argues that the British system and policies exacerbated the differentiation between private and public gender dynamics, adhering to the belief that men were primarily involved in public affairs while women were confined to private roles. The author further elucidates that the colonial system facilitated the advancement of entrenched customary rules among African patriarchs, resulting in the emergence of novel structures and manifestations of domination within the framework of patriarchy. However, Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021) asserts with confidence that despite the dual challenges of colonial oppression and gender oppression, Luo women in Kenya, along with other African women and specifically those in Kenya, managed to come together in order to confront and challenge the systems of both colonial and patriarchal dominance. This was achieved through their resistance to colonial impositions and policies.

African women utilized their role as spirit mediums to assume leadership positions within their communities and engage in anti-colonial endeavors (Nyakwaka, 1999). Spirit mediums were present during the pre-colonial period and had a significant role in facilitating women's connection with their ancestors. They provided guidance and support to women in making vital decisions pertaining to their social welfare. This study provides evidence from Zimbabwe, specifically focusing on the case of Charwe, a lady who was believed to be possessed by the female spirit of Nehanda. Charwe played a significant role as a performer during the anti-colonial movement among the Shona people of Zimbabwe in the 1890s. In the region of Southern Uganda, the individual known as Muhumusa is depicted as having been afflicted by the Nyabingi spirit, which compelled her to assume a leadership role in conducting raids and organizing protests against the British colonial forces.

These actions persisted over an extended period of time, posing a significant challenge to the colonial systems. Muhumusa and her followers targeted various colonial institutions, engaging in acts of aggression until the 1920s. Tarus (2006) provides an account of the Kamba case in Kenya, focusing on their resistance to colonial taxes. This resistance manifested through the preservation of ancient religious traditions and the trust in supernatural powers. The author elucidates that the individuals fulfilling the role of Kamba medicine men also assumed leadership positions during the Kilumi dance, a ritual aimed at exorcising malevolent spirits. Notably, the majority of participants in this dance were women. It is worth noting that the Kamba people residing in Machakos and Kitui effectively employed the Kilumi dance as a means of expressing their collective disapproval of the colonial administration during the years 1911 and 1913.

In a particular instance involving Kamba women in Kenya, Nyakwaka (1999) provides an account of Syotune wa Kathuke's utilization of Kulimi dances as a catalyst for an anti-colonial movement. Alongside her collaborator, Kiamba, and other individuals, Syotune wa Kathuke spearheaded an organization called Ngai Ngoma (God's Dance). Notably, she also established a modest military faction comprised of women and mounted guards in various villages to serve as a screening mechanism for the collaborators. Kathuke and her team successfully persuaded their constituents to abstain from paying hut and poll taxes, instead encouraging them to remain at home and refrain from engaging in porter job. Furthermore, she advocated for the expulsion of all European individuals from

Kenya and the restitution of all land that had been taken away. In the climactic scene of the Kamba women resistance as depicted by Nyakwaka (1999), it is elucidated that Syotune wa Kathuke effectively organized and guided a group of women to the office of the District Commissioner. Once there, they engaged in a frenzied dance while vocalizing sentiments that were critical of colonialism and Europeans. According to Tarus (2006), the resistance led by Syotune had a significant effect on the inhabitants of Maputi and Mwaala locations, as well as the western region of Machakos District. This impact resulted in their collective refusal to comply with tax payments and labor obligations for a certain duration.

Tarus further elucidates that the colonial administration deployed military forces in order to quell the aforementioned movement, resulting in the apprehension and subsequent expulsion of Syotune for a duration of two years to Wasin Island in Mombasa. It is noteworthy that she managed to evade captivity and return to her community thereafter. This movement became one of the initial instances in a series of subsequent movements in which Kenyan women actively opposed the mechanisms of colonial political and gender subjugation. According to Ndeda (1994), Menyziwa WA Menza, also known as MeKatilili, can be compared to other Kenyan women who played an active role in the political arena during the period of colonial authority. MeKatilili was born in Kaloleni, located in Kilifi District, but she primarily resided in Galana, situated in Malindi District. The individual in question was a highly esteemed female elder who actively participated in the community's oath-taking ceremonies. Additionally, she undertook extensive journeys to convince and gather individuals for the Kaya observations. As a result, British officials in close proximity to her residence imposed tax and labor requirements on the North Giriama population. According to Ndeda, it is argued that:

Mekatilili was not legitimate as a leader but her legitimacy emerged from her charisma. She was an effective emotional speaker who began to publicise the injustices. She found many Giriama men and women willing to listen. She desired the revival of the Kaya, and the traditional Kambi, a return to the numerous Giriama customs that seemed to have been abandoned or diluted. She also absolutely rejected the demand, made on the Giriama by the British. Mekatilili acted like a charismatic politician coalescing the interests of Giriama women, the powerless young men and ageing elders to meet the challenge by reviving the old customs and opposing all Giriama who were assisting the British (Ndeda, 1994).

According to Tarus (2006), Mekatilili demonstrated her leadership abilities during meetings by effectively mobilizing and delivering regular speeches to large gatherings. In her addresses, she vehemently denounced the British colonialists, characterizing them as individuals lacking courage who had fled from their own homelands. Tarus (year) posits that one of the contributing factors to Mekatilili's emergence as a leader within the Giriama community was her compelling oratory skills. Her speeches effectively highlighted the adverse effects of taxation and labor policies on Giriama women and their families. Specifically, Mekatilili emphasized how these policies led to the displacement of women's husbands and sons, who were compelled to seek wage labor opportunities elsewhere in order to generate income for tax obligations. Additionally, she made note of the conspicuous absence of males, resulting in an augmented agricultural workload for women as they assumed responsibility for land clearance, a task previously undertaken by men. According to Ndeda (1994), Mekatilili strongly criticized the oppressive tactics employed by state officials, including chiefs, headmen, and askaris, in their tax collection efforts. These methods involved subjecting impoverished Giriama individuals to humiliation, physical punishment, and sexual assault, while also destroying their dwellings through arson.

In addition to the conscription of able-bodied males into the King's African Rifles, Mekatilili also voiced her opposition to the colonialists' encroachments on the traditional authority of the elders. In response to the grievances expressed by the Giriama community, Mekatilili mobilized both women and men to the administrative post, where they proceeded to burn it ablaze and engage in confrontations with state agents. According to Nyakwaka (1999), it is acknowledged that as a result of the efforts and influence of Mekatilili, the Giriama community experienced a temporary cessation of labor recruitment and tax payment. Nevertheless, according to Ndeda (1994), the resistance led to the unfortunate outcome of approximately 250 casualties among the Giriama people. Additionally, almost 70% of the Giriama huts were set ablaze, resulting in the capture of roughly 6,000 goats. Furthermore, a hefty fine of 33,000 goats was placed on the Giriama community. Consequently, as a consequence of these events, the Giriama people were compelled to provide porters for the First World War. Additionally, the author posits that Mekatilili was apprehended and then exiled to Kisii, a region located in Western Kenya. However, she managed to evade captivity and embarked on a

journey back to the coastal area on foot.

The aforementioned discussion on women's resistance highlights the evident assumption of leadership by women, who effectively mobilized their communities to abstain from paying taxes to the British. This occurred during a period when a significant number of males were hesitant to take action. According to Nyakwaka (1999), it was acknowledged by the elders that Mekatilili and other women had a pivotal role in instigating the initial movement against the British in Giriama, similar to the significant contribution made by Syotune in the primary resistance of the Kamba people. The Giriama women assumed the responsibility of filling the void created by the absence of men who were preoccupied with colonial endeavors. These women were motivated by their desire to maintain the cohesion of their families, which was under threat due to the colonial practice of contracting labor that resulted in the departure of their sons and husbands to urban areas for work (Ndeda, 1994). Therefore, the discourse surrounding women's responses to colonial gender subordination and political discrimination can be considered a triumph, as women were able to effectively ensure the presence of their husbands and sons within the household. Consequently, this allowed them to preserve the unity of their families and restore stability to both their own lives and those of their family members. Similar to the cases observed in Kamba and Giriama regions, numerous women in South Kavirondo, including Man'gana of Kadem, played a significant role in initiating initial struggle against female subordination and gender-based discrimination.

Similar to the Giriama women, the Luo women also shown active involvement in activities aimed at opposing the imposition of colonial control, so demonstrating their resilience in safeguarding their families from the detrimental effects of the colonial state. Women played a significant role in the two primary early anti-colonial movements in Nyanza, actively engaging alongside their male counterparts. According to Ndeda (1994), the Mumbo Cult and the Nomiya Luo Church were established by male individuals who aimed to mobilize the Luo community to reject the colonial system. It is noteworthy that the majority of participants in these movements were Luo women. According to Ajengo (II, 21/03/2021), a portion of the followers of the Nomiya Luo church relocated from central Nyanza to Kanyikela, situated near Ndhiwa in Homa Bay, in order to evade colonial oppressions and instances of gender-based discrimination. During the period of

this study, the vestiges of this commitment were still evident within the familial context of Onyango Liech Kilu gi ndawa', whose family members continued to maintain affiliation with the African colonial resistive church (Ogutu, KII, 11/04/20210).

Throughout the inter-war period, women in Kenya persistently engaged in protests against colonialism alongside their male counterparts. The female population demonstrated a keen awareness of and persistent opposition to the oppressive colonial practices, ultimately leading to the establishment of African political organisations. It is worth noting, however, that these associations were predominantly led by men, despite the active involvement of women in devising and implementing novel approaches to combat colonialism (Ndeda, 1994). One of the associations that emerged during this period was the Young Kikuyu Association, under the leadership of Harry Thuku. This organization effectively expressed the concerns of the African community, particularly with regards to issues such as taxation and forced labor. Interestingly, these grievances were found to be more prevalent among women than men (Nyakwaka, 1999). Based on Kanogo's (1987) account, it is evident that Thuku's arrest on March 14, 1922 by colonial state officials was a deliberate attempt to suppress his growing popularity and support. Consequently, a sizable crowd of approximately 7,000 to 8,000 individuals, including 150 women, congregated outside the police station where Thuku was detained, demanding his immediate release. The release of Harry Thuku from police detention was contingent upon the intervention of Mary Nyanjiru Muthoni, who confronted the officers and urged them to employ coercive measures.

To underscore the magnitude of female discontent and endorsement of male counterparts, the individual resorted to a conventional form of derogation referred to as gaturuma. Kanogo (1987) highlights gaturuma as an act of revealing a woman's genitalia to an offending party, serving as the ultimate recourse for individuals consumed by emotions of anger, frustration, humiliation, or vengeance. It is noteworthy to observe that this study revealed a transfer of leadership during the riot, wherein women assumed the role and fearlessly confronted the police. Subsequently, the police resorted to firing, resulting in the immediate deaths of 21 individuals, including four women, and causing numerous injuries. Consequently, Thuku was deported to Kismayu.

In Nyanza province, a group of prominent individuals from the Luo and Luhya communities, including Jonathan Okwiri, Benjamin Owuor, and Simeon Nyende, among others, established the Young Kavirondo Association, also known as Piny Owacho, with its inauguration taking place during a gathering held at Lundha North Gem on December 23rd, 1921. This event attracted an estimated attendance of around 1,000 men and women (Osamba, 1994). The movement articulated several demands, including the abolition of forced labor camps in Nyanza province and the Kipande System. Additionally, they expressed their opposition to the escalating hut and poll tax, the reduction of African wages, the destruction of huts, and the seizure of maize and millet granaries as a consequence of tax non-payment. A significant event in this movement was the Piny Owacho meeting, where women protested and raised questions about the imposition of taxes on widows who lacked a source of income (KNA/DC/KSU/13/1, 1922). According to Okaro-Kojwang (1969), the aforementioned conference served as a platform for women to voice their concerns with the overcrowding of huts, which coincided with the practice of men demolishing homes in order to reduce hut fees. This aligns with the earlier explanation provided by Asiyo in the preceding chapter. Edward Northey, the governor at the time, was compelled to engage with the representatives of the movement and accede to some demands, including the elimination of labor camps and a reduction in taxation from 16 shillings to 12 shillings (Hay, 1976).

In contrast to the Igbo women in Nigeria, who were exempted from taxes following the notable women's riot against taxation in 1929, Osamba (1994) argues that the Luo women in Kenya were not similarly freed from tax obligations, despite both regions being under British colonial rule. The protest movement aimed to address the actions of chiefs and headmen who were compelling individuals to engage in wage labor, while also imposing communal labor on adolescents, women, and elderly individuals. The aforementioned circumstance compelled Winston Churchill, who held the position of British Colonial Secretary of State at the time, to issue a communication to the colonial administration. In this dispatch, Churchill emphasized that coerced labor need to be restricted to government initiatives and other indispensable sectors (KNA/DC/KSU/13 1924-4).

In the year 1933, a legislation was enacted with the explicit intention of mitigating the most severe consequences associated with the employment of women and children in Kenya (Osamba, 1994). According to Zeleza (1988), there exists a disparity between the enactment of legislation and its actual enforcement, as seen by the persistence of forced labor in numerous African nations during the Second World War. The cases examined in this chapter provide evidence of the marginalization of African women, specifically the Luo women, as a result of colonialism. However, women exhibited individual agency in their efforts to oppose the intrusion of colonial forces on their pre-colonial gender dynamics and their established privileges. The aforementioned data indicate that Luo women, similar to their Kenyan counterparts, successfully confronted colonial institutions that aimed to confine them to home and private spheres through the implementation of regulations enforced by the colonial authority. In her concluding remarks, Asiyo asserts that;

Though women stood by men during the early colonial times to restore pre-colonial complementary gender relations, colonial notions of men as sole actors in public sphere continued to further restrict women's access to political positions. It even became worse on women when the independent patriarchs perfected the neo-patrimonial system in Kenya, leading to the rise of post-colonial patriarchy. Women's access to public life via religious roles, as spirit mediums, who acted as mediators in local disputes and consultant figures in the time of natural disasters in pre-colonial era lost that political role when separation between political and religious realms were made clear by colonial policies leading to the rise of feminist- masculine dependency in men-women relationships in post-colonial period. It is simple that colonialism embedded and institutionalizes gender inequality in Kenya which has been perfected by the independence (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

3.3.4 Colonial Labour policies on gender relations in Homa Bay

Labor is an essential resource for the survival of individuals, regardless of gender, within any given civilization. The manner in which labor is regulated and the individuals who exercise control over it have a crucial role in shaping the dynamics of society and the state. It is advisable that individuals who contribute their labor should own unrestricted entitlement and authority over the rewards derived from their labor. According to the findings of Ndiga's observation (KII, 04/04/2021), it is regrettable to assert that the

situation in colonial Kenya did not align with the aforementioned principle. During that period, the implementation of wage labor served as a deliberate policy aimed at ensuring a steady influx of inexpensive African labor for both government initiatives and European settlers.

The impact of the colonial master's alterations to the labor market was particularly pronounced among women who possessed less educational attainment and lacked the requisite skills demanded by the evolving employment landscape. The reason for this might be attributed to the discriminatory nature of the colonial education system against women. The colonial authority exhibited a preference for male students, particularly those who were sons of chiefs and local authorities. The majority of these individuals who had received formal education departed from rural regions in pursuit of more financially rewarding employment opportunities in urban areas, sometimes referred to as "white collar" jobs. During the colonial period, individuals who possessed a higher level of education actively engaged in the political realm as well.

According to Osamba's (1994) perspective, the imposition of colonial governance in Kenya resulted in an escalated need for a substantial influx of African labor. These factors served as a foundation for the colonial economy, benefiting both the government and the people. This study acknowledges that a significant influx of settlers began in 1903, with a substantial surge occurring from 1908 onwards. As a result, the demand for labor escalated significantly. To tackle the labor issue, the colonial administration announced in 1907 that the officers of the Administration and of Native Affairs would make concerted efforts to provide a consistent labor supply for settlers, planters, and contractors. However, according to Dilley's (1966) assertion, it can be observed that by the year 1910, the colonial government ceased its involvement in labor recruitment endeavors and instead established the role of a professional recruiter, whose responsibilities were to be subjected to regulation and control. The Native Labour Commission was established by the colonial administration in 1912, with the primary objective of identifying strategies to encourage African individuals to engage in labor activities in order to address the existing labor shortage.

The aforementioned Commission determined that the scarcity of labor was attributable to several factors. Firstly, communities that possessed wealth derived from land ownership, livestock, and trade profits lacked the incentive to engage in wage labor for sustenance. Additionally, the recruitment processes implemented by agents hindered the influx of labor. Furthermore, inadequate administrative personnel resulted in regions with efficient administration providing the majority of labor. Lastly, the challenging labor conditions characterized by inadequate nutrition, substandard housing, and mistreatment contributed to the shortage of labor (KNA/PC/NZA/3/20/4/2, 1925). The Commission report led to the implementation of several Ordinances from 1915 to 1920.

These measures not only addressed the labor shortage in colonial Kenya but also exacerbated gender inequality. The 1915 laws encompassed provisions for the compulsory registration of all male individuals of African descent who had reached the age of sixteen. However, the practical implementation of this registration process did not occur until the year 1919. The implementation of this legislation in Kenya brought about the establishment of labor agreements and the Kipande, or pass system, specifically targeting males. While this policy was advantageous for the settlers, it was met with strong opposition and disapproval among the African people.

In 1916, the implementation of the Resident Native Ordinance aimed to address the issue of "squattling" among Africans residing outside designated Reserves. The primary objective was to ensure that these individuals were engaged in agricultural labor for a farmer under a formal contractual agreement. Dille (1966) argues that following the conclusion of the First World War, a labor crisis emerged due to the heightened expansion of plantations, attractive wages offered beyond the protectorate, inadequate oversight of African populations, and increased productivity within the Reserves.

According to Zeleza (1988), the labor conditions at the time prompted the issuance of the 1919 Labour Circular. This directive emphasized the necessity of African labor for settlers' farms and other government development initiatives. Consequently, all government officials, including provincial and district commissioners, were instructed to actively engage in labor recruitment. The issuance of the Circular resulted in the implementation of a program known as "encouragement," which entailed the expectation

that African authority would supply labor to both the settlers and the government. Consequently, these authorities were requested to employ any legally permissible means to fulfill this obligation (Dilley, 1966).

In the region of South Nyanza, women and children were employed as paid casual laborers within the Asian Sugar Plantations. The individuals were actively involved in the cultivation of sugarcane and the removal of weeds. Additionally, they were employed in several bustling urban centers such as Kisumu, Kisii, Muhuru, and Homa Bay (KNA/PC/NZA/3/20/17/1, 1925-28). According to Osamba (1994), the colonial labor supply had significant implications for the development of taxation theories and land ownership practices. This was evident through the implementation of land alienation policies and the establishment of small African reserves in Kenya. These measures were intended to compel Africans to seek employment in settler plantations and urban areas. The establishment of reserves was intended to serve as a labor pool to meet the demands of both settlers and the colonial government. According to a settler farmer's perspective,

From the farmers point of view, the ideal reserve is a recruiting ground for labour, a place from which the able bodied go out to work returning occasionally to rest and beget the next generation of laborers (Harlowand E. M.Chilver, 1965).

Indeed Nyanza region remained major labor reservoirs throughout the colonial period. By 1915 about 30% of the Luo people from both southern and central Kavirondo had entered wage labour market. Stichter, S. (1982) clarifies that this was because of the co-operation of the local African Chiefs and the closeness of the area to the sugar plantations in Muhoroni, Kibos, Chemelil and Sony as well as towns. Osamba (1994) concurs with Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021) that when colonial cash economy was introduced, gender relations were greatly influenced as women's and men's relationship was henceforth determined by the colonial capital. Moreover, Tamale (1999) says that rights that men had over their wives' labour were strengthened, as they gained a stronger control on women's productive and reproductive labour during the colonial era, this consequently widened the gender gap in colonial Kenya.

As a result of the argument above, this study posits that women's relegation was secured through their exclusion from wage employment so that the power that comes with a pocket boom for the man at the end of each month guaranteed to restructure gender

relations in the household from complementarity to women to men dependence. It is further established that capitalism increased the subordination of women in the non-capitalist sectors through the intensification of female labour in peasant economies and releasing male labour for the production of cash crops. The women's productive labour was intensified to ensure a continuation of labour in reserve areas while their reproductive labour ensured the maintenance and reproduction of labour power at no cost to the capitalist wage. This is inline with the expression of Agar (II, 26/03/2021) that Luo women in Homa Bay like the rest of Kenya were forced to contend with productive and reproductive labour at the same time in colonial Kenya.

Meanwhile, Tamale (1999) explains that men were encouraged to leave their homes in search of wage labour while women remained in the reserves to produce food to feed families and to supplement the low wages of their spouses. This is in support of Ndeda's (2002) assertion that in western Kenya, especially among the Luo, labour migration was the dominant form of capitalist penetration. She further posits that, between 1895 and 1918 the area witnessed the first stage of transformation to migrant labour for settlers, public works and other sectors. This migration of a larger fraction of adult male population altered the gender relations that existed in pre-colonial household. Onyuka explains the impact of labour migration on gender relationships in the colonial era by saying;

Unlike in the past, men in colonial Kenya could not support themselves and their families. This is because of the low wages; hence they had to maintain economic social and political links with the rural areas for support. More importantly women were excluded from depending on their working husbands or as wage earners until the mid-1940s. It is sad that even the domestic jobs, which women came to dominate later, were not open to them. Therefore, colonial labour migration changed gender relations by destroying family economic structure, impoverishing rural areas and promoting rural decay a part from enlarging women roles in agriculture to include working in the fields, cultivating crops and looking after the homestead or household some of which were traditionally men's roles (Onyuka, KII; 18/03/2021)

Tamale's (1999) analysis reveals that the British colonial administration introduced cash crops, including cotton, tobacco, coffee, and tea, in order to facilitate the provision of raw materials for manufacturers located in the metropolises. This location served as a site where men were involved in the manufacturing of essential goods in order to fulfill their tax responsibilities to the colonial administration. While males were engaged in the

cultivation of colonial economic crops, women also participated in the cultivation of both food crops and colonial cash crops at a subsistence level. This aligns with Asiyo's assertion (KII, 08/03/2021) that throughout the colonial era, women assumed a significant portion of the labor force, resulting in heightened workloads and extended working hours, ultimately leading to a decline in their fertility rates. In a similar vein, Ndeda (2002) argues that the advent of the cash economy brought about alterations to the land tenure structure, resulting in a reduction of arable land accessible to women for subsistence farming of crops such as sorghum, sesame, potatoes, and cassava. This study has proven that the alterations made to the land tenure system resulted in a decline in female participation and diminished authority and control over agricultural production. Consequently, this led to the erosion of women's social, economic, and political responsibilities during the colonial period. The societal position of these women was diminished in comparison to that of men, resulting in an exacerbation of the gender gap.

3.4 Gender relations in the independent Kenya

The preceding debates have examined the colonial past and its impact on Kenyan women, with a specific focus on the Luo community. The prevailing consensus suggests that colonial and cultural systems played a significant role in reinforcing patriarchal structures. However, it is important to note that women actively engaged in endeavors aimed at both national and personal liberation. This study highlights the noteworthy observation that despite Kenya's attainment of independence in 1963 and subsequent transition to a republic in 1964, the status of women did not undergo an immediate transformation. Despite the presence of a Republican constitution that explicitly forbade racial, ethnic, class, or sexual discrimination, they continued to experience ostracism and subordination (Kihoro, 2002). Despite the clarity of the government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1963 on African Socialism, which served as a development roadmap, it is noteworthy that equal involvement of both men and women, including running for political offices, was intended. According to Abwao's (1962) assertion, with the attainment of independence, the prevailing patriarchal dynamics that were prevalent throughout the colonial period were reinforced by the newly established male leaders in their pursuit of consolidating political authority. Consequently, women were marginalized and pushed to the fringes of societal influence. The justification for this claim is supported by Abwao's plea on the brink of independence.

“As we share with our menfolk in the upbringing of our children and the improvement of our country and as partners, we seek to share in the policymaking, which affects our children, our country and us in the same measure” (Abwao, 1962)

Furthermore, this study revealed that the male political elites comprising the ruling government of Kenya African National Union (KANU) exhibited a lack of acknowledgement towards the contributions of women during the fight for independence, as well as their absence in the party's organizational framework. As posited by Asiyó (KII, 08/03/2021), the attainment of independence in Kenya might be understood as a transition from one manifestation of women's marginalization to another. This section examines the autonomous socio-economic and political factors and their impact on gender dynamics within the Luo community residing in Homa Bay. This study evaluates the function and influence of Maendeleo ya Wanawake on gender relations within post-colonial societies in Kenya, with a particular focus on Homa Bay.

3.4.1 Impact of administrative structure on gender relation in independent Kenya

The year 1963 marked a significant milestone in the political history of Kenya, when the nation achieved self-governance from its former colonial ruler, Britain. The commencement of the year also sparked a profound and enduring awareness about matters of gender and ethnicity. This research focuses on gender issues and aims to address the subject of the potential role of women in the emerging political landscape. The visibility of this phenomenon was observed during the Second Lancaster House Conference of 1962, which focused on the drafting of the independence constitution. The demand made by the single female delegate, Priscilla Abwao, during the conference is as follows:

“As Kenyan women were not asking for a special position of favor for ourselves” What women want in the soon to-be-independent Kenya was to “be treated as equal partners in the new society which we are creating together,” (Abwao, 1962).

Moreover, Phoebe Asiyó, a prominent Luo lady from Homa Bay, also conveyed comparable views regarding the importance of equal partnership during the period of independence. During the 1962 Conference, Abwao was only expressing the perspectives of politically disenfranchised women in Kenya (KNA/AMP/5/57; 1976). This study

provides confirmation that the pressure exerted by Africans compelled the colonial government to arrange a Legislative Council election in 1957. This election marked the first instance in which male Africans were granted the opportunity to engage as both voters and candidates. However, it is important to note that their full participation was limited due to stringent measures, and the absence of women from this process. Moreover, it is evident that the colonial administration also emphasized the appointment of a limited number of male individuals from non-African and African backgrounds to act as representatives of the African population in Kenya on the Council. In this study, a notable oversight is observed wherein both the colonial administration and African male activists advocating for enhanced African representation neglected to acknowledge the presence and contributions of women inside the legislative branch of the government. In a notable development, it is worth mentioning that in 1958, Jemimah Gecaga became a nominee for the Legislative Council (LEGCO). However, women expressed their dissatisfaction by labeling it as "too little, and too late." This sentiment stemmed from the fact that it mirrored the solitary inclusion of Abwao in the delegation to the Lancaster Conference, which had occurred four years prior, as indicated by the following quotation:

“Abwao’s inclusion was a political act of tokenism and an afterthought which could hardly be expected to effectively represent women’s gender concerns at that historical moment”
(Nzomo: <http://www.Kenyaconstitution.org/docs/09cd.002.htm>.)

Additionally, this paper examines the 1962 conference as a predominantly male-dominated gathering that resulted in the development of a gender-neutral constitution, subsequently leading to earlier general elections. The two primary political parties that vied for power in Kenya were the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), both of which were predominantly male-led. The winner party strategically pursued merger in order to consolidate its dominance as the single political entity in the country (Presley, 2019). The study demonstrates that the achievement of self-governance on June 1963 (Madaraka Day) was facilitated by a constitutional framework that decentralized power from the predominantly male central government to the male-dominated regional blocks, known as majimbo, in Kenya. The constitution established a bicameral legislature characterized by male dominance, consisting of an Upper House known as the Senate and a Lower House referred to as the National Assembly.

This study determined that the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), which served as the primary opposition to the Kenya African National Union (KANU), consisted predominantly of male leaders belonging to ethnic groupings that were demographically smaller compared to the Kikuyu and Luo ethnic groups, which were perceived as the dominant male constituents of KANU. KADU advocated for a federal system of government that was predominantly male-oriented, as its proponents believed it would serve as a safeguard against potential abuses of power by the majority over the minority.

The administration led by Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, however, exhibited a resolute commitment to strengthening the authority of the central government. According to Musandu (2006), the Kenyatta government achieved the dissolution of the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and its subsequent integration into the Kenya African National Union (KANU) government by December 12, 1964, coinciding with Kenya's transition to a Republic. Kenyatta assumed the presidency of the Republic subsequent to a series of essential constitutional revisions that resulted in Kenya being a de facto one-party state primarily governed by male individuals. The bicameral legislative system was dismantled by the Kenyatta government, following a series of constitutional reforms, in order to centralize power (Widner, 1992). Kenya persisted as a de facto single-party state, with the government perceiving any subsequent endeavors to establish an alternative political party as an antagonistic gesture. The available records indicate that the KANU government shown reluctance in its efforts to establish a mechanism capable of effectively addressing internal dissension. Consequently, the circumstances effectively limited the availability of alternative political frameworks to serve as a mechanism for governmental oversight.

Nevertheless, the mounting criticism inside the government during the period leading up to the mid-1960s resulted in a division among the governing body. In 1966, Oginga Odinga and Bildad Kaggia, who held the positions of Vice-president and Assistant Minister in the independent government, spearheaded a rebellion within the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party. This rebellion involved 27 members of parliament who voiced their concerns that the government had amassed excessive power, wealth, and self-interest, consequently creating a disconnect between the government and the grassroots population (Odinga, 1992). Kaggia (1975) offered a critical assessment of

the land redistribution initiatives implemented post-independence, contending that the redistribution of property previously owned by British settlers mostly favored a limited number of males hailing from specific regions. This aligns with the assertion made by Obonyo (II, 14/03/2021) that the two political figures established a liberal political party centered around female issues, known as the Kenya People's Union (KPU). This political party initiated the process of promoting gender inclusivity, with the notable addition of Grace Onyango, the first Luo woman to join. Therefore, this paper posits that the Kenyatta administration promptly labeled Odinga and the KPU members as communists due to Odinga's public utilization of Soviet finances to establish the Lumumba Institute, an institution inaugurated by President Kenyatta himself. According to Odinga's (1992) autobiography, the primary objective of the Institute under discussion was to provide training for KANU officials with the intention of fostering a stronger connection between these leaders and the general public at the grassroots level. Odinga further asserts that while he held certain aspects of communism in high regard, he did not identify himself as a communist.

Following the establishment of the KPU, the government promptly initiated a by-election, employing patriarchal power and governmental resources to impede the electoral campaigns of KPU-affiliated candidates. Grace Onyango, the sole female contestant, emerged as the only survivor in the elections, while numerous other candidates were unsuccessful. In 1969, the KPU party and its members were deregistered by Attorney General Charles Njonjo. Subsequently, individuals desiring to pursue further political endeavors were obliged to re-associate themselves with the Kenya African National Union (KANU) (Savage & Taylor, 1999). The aforementioned arguments suggest that the Kenyatta government did not undergo substantial alterations to the colonial administrative system and its structures. Instead, it maintained the British socio-economic and political system and institutions, albeit with a shift in power towards a male-dominated government. This aligns with the assertions made by Okulo (II, 22/03/2021) that Kenyatta possessed a conservative perspective regarding his vision for the future. This study argues that the rise of authoritarian governance can be seen as a rebranding of the pre-existing colonial structure, employing new terminology while perpetuating the male-dominated socio-economic and political systems inherited from the colonial era. Consequently, it suggests that post-independence governments may be

viewed as remnants of colonialism.

Undoubtedly, the newly established sovereign entity either maintained or restructured the socio-economic and political frameworks inherited from the colonial era. Upon assuming control of the colonial state and its administrative infrastructure and mechanisms of authority, the newly established government of Kenya provided limited political avenues and democratic platforms for meaningful individual agency and engagement, particularly with regards to women (Choti, 2005). This study contends that the matters of gender equality were not recollected nor resolved in the aforementioned situation. According to Adhiambo (II, 14/04/2021), it can be argued that the president underwent a significant transformation, becoming increasingly powerful, individualized, and administratively patriarchal. This research reveals that Kenyatta strategically employed the male-dominated colonial institutions and organizations, notably the provincial administration, to effectively consolidate and wield power. The power in question is utilized by the individual to effectively uphold patriarchal systems, so detrimentally affecting the interests and well-being of women.

As previously said, Kenya has inherited a centralized patriarchal state that is marked by the dominance of male-led institutions, particularly the provincial administration. The nation maintained its pre-independence framework, consisting of seven administrative divisions referred to as provinces. Each province was overseen by a male provincial commissioner, selected directly by the male president (Nasong'o & Ayot, 2007). Each province was subdivided into districts, with each district being overseen by authoritative male district commissioners. The Districts were additionally subdivided into divisions, overseen by male District Officers. Furthermore, these divisions were further divided into locations, each of which was under the leadership of a male African chief, who was supported by male assistant chiefs.

All of the aforementioned administrators were male individuals who were appointed by the predominantly male office of the President. It is evident that upon achieving independence, Kenya disregarded the welfare of women, despite their active involvement in the war for independence alongside their male counterparts. According to Nasong'o and Ayot (2007), the post-independence era in Kenya saw the implementation of a

political system that relied on authoritarian and highly centralized governmental institutions. This, in turn, resulted in the prevalence of male domination across various spheres of Kenyan society. This aligns with the assertion made by Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021) that the initial national development plans and official papers of post-independence Kenya did not explicitly identify women as a focal group for national development. This study revealed that the 1974–1978 Development Plans marked a significant shift in Kenya's approach to development planning, as they prioritized actions that directly or indirectly facilitated the inclusion of women in development.

According to Ndeda (2002), the formulation of the plan took place within the context of the United Nation's Decade for Women (1975-1985), marking a significant milestone as it was the first instance where women were explicitly mentioned in both the development plan and government policy. Subsequent growth plans thereafter just replicated and reinforced the trajectory established by the Third growth Plan, spanning from 1974 to 1978. According to Nzomo, the establishment of a male-dominated administration during the colonial period and the marginalization of women's issues inside the private domain became ingrained in nationalist politics and subsequently persisted in independent Kenya. One notable occurrence that the individual recalls is the acquisition of voting rights by women in the year 1963. However, it is worth noting that despite this milestone, the period spanning from 1963 to 1969 had a dearth of female representation in the Kenyan parliament, with no women assuming membership until the month of November. According to Onyuka (KII, 18/03/2021), it is acknowledged that the year 1969 marked the election of the first woman, Grace Onyango from Kisumu, into the National Assembly. Additionally, one more woman was nominated to serve in the legislative body. However, it is worth noting that despite the nomination of eleven males, no women from Homa Bay or the broader South Nyanza region were nominated.

The research suggests that the increase in public consciousness of women's issues by 1970 was somewhat facilitated by the International Women's Decade (1975-1985) and the International Women's Conferences held in Mexico, Copenhagen, and Nairobi. One of the prominent topics discussed at the Mexico Conference was the notion of women's development, with a particular focus on the principles of equality, peace, and the advancement of women (Staudt, 1990). The Women in Development Approach

advocated for the advancement of women in areas such as education, employment, and empowerment. In this particular instance, education was perceived as a necessary condition for the advancement of women's societal standing. The promotion of equitable access to formal education for girls and women has been advocated since 1975 (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). The report provides a rationale for the findings that the United Nations Women's Commission has uncovered instances where legal rights pertaining to women have been marginalized. The available evidence also indicates that while the majority of states possessed constitutions that officially provided women equal rights, these rights frequently remained theoretical and were not effectively enforced due to prevailing societal norms and patriarchal structures. Consequently, women experienced marginalization in terms of their political and economic engagement.

The aforementioned conference also advocated for the inclusion of women in income-generating endeavors, with the aim of assisting economically disadvantaged women in enhancing their societal economic standing. Throughout this particular period, there was a little improvement observed in the overall representation of women inside numerous countries and societies. Simultaneously, governments throughout many regions globally initiated the establishment of ministries of women's affairs or women's bureaus, with the intention of institutionalizing and legitimizing their commitment towards addressing the position of women. Therefore, this study demonstrates that the Women's Bureau was founded by the Kenyan government in 1976, serving as a symbol of the increasing acknowledgment of the interests and concerns of women in Kenya. According to Wamalwa (1991), the primary objective of the Bureau was to concentrate on the advancement and incorporation of women in the context of national development. The research discovered that the mandate was based on specific goals, including the development of appropriate programs to address the requirements of women, the consolidation of all women's initiatives nationwide, the promotion of women's participation through women's groups, involvement in income-generating activities in agriculture, small-scale industry, and commerce, as well as the provision of pertinent training in leadership, craft development, and other specialized skills as prerequisites for an effective women's program.

During the period known as the women decade, there was a modest rise in the representation of women in the Kenyan parliament. As a result, Julia Ojiambo was appointed as an Assistant Minister for Culture and Social Services. According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), the appointment of Julia Ojiambo marked a significant milestone as she became the first woman to hold the highest office in the government throughout both the Kenyatta and Moi administrations. This study conducted in Homa Bay revealed that during the aforementioned period, Phoebe Asiyo was elected as the representative for Karachuonyo constituency in Homa Bay, with other women from other locations like Winfred Nyiva Mwendwa, Grace Onyango, Eddah Gachukia, Jemima Gecaga, Philomena Chelagat Mutai, and Anarita Karimi. According to Wamalwa (1991), the inability of the independent state to incorporate women's issues into the national agenda might be seen as evidence that it did not effectively uphold democratic principles. The political climate of autonomous governance during the 1960s and 1970s was marked by instances of violence, intimidation, detention, and police harassment. These circumstances instilled fear among a significant number of women, discouraging their participation in political endeavors, as elucidated by Obara in the following passage:

‘the harsh political environment such as police brutality, violence and even intimidation by the government of men made many women to be scared stiff and keep off politics apart from a few who enjoy men patronage. Hence male political domination and control developed quickly as men dominated Kenya’s political scene and women retreated to the domestic sphere’ Obara (KII, 0/04/2021)

Likewise Nasongo and Ayot (2007) concur that the dye of the public-private gender divide which was ineradicably cast during the colonial era, thrived at the independence era. This study further established that the social and political structures that were in place; just like the laws, religion and the educational system ensured that patriarchal ideology were embedded not only in the socio-political stratum but also within the consciousness of independent Kenya. More importantly Asiyo thus explains that;

The marginalization of women that had begun during the colonial period was carried over into the independent state. The same way colonial state ignored and belittled women’s informal political activity and turned exclusively to men whom they gave authority when they established local administrative offices because colonial agents were all men; the truth is colonial state was a

man's world. The post-colonial state inherited the same structures and used only men as their agents. Doubtlessly, the patriarchal disposition of the state disempowered women as it empowered men, the spillover of which created a gender hierarchy that subordinates women, as gender group to men. This is why it is believed that gender inequalities and hierarchies are resultant of internal processes just like it is an external contact (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

The aforementioned paradigm provides the most comprehensive explanation for the political status of women during the initial two decades following independence. Similarly, Nyamuche (II, 28/04/2021) notes that in the post-colonial state, men maintained control over the administrative structure. They oversaw the activities of male-appointed provincial commissioners, district commissioners, chiefs, and headmen in various locations. This included overseeing communal labor, agricultural improvement initiatives, and tax collection. Consequently, the socio-economic and political contributions of women were disregarded, leading to the persistence of patriarchal systems in societies well into the era of independence.

Despite achieving freedom, women continued to be subordinate to men and were thus represented by men in various socio-economic and political groups. Nyakwaka (2002) corroborates the aforementioned situation, affirming that following a succession of manipulated KANU elections in 1966, KANU disintegrated and Odinga promptly declared the establishment of a novel political entity, referred to as the Kenya People's Union (KPU). This new formation garnered support from approximately one-fifth of the parliamentary members, including defectors from KANU who belonged to the Kikuyu and Luo ethnic groups (Aubrey, 2000). This study elucidated that the primary objective of KPU was to develop a left-wing political party that would counteract the increasing conservatism within the KANU leadership's Westminster orientation. The objective was to supplant the ethnic foundation of political affiliations with a categorization grounded in ideology, class, or socio-economic factors. Unfortunately, this transformation did not come to fruition as Kenyatta dissolved the Kenya People's Union (KPU) in 1969.

During this particular period characterized by the presence of multiple political parties, it has been well-documented that the Kenya African National Union (KANU) exerted

stringent control over the political proceedings and displayed a steadfast refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of alternative forces. Therefore, subsequent to that period, KANU maintained its position as the exclusive political party until the early 1990s, when political plurality resurfaced (Waiyego, 2004). The analysis demonstrates that Kenyatta initiated a strategy of consolidating power within his inner circle, predominantly composed of male individuals who shown unwavering loyalty. Subsequently, the differentiation between KANU and the government gradually diminished, resembling a state of near extinction. As a result, during subsequent periods, individuals were mandated to acquire membership in the Kenya African National Union (KANU) before being eligible to participate in voting or running for any political position. The individuals expressing dissenting opinions were dismissed or reassigned from their positions in public offices, mirroring a historical pattern observed during the colonial era, as allegiance to European powers granted individuals access to more advantageous employment opportunities.

Furthermore, aside from the eradication of racial implications within the colonial constitution, the subsequent independent government in Kenya made minimal, if any, substantial alterations. Accordingly, Magak (II, 21/04/2021) asserts that the systematic subjugation of the populace persisted in post-colonial Kenya. Moreover, he aligns with Staudt's (1990) contention that the mistreatment of women intensified during the initial administration of independent Kenya. The male-dominated political elite, particularly during the Kenyatta regime, exhibited a notable lack of recognition towards women. This regime can be seen as an intensified manifestation of the gender discrimination inherited from the colonial era, wherein women's gender was deemed insignificant (Wamalwa, 1991). Based on the aforementioned points, it is evident that following the attainment of independence, women were seen as subordinate individuals, deprived of their voting rights, and faced several limitations in terms of their entitlements. Moreover, they were regarded as a subordinate species. This phenomenon may explain the persistence of women's confinement to domestic roles within the post-independence government framework.

Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021) expresses discontent regarding the exclusion of women from assuming public office. The author highlights the limited representation of women, such

as Margaret Kenyatta and Jane Kiano, who were appointed to lead the Women's Bureaus and the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO). However, the author notes that these individuals were beholden to the President or individuals closely associated with him. The above discourse serves as evidence of the growing prevalence of the feminization of neo-patrimonial politics, wherein women continue to be marginalized, particularly within the domain of political affairs.

In contrast to the aforementioned data, statistics indicate that women constitute a majority of the Kenyan population, although their representation in elective politics and public posts remains significantly low. The majority of individuals primarily engaged in activities like as voting, assisting with the organization and dissemination of food during meetings, distributing leaflets, participating in dance performances, and serving as mobilizers during elections (Kabira, W. & Wasamba, P. 1998). Hence, it may be argued that during the period from 1969 to 1974, women constituted a mere 0.56% of the elected lawmakers and 5% of the nominated members, despite their significant numerical presence in the nation (Aubrey, 2000). According to Mboga (KII; 12/04/2021), the presidency of Kenyatta was characterized by a significant degree of marginalization of women, surpassing even the levels observed during the colonial era, particularly in relation to political decision-making processes at both the local and national levels.

The enduring consequence of this phenomenon has been the persistent disregard for matters pertaining to women on the legislative agenda, which has persisted in Kenyan society for several decades.

Table 3.4.1.2: Membership of Kenya National Assembly by Year and Gender

ELECTION YEAR	ELECTED MEMBERS %		NOMINATED MEMBERS %	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1969	99.4	0.6	91	8
1974	97	03	84	16
1979	98	2	92	8

Source: Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya, Nairobi, 1985.

The numerical power of women might potentially be manifested in the realm of elective politics and representation, specifically in parliamentary seats, cabinet positions, and local government bodies such as county, urban, and town councils. Their numerical value could have facilitated their advancement to higher-level administrative positions in many professional and technical occupations, among numerous others. According to Obonyo (II, 14/03/2021), the analysis of women's political involvement in Homa Bay reveals that Phoebe Asiyu was the sole female politician in parliament until 1974. It was not until 1984 that Karen Bondo was elected as a councilor for Homa Bay Town, marking the emergence of another female political figure in the region. The author further asserts that within the administration, women were not actively involved but rather focused mostly on domestic responsibilities inside their households. Figure 3.4.2.1 presents a quantitative depiction of the representation of women compared to men in the Kenya National Assembly between the years 1963 and 1976.

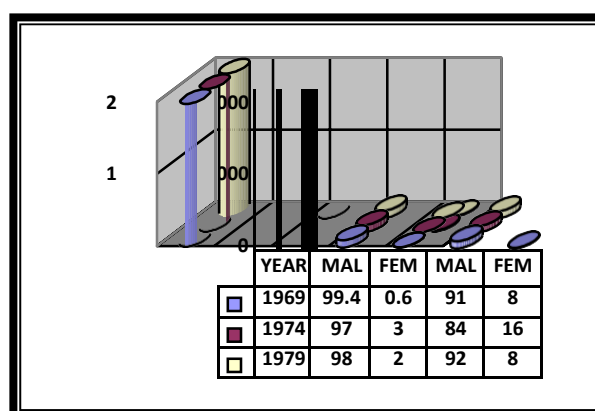


Figure 3.4.1.1: Membership of Kenya National Assembly by Year and Gender

Source: *Republic of Kenya, Women of Kenya*, Nairobi, 1985.

According to Figure 3.4.2.1, the level of female representation in the national legislature was significantly inadequate. In an ideal scenario, parliaments serve as strategic entities responsible for making decisions regarding resource allocation and development plans. Consequently, the inclusion of women in these bodies not only signifies the presence of equality and justice within a country but also enhances the legislative process by introducing diverse perspectives and creative insights (Waiyego, 1991). This study argues that the initiation and approval of policies aimed at enhancing the social, economic, political, and cultural conditions of a country typically occur within the parliamentary

setting. Consequently, the level of women's participation in parliament, or the absence thereof, is posited to have substantial implications for the pursuit of gender equality and the attainment of legitimate claims in this regard. This analysis acknowledges that the period spanning from 1963 to 1985 was characterized by a notable dearth of female participation in parliamentary bodies. As a result, their viewpoints pertaining to progress were not duly acknowledged. The decision-making authority inside parliamentary bodies was predominantly held by male members, who justified their role by perceiving women as vulnerable and reliant on male family heads.

The origins of gender discrimination against women may be traced back to the colonial era, where its seeds were sown. Over time, these discriminatory practices were perpetuated and reinforced by following generations, including independent governments. The aforementioned argument is supported by the historical context surrounding the appointment of Eliud Mathu as the first African male to the Legislative Council (LEGCO) in 1944. Mathu's nomination came about as a result of the retirement of Rev. John W. Arthur, a white individual who had been chosen to represent Africans based on the recommendations outlined in the Devonshire White Paper of 1923. In the year 1947, Benaiah Ohanga joined the individual in question, subsequently replacing Canon Beecher, a British individual.

According to this analysis, the Duo's seats were relinquished in 1957 at the first elections that imposed restrictions on African individuals' participation as both voters and candidates. Additional individuals who received nominations to the Legislative Council (LEGCO) were former President Daniel Arap Moi in 1955, who was selected as a replacement for J.K. Tameno, the nominee from the Rift Valley Province, and Wycliffe Awori, who served as the representative for North Nyanza from 1952 to 1956. This study validates the assertion made earlier regarding the colonial government's practice of nominating men as leaders in various regions of Kenya. It highlights that this nomination process disregarded the presence, abilities, and knowledge of women. Consequently, these male leaders, commonly referred to as point men and kings, played a significant role in perpetuating patriarchy within subsequent independent Kenyan societies and across generations. It is worth noting that the recent emancipation from this patriarchal system has been facilitated by advancements in the education system and the

implementation of robust constitutional amendments.

3.4.2 Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation on gender relations in independent Kenya

Despite the prevalent marginalization of Kenyan women inside the political realm, they employed alternative means to express their concerns during the colonial era. The mobilization undertaken by the individuals aimed at collectively addressing their concerns encompassed both economic and political dimensions, with the objective of amplifying their voices and fostering empowerment (Waiyego, 2004). Based on the findings of this study, a notable upward trajectory has been identified with respect to women's participation in organizations, leading to advancements in both the quality and quantity of their involvement. This positive tendency has been documented across the transition from colonial to post-colonial times.

This study demonstrates that, similar to the manner in which workers experienced oppression and discrimination, they engaged in a range of collective endeavors to combat their subjugation by capitalist proprietors. Likewise, women in Kenya have devised strategies to challenge the gender-based oppression and discrimination they have endured since the colonial period (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). This passage elucidates the development and expansion of women's groups, which emerged as vehicles for combating social, economic, and political disparities and marginalization (Nyakwaka, 2013). This study provides justification for the notion that the establishment of such organizations facilitated a limited number of Luo women in overcoming cultural and institutional obstacles, hence enabling their participation as members of parliament and councilors during a period characterized by societal constraints on women's political involvement. One exemplary woman who deserves recognition is Phoebe Asiyo, hailing from Karachuonyo in Homa Bay. At that time, she held the esteemed position of chairman inside the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization, which played a significant role in advocating for gender equality and challenging male hegemony.

Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYWO) was established in the 1950s by the colonial authority, with pre-existing women's organisations rooted in traditional practices within the villages. The primary objective of the colonial government in establishing the

MYWO was to facilitate women's involvement in enhancing the welfare and overall prosperity of their households. The group primarily functioned as a women's club, focusing mostly on domestic crafts such as embroidery, as well as the development of family diets, particularly for children under the care of European women (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). In the late 1950s, Jael Mbogo and other early African members of the MYWO advocated for the emancipation of the organization from the dominant leadership of British women. This occurred during a period when male African members of the LEGCO were exclusively advocating for an increase in male African representation within the colonial government (Nyakwaka, 2013). The research findings indicate that the collective endeavors of these women led to the ascension of Phoebe Asiyo (1960-1962) from Homa Bay and Jael Mbogo as the inaugural black president and Secretary-General of the organization, respectively. This paper also affirms that following independence, the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake group continued to be recognized as one of the prominent women's organizations. The newly appointed leaders of the organization implemented a proactive campaign to expand its membership base, utilizing churches as a platform to raise knowledge about the group. This strategic approach resulted in heightened public recognition and facilitated the establishment of branches in every village across Kenya.

MYWO expanded its scope to incorporate a pragmatic problem-solving approach in addressing women-related issues. The two female leaders, Asiyo and Mbogo, subsequently entered the realm of politics with the intention of advocating for women's concerns, as outlined below:

After independence we the leadership realized that MYWO could not help to articulate women affairs well because policies and decisions were made by the male political class hence Mbogo and I decided to join politics since it is the only place where policies could be made to help emancipate women from patriarchal discrimination and insubordination, though we were few but we slowly began the journey that our honorable female leaders in Homa Bay such as Gladys Wanga, Dr Lilian Gogo, Dr Eve Obara, Roselyne Onyuka, Emilly Mabona and the rest are now walking very well (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

According to Nyakwaka (2013), the primary focus of MYWO during its establishment was not to confront the patriarchal system, but rather to explore strategies and approaches

that would enable women to navigate the power imbalance and enhance their own well-being as well as that of their families. Nevertheless, as Kiragu (2000) argues, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) encountered numerous obstacles, particularly under the post-colonial government that failed to recognize the developmental capabilities of women's self-help groups. According to Wamalwa (1991), funding for these groups was reduced. This study demonstrated that these leaders consequently entered the civil service as community development officers, engaging in various community initiatives such as constructing social halls and rural access roads, thereby deviating from their original objective of advocating for women's issues.

According to Ndeda (2002), the expanded responsibilities assumed by the leaders of MYWO rendered the function of women's clubs in mobilizing women in rural regions inconsequential, as these leaders were fully engaged in their civil service obligations within the community. This observation aligns with the findings of the research, which indicate that MYWO had challenges related to financial constraints and a lack of proactive strategic planning and strategists. It has been widely acknowledged that instances of government intervention have occasionally led to the involvement of leaders and certain members in initiatives that deviated from the original objectives of the organization.

According to Kiragu (2000), the Department of Social Services assumed responsibility for overseeing the activities of the movement at a later stage. In 1965, the government established the Kenya National Council of Women, which served as a platform for national women's groups and organizations to affiliate with, facilitating better coordination and cooperation among women's organizations in the country. The appreciation of women's significant contributions to development and other projects was acknowledged. Women, in collaboration with their male counterparts, have played a leading role in spearheading the self-help movement and various other activities. This observation aligns with the findings of Mathenge (2004), who posits that at that particular period, a greater number of women were actively engaged in the projects compared to men.

This research reveals that the majority of these projects originated from MYWO, an organization that, in addition to offering classes in home making and handcrafts, facilitated a platform for addressing local issues (Nyakwaka, 2013). This study agrees with the notion that the government was now, for the first time, recognizing the inseparability of women's role from development, as the welfare of the family relied heavily on their contributions, thereby highlighting the significance of women in the nation. The recognition that collaboration between the officers of the Department of Community Development and MYWO is necessary to enhance the cohesion of the family unit has been identified (Asiyo, 08/03/2021). As a result, there arose groups of women who were enlightened and development-conscious, capable of making valuable contributions to the process of nation-building. Women's clubs, operating under the auspices of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), mostly functioned as extensions of community development or self-help initiatives.

According to available records, it was documented that by the year 1967, there existed approximately 10 self-help groups specifically catering to women in the entirety of Nyanza province. These groups collectively boasted a membership of approximately 200 individuals. Nyakwaka (2013) conducted a study. In the aforementioned year, Phoebe Asiyo, the chairman of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), conducted an extensive tour in the Nyanza region. During this tour, she engaged with local leaders, government officials, and the local populace with the aim of promoting the organization and providing training to women in order to foster their participation in self-help initiatives. Asiyo emphasized the importance of empowering women through these movements.

During the tour, donations were made to boost the movement's funds, to enable it rent and open offices and to fund other programs. The organization also organized a two-week course on "Women Leadership and Domestic Science" in Maseno, attended by more than fifty women representatives from every district in Nyanza province (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

The aforementioned statement indicates that throughout the initial decade of post-colonial Kenya, MYWO actively participated in the development of female leaders within rural areas, while also raising awareness about the importance of their involvement in community leadership initiatives. Therefore, MYWO served as a catalyst for the

emergence of numerous female leaders in the public sphere, particularly in Luoland, with a notable concentration in Homa Bay, the residence of the chairwoman. According to Mathenge (2004), the limited representation of women in parliamentary, county, and cabinet positions can perhaps be attributed to the absence of involvement in influential women organizations. In Homa Bay, notable women such as Phoebe Asiyo, the first President of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), were elected as Members of Parliament for Karachunyo.

Additionally, Caren Bondo was elected as the councillor for Homa Bay town in the years 1974 and 1978, respectively. In a different location, Jael Mbogo, the second President of MYWO, participated in the parliamentary election in 1969. However, she narrowly lost to Mwai Kibaki in the Nairobi constituency. Following a closely contested election, President Kibaki relocated to his ancestral constituency of Othaya, situated in the Central Province, in preparation for the 1974 general elections. According to Kiragu (2000), Grace Onyango, the first woman to be elected as a member of parliament in Kenya in 1969, had prior experience working closely with the grassroots organization MYWO before entering the political arena. Recently, in the region of Homa Bay, there have been notable female individuals such as Jane Kiche, Judy Kamaria, and Owidhi, who were previously affiliated with the organization known as MYWO (Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization).

The significance of the MYWO's involvement in this regard was notable, as it recognized the necessity for women to occupy key positions where national economic policies and budgets are formulated (Nzomo, 1993). The women groups affiliated with the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) played a crucial role in establishing a solid foundation of political backing for female members of parliament and representatives in local government bodies. Simultaneously, the government recognized women groups as significant intermediaries connecting the community, individuals, and the government (Mathenge, 2004). In addition, women's groups offered the government a pre-existing organizational framework that was largely unavailable to men during that period. The existence of women groups and their associated activities presented the government with a favorable occasion to recognize and appreciate the significant role and contribution that women have played in the context of development (Onyuka, Key Informant Interview; March 18, 2021).

This research recognizes that over time, the perception that women's contribution to progress was little or minor in comparison to men's has been eliminated. The observed outcome appears to have bolstered women's self-assurance and resolve to actively engage in development, as seen by their increased involvement in income-generating pursuits such as cash crop cultivation and chicken husbandry. The Homa Bay branch of the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) provided assistance to the pottery industry at Oriang market and promoted cotton cultivation throughout the entire county. Additionally, MYWO facilitated the establishment of revolving funds, which were allocated to members for the purpose of financing their domestic projects, such as small-scale market businesses.

In addition, women groups also engaged in many initiatives, including but not limited to tree planting, the establishment of schools, the construction of roads and bridges, and the implementation of adult literacy programs (Musandu, 2006). This aligns with the efforts made in Homa Bay, where women took the initiative to establish women's organizations engaged in development-focused activities. This was driven by their recognition that they needed to depend on their own efforts to improve their material well-being (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). This action subsequently altered the dynamics of the marital relationship. This phenomenon can be attributed to the increasing autonomy that women have gained, as well as their growing awareness of their own capabilities and the necessity of self-reliance in a society that is predominantly male-dominated.

According to Mathenge (2004), in the administration of these organizations, it is observed that the majority of them commenced their operations without any external assistance or government funding. This demonstrates their ability to independently launch and effectively carry out development initiatives. Nevertheless, this does not imply that they refrained from seeking financial aid from governmental or non-governmental entities to augment their capital reserves. As stated by Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), it is evident that the aforementioned groups required governmental and external support in order to facilitate the expansion of their respective programs. However, the individual expresses regret over the significant funding challenges faced by MYWO, which compelled its leaders to actively promote the cultivation of self-generated finances by grassroots organizations for the purpose of financing development initiatives.

This study has proven that Jane Kiano, who served as the president of the MYWO from 1971, is widely recognized for her efforts in mobilizing village communities to collectively generate funds and improve their economic conditions through the establishment of small firms (Mathenge, 2004). Kiano is also acknowledged for his role in mobilizing women to financially contribute towards the construction of Maendeleo House, a nine-story building in Nairobi. This building served as the headquarters for the organization and generated income for its operations.

Consequently, the group made concerted efforts to secure financial resources to meet its daily operational requirements, specifically catering to the needs of women. Certain leaders within the organizations also endeavored to cultivate ideological positions that did not align with the government's stance in order to garner support. The analysis reveals that the organization's membership base garnered significant attention from mainstream politicians, so affording them a valuable bargaining chance. Mathenge (2004) argues that MYWO played a crucial role in organizing women in Kenya on a national scale, as well as facilitating their engagement in local development initiatives.

As previously said, this study document offered women who had ambitions for leadership positions a platform to actively pursue such desires beyond the confines of parliamentary settings. In addition to the MYWO, other organizations that played a role in the organization of women included the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), Anglican Mothers Union, and Girl Guides. The Homa Bay Seventh Day Adventist Women Ministry has significantly contributed to the mobilization and empowerment of women, fostering their equal partnership with their husbands within the household. This program has been subsequently adopted by other denominations, recognizing its effectiveness and value.

The influence of women's organizations on empowerment continues to be evident in Homa Bay, particularly via the expansion of several women's groups and organizations, including those within religious institutions. According to Malami (1999), the influence of religious culture has a significant role in the varying degrees of women's empowerment observed across different nations and communities. The impact of the Seventh Day Adventist women ministry in Homa Bay, with regards to women's

empowerment, remains significant. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that, during the period of this study, a significant number of women who achieved success in elective political positions, particularly in parliament, such as Phoebe Asiyo, Dr. Eve Obara, Dr. Lilian Gogo, Emily Mabona, Gladys Wanga, and Caroline Owidhi, were affiliated with the Seventh-day Church. This pattern was also observed among women members of the County Assembly, as revealed by the findings of this research.

3.4.3 Role of education system on gender relations in independent Kenya

Education and professional training have been utilized to cultivate the necessary abilities, bolster confidence, and acquire knowledge essential for active engagement in socio-economic and political progress. The education of women has contributed to an enhanced level of consciousness by increasing their understanding of the advantages associated with their involvement in various aspects of life, while also transforming their interactions with males.

The aforementioned statement aligns with the argument made by Chege and Sifuna (2006) that education enhances and refines an individual's understanding of the universe, encompassing a knowledge of all the factors that shape one's existence. The preceding discourse on colonialism suggests that women faced significant barriers in their ability to actively engage in national development and political affairs throughout that era. These obstacles stemmed from the limited educational options available to them, which were constrained by the prevailing cultural, social, and economic attitudes prevalent within colonial society.

According to Obara (KII; 06/04/2021), during the colonial time, there was a prevailing belief among the public that education served as the principal prerequisite for assuming leadership roles. Consequently, it was commonly held that women, without access to school, were ill-equipped to assume positions of leadership as the colonial era drew to a close. Education was also perceived as a mechanism for facilitating the shift of power in the era of decolonization. Consequently, the restriction on women's education resulted in a corresponding restriction on their ability to attain socio-economic and political influence. Nevertheless, it is disheartening to see that the attainment of independence in Kenya in 1963 did not provide transformative advancements in gender parity within the educational sphere (Chege & Sifuna, 2006).

According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the post-independence era witnessed a significant rise in the enrollment of both girls and boys in formal education, leading to an enhanced likelihood of their engagement in the official work sector. According to Eshiwani's declaration in 1985, during the period of independence in Kenya, the proportion of female students in basic schools was 34 percent, while in secondary schools it was 32 percent. Since 1963, the Kenyan government has demonstrated a steadfast dedication to the expansion of the education system, with the aim of providing access to education for all children and illiterate people, regardless of gender. This commitment is part of a broader strategy to address the issues of ignorance, disease, and poverty within the country. According to Chege and Sifuna (2006), the newly established administration held the belief that access to education should be granted to all individuals, regardless of their gender. Another prevailing idea during the period of independence was that it was the responsibility of the government to ensure that its citizens were afforded the chance to actively engage in the socio-economic and political progress of the nation, as well as achieve a satisfactory quality of living.

According to Mbeo and Ombaka (1989), the endeavor of governments to enhance educational access for all individuals is evident in their policy documents and development plans. During the initial stages of independence, a primary focus within the realm of education was to attain a fair and balanced allocation of educational possibilities, while also establishing a connection between education and the prevailing national requirements and ambitions. In order to achieve this objective, it was necessary to review the pre-independence education regulations. Consequently, in 1964, the Minister for Education established an education commission known as The Ominde Commission. This commission was chaired by S. as its chairman. Ominde's purpose was to conduct a comprehensive assessment of the available educational resources within the country and provide recommendations to the government for the development and execution of national education policy (Chege & Sifuna, 2006).

According to Otiende (1993), the Commission put up a total of 106 proposals aimed at customizing, strategizing, and aligning education with the specific requirements and ambitions of Kenya. These ambitions were aligned with the objective of providing advanced training for skilled individuals, with the aim of promoting economic

development on a national scale, ensuring equitable distribution of national income, and creating national unity via integration. The commission established the educational objectives of the nation by prioritizing the appreciation of the country's culture, the promotion of social equity, the advancement of national development, and the reduction of excessive competitiveness within Kenyan schools (Moraa, KII; 15/03/2021). The Commission in question has had a significant influence on the formulation of national educational policy since the country gained independence. This is primarily due to its strong emphasis on the importance of education for the development of human resources, which is widely recognized as a critical priority. Therefore, the primary objective of education was to provide a sufficient supply of skilled individuals at both the high and intermediate levels, which were seen crucial for the advancement of a developing nation such as Kenya (Chege & Sifuna, 2006).

According to Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021), the commission supported the idea of providing free primary education as an objective of education policy. However, the rapid implementation of this objective was deemed unattainable. Consequently, the government made the strategic decision to prioritize the advancement of higher education, with the aim of aligning it with the country's human resource requirements. Additionally, the government facilitated the gradual yet consistent growth of elementary school enrollment by establishing appropriate infrastructure. Simultaneously, there was a gradual increase in enrolments observed in primary schools. For example, between the years 1964 and 1969, there was a modest growth of 20 percent, with the number of students rising from 1,010,899 in 1964 to 1,209,670 in 1969 (Mbeo and Ombaka, 1989).

According to the aforementioned figures, the subsequent Development Plan spanning from 1970 to 1974 had the objective of augmenting enrollments to 1,833,000, with the aim of encompassing 75 percent of students within the primary school age bracket by 1975. The present study revealed a disparity in primary school enrollment between females and boys, with the former exhibiting lower enrollment rates. As previously mentioned, the primary enrolment rate for girls in 1963 was at 34%. According to Eshiwani (1985), the proportion of girls in the educational system reached 45 percent by 1975. Eshiwani further elucidates that the primary reasons behind the limited educational achievement among girls at the primary level were the societal expectation for daughters

to provide domestic assistance and the prevailing traditional beliefs that marginalized women's involvement in education.

Furthermore, Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) argues that during a period characterized by restricted opportunities and resources for elementary education, parents exhibited a preference for prioritizing the education of male children above that of female children. This was consistent with patrilineal descent systems, when the transmission of heredity occurred only along the male lineage. Within this societal structure, it was customary for sons to maintain the duty of caring for their parents as they advanced in age, whilst daughters were assimilated into the households of their husbands. Hence, Magak, E. According to a study conducted on April 21, 2021 (II, 21/04/2021), it is said that the connection between education and employment in the economic framework of independent Kenya favored males, who had better opportunities for wage positions in the formal sector.

This circumstance may have influenced the decision to prioritize the education of sons over girls, as it presented extra economic considerations. Additionally, the findings of this study indicate that in cases when household responsibilities, such as childcare or meal preparation, were present, it was predominantly the female students who were consistently withdrawn from educational institutions to fulfill these obligations. It has been additionally confirmed that the girls were required to collect firewood and water, which had a detrimental impact on their educational pursuits, as well as negatively affecting their academic achievement at the primary level.

It has been documented that there was an improvement in the number of female students in secondary schools between the years 1963 and 1985. However, it is worth noting that historically, the proportion of girls in secondary schools, specifically in form one to four, experienced a decline. In 1963, the proportion stood at 32%, but it decreased further to a record low of 25% in 1967. Subsequently, in 1970, the proportion slightly increased to 31% on a national level. Nevertheless, starting from 1973, there was a notable improvement in the proportion of girls participating in the secondary education cycle, with an increase from 33% to over 40% by 1984. According to Chege and Sifuna (2006), there was a gradual rise in the enrollment of girls in form five and six, with the

percentage increasing from 24% in 1973 to around 30% in 1984.

The initial discrepancy in secondary school education between males and females was not a persistent phenomenon. It has been observed that in recent times, the proportion of girls enrolled in educational institutions at all levels across the country has surpassed that of males. Moraa (KII; 15/03/2021) asserts that the rise in girls' enrollment in Homa Bay county can be attributed to the availability of school placements specifically designated for girls, which surpass the number of placements allocated for boys in relative terms (Moraa, KII; 15/03/2021). This study appropriately acknowledges that secondary education in Kenya has historically been segregated by gender, with separate schools for boys and girls. This disparity in school availability resulted in a greater number of schools for boys compared to those for girls. However, the situation in Homa Bay has changed, as both the government and various organizations, including faith-based organizations (FBOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), have actively supported the establishment of numerous girls' secondary schools, surpassing the number of schools for boys.

According to Moraa (KII; 15/03/2021), there is a higher rate of attrition among female students in secondary schools compared to their male counterparts. The author contends that historically, girls have been compelled to discontinue their education due to various factors such as adolescent pregnancies, early marriages, and social ridicule from their peers. These circumstances were particularly prevalent as many girls attended school at an older age compared to their counterparts. However, it is noteworthy that these reasons no longer contribute significantly to the dropout rates under the current governmental policies. This research provides additional evidence supporting the notion that within the Luo society, parents tend to prefer boys over girls when faced with the necessity of making a choice, mostly due to the community's patrilineal structure. This aligns with the findings of Chege and Sifuna (2006), who assert that secondary education incurs higher costs in comparison to primary education. The authors further argue that the prevalence of boarding schools for girls contributes to a significant number of girls being excluded from secondary education, as parents' preferences for male children are reinforced by the financial burden associated with fees.

This study further posits that this factor may account for the lower enrollment of girls in post-secondary institutions and universities. According to statistical data, it is evident that in the year 1973, a mere 15 percent of the student population at the University of Nairobi comprised of women. These female students were predominantly enrolled in the Faculties of Arts, Education (Arts), and Advanced Nursing. Subsequently, upon their completion of studies, a significant proportion of these women found employment in occupations that were traditionally associated with femininity. It is worth noting that these occupations were comparatively less remunerative in nature.

According to Ndeda (2002), it can be observed that the proportion of female students enrolled in the university had increased to 23% by 1985. This upward trend was attributed to a shift in parental perspectives on the significance of education for girls and women, which was influenced by the worldwide women's decade spanning from 1975 to 1985. According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the aforementioned assertion is substantiated by the argument that the shift in attitude may have been influenced by economic progress, as it prompted society to recognize that education significantly enhanced women's opportunities to engage in paid job or establish their own businesses. Chege and Sifuna (2006) further substantiate this stance by claiming that a novel cultural perspective emerged, wherein daughters were perceived as the primary providers of material and financial assistance to their parents during their retirement years.

This study provides additional evidence to support the notion that this perspective continues to serve as a driving force for parents to allocate resources towards their daughters' education, mostly driven by the anticipation of future pecuniary benefits rather than a commitment to gender equality. According to Nyakwaka (2013), the government's decision to eliminate school fees from 1974 to 1979 and implement free primary education was intended to promote a fairer distribution of educational opportunities for both genders in the country. This policy change served as a catalyst for achieving gender equality in primary school enrollment. However, the success of this initiative was contingent upon the prevailing cultural attitudes towards girls and boys within the community. According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the implementation of free primary education in Kenya resulted in a notable increase in enrollment rates for females from the Luo, Luhya, and Agikuyu ethnic groups, surpassing the enrollment rates observed in

other parts of the country. Despite the implementation of free primary education, this study has found that additional charges, including construction fund, activity fund, and exercise book fees, continued to hinder access to education for girls from economically disadvantaged backgrounds to a greater extent than boys.

According to Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021), it is agreed that the cumulative expenses of levies exceeded the amount of the withdrawn school fees, resulting in financial difficulties for disadvantaged parents who were unable to afford to send their daughters to school. Another cultural rationale that resulted in limited access to education for girls within the Luo community was the belief that a woman's primary responsibility in that society is to assure the perpetuation of a lineage by carrying children, thereby emphasizing the importance of early childbirth. Based on the findings of this study, it was observed that girls were not required to undergo formal schooling in order to fulfill significant cultural responsibilities, which mostly involved reaching the age of puberty and then getting married. Furthermore, according to Anduko (KII; 26/04/2021), it was traditionally expected that husbands would provide for their wives. However, with the rise of education as a pathway to lucrative employment in the formal sector, there emerged a perception that it was more crucial for boys to receive education, as they were expected to become the primary earners for their families. In contrast, girls were often viewed as being reliant on men for financial support.

According to Mbeo and Ombaka (1989), it can be argued that girls without formal schooling had a relatively easier time generating income from the informal sector through the sale of food to urban workers, in comparison to boys. Obara (KII; 06/03/2021) asserts that within the context of the aforementioned reasoning, it can be observed that the Luo community lacked social security provisions for elderly individuals. Consequently, parents relied heavily on their offspring, particularly sons, as a means of safeguarding themselves against destitution during their latter years. Therefore, our study has determined that the financial investment in the education of a girl, who is anticipated to enter into marriage and contribute to her husband and extended family, does not appear to yield a favorable return.

According to Chege and Sifuna (2006), it may be argued that by the 1980s, there was a notable enhancement in the overall enrollment of female students in elementary schools in the country, resulting in a level of parity with male students. Regrettably, this study demonstrates that the region of Luo Nyanza, particularly its southern area, exhibited inferior performance in girls' primary school education when compared to central Nyanza. However, the situation improved in the context of secondary school education. On a nationwide scale, there was a persistent disparity in educational attainment between genders, particularly at the secondary school level. By 1985, girls accounted for only 41 percent of the total enrollment (The Weekly Review, 24/01/1986).

In a similar vein, it is worth noting that disparities persisted in the educational opportunities available to girls. By 1985, Kenya had 200 fully funded boys' secondary schools, accommodating a total of 147,000 students. In contrast, the number of such schools for girls was only 107, representing approximately half the quantity available to boys. Consequently, the enrollment figures for girls stood at 75,000, significantly lower than the corresponding figure for boys (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). Based on the provided data, it is evident that there was a significant disparity between the enrollment rates of girls and boys in secondary schools. The statistics indicate that a minority of girls pursued secondary education in comparison to boys. This discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that a majority of girls who managed to access high school were limited to attending assisted and unaided schools, commonly known as harambee schools. It is important to note that the quality of education offered in these harambee schools was considerably lower when compared to the government-maintained schools primarily attended by boys. One of the justifications provided by academic studies for the underrepresentation of females in university admissions is the disparity in the number of girls compared to boys.

In addition to the aforementioned argument, this study aligns with Otiende's (1993) assertion that the curriculum exhibited a significant lack of gender sensitivity. This is evident in the visual representations found on book covers and within the text, which consistently depict boys as doctors, pilots, and political leaders, while girls are consistently portrayed as chefs, typists, mothers, and nurses within the context of hospitals. Consequently, a significant number of young women subsequently pursued

professional paths that perpetuated traditional gender roles, such as nursing, catering, and secretarial positions. Hence, it is unsurprising that the disparity between men and women was even more pronounced at the university level.

For instance, during the academic year 1984/85, the combined enrollment of women at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University amounted to a mere 2,566, while the male enrollment stood at 6,488. Additionally, it is worth noting that over half of the female students were concentrated at Kenyatta University, which was unique in its equal representation of both genders. This phenomenon can be attributed to the fact that Kenyatta University was primarily recognized as an education college (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), Kenyatta University provided educational programs in the fields of education, home science, and secretarial studies, which were traditionally associated with female domains. This research has determined that Kenyatta University continues to prioritize the inclusion of women, as evidenced by its historical background. Moreover, the university plays a crucial role in promoting women's growth. The University of Nairobi holds the distinction of being the first public university in Kenya to have appointed a female Vice Chancellor, Professor Olive Mugenda.

This study elucidates the correlation between inadequate facilities in secondary schools for females and their subsequent underperformance in scientific and technical topics. This underperformance is further manifested in the lower enrollment of women in scientific and professional courses at the university level. Otiende (1993) has provided documentation indicating that during the academic year of 1984/85, the University of Nairobi had a total of 631 male students pursuing medicine at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels, in contrast to a significantly lower number of 146 female students. In the field of veterinary medicine, there were 303 male individuals and 55 female individuals. Similarly, in the discipline of engineering, there were 555 male individuals and 11 female individuals. In the domain of agriculture, there were 475 male individuals and 117 female individuals. Lastly, inside the department of science, there were 888 male individuals and a comparatively lower count of 110 female individuals.

A significant proportion of female students at the institution were found to be primarily enrolled in the liberal arts disciplines offered by the Faculties of Arts, Commerce, and

Education. It is widely recognized that the dental surgery department stands out as the sole technical department that achieved gender parity, enrolling an equal number of male and female members. In the domain of legal education, despite a growing presence of women, men continued to surpass women in numbers inside the Faculty of Law (Chege & Sifuna, 2006). The aforementioned figures demonstrate that in Kenya, high-paying and highly esteemed occupations have historically been predominantly occupied by men. Research findings indicate that the underrepresentation of women in technical disciplines throughout various educational and training institutions within the country has resulted in nursing and secretarial fields being predominantly occupied by women, albeit with a small presence of males.

Furthermore, Onyuka (18/03/2021) argues that despite the prevalence of women in the teaching profession, they continue to be outnumbered by their male counterparts. According to Otiende (1993), statistical data from 1985 indicates that primary teacher training colleges in the country enrolled 7,420 male students and 5,200 female students. During the period spanning from 1963 to 1985, there was a notable increase in the enrollment of both male and female pupils in schools in Kenya. The potential rise in girls' attendance rates may imply a subsequent boost in their future economic earning potential. Education had a significant role in motivating and inspiring women to strive for greater achievements in their life. It also enabled them to take advantage of chances that arose from initiatives such as the establishment of equal job opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and equal political rights, which were observed in Homa-Bay during the time of study. Phoebe Asiyo provides additional support to the aforementioned arguments by elucidating that;

Education led to increased awareness among women on the need to participate in political, economic and social sectors of the state. It is because of education that some few Luo women in Homa Bay were able to rise to prominence in the government offices, parastatals and in the private sector. Women such as; Grace Bondo in Homa Bay town council and myself rose to political leadership because of education, though other outstanding women like Asenath Odaga, Damaris Ayodo, Joyce Aluoch, Pamela Mboya, Francesca Mboya Otete and Achola Pala and currently Roselyne Onyuka, Dr. Eve Obara, Dr. Lilian Gogo, Emily Mabona, Gladys Wanga and Caroline Owidhi are prominent because of their education achievement (Asiyo,KII; 08/03/2021).

Onyuka (KII, 18/03/2021) provides support for Phoebe's argument by asserting that a number of Luo women collaborated with the Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) in order to enhance the well-being of fellow women. This was achieved through the promotion of participation in social and economic collectives, which in turn facilitated the generation of income for the purpose of investing in their children's education. This assertion is substantiated by Otiende's (1993) findings, which document that educated women actively promoted the enrollment of their illiterate peers in adult literacy programs as a means of empowering themselves and benefiting their families. This chapter so presents the conclusion that education has been employed by women as a means of empowerment throughout the course of several decades. This phenomenon can be attributed to the impact of education, as it has facilitated the enhancement of women's knowledge and understanding pertaining to governance, political rights, and particularly their rights within the context of gender. (Ougo, II, 20/03/2021) Therefore, education remains vital in equipping women with the necessary confidence and abilities to actively engage in politics and contribute to decision-making processes within the nation's governance institutions.

In the context of Homa Bay, the circumstances faced by girls were analogous to the broader situation observed across the entire nation. The data extracted from the 1963 Annual Report of South Nyanza District reveals a notable rise in the enrollment of children, encompassing both male and female students, inside the educational institutions. This survey revealed that the proportion of girls within the Luo population was rather high, despite their numbers being only half that of boys. Regrettably, this survey also revealed a decline in the female population during the primary education phase, resulting in a final count of females that amounted to less than a quarter of the total number of boys.

Table 3.4.3.2: The enrolment of children in schools per gender and class in 1963

PRIMARY	NO. OF CLASSES	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
STD I	376	5,373	2936	8,309
STD II	376	6,173	3463	9,636
STD III	376	7,093	3627	10,720
STD IV	380	7,922	3633	11,555
TOTAL PRIMARY	1,508	26,561	13,659	40,220
INTERMEDIATE				
STD V	243	7,151	2692	9,843
STD VI	211	6,655	1818	8,473
STD VII	115	3,776	1169	4,945
STD VIII	69	2,147	307	2,454
TOTAL INTERMEDIATE	638	19,729	5986	25,715

Source: KNA/HT/17/3, 1963: (*South Nyanza Annual Report*, 1963).

Upon examining Table 3.4.4.2, it is evident that a significant proportion of female students who initially enrolled in standard one did not complete their primary education, as they discontinued their schooling before reaching the last grade. The factors contributing to the elevated dropout rates within the Luo communities mirror those affecting girls in other regions of the country, as previously mentioned. These factors include financial constraints resulting in the inability to pay school fees, cultural norms that socialize girls to perceive their primary roles as domestic in nature, thereby diminishing the perceived necessity of education, and the occurrence of early pregnancies (KNA/HT/17/3, 1963). According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), it can be argued that the limited opportunities for girls in secondary schools extend to their access to national colleges and universities. This is evident in the gender-based enrollment figures, which indicate a preference for males in terms of both choice and curriculum design. Consequently, even among the small number of girls who manage to complete secondary education, a significant proportion do not progress to higher education institutions.

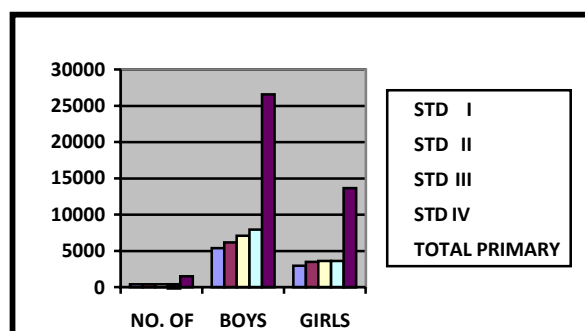


Figure 3.4.3.2: Enrolment of Luo girls and boys Nyanza primary schools in 1963

Source: *Nyanza Annual Report (KNA/HT/17/3, 1963)*

According to the KNA/HT/17/4; 1967 report, as of the conclusion of 1969, the central Nyanza District was home to a total of fourteen primary schools exclusively for girls. These schools were identified as follows: Nyabondo Girls, Rae Girls, Maseno Girls, Lwak Girls, Nyang'oma Girls, Ng'iya Girls, Segu Girls, Mbagu Girls, Aluor Girls, Nyamira Girls, Nyabola Girls, Nyakach Girls, Yala Girls, and Rang'ala Girls. According to the report, it is indicated that the majority of these girls' schools provided boarding facilities for students in grades five to seven. However, it is noted that these schools did not get any boarding grants from the county council. As a result, the boarding expenses of each of these schools were solely covered by the fees paid by the parents.

This study revealed that there was a significant increase in demand for these educational institutions, resulting in consistently full capacity. This study revealed a gender disparity in the distribution of secondary schools in the region under investigation. Specifically, the majority of available secondary schools were found to be predominantly for boys. These schools included Government-Aided secondary schools such as Maseno (National), Yala, Maranda, Ambira, Sawagongo, Onjiko, and Nyabondo. On the other hand, girls' secondary schools in Luo Nyanza were represented by Lwak, Ng'iya, Rang'ala, and Nyakach, all located in central Nyanza. It is noteworthy that in the South Nyanza region, there were solely the Asumbi Girls and Mirogi Girls schools, both of which were owned by the Catholic mission, while Homa Bay had the distinction of being home to the only government-aided schools in the area.

Therefore, the study confirms that within the sample of sixteen girls' boarding elementary schools and numerous mixed-gender schools in the Luo Nyanza region, only six girls' secondary schools were identified. The observed disparity in the number of female students in schools may be attributed to intentional policies or a lower proportion of female students transitioning to secondary education. Similarly, it is worth noting that there was a limited number of Harambee secondary schools available for girls, as the transition rate of girls to secondary education was comparatively lower. The observed phenomenon was widespread throughout all districts in Luo Nyanza, characterized by a significant number of girls enrolling in the initial stage of school, namely standard one, but experiencing poor rates of completion in the primary education cycle.

This study highlights that with the establishment of Homa Bay as a municipality, a considerable number of primary and secondary schools were constructed to cater to the educational needs of both male and female students. However, it is noteworthy that primary schools predominantly had a coeducational setting, however secondary schools have witnessed a significant increase in the establishment of girls' schools in comparison to boys' schools. According to Moraa's research conducted on March 15, 2021, it was found that there were a total of 34 public girls' secondary schools and 4 private girls' secondary schools in Homa Bay. In contrast, there were only 16 public boys' secondary schools, with no private boys' senior schools reported. The number of mixed-gender schools, as indicated by the study, was much larger, reaching a total of 275. As a result, these measures have led to a greater enrollment of female students in secondary schools compared to their male counterparts.

A comparative analysis of educational opportunities in rural and urban areas within Homa Bay County reveals that the educational infrastructure in rural regions, including Karachuonyo, Kabuoch, Kagan, Gem, Kanyamua, Kawabwai, and the Islands within Lake Victoria, has historically been limited and widely dispersed, if not entirely absent, until relatively recent times (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). This study highlights that, as individuals progress towards independence and maturity, a greater proportion of girls in urban regions of Homa Bay are afforded the opportunity to receive primary education compared to their male counterparts. This trend is observed to a lesser extent in rural areas. Overall, it can be observed that girls in Luo Nyanza region capitalized on the improved accessibility to education.

However, it is important to note that a significant proportion of these girls did not go beyond the primary level. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that primary education plays a pivotal role in fostering self-confidence and facilitating meaningful participation in the economic and political domains of the nation. It is noteworthy that Homa Bay County stood out among comparable regions in terms of political representation, as it had four women elected representatives in the national Assembly at the time of this study. Notably, two of these representatives have Ph.D. degrees, while the remaining two held undergraduate degrees. The individuals encompassed within this group are Dr. Eve Obara, Dr. Lilian Gogo, and Mildred Mabona. Caroline Owidhi and

Gladys Wanga are two individuals. It is worth mentioning that Gladys Wanga, one of the individuals in question, has already received a nomination from the prominent political party in Homa Bay to run for the gubernatorial position in the upcoming election scheduled for August 9th, 2022. This finding indicates that, throughout the period of this research, there was a balanced representation of both genders from Homa Bay at the national level in politics.

In the context of post-independence Kenya, the pursuit of education has played a significant role in enabling numerous women to secure improved employment opportunities and even assume leadership positions, both in the realms of economic and political affairs. Despite operating within the confines of the domestic sphere, patriarchy, as a system of social organization, persistently endeavors to safeguard its position and influence inside familial contexts (Gogo, KII; 19/03/2021). According to the findings of this study, the primary social consequence of education in autonomous communities within Kenya is the pursuit of gender equality within the public sphere, as well as the integration of women into wage labor. The subsequent section will elaborate on the implications of these outcomes.

3.4.4 The wage labor on gender relations in post-colonial Homa Bay

During the colonial period, women were only minimally integrated into formal labor, as evidenced by historical records. According to the colonial migrant labor model, women were typically confined to the reserves where they engaged in agricultural activities, cultivating the family's property and producing sufficient food for domestic consumption. This study conducted during the colonial era revealed that women's subsistence production served as a supplementary source of income to compensate for the poor salaries received by men engaged in colonial wage labor (KNA/HT/17/4 Annual Report of District Commissioner, 1967). From an economic standpoint, the labor provided by women had a crucial role in sustaining the continuous reproduction of the inexpensive migrant labor system on colonial farms, despite its lack of official recognition (Omollo; I.I; 13/03/2021). This study has identified the underlying cause as the colonial beliefs that perceived women's responsibilities as peripheral and confined them to the private sphere of the household.

This study further elucidates the role of colonial ideas and patriarchal norms in engendering economic disparities between women and men. According to Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021), the lack of emphasis on girls' education by colonial authorities resulted in women facing significant barriers when attempting to access the labor market. The subsequent period following independence had a detrimental effect on gender relations, as women increasingly pursued paid jobs during the initial twenty years of freedom. Based on the findings of this study, it can be observed that employers in the colonial era engaged in discriminatory practices against women while selecting workers, a phenomenon rooted in patriarchal biases and preferences. Additionally, Zeleza (1988) argues that women were perceived as less dependable and more expensive due to their frequent need for maternity leave. Women held the belief that they were excessively burdened by domestic tasks and were hesitant to include wage employment into their household obligations, mostly due to their perception of poor wages associated with such employment. Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) provides another rationale for the reluctance of women to engage in colonial wage labor, citing the absence of childcare services as a significant factor. This dearth of facilities further exacerbated challenges for women who may have otherwise expressed a desire to participate in pay employment.

This study determined that achieving independence did not yield an immediate resolution for women aspiring to enter the wage labor field. According to Zeleza (1988), the proportion of women in the formal sector labor force was 12.2 percent in 1964. This figure increased to 14.3 percent in 1970 and further rose to 19.7 percent in 1985. The study determined that the low percentages seen were attributable to various conditions related to independence, including the lingering effects of colonialism on labor, economic, social, cultural structures, and institutions. The relationship between the supply and demand of female labor was observed to be contingent upon the rate of employment generation in the economy, a factor that was influenced by educational attainment levels. The rate of employment generation during the initial two decades following independence had a general tendency towards sluggishness. Consequently, there was a notable increase in unemployment rates, particularly among women who lacked formal educational credentials.

As previously mentioned in this study, there was a notable increase in women's participation in education across all levels following independence. However, despite this progress in providing more equal educational opportunities for both genders, it did not sufficiently address the issue of women's unequal representation in the labor market. On the contrary, it can be observed that in certain instances, land-related concerns have resulted in the displacement of women, leading to their loss of land ownership and subsequently compelling them to seek wage employment as a means of sustenance. In addition to the issue of landlessness, there existed various other conditions that compelled women to engage in wage labor throughout the period of independence, as previously established in this study. Consequently, the increasing prevalence of female-headed families has given rise to a demand for autonomous sources of income for women (Amadi, KII; 10/03/2021). Unfortunately, this study has determined that a significant proportion of these women possessed limited educational backgrounds, rendering them ineligible for formal skilled employment. Consequently, they were compelled to seek opportunities in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, as well as contend with the growing pool of individuals facing unemployment.

The influx of women into the labor market following independence in Kenya was influenced and maintained by shifts in the educational system, land tenure, and household structure. As a result, these changes brought about a transformation in gender dynamics during the post-colonial era. According to Abeka (II, 09/04/2021), there was a significant disparity between the supply of female labor and the availability of employment opportunities, particularly in urban areas. From 1964 to 1983, approximately 125,000 women were able to secure employment in the public sector, which faced increasing pressure to facilitate access for women, in contrast to the private sector. Furthermore, according to Onyuka (KI; 18/03/2021), the public sector offered employment opportunities that were highly sought after by women, including teaching and nursing, as well as positions in the agricultural and services sectors, which were particularly favored by women. In contrast to the aforementioned viewpoint, our study has demonstrated that women are predominantly employed in secretarial jobs, personal services, and sales within the private sector. Despite the fact that women have entered the realm of wage labor, Gogo elucidates that;

In both the public and private sectors, women were highly underrepresented in the technical and managerial positions. This is because women lacked skills and education required for such particular jobs. Therefore it is for this reason that after independence the trend towards the feminization of certain low-skilled, low-status, and low-paying jobs increased. It is comparative that women's employment displayed greater regional concentration than male employment. This was experienced in Kenya. (Gogo, KII; 19/03/2021).

This study revealed that in Luo Nyanza, there was a notable disparity in the proportion of women engaged in wage labor, which can be attributed mostly to the absence of males from their households due to their involvement in wage labor activities. Consequently, women assumed the responsibility of managing their houses during this period. However, this study documented that the limited educational attainment in the province, as well as the processes of land consolidation and registration, did not result in significant displacement of women from their marital lands within the Luo communities. Based on Obonyo's (II; 14/03/2021) findings, it was observed that the Homa Bay Municipal Town Council had a limited representation of African women employees until the appointment of Grace Bondo as the first councilor in 1984. The significance of Bondo on the rise in the number of female employees inside the Homa Bay Council has been duly acknowledged. In the past, a significant proportion of women were engaged in the informal sector, primarily involved in activities such as selling food items and second-hand clothing.

As certain women attained educational qualifications, they subsequently secured employment as teachers and nurses within the government sector. Among these women nurses, Isabella ma Nyar Asego garnered the attention of renowned musician Owino Jasirati. It was believed that Isabella ma Nyar Asego possessed the ability to either cure or harm the health of individuals under her care (Owino Jasirati; Janawi Madhako). However, the number of these individuals was limited as a result of the educational disadvantages faced by Luo women (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). With regards to remuneration and working conditions, there was a substantial increase in earnings overall. For instance, in 1965, a significant proportion of female workers (78%) earned less than 200 shillings per month, in contrast to their male counterparts (62%). According

to Zeleza (1988), the data from 1984 indicates that a significantly higher proportion of women workers, specifically 2 percent, made less than 215, in comparison to only 1 percent of men. This study elucidates that the persistence of women's concentration at the lowest echelons of the income distribution is posited as a contributing factor for the aforementioned phenomenon. As a result, this hindered their engagement in political activities, a pursuit that necessitated substantial financial resources.

The aforementioned assertion is corroborated by Mboga (KII; 12/04/2021), who elucidates that the autonomous Kenyan government played a role in formalizing the disparity in income between males and females through the implementation of its minimum wage regulations. Zeleza (1988) asserts that this policy was established on the premises acquired from the colonial era, which propagated the notion that women's role was primarily to augment their husbands' income, as males were considered the primary providers for their families. The study's discovery indicates that government labor officers held the assumption that women could be compensated at a lower wage due to the belief that men were solely responsible for the costs associated with reproducing labor power within the household. However, this assumption failed to consider the presence of numerous female-headed households within the Luo communities. The study also documents instances where married women did not only rely on their husbands for financial support, as men's low incomes were mostly allocated towards taxes, rent, and transportation expenses, leaving less resources for the family to share.

The aforementioned observation is corroborated by Obara's (KII; 06/04/2021) claim that numerous Luo women assumed the responsibility of providing for their families in the absence of any financial support from their husbands employed in urban areas. In addition to the pay policy that exhibited gender-based discrimination, this study also revealed that social security schemes for workers perpetuated gender inequality. These schemes were found to have inherited structures from the colonial past, which lacked consideration for the rights and welfare of women. According to Zeleza's (1988) account, at the establishment of the National Social Security Fund in 1965, only employed males who were sixteen years old and above were eligible for legal registration as contributors. Conversely, regardless of age, women were precluded from being registered as members of this particular system.

This assertion is further corroborated by Oyomo (II; 19/04/2021), who contends that women faced comparable forms of discrimination from the National Insurance Fund, which alone recognized a minimum monthly salary of 1,000 Kenyan shillings. This threshold proved too burdensome for the majority of employed women. This study provides additional evidence to support the notion that working mothers who were enrolled in or designated as beneficiaries of the program were only eligible for medical treatment during their maternity period if they were hospitalized. Furthermore, the program did not cover any medical expenses related to newborn babies until ten days after birth, and even then, the maximum claimable amount for the entire period was limited to 150.00 Kenyan shillings.

Oraro (II; 04/04/2021) recalls the historical exclusion of Kenyan women from the pension program, a practice that may be traced back to the colonial era. The legislation, known as the Widows and Orphans Pensions Act, underwent amendments in 1971. It mandated that both married and unmarried males were obligated to make contributions to a fund that provided benefits to widows and orphans. In this particular framework, women were only able to contribute if they were married and had successfully undergone a selection process. However, a significant form of discrimination within the system was the termination of benefits for widows who entered into cohabitation with a male individual, irrespective of his employment status or ability to provide for her. This policy posed a particular challenge for Luo women, as their cultural practices often required them to be inherited by a male partner.

According to Zeleza (1988), certain discriminatory rules were revised by 1985. According to available records, it has been documented that in the year 1975, the legislative restrictions pertaining to women's participation in the National Social Security Fund Scheme were abolished. However, the participation and integration of women in the Fund continued to progress at a sluggish pace. This research argues that the discrimination faced by women in the labor sector should be understood within the broader context of cultural and social dynamics that marginalized women within Luo society. These forces, which were pervasive across various socio-economic and political domains, affected women in a manner similar to women in other societies. The research revealed that employed women encountered the challenge of unpaid maternity leave.

According to Ndiga's confirmation (KII; 04/04/2021), it was established that throughout the initial decade of independence, women did not receive any form of remuneration for their maternity leave. During the 1970s, the Civil Service played a pivotal role in spearheading the transformation of maternity leave legislation. According to the document KNA/HT/17/69 from 1968, it was stipulated that both married and unmarried expectant women were entitled to receive compensation during their maternity leave, but only for their initial pregnancy. However, this policy was subsequently modified by 1980.

Subsequently, a presidential decree was enacted mandating that all employers must provide paid maternity leave. Therefore, our study substantiates the fact that in 1976, legislation was enacted to grant pregnant women a legally mandated two-month period of paid maternity leave in the sovereign nation, signifying a significant achievement for employed women in Kenya. The attainment of this triumph can be attributed to the efforts exerted by female leaders, namely Phoebe Asiyu and Grace Onyango, as evidenced by their parliamentary debates about maternity leave, as documented in their respective profiles. It is imperative to acknowledge that Luo women actively participated in the paid labor market whenever viable chances arose. In the region of South Nyanza, namely in Homa Bay, individuals were hired by the municipal council in various capacities, including roles as teachers, messengers, sweepers, typists, social workers, and nurses. Upon examining the employee roster of the Homa Bay County council, it becomes evident that women were predominantly hired within the Education and Community Development Departments. According to the KNA/HT/17/69 report from 1968, it was observed that men held the majority of positions in many departments including Finance, Clerk, Education, Works, Roads, Markets, Water, Medical, and Veterinary.

This study provides an explanation for the employment of women in Community Development Departments, as it was believed that their expertise in home matters made them well-suited for this particular field. One possible explanation is that women may have faced limitations in terms of their education and talents in other areas. Additionally, it was determined that a small proportion of women engaged in employment outside of Homa Bay. According to Okong'o (KII; 05/04/2021), the reason for this phenomenon can

be attributed to the historical context in which men were predominantly involved in wage labor throughout the colonial era, while women had the responsibility of managing households in rural areas.

This study finishes the section on labor by observing that there was an increase in the number of Luo women engaging in wage-work following the attainment of independence, as compared to the colonial era. At the national level, modifications were implemented in various domains, including maternity leave rules that exhibited a preference towards female employees. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of Luo women continued to engage in agricultural activities and participate in the informal economy due to limited access to quality education and insufficient acquisition of the requisite skills demanded by the official sector. In 1985, the representation of women in the modern sphere of employment in Kenya amounted to merely twenty one percent of the total workforce, which consisted of 1.2 million individuals. The distribution of female individuals was mostly focused within the lowest echelons, with a limited presence observed in the intermediate levels. A limited number of individuals held positions of authority in both the public and commercial sectors. Based on the data provided by The Weekly Review on January 24, 1986, it was observed that in Kenya, a mere 16,000 women were found to be earning kshs 3,000 or more per month by the year 1983. In contrast, the number of men in the same income bracket was significantly higher, reaching 86,000 individuals. This study posits that the marginalization of women in later Kenyan politics can be attributed, in part, to a dearth of financial resources.

3.5 Patriarchal culture on gender relations in post-colonial Homa Bay

According to Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021), the Luo culture has historically been characterized by a patriarchal structure. The author additionally posits that the process of socializing males and girls from an early age remains a significant factor in shaping gender dynamics within the Luo society. In the context of post-colonial Homa Bay, it is observed that males tend to internalize a sense of superiority and domination over women. They project themselves as powerful, strong, domineering, and esteemed individuals within the societal framework, even in the post-colonial era (Nyonyango, KII; 22/04/2021). In patriarchal societies, women were traditionally expected to assume a submissive role to their husbands and male relatives, as well as to all members of their husband's family.

The dependence of women on men is influenced by several institutional practices that are deeply ingrained within the family and kinship structures. Similar to the Agikuyu group, the prevalence of gender-based discrimination through language is widespread among the Luo patrilineal society. The prevalence of preconceptions related to gender-based divisions of labor and gender-specific social activities has been noted (Magak & Okombo, 2014). The concept of male superiority in Dholuo culture is exemplified by the utilization of many symbols, such as formidable animals like lions, rhinos, elephants, buffalos, and bulls. These creatures are employed to represent and reinforce male dominance within the society.

In the context of Ohangla, a traditional song and dance form prevalent among the Luo community, the artist known as Lady Maureen employs a variety of metaphors to depict male figures. As an example, she asserts that Raila Odinga embodies the characteristics of a buffalo. According to Orwa and Cellyne (2016), the comparison made suggests that Raila Odinga possesses qualities similar to those of a buffalo, hence implying that he inherits the favorable characteristics associated with buffalos in this particular context.

Within the Luo civilization, the buffalo holds a position of high reverence due to its notable attributes of strength, bravery, and resilience. Additionally, the species possesses a robust dermal layer that confers the ability to thrive within its specific ecological niche. According to the findings of Magak and Okombo (2014), within the Luo cultural framework, men continue to fulfill the gender roles that have been allocated to them by society, which include assuming positions of leadership and serving as protectors and defenders. The audience of Luo songs, thus, demonstrates a willingness to embrace the societal categorization of men into specific spheres. Given its role as a socializing agent, music has the capacity to shape an individual's image of both themselves and those around them.

A male adolescent who engages with such musical compositions will develop an awareness of and acquiescence to the societal expectations placed upon him. Consequently, as he transitions from adolescence to adulthood, he will likely regard men as figures of authority and seek their protection, as a result of the socialization process. According to Ndeda (2002), the utilization of pictures in Luo dirges include language

expressions that are influenced by gender, so facilitating the advancement of one gender while denouncing the other. This dynamic reinforces the notion of women's inferiority as an inherent principle. The dirges, exemplified by the expression 'Ogwang thur gi bor,' which may be interpreted as 'a wild cat's home is far away,' provide insight into the Luo society's perception of women.

The inference suggests that the domestication of a wild feline is an unattainable endeavor, regardless of the extent of one's efforts. Eventually, the feline will inevitably return to its natural habitat, which resides within the realm of the unfamiliar. The name "Ogwang" is a metaphorical designation employed within Luo society to denote women. The underlying patriarchal ideology represented in this context posits that a woman's affiliation with her biological household is transient, as she is expected to eventually transition to her husband's household. This statement establishes a dichotomy wherein men are positioned as the in-group, while women are positioned as the out-group. Consequently, she assumes a subordinate role within her household due to her status as an outsider who is affiliated with a different social group.

It is widely recognized that upon a woman's arrival at her marital residence, her sphere of influence becomes limited, resulting in her assuming a subordinate role inside her husband's household. This concept is evident in dirges, exemplified by the phrase 'dhako ipogo didek; kawiye mar dapi, kadiere mar nyathi to kumodong mar wuon dala' which conveys the notion that a woman is metaphorically divided into three distinct components: the head symbolizing the water jug, the middle representing the child, and the remaining portions signifying the owner of the home. This lament suggests that women are expected to fulfill three primary roles: engaging in home responsibilities, procreating, and satisfying their husband's sexual needs.

The aforementioned statement by Eckert and Connell (1992) elucidates the manner in which women are mostly confined to home responsibilities, hence limiting their opportunities for involvement in leadership and government. According to Orwa and Cellyne (2016), there exists a belief that women face barriers in attaining leadership positions and participating in influential roles, resulting in men predominantly controlling decision-making processes. The term "Wuon dala" is used to designate the spouse, who is

considered the proprietor of the household. This connotation suggests that a woman is seen as a possession of the homeowner. The aforementioned mentality is similarly exemplified in the dirge titled 'Bedo e ot ka dhako,' which can be translated as 'Discovered within the domicile as a female.' Beneath this assertion comes the concept that a male individual's societal role is primarily situated in agricultural settings, where they engage in hunting activities to secure sustenance and engage in combat to safeguard their kin from any threats.

In contrast, women are not typically present in the public sphere, which has been utilized as a justification for excluding females from positions of authority within public spheres. Nasong'o and Ayot (2007) assert that the linguistic expression found in Luo dirges reflects a worldview that is centered around males, resulting in the devaluation or exclusion of female perspectives, criticism, and contributions. Hence, it is a prevalent phenomenon within Luo society for men to exert dominance over the official political structure, as evidenced by the tendency to allocate women to roles within political parties and county administration that align with traditional gender stereotypes, such as family planning and community labor. Discrimination against women among the Luo community in Kenya is observed through the transfer of property rights from females to males, a practice perpetuated by the patriarchal structure prevalent in their society. Within the Luo community, women continue to be a disadvantaged and disenfranchised demographic, lacking equal status, as well as access to essential services and resources in comparison to their male counterparts.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter examines the taxes, labor, education, and political policies of the colonial state during and after the Second World War, and analyzes their influence on gender relations. The persistence of women's marginalization, which originated during the colonial era, has been shown to endure throughout the post-colonial period of independence. The chapter also examines the challenges faced by the Luo patriarchal system in exerting control over women's education, work, sexuality, and mobility. Kenyan women, as a collective, and specifically the Luo community, persistently endured the adverse consequences of colonial policies that systematically marginalized and discriminated against them. Nevertheless, they persisted in their demonstrations initiated

in previous years, actively participating with their male counterparts in the pursuit of national autonomy.

This chapter has conducted a more in-depth analysis of the advent of colonial rule and its subsequent effects on gender dynamics within the Luo territories, with a particular focus on the Southern Kavirondo District. The study has additionally ascertained the manner in which the colonial political system has weakened the status of women while simultaneously promoting the leadership of men, resulting in the emergence of a novel manifestation of a structured and legally sanctioned patriarchy within the Luo society. It has been observed that a significant portion of colonial policies resulted in the subordination of Luo women to a lower status compared to men. Nevertheless, women actively resisted this marginalization imposed by the colonial regime by engaging in several forms of protest to safeguard their societal roles. In the political associations and anti-colonial activities, women collaborated with men to voice their discontentment over the discriminatory policies imposed by the colonial powers. These policies not only eroded the progress made in gender equality during the pre-colonial era, as discussed in chapter two. The formation of a colonial government characterized by male dominance, along with the marginalization of women in political matters, resulted in the institutionalization of these dynamics within nationalist politics. This trend persisted in Kenya, specifically in Homa Bay, during the post-colonial era, leading to the perpetuation of gender inequality as a recurring theme in subsequent decades and stages of political development.

The examination of the influence of independence on gender dynamics and the subsequent surge in women's participation across many sectors of the nation has also been subject to scholarly inquiry. According to statistical data, throughout the early period following independence, educational attainment among Luo women was predominantly limited to primary education, resulting in their disproportionate representation in low-skilled occupations with correspondingly poor wages. Consequently, these patterns resulted in a dearth of Luo women in lucrative positions within both the governmental and commercial sectors, which need higher levels of education and abilities in comparison to men. This might be further viewed as a result of insufficient financial resources and limited access to resources, which are crucial for the

practice of political patronage in the following years. Nevertheless, a limited number of women from the first generation in Homa Bay, like Phoebe Asiyo, Carren Bondo, Rose Onyuka, and Pamela Mboya, managed to attain higher education. These women were engaged in both the public and private sectors, and a significant portion of them eventually ascended to positions of regional or national leadership, commanding authority even over men.

CHAPTER FOUR: GENDER EQUALITY MITIGATION AND IT'S POLITICAL IMPACT ON POST COLONIAL WOMEN OF HOMA-BAY (1963-2021)

4.1 Introduction

According to the Kenyan National Population and Housing Census Report (2019), women make up around 51% of the population in the state of Kenya. Throughout history, women have been recognized for their significant contributions in various capacities, including motherhood, production, management, community development, and organization, dating back to the pre-colonial era. Women have made significant contributions to the social, economic, and political growth of countries, surpassing men by more than half. This is attributed to their engagement in both productive and reproductive domains, as highlighted by Delphy (2016). However, their involvement in both formal and informal systems and procedures, which determine the allocation of society resources produced by individuals of all genders, has been absent since the period of independence. As elucidated in the second chapter, the pre-colonial society of Kenya exhibited a greater degree of patrimonialism, with the influence of patriarchy being less pronounced compared to the subsequent colonial and post-independence periods.

Subsequently, patriarchy emerged as a system of social relations characterized by a material foundation and legal rules that facilitated male dominance over women (Parpart, 1994). These frameworks gave rise to a system of social hierarchy and distinction based on gender, resulting in political and material benefits for males while imposing significant limitations on the responsibilities and activities of females. Therefore, as stated by Tignor (1976), patriarchy emerged as a system that established a hierarchical structure granting men unjust privileges over women. The establishment of gender equality in Kenya has been facilitated by the implementation of mitigative measures at several levels, stemming from the aforementioned background. This chapter documents the social, economic, and political measures implemented to advance gender equality in Kenya, specifically examining their effects in Homa Bay from the pre-colonial era through the period of independence. The comprehension of the development of women's traits in Kenya is most effectively achieved by examining the roles of women in pre-colonial society, women during the British colonial era, and women in post-independence Kenya.

The dynamics of gender relations within the population of Kenya, particularly among the Luo community, have seen significant transformations throughout the course of several centuries. Kenya saw a period of British colonial administration spanning from 1888 to 1963. However, prior to this era, the pre-colonial Luo women in the region held significant socio-economic positions within their community. These responsibilities encompassed various activities, including child-rearing, agricultural labor, and participation in local marketplaces. It is worth noting that their involvement in political affairs was very limited. The socio-economic and political status of women underwent a significant transformation throughout the period of colonial control, resulting in their diminished significance. Their abilities and influence gradually waned inside the public realm. The study conducted by Johnson (1990) posits that patriarchy has historically been a prevalent aspect of African society, deeply ingrained within its rules, values, and rituals. The implementation of mitigation strategies aimed at reducing the patriarchal structure and promoting gender equality within the Luo society faced growing challenges due to the entrenched nature of patriarchy, which had evolved from a mere tradition to a deeply ingrained cultural norm (Mabona, KII; 10/04/2021). The significant contribution of women in society has prompted individuals, particularly women themselves, to employ many techniques in order to mitigate the prevailing disparities. These strategies will be further explored in the coming sections of this chapter.

4.2 Social strategies for gender equality mitigations

In Kenya, women have employed Maendeleo Ya Wanawake organizations since the 1980s as a means to mobilize citizens and engage in negotiations with the political class, state bureaucracy, and civil society partners. Their objective has been to attain gender justice for women. This development facilitated women in achieving significant advancements in their social, economic, and political liberation and empowerment. The establishment of the MYWO has served as the cornerstone for all subsequent socio-economic and political initiatives aimed at promoting gender equality in Kenya.

This study reveals that the pre-colonial Luo community experienced a lesser degree of patriarchal dominance compared to the colonial and post-independence periods. However, it is evident that the pre-colonial society was characterized by a patrimonial structure, wherein there was no active pursuit of gender equality. Instead, the cultural

division of labor assigned males the role of issuing orders and providing guidance, while females and children were expected to comply and obey (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021). The pre-colonial era fostered a sense of mutual respect between men and women, which contributed to a harmonious coexistence that was viewed as a state of equality. This chapter examines the acknowledgment of patrilinealism during the pre-colonial period as opposed to patriarchalism in the colonial era, which appears to function as a societal tactic for addressing the disparity in gender equality.

Within the pre-colonial Luo culture, the social structure was characterized by a patriarchal system that established male dominance and authority over females. This power dynamic was evident in their customs and traditions, which reinforced the subordination of women. According to Bujra (1986), this phenomenon resulted in the empowerment of men, enabling them to exercise dominance and legislative authority without facing any challenges or inquiries from women. Significant decisions were made both within the confines of the household and in the broader societal context. From birth, male infants were socialized to conform to patriarchal customs and norms. According to Schmidt (1991), it has been previously shown that from the moment of birth, males were inherently positioned at a higher level within the cultural structure, with men and male children being esteemed more highly than women and female children.

In the region of Homa Bay, a cultural practice was observed wherein male infants were secluded within the household for a duration of four days following their birth, before being introduced to the wider community. Conversely, female infants were secluded for a period of three days, in accordance with a patriarchal ideology that prioritized the protection of male children from malevolent influences more than that of female children. This measure was also intended to acknowledge mothers who have given birth to male children by granting them extended periods of leave from work, as a gesture of gratitude for their role in bringing forth offspring who will continue the family and cultural legacy. The promotion of gender equality and the recognition of the equal worth of all children, regardless of their sex, appear to counteract the prevailing influence of male values that have historically controlled society.

As to Okong'o's research (KII; 05/04/2021), the aforementioned cultural practice was exclusively feasible throughout the pre-colonial and colonial periods, wherein midwives were summoned to provide assistance to women during childbirth within the confines of their residences. Subsequently, a gradual shift occurred whereby women experiencing labor pain began seeking the assistance of midwives within the confines of their own residences. Consequently, this practice rendered the cultural tradition of *golo nyathi oko* (the public presentation of a child after a period of seclusion) obsolete and outdated. The reason for this is that the moms were required to return to their homes either on the same day or shortly thereafter (Adhiambo, KII; 14/04/2021). The establishment of hospitals during the colonial era served to alleviate gender-based practices and rendered the notion of seclusion outdated and unachievable. The cessation of seclusion rituals has contributed to the emergence of certain facets of gender equality, fostering similarities between male and female children from the moment of their birth.

It is widely held that patriarchal societies assign lower status to males compared to females, resulting in instances where women are subjected to oppression by men, often manifesting in acts of violence against women. In light of recent research, Amadiume (1987) argues that it is important to acknowledge that not all men engage in abusive behavior against women. Furthermore, there exists evidence of instances where women themselves perpetrate violence against men. According to Ndeda (1994), it is posited that instances of homosexual violence have been observed in both ancient and contemporary societies, with a notable absence of violence against women. Ndeda further suggests that specific factors, primarily encompassing personality disorders such as alcoholism and drug abuse, are frequently associated with male perpetration of violence against women. The reduced level of inhibition increases the likelihood of women engaging in abusive behavior, even in the absence of patriarchal influences. Research has revealed that instances of women experiencing abuse are more prevalent among households characterized by poor socio-economic status. Consequently, enhancing the economic resources of families may contribute to the advancement of gender equality.

Hence, while patriarchy is commonly attributed to the perpetuation of violence against women, it should be noted that it is not the sole underlying cause. It is plausible to argue that instances of violence towards women might potentially manifest even within a

matriarchal society, provided that certain variables such as personality disorders continue. According to the remark made by Oraro (II; 04/04/2021), the categorization of violence against women as a criminal offense under the laws of Kenya and international agreements, resulting in the apprehension and prosecution of perpetrators by the state, can be considered as a kind of mitigation. The prevalence of patriarchal norms is significantly diminished. This article highlights the intentional efforts to enhance female socio-economic empowerment through initiatives such as women funds and gender-based affirmative actions. These measures aim to address gender inequality by mitigating socio-economic and political violence that is based on gender.

The region of Homa Bay exhibits a discernible manifestation of son preference, a phenomenon that poses harmful consequences for girls within the community. According to Nyacharo (II; 19/032021), females in this particular society have always lacked significance only due to their membership in the female gender. Females are sometimes subject to undervaluation and are frequently labeled as temporary members in contrast to their male counterparts, who are granted the right to exist by their fathers. Women in communities characterized by these cultural norms have historically acquiesced to and internalized the prevailing sentiments that reinforce gender inequality.

In traditional African homes, women assume the primary role of educating children, regardless of their gender. Surprisingly, this educational dynamic inadvertently contributes to the perpetuation of gender-based exploitation, as both boys and girls are socialized to accept the subordinate position of females in relation to males. This particular socialization process fosters the development of a superiority complex among boys, while simultaneously conditioning girls to accept a subordinate role within society. Women have developed an inferiority complex due to societal norms that consider some behaviors as typical for both genders. However, it should be noted that this particular mode of socialization inadvertently reinforces gender disparities. Okong'o (2021) conducted a Key Informant Interview on May 4, 2021. The implementation of formal education and the extended duration of learners' enrollment in educational institutions diminishes the cultural inclination towards favoring males over females. The inclusion of curriculum content has additionally contributed to the advancement of gender equality by promoting the empowerment of girls.

This study emphasized that in such circumstances, young females are influenced to believe that they should consistently prioritize others before themselves and acquiesce to the prevailing position assigned to males (including boys) by societal norms. Women are socialized to adopt a submissive stance towards men and are indoctrinated with the belief that their primary duty and objective in life is to assume the roles of spouses and mothers, sometimes at a young age in the majority of instances. Their educational curriculum focuses on the study of social and biological aspects related to reproduction. According to Ogotu (2021), the promotion of gender equality is a crucial objective in addressing the aforementioned imbalance. The state education system plays a significant role in fostering gender equality by implementing standard curricula and co-curricular activities that benefit both boys and girls. According to Ougo (II; 20/03/2021), certain gender-based idioms and slogans, such as "What a man can do, a woman can do best," "Women can," and "When a man gets it, it is for the family, while when a woman gets it, it is for the world," have been employed to alter societal perceptions and beliefs regarding the capabilities of women.

It has been previously established that within the Luo tradition, girls are inherently provided with education in order to fulfill their future roles as caretakers of the family and as societal reproducers. Accordingly, Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) affirms that girls were instructed from a young age to assume the various responsibilities undertaken by their mothers within the household. These responsibilities encompassed a wide range of tasks, including food cultivation and preparation, transportation of water and fuel over significant distances, as well as routine household chores such as cleaning, laundry, and caring for other family members. The burden of an overwhelming task placed upon girls who assist their mothers in domestic responsibilities restricts their ability to engage in public life, thereby contributing to their limited participation in leadership positions within society throughout their later years.

This study acknowledges the contribution of the county administration of Homa Bay and many Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in facilitating the provision of clean and safe water as a means of mitigating water-related challenges. The utilization of cost-effective renewable energy sources contributes significantly to the advancement of gender equality by reducing the time spent by girls and women in search of critical commodities.

Similar to other closed patrilineal societies, it is traditionally perceived in Homa Bay that girls are temporary members of their own families. This perception stems from the prevailing belief that the primary objective of their parents is to ensure their obligatory marriage into other families (Obonyo, II; 14/03/2021). This elucidates the rationale behind male family members consistently attempting to exploit the inherent mobility of girls within their origin households, in order to reinforce the notion that they do not contribute to the welfare of their families and hence possess no inherent value to their birth families. This particular mindset restricts the ability of girls to get protection from their families and results in their alienation within their own familial contexts. Additionally, it imposes limitations on the healthy psychological development of females and perpetuates gender-based discrimination within society.

This study examines the existing legal provisions that are presently implemented by both local and national governmental bodies. In many instances, married women, as an illustrative example, are precluded from inheriting land or other form of property from their deceased husbands. This situation results in widows being left in a state of destitution or having their responsibilities transferred to their surviving brothers-in-law, so perpetuating the levirate tradition, which may be identified as a clear form of gender discrimination. Women who lack the ability to sustain themselves are particularly subjected to this imposition, wherein they are deprived of the right to exercise choice.

This study highlights the transformative impact of formal education on shifting prevailing mindsets that perpetuated detrimental conventional beliefs undermining the worth of women. The study determined that both levels of government allocate additional funds specifically for girls' education, employing a form of positive discrimination, with the aim of attaining gender equality in the realm of education. This study highlights the observation that in Homa Bay, girls are particularly susceptible to various infringements of their rights to optimal health and physical well-being, including but not limited to early marriages and adherence to nutritional taboos. These violations have emerged as prominent transgressions against the rights of girls in the region.

The adoption and execution of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Rights of Women and Children (CRWAC), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by national and

local governments, respectively, contribute to the enhancement of immunization programs aimed at improving the health outcomes of children, regardless of their gender. This is particularly significant in light of the persistence of patriarchal customs within contemporary societies, which often result in unequal access to immunization services, thereby limiting the benefits to only certain segments of the child population. There is a growing need for enhanced advocacy and awareness efforts targeting both men and women, implemented in a systematic and sustained manner, to effectively safeguard girls from harmful traditional practices. This underscores the need of immunization and improved healthcare access for all children, irrespective of gender. The dissemination of the CRC and CEDAW is accompanied by efforts to promote these respective documents, ensuring their availability to a diverse audience residing in both rural and urban regions. An enhanced comprehension of these principles is already contributing to the alteration of mindsets that are supportive of the fundamental rights of children and women.

Kenya, as a member state of the African Union (AU), has officially endorsed and implemented the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). These international conventions have been incorporated into the legal framework of Kenya at both the national and sub-national levels, including the development plans of the various counties (Oyindo, KII; 26/04/2021). The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) serve to safeguard against and denounce various manifestations of discrimination targeting children and women. This commitment is explicitly outlined in Article 3 of both conventions.

“All appropriate measures shall be taken...towards the eradication of prejudice and the abolition of all other practices which are based on the idea of inferiority of women” (Article 3 of CEDAW).

Nevertheless, this study has found that the implementation of Article 3 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) encounters difficulties as a result of deeply ingrained cultural beliefs that are strongly opposed to gender equality. These issues are particularly prevalent inside families, particularly in rural communities, where women face significant social marginalization and limited societal standing. In communities of this nature, women continue to be denied recognition as whole individuals, a violation of their basic entitlements as outlined

by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and other international Human Rights Conventions. This study demonstrates a comprehensive comprehension of detrimental cultural practices and establishes the presence of effective advocacy tools utilizing audio and visual mediums. These tools play a crucial role in facilitating the shift in societal attitudes and promoting a receptiveness to legal interventions.

The aforementioned perspective imposes a legal obligation on traditionalists to acknowledge females as equal members of society, on par with their male counterparts. This perspective also grants females the opportunity to engage in the process of societal progress, both within public and private spheres. Governments have constitutionally implemented legislative measures, such as Education Laws, to enforce compulsory and free education for all. These policies are being put into practice by both local and national government entities.

This study acknowledges the County's adherence to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as a noteworthy advancement in support of women. However, it is important to note that the study identified certain gaps, specifically the lack of alignment between social policies and existing legislation. Consequently, it is imperative for both the national and county governments to synchronize the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) with national and county laws. This harmonization process is crucial in expediting the realization of gender equality within the country. There is a need to ensure that the concepts of CRC (Convention on the Rights of the Child) and CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) are made more accessible and understandable to a wider audience.

This can be achieved by translating them into simplified forms and local languages. Such efforts are crucial in order to promote a comprehensive understanding of gender equality and its significance in societal progress. This approach is expected to significantly contribute to the elimination of existing mental and social perspectives that are in opposition to the rights of women and girls.

This analysis also reveals the presence of multiple legislations pertaining to gender equality. While legislation alone may not be adequate, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have implemented other procedures to support the advancement of gender equality. Legislation serves as a legal means of communicating the unequivocal rejection of traditions and behaviors that infringe upon the rights of women and girls. Nevertheless, due to the inherent limitations of legislation alone, it is imperative for proponents to recognize the necessity of educating community members about the principles and importance of gender equality.

The implementation of a national policy that entails the nationalisation and legalisation of free, obligatory, and universally accessible basic education for all children, with a particular focus on addressing the educational disparities faced by girls, has shown to be an effective strategy for promoting gender equality within Homa Bay County. According to Morraa's survey conducted on March 15, 2021, there has been a notable increase in female enrollment and transition in several Sub Counties, such as Rangwe, Kasipul, and Homa Bay town, since 2019. According to Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021), recent evidence suggests that there is a promising trend in Homa Bay towards narrowing the gender gap in education. The enrollment rates of boys and girls are nearly equal, and in certain educational levels, females even outperform males in terms of both enrollment and academic performance. The aforementioned outcome is perceived as a result of intentional affirmative action and the provision of resources specifically aimed at females within the county. According to Nyakwaka (2013), the objective of integrating women into the broader Kenyan society is based on the belief that a society that recognizes and includes women is more advantageous than one that marginalizes them.

The enhancement of adult literacy rates serves as a strategic approach to foster a shift in mindsets, hence facilitating the advancement of girls' education, which plays a pivotal role in promoting gender equality. As per the Ministry of Education, a number of strategies aimed at prolonging the duration of females' participation in the educational system have been implemented to mitigate the significant rates of attrition among female students. The implementation of measures that encompass the promotion of policies aimed at enhancing the quality of education, as well as the development of gender-responsive curriculum, instructional materials, school environments, and teacher training,

contributes to the relevance of education for girls (Moraa, KII; 15/03/2021). This study provides a comprehensive analysis of the implementation of Life Skills and family life education programs, which aim to effectively tackle Reproductive Health issues.

It sheds light on the adverse consequences of engaging in premature sexual activity, such as early and unintended pregnancies, unsafe abortions, and various health complications that disrupt girls' educational pursuits, thereby exacerbating the academic gender disparity. According to the County Commissioner of Homa Bay, the implementation of gender mainstreaming units in various ministries, departments, and institutions at both the national and county government levels is a policy measure aimed at promoting gender equality and reducing the gender gap within the County (Lilaan, KII; 27/04/021). The study also substantiates the notion that implementing such rules affords schoolgirls who experience pregnancy the chance to persist in their educational pursuits both before to and following childbirth, thereby fostering the advancement of gender equality. These programs aim to foster new efforts in non-formal education for female school dropouts and engage girls who have not received any formal education. The objective is to enhance their economic empowerment, reduce their dependence, and promote income-generating activities.

This study presents findings indicating that in Homa Bay County, the pursuit of female education is associated with a decrease in fertility rates, while also fostering a desire among mothers to prioritize high-quality education for their offspring. As stated by Moraa (2021), the county education officer asserts that education plays a crucial role in empowering women to implement development initiatives, leading to a progressive shift in mindsets and ultimately fostering gender equity and equality. This study ultimately noted that the provision of female education plays a significant role in the promotion and fulfillment of Human Rights, as it serves to foster the active engagement and involvement of women within society. It is worth noting that the aforementioned rights have an impact on both genders, however certain rights may have a greater impact on women compared to males. Consequently, women find themselves in a strategic position that necessitates their active involvement in decision-making processes. This study highlights the need of providing fair and equal opportunities for rural women to access improved employment opportunities. By doing so, rural women can effectively contribute to the economy and

serve as catalysts for growth. Additionally, this enables them to fulfill their responsibilities of providing essential resources such as food, water, fuel, and social services to their families.

According to Moraa (KII; 15/03/2021), national governments have implemented various measures to promote girls' enrollment in education through the adoption of positive discrimination. These measures include the provision of free textbooks to girls, allowing teenage mothers to rejoin schools after giving birth, establishing Special Units for Girls' Education, and reducing the entry requirements for girls in higher learning institutions. At the county level, during the period of this research, Hon. Gladys Wanga, the female county representative, established 'Siwindhe Nyiri' (The Private House of Girls) and mentorship programs as a form of positive discrimination aimed at addressing the needs of girls.

This study provides additional evidence that despite several initiatives, the persistence of incorrect views, ideologies, and financial challenges remains a significant barrier to achieving girls' right to education. Consequently, these obstacles continue to hinder the attainment of gender equality within the education sector. Hence, in the absence of adequate education for women, the county would experience a depletion of 50% of its human resource pool, which is crucial for facilitating progress in the developmental process and promoting gender equality. Therefore, the aforementioned initiative facilitates the enhancement of women's abilities and knowledge in effectively managing their financial resources, as well as their access to financial institutions that grant them equitable entitlements pertaining to land ownership, property rights, and entrepreneurial endeavors.

According to data from the Ministry of Health, historical records indicate that mortality rates among girls were greater compared to boys. This disparity can be attributed to prevailing negative societal attitudes towards girls, resulting in their limited access to healthcare and nutrition in comparison to their male counterparts. This provides a rationale for the greater mortality rates observed among females under the age of five, so challenging the notion of numerical gender equality. Conversely, the study has determined that the adverse health and nutritional conditions experienced by females can

be attributed to their excessive workload and inadequate dietary practices to which they are subjected.

Females residing in rural regions commonly encounter the responsibility of assisting their mothers in domestic tasks and caring for their family members. As a result, this indicates that the females are required to work extended and arduous hours. Furthermore, according to Elseba (II; 06/04/2021), it has been confirmed that within the cultural context, girls traditionally partook in meals with their mothers, following the conclusion of the men's and boys' dining. In comparison, they were also exposed to meals that were of lower quality and quantity. This circumstance resulted in a limited access to a nutritionally diverse diet. The discourse surrounding the unsuitable dietary practices negatively impacts the health of females and leaves them in a disadvantaged position relative to boys.

The elimination of detrimental cultural practices can only be achieved when advocates for gender equality possess a comprehensive understanding of the underlying rationales behind these beliefs and behaviors. This knowledge will empower them to identify the appropriate starting points for communication initiatives aimed at transforming these negative mindsets and actions, ultimately fostering gender equality. The shift in mindsets ultimately results in the acknowledgment of legal measures taken against these detrimental cultural practices by their adherents, hence fostering gender equality within the broader scope of human society.

4.3 Political gender equality mitigation

The implementation of Kenya's Vision 2030, which incorporates gender mainstreaming into all policies, plans, and programs of the national and county governments, aims to effectively address the needs and interests of women and girls. This entails the incorporation of gender mainstreaming policies, plans, budgets, and programs inside the decision-making bodies of the government. The Vision 2030 encompasses a social pillar that places significant emphasis on addressing gender concerns, particularly the equitable allocation of resources and power between genders, as a top goal. Additionally, its objective is to enhance comprehensive possibilities for women and augment their involvement in various economic, social, and political decision-making processes inside

the nation. The Medium Term Plan I (2008-12) prioritized the gender-mainstreaming topic, aiming to enhance gender equity in power dynamics and resource allocation within Homa Bay County. The Medium Term Plan II (2013-2017) has the effect of advancing equity in terms of access, control, and involvement in the distribution of resources, with the aim of enhancing the livelihoods of women in the nation.

In accordance with the aforementioned statement, it is worth mentioning that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which were officially adopted by the United Nations on September 25, 2015, have been designed to address the eradication of poverty, the preservation of the environment, and the promotion of inclusive prosperity, irrespective of gender. It is well acknowledged that every aim is accompanied with distinct milestones that are to be accomplished within a span of 15 years. Goal 5 of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) centers on the imperative of achieving gender equality and promoting the empowerment of women and girls. The aforementioned objective encompasses a comprehensive range of nine concerns related to gender equality. These concerns encompass the eradication of all types of discrimination and violence against women and girls, as well as the promotion of women's complete, effective, and equitable involvement in decision-making processes. Additionally, the objective includes the safeguarding of women's rights to land and other forms of property. Furthermore, Goal 16 advocates for the advancement of peace, justice, the rule of law, and the establishment of institutions that uphold legal and policy frameworks that acknowledge and safeguard women's rights to equality within the nation. The gradual integration of these programs into the County Integrated Development Plans has effectively advanced gender equality within Homa Bay County.

One of the prevalent approaches towards achieving gender equality is seeking endorsement from governmental bodies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), political parties, and donors to actively promote the increased participation of women in politics. In Homa Bay, there is active engagement from various gender-based donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in efforts to empower women for political candidacy. These initiatives encompass training programs, financial support, and capacity-building activities aimed at enhancing fundraising skills among women candidates. Additionally, there is a concerted effort to incorporate women as election

monitors in the region. Prior to the upcoming general election in Homa Bay, the predominant political party granted direct tickets to a significant number of women, enabling them to participate as candidates in the general election scheduled for August 9th, 2022. This study examined the efforts of various organizations in mobilizing female voters with the aim of increasing the representation of women in political office and enhancing the democratic process. In Kenya, it is observed that there exists a consistent gender-based civic consciousness, which necessitates the provision of segregated polling booths for women throughout electoral processes.

In the course of examining measures aimed at achieving gender equality, it has been observed that the affirmative action policy implemented in Kenya bears resemblance to the female quota systems model employed in many other nations to promote the representation of women. There are certain shared elements, such as the practice of sandwiching party lists and the allocation of reserved seats for women. The aforementioned factor has contributed to a rise in the representation of women in political roles within Homa Bay County. The impact of affirmative actions on women's issues, such as childcare and health care, being prioritized on the agenda, has yielded inconsistent data. The Kenya Constitution of 2010 includes provisions that allocate specific seats for women, such as women county representatives, as well as the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule. Additionally, it delineates the nominees that take into account the female quota.

This study demonstrates the presence of political institutions and organs in Kenya that have been established to advance gender equality, and highlights their implementation in Homa Bay County. The National Gender and Equality Commission Act of 2011 was enacted to establish the National Gender and Equality Commission, which replaced the former Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission in accordance with Article 59(4) of the Constitution of Kenya in 2010. The Act was responsible for the establishment of gender mainstreaming ministries and strategies at all levels of government. The purpose of this initiative is to incorporate the perspectives and issues of both women and men as a fundamental aspect in the development of policies, legislation, and administrative procedures within the nation. The aforementioned elements encompass the areas of budgeting, budget implementation, and the monitoring and

evaluation of programs that enforce policies, laws, and administrative processes across various political, economic, and sociological domains. According to Lilaan (2021), gender mainstreaming techniques aim to promote gender equality by eliminating the propagation of inequality, therefore fostering a culture characterized by fairness and equal treatment for both men and women.

Affirmative action is seen imperative in order to guarantee gender parity for the advancement of Kenyan societies. The provision of equality and freedom from discrimination, as outlined in Article 27, holds substantial importance. According to Kamaria (KII, 20/03/2021), the County government of Homa Bay has implemented various legislative and non-legislative initiatives to ensure the comprehensive implementation of the rights enshrined in the Article. These measures encompass affirmative action programs and policies that aim to rectify any inequities experienced by individuals or groups due to historical discrimination. This study focuses on the affirmative action programmes implemented by the County Assembly. These initiatives aim to promote the participation and representation of minorities and marginalized groups in various aspects of governance and society. Specifically, these programmes provide special opportunities in education and the economy, as well as facilitate access to employment for these groups.

The implementation of the gender-responsive constitution in Kenya serves as a constitutional measure aimed at advancing gender equality. According to Article 91(1) (f) of the Kenyan constitution, political parties are obligated to uphold and advance human rights, fundamental freedoms, as well as gender equality and equity. This study aimed to examine the implementation of the aforementioned statute in Homa Bay. It was found that during the period of this study, the chairman of the predominant political party ODM was Hon. Gladys Nyasuna Wanga, a female. It was further observed that during the party primaries, the party granted direct nomination to Lilian Gogo, Eve Obara, Mildred Mabona, and the gubernatorial candidate to participate in the electoral election scheduled for the 9th of August, 2022. According to the principle of devolved administration, as stated in Article 175, it is mandated that County Governments are responsible for ensuring that the composition of representative bodies within each county government does not exceed two-thirds of members belonging to a single gender. According to

Article 177(1) (b), the aforementioned provision is implemented by the establishment of a specific number of special seat members. This measure is intended to guarantee that the composition of the assembly does not exceed two-thirds representation from a single gender. Therefore, according to Article 197, it is stipulated that the County Assembly must guarantee that the number of its members or county executive committee belonging to the same gender does not exceed two-thirds.

This study documents the ongoing discussion surrounding the progressive or instantaneous adoption of the one-third gender rule at the national level. However, at the county level, these laws appear to predominantly contribute to the advancement of gender equality. These provisions establish an equitable platform that facilitates the equal participation of both men and women in the country's development goals. According to Chief Amadi's perspective (KII, 10/03/2021), adhering strictly to the provisions and principles of the Kenyan constitution of 2010 serves as an effective means of advancing gender equality.

The research findings indicate that there is significant engagement from both genders in the local government's efforts towards achieving sustainable development. This premise is rooted in the acknowledgment that patriarchy originated from male influence, thus necessitating male involvement in addressing gender equality. This phenomenon is evident in the implementation of the report from the Fourth World Conference in Beijing, China. The report promotes the notion that the elimination of poverty within a community is contingent upon the consistent advancement of economic growth, social development, environmental preservation, and social equity. It is further elucidated that the aforementioned objective can alone be attained by the complete engagement of women in economic and social progress, ensuring equal opportunities and equitable participation of both genders as active contributors and recipients of sustainable development that prioritizes the well-being of individuals.

Based on the conference report, this study advocates for the active engagement of males in all endeavors aimed at promoting gender equality. This acknowledgment is made in light of the understanding that the attainment of gender parity necessitates the collective endeavors of individuals from all backgrounds. This study conducted in Homa Bay

County observes a recent increase in the active participation of men, as compared to women, in the promotion of gender equality. This stands in contrast to the past, particularly during the era of Phoebe Asiyu and the Late Carren Bondo, when the pursuit of gender equality was mostly championed by feminists. Recently, there has been a noticeable trend among male politicians in the county to incorporate the gender equality discourse into their manifestos and policy agendas.

In addition to the aforementioned structural modifications and governmental interventions, the media also exert a significant influence in altering deeply ingrained opinions. The media plays a significant role in promoting and advancing gender equality. This phenomenon is demonstrated by the dissemination of the designated and exceptionally accomplished and prominent women occupying positions of authority throughout Africa and other regions. This activity sustains the gender paradigm and offers influential proponents of female competence, abilities, and skills who campaign for gender equality in all societies. Based on the aforementioned statement by Onyuka (KII, 18/03/2021), it can be argued that the widespread dissemination of gender equality discourse and implementation can be attributed to the influence of media, which has effectively touched diverse corners and households across the globe. This study provides confirmation that the media has effectively disseminated information regarding the significant contributions made by women who demonstrate responsibility to individuals across various societal strata. There are indeed several gender equality programs that are broadcasted on radios, televisions, and videos. These programs serve to provide evidence that ladies, similar to boys, possess the ability to engage in and accomplish any work for the advancement of society.

From a political standpoint, the conceptualization of rights as enshrined in the constitution differs from the practical implementation required to actualize them. In order for the constitutional advancements to have a tangible impact on the lives of women and effectively achieve gender equality benchmarks, it is imperative that the pertinent sections of the legislation are duly implemented. The absence of a comprehensive legislative framework that directly tackles gender inequities in society is not evident. The presentation of the fundamental components is seen in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010, which is often regarded as a highly progressive document. According to the study, a

notable deficiency has been identified in the need to enhance the fundamental responsibilities (Okong'o, KII; 05/04/2021). In summary, the County Assembly of Homa Bay and other institutions with designated responsibilities have significant challenges in carrying of their duties. The failure of the National Parliament and County Assembly, together with other statutory institutions, to consistently enact the necessary gender-related legislation is a matter of regret.

According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), it is crucial for Parliament to promptly seize the legislative opportunity in order to establish a level of certainty within the Constitution, so facilitating the realization of gender equality throughout Kenyan societies. This study highlights the significance of promptly enacting legislation in order to clarify the uncertainties caused by various articles of the constitution by providing more details in the law. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in Homa Bay, women have assumed positions of governmental authority with the primary objective of advancing the cause of gender equality for women. Through conducting a comparative analysis, we may examine the representation of women in the parliaments of South Africa and Mozambique, where the proportion of female parliamentarians stands at 30 percent. In February 2004, Mozambique achieved the distinction of being the first country in the region to designate a female individual, Ms. Luisa Diogo, as its Prime Minister. Rwanda boasts the highest level of female representation in national parliaments globally. The proportion of female lawmakers stands at 49 percent, surpassing the stipulated aim of 30 percent outlined in the Beijing declaration. The global average is at a mere 15 percent. During the period under investigation in Homa Bay, there was a notable possibility of a female governor emerging, namely Gladys Nyasuna Wanga. She was granted a direct ticket by the prominent political party to compete for the gubernatorial office.

Another approach that contributes to the advancement of gender equality is the augmentation of female representation within legislative institutions. In a comparative analysis of previous elections in 23 African countries, it was seen that women experienced an increase in their parliamentary representation in 14 of these instances. However, it is important to note that despite these advancements, the current state of gender equality remains far from the ideal. In a significant number of these nations, approximately 20, the representation of women in legislative seats stands at 10 percent or

lower. In the countries of Madagascar, Mauritania, and Niger, to provide specific examples, the representation of women in political positions is less than 5 percent. The inclusion of women in parliamentary bodies has been observed to have an impact on the implementation of policies that prioritize gender sensitivity in some nations. Due to the influence exerted by women's advocacy groups, certain nations have implemented affirmative action measures, including the establishment of quotas, with the aim of augmenting female representation within decision-making roles. In the context of South Africa, female legislators have had notable success in enacting a range of legislative measures, including the legalization of abortion, the implementation of measures to combat domestic abuse, and the establishment of mechanisms to ensure child support. During their time in Uganda, female legislators played a crucial role in facilitating the adoption of legislation that designated rape as a capital offense. According to a publication in one of the daily newspapers, there is mention of a Kenyan record.

Even though women were 50.44% of the population, there was not a single one elected to the legislature in 1963. Women representation in Kenya grew between 1963 and 2012. Kenyan voters elected 50 women and 1,806 men to the parliament, though this increased to a total of 83 women elected MP and Members of the National Assembly. In 2013, with the creation of bicameral Parliament and the addition of women representatives' seats and party nominations, there were a total of 68 women in the National Assembly, which gave them 19% of membership. Meanwhile in the Senate, no woman was elected in 2013 though 18 were nominated, giving women 27% membership in the national women representation. In the County assemblies, women won 82 out of 1450 elective seats which translate to 5% meanwhile 680 were nominated making a total of 762 women which is 34% in 2013. In 2017 the overall, women took 172 of 1,883 elected seats in Kenya which was 9.1% up from 145 after 2013 election which was 7.7%. In 2017, three women were elected governors out of possible 47 who were Ngilu, Waiguru and Laboso. This translated to only 6.4% and three were elected senators which was also 6.4% of possible (The Saturday Standard, Sept/4th / 2021)

The insufficiency of female representation in legislative bodies is attributed as a contributing factor to the challenges encountered in implementing the two-thirds gender rule in Kenya. According to Mboga's response (KII, 12/04/2021), it is argued that the responsibility of interpreting the Constitution and laws should not be solely entrusted to the parliament. As a result, individuals with a vested interest in social justice and equality

are motivated to question prevailing laws, practices, and official bureaucracy by ongoing experimentation within the confines of the established legal system. This research revealed that females in Kenya are actively engaged in advocating for regular judicial interpretation in order to promote gender equality. There exist organizations that consistently pursue legal remedies for the enforcement of gender clauses. An example of such remedy occurred when the former Chief Justice Maraga declared that parliament should be dissolved due to its failure to apply the gender equality clauses. As a result, feminists express their dissatisfaction with the judiciary's handling of the progressive adoption of the two-thirds gender rule. The dissatisfaction of individuals extends to the executive's refusal to fully enforce judicial judgements and proclamations pertaining to the promotion of gender equality. These measures were intended to create more opportunities for women to participate in both public and private domains within the Kenyan society.

4.4 Economic gender equality mitigation strategies

This part provides justification for the efforts to guarantee women's equitable access to various economic resources, including as land, credit, science and technology, vocational training, information, communication, and markets. These are the strategies employed to promote the progress and empowerment of women and girls, which involve improving their abilities to fully access and benefit from these resources on an equitable basis. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 encompasses a set of principles pertaining to land policy, which must be adhered to in order to guarantee equitable, efficient, productive, and sustainable land ownership, utilization, and management. Furthermore, it promotes the attainment of fair and equal opportunities for individuals to obtain land, ensures the protection of land ownership rights, and strives to eradicate gender-based disparities within legal frameworks, societal norms, and customary practices pertaining to land and property ownership.

If the aforementioned constitutional principles are effectively implemented, they have the potential to greatly facilitate the attainment of fair and equal opportunities for individuals to access, utilize, and govern natural resources, thereby contributing to national growth and personal fulfillment. The Beijing Conference emphasized the importance of promoting inclusive and equitable education to empower individuals of all genders for

meaningful engagement. This includes fostering sustainable development that prioritizes people's well-being, such as ensuring continuous economic progress, providing access to fundamental education, lifelong learning opportunities, literacy programs, and primary healthcare services specifically targeted towards girls and women. This initiative is based on the fourth target of the Sustainable Development Goals, which emphasizes the importance of providing inclusive and equitable quality education and fostering lifelong learning opportunities for all individuals. As a result, the eighth goal necessitates that states prioritize the advancement of long-lasting, comprehensive, and sustainable economic growth, as well as the provision of full and productive employment opportunities and decent work conditions for all individuals.

The motto "Protect the boy child even as the girl child is uplifted" is frequently encountered in the socio-economic domain of Homa Bay County. According to Moraa's statement (KII, 15/03/2021), a careful equilibrium is maintained to prevent the empowerment of one gender at the detriment of the other. This is because the primary goal of affirmative action and other initiatives aimed at achieving gender equity and equality is to promote impartiality and engagement of both genders in national and county development. The aforementioned endeavors contribute, among other things, to the promotion of gender equality, thereby providing individuals with increased possibilities to safeguard their inherent human rights and actively engage in the pursuit of national development objectives.

It is widely acknowledged that in order to facilitate the upliftment of women from poverty, development programs should prioritize and recognize their economic achievements (Budlender, 2002). As posited by Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), a notable segment of the economically active population comprises women. However, their contributions remain inadequately documented due to their predominant involvement in family farming or the informal sector. Consequently, activities such as household work are not recognized as economic endeavors within society.

Gender-responsive budgeting gained momentum in various African nations, including Kenya, throughout the 1990s as a strategic approach to advancing the rights and well-being of women and girls. In addition, there was a concurrent focus on budgetary

initiatives within civil society aimed at promoting women's empowerment (Berman, H., & Jiwani, Y. 2002). This chapter documents a government-driven initiative aimed at ensuring that policies, expenditures, and revenues yield distinct outcomes for individuals of different genders, specifically women and men, as well as girls and boys. In accordance with Mbadi's findings (KII; 21/04/2021), it is evident that the Kenyan government has not lagged behind its African counterparts, as these groups possess unique characteristics and exhibit diverse needs and interests. The author asserts that;

Gender-responsive budget initiatives are a strategy which was meant to provide for assessment of the differing outcomes for different groups but particularly women and girls. The aim is not to establish separate budgets to address gender concerns, but to ensure that government budgets are allocated in an equitable way that satisfies the most pressing needs of individuals and groups. Gender-responsive budgeting is not an isolated event, but an important aspect of gender mainstreaming and more effective public financial management. It focuses not only on the content of budgets, but also on the underlying policy process, in particular inclusiveness, transparency and accountability (Mbadi, KII; 21/04/2021).

To fulfill the objective of implementing the request for the adoption of a gender budgeting tool by 2006, as discussed during the April 2004 meeting to assess the advancements made for women since the Beijing conference, Kenya decided to adopt a gender budgeting tool. This decision aimed to address the existing bias within macroeconomic policies that disproportionately benefit men and boys, while neglecting the needs and interests of women and girls. This method entails the examination of government expenditure decisions and their effects on individuals of different genders and age groups, with the objective of more effectively recognizing inequalities (Lilaan, KII; 27/04/2021). The research conducted shown that the utilization of a gender budgeting tool effectively facilitates the mobilization of increased financial resources specifically targeted towards the advancement of women and girls, hence contributing to the reduction of the gender-based economic disparity. The gender budgeting method is implemented in Homa Bay through the allocation of funds to programs that seek to alleviate the significant time constraints faced by women. Additionally, it aims to enhance women's access to resources such as energy, water, transportation, and labor-saving technologies (Gogo, KII; 19/03/2021).

This study documents the noteworthy transformation in both mindset and action associated with gender-responsive budgeting, which is the deliberate design and execution of budgets to advance the interests of all segments of society. The endeavor encompasses ambitious projects and has facilitated the inclusion of a broader range of stakeholders in the budgetary process, with a focus on promoting equity and recognizing the significance of the care economy. The participation of non-governmental actors in gender-responsive budgeting has provided assistance and maintained the progress of fiscal policy change and implementation at both the national and county government levels.

The implementation of gender budgeting is conducted within the Homa Bay County Assembly, as specified in the County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) for each fiscal year. This process directly impacts the allocation of government funds towards initiatives aimed at promoting gender equality and empowering women. This supports overarching goals of promoting openness, accountability, and civic engagement by placing women at the forefront of development efforts. The effectiveness of gender responsive budgeting initiatives can be enhanced by collaboration between civil society and parliament. Moreover, the adoption of gender-responsive budgeting is not limited to governmental entities, but can also extend to non-governmental organizations, foundations, and other private sector organizations.

According to the 2019 study published by the International Labour Organization (ILO), women play a significant role in the agricultural sector, which is considered a crucial component of the economy. Specifically, women contribute approximately 60-80 percent of the labor force involved in food production, serving the dual purpose of meeting home consumption needs and engaging in commercial activities. The analysis substantiates the notion that although they are primarily responsible for the majority of labor, they have limitations in terms of market accessibility and financing availability. Therefore, the provision of enhanced access to credit and other forms of funding by the national and county governments is advantageous in Homa Bay County. This initiative serves to mitigate gender-based economic imbalances and, more importantly, to acknowledge and reward the diligent efforts of women in their respective endeavors. It is noteworthy to acknowledge that this study has determined that the primary sources of

funding for national and local programs aimed at promoting women's progress predominantly originate from external partners.

4.5 Impact of gender equality mitigations on women political development in Homa Bay

4.5.1 The emergence of women political participation in Kenya upto 1992

This section examines the political metamorphosis of women resulting from efforts to mitigate gender inequality leading up to the year 1992. The article by Cheryl (2012) examines both quantitative and qualitative aspects of gender transformation, specifically focusing on changes in gender balance and the incorporation of gender sensitivity within legal and policy frameworks. This perspective views gender as a product of social construction, encompassing the roles and connections that individuals assume based on their biological sex. It further examines gender as a complex interplay of economic, social, and cultural factors, encompassing many roles, behaviors, qualities, and opportunities that are typically associated with being either female or male. In previous sections of the study, it has been determined that gender relations have predominantly been structured in a manner that privileges men. This study examines the progression of the discourse surrounding gender equality and its consequential shift towards both qualitative and quantitative manifestations of gender parity.

Similar to other regions globally, gender disparities have had a detrimental impact on the effectiveness of discussion, representation, and legitimacy within the democratic framework in Kenya. On a global scale, it has been documented that women have exhibited lower levels of participation in democratic processes compared to men, even after gaining the right to vote. However, in recent decades, women have made significant advancements in terms of voter turnout and various other domains of societal engagement. On the contrary, Amadiume (2000) provides an explanation for the ongoing phenomenon of women reporting lower levels of political engagement across various participatory behaviors and attitudes. This includes their limited involvement in joining political parties, attending rallies, displaying political interest, and engaging in discussions on socio-economic matters. Gender disparities continue to exist in many public and private sectors throughout different communities in Kenya (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1979).

Contrary to the aforementioned, this study demonstrates that gender disparities are more pronounced in the attitudes and orientations that discourage women from engaging in active political participation. The aforementioned influence prompted an investigation on the current status of gender equality, with the objective of narrowing the prevailing gender political disparity. This section provides an account of the prevailing disparities in gender equality in political participation and the evolution of political parties up until 1963, encompassing both public and private sectors.

The active participation of women in politics in Kenya commenced in earnest during the period of the battle for independence. Women began to openly participate in public life during the Mau Mau revolt and the subsequent establishment of the state of emergency. During the late 1940s, the Kenya African Union effectively organized the unemployed population in Nairobi, leading to the participation of individuals in taking oaths as a form of protest against colonial solidarity during the demonstrations against the colonial state. It is noteworthy that women were actively involved in these activities. According to Zeleza (1988), female individuals residing in Nairobi actively participated in the movement by assuming the role of conveying covert information to fellow members. Women residing in rural regions also initiated acts of sabotage against crop output by declining to engage in agricultural conservation practices. During the course of the inquiry, Asiyo provided a comprehensive and detailed description of the political involvement of women in the colonial era.

Kenyan women had realised that the economic grievances and others had to be articulated within the context of colonial domination and the only solution once and for all was by fighting for independence. There were violence in rural areas and towns (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

Upon the declaration of a state of emergency by the colonial power, the Mau Mau revolt emerged in its entirety, prompting women to assume an active role in the rebellion. Women were engaged in perilous activities like as the transportation of food supplies into forested areas. Additionally, they clandestinely concealed weaponry and written messages beneath their skirts as they traversed from the village to the detention camps. These courageous women provided sustenance to the Mau Mau warriors within these camps. This study additionally demonstrated that women residing in villages offered

refuge to freedom fighters in instances where their safety was compromised. Throughout the daytime, women were allocated various responsibilities, including procuring firewood, engaging in culinary tasks, performing laundry activities, and safeguarding the concealed locations utilized by Mau Mau combatants. Within urban settings, women were employed as espionage agents, tasked with gathering intelligence on security forces and colonial administrators. This knowledge was then acquired by the liberation fighters, who utilized it to strategize and execute military tactics (Kabira & Nzioki, 1993).

Within the Luo community, there arose a notable figure in the form of Grace Onyango, who persistently spoke the concerns and challenges faced by women. During this period, the colonial state experienced significant pressure both domestically within Kenya and from the international community. The approval of the independence constitution, formulated during the Lancaster Conference in London, was a pivotal factor that precipitated significant transformations culminating in Kenya's attainment of independence in 1963. As previously stated, despite their active participation in the nationalist movement for independence in Kenya, women were disregarded or marginalized during the discussions that facilitated the attainment of independence. This article elucidates the factors contributing to the widening gender gap and the ongoing fight for inclusion and involvement faced by women in the post-independence era, coinciding with the emergence of men's freedom (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2022).

The Luo women played an active role in the war for independence. Magdalene Aboge Alila, who was commonly referred to as "Mama Uhuru," emerged as a prominent figure in the pursuit of Kenya's independence (Khasiani & Njiro, 1993). This study acknowledges that Aboge's engagement in politics, which was predominantly controlled by colonialists, aligned with her economic interests. This occurred during a period when even African men were attempting to gain influence in politics. According to Magdalene, trading in Kisumu Municipality posed significant challenges for Africans, particularly women, due to the dominant presence of Asians in the commerce and trade sectors (The Standard, March 15, 2009). In 1959, Magdalene initiated her political trajectory by organizing women merchants in Kisumu to resist the colonial local authorities. Subsequent to the enactment of a decree by the colonial administration, a prohibition was imposed on all individuals of African descent, preventing them from engaging in the

commercial exchange of their merchandise inside the confines of the urban hub. According to the findings of this study, the uprising led by women served as the catalyst for Magdalene Aboge's entry into the political arena.

It is noteworthy that subsequent to achieving independence, Aboge sustained her active engagement in politics and became a member of a cohort of women selected by Jaramogi Odinga to embark on visits to Sudan, Egypt, Romania, and Russia. These visits were intended to provide them with exposure to the realm of international politics. Magdalene was one of the prominent political figures from the Nyanza region who had the opportunity to meet with Indira Gandhi, the former Prime Minister of India, prior to her assuming office. This meeting took place during Gandhi's visit to Kenya in the mid-1960s, which was arranged at the invitation of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. According to Aboge, she encountered Indira Gandhi during a meeting held at the premises of Ramogi Press in Kisumu, where they engaged in a comprehensive dialogue concerning various aspects pertaining to the political emancipation of women. At a gathering of the Kenya African National Union (KANU) in Nairobi, a number of individuals raised inquiries regarding the persistent involvement of colonialists within the recently established autonomous administration. The Kenyatta administration expressed discontent with the perceived affiliation of these individuals to a clandestine faction originating from the western region of the country. The administration believed that this group aimed to subvert the newly established government in support of specific pro-communist extremists. Upon Aboge's return from her international travels, including a visit to Russia, she was apprehended by government authorities and subsequently incarcerated.

The individual in question was apprehended in the company of eight male individuals under suspicion of conspiring to overthrow President Kenyatta. Consequently, she was subsequently incarcerated at Langata Women's Prison, where she served a three-month sentence. Notwithstanding her involvement in the group of nine individuals who advocated for the release of President Kenyatta from incarceration in Kapenguria, it is noteworthy that she was the sole female member (KNA/AMP/5/57/1976).

The transformation and comprehension of the concept of 'woman' in global communities did not occur until the 1980s. However, in Kenya, despite achieving independence, patriarchal structures continued to flourish. In a global context, scholars have

increasingly adopted a more inclusive approach towards the diversity of ideas within a particular subject, moving away from the traditional notion of categorizing them as a singular and historically bound entity (Abbott, P., Tyler, M., & Wallace, C., 2006). Central to these advancements in feminist analysis was the endeavor by Black feminists to contest the marginalization of black women's experiences on global platforms, exemplified at the 1985 United Nations meeting in Nairobi. The action that ensued resulted in a transition from prioritizing structural aspects to centering on the significance inherent in language and the personal experiences of individual women. This study, however, has demonstrated that despite the evolving emphasis on women within feminist analyses, particularly in Western feminism, there was initially a strong emphasis on the collective oppression experienced by women as a group. This unity was juxtaposed against various patriarchal systems that exist within diverse global cultures.

Phoebe and Aboge were frequently observed attendees at the gatherings convened by the original Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) party, which subsequently underwent a division resulting in the formation of Ford Asili and Ford Kenya. The demise of Jaramogi in 1994 caused profound distress among them, yet they continued to actively engage in the realm of politics. The two female legislators served as a source of inspiration for other female leaders, emphasizing the importance of persisting in their efforts for improved governance in Kenya. They emphasized the need for a national platform that recognizes and values the contributions of women, a goal that has been sought since the country gained independence. Raila Odinga, the second Prime Minister of Kenya, characterized Aboge and Phoebe as significant figures in the political revolution and freedom of the country, based on the aforementioned efforts. According to John Oyua's article in *The Standard* (March 15, 2009), he asserted that the presence of individuals such as Mama Aboge and Phoebe played a crucial role in Kenya's liberation from colonial rule. Furthermore, their actions served as an inspiration for other women, empowering them to actively participate in the Second Liberation movement. Aboge's political activism persisted as she pondered the lack of recognition bestowed upon women despite their full participation in the anti-colonial movement that culminated in Kenya's attainment of independence. Aboge encouraged women in the entire Nyanza region to actively pursue their political empowerment.

In the region of Homa Bay, Aboge provided assistance and effectively advocated for the election of Phoebe Asiyo as the woman representative in parliament. This endeavor not only brought about significant changes in the political landscape of Homa Bay, but also had a transformative impact on the nation as a whole. Furthermore, she provided support to female councillors, including Grace Bondo, within the context of Homa Bay town. She espoused the utilization of women's groups as mechanisms for attaining and securing political positions. Following independence, women's groups have continued to play a significant role in promoting rural development. These movements continue to serve as significant catalysts for women who engage in political activities in Homa Bay. This chapter asserts that several significant informants, such as Phoebe Asiyo and Gladys Wanga, who were involved in this study, have affiliations with women-based movements and organizations in Homa Bay. These affiliations have served as platforms for their political advancement, both as current or former members and leaders.

This report highlights the notable advancements observed in the pursuit of gender equality across various groups in Kenya since 1992. During this period, political plurality was reintroduced in Kenya, following its status as a de-jure one-party state since 1982. As a result, in 2010, Kenya adopted a constitution that prioritized gender sensitivity and included a range of legislations. These measures positioned Kenya among the nations globally that advocate for enhanced women's involvement in political affairs. This study argues that the enactment of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya had the potential to advance the pursuit of gender equality in the country. However, it is observed in this study that the recent inability of parliamentarians to pass the two-thirds gender bill serves as evidence of the obstacles faced in attempting to increase women's political representation. These setbacks are attributed to patriarchal forces that undermine the progress towards gender equality in Kenya, resulting in a widening political gender gap.

The year 1992 marked the reinstatement of pluralism in Kenya, which was followed by the promulgation of the constitution in 2010. These developments placed significant focus on achieving a more equitable representation of both women and men in democratic institutions. The implementation of gender affirmative actions, including the adoption of quotas for women, serves as evidence for this assertion. Presently, there has been a notable shift in Homa Bay, where even traditionally male-dominated leadership

roles, including those inside religious institutions, have undergone transformation to actively advocate and embody gender equality.

In Homa Bay County, there exists a longstanding history of women actively resisting the efforts made by their male colleagues to marginalize them in the realms of politics and leadership, a struggle that can be traced back to the influential era of Phoebe Asiyo. It is worth mentioning that in various civilizations, previous studies on women and politics have primarily concentrated on examining the involvement of women through formal avenues, such as interest groups and women-led organizations like Maendeleo Ya Wanawake, which provide assistance to females participating in political competitions. This study argues that women in Homa Bay, including Phoebe Asiyo, Gladys Wanga, Lilian Gogo, Eve Obara, and Mildred Mabona, have established a presence for themselves in politics by adopting masculine behavior and embracing a patriarchal understanding of leadership. This is evident in their acquisition of highly sought-after positions traditionally held by men within the County, as well as their utilization of political language and conduct.

This aligns with the perspective of Kamau (2008), who argues that women as individuals have a crucial role in shaping the discourse surrounding gender within society. As a result, they serve as agents of change, challenging the prevailing male-dominated societal norms and advocating for the empowerment of other women. The author additionally asserts that recent research has recognized the limited representation of female lawmakers in Kenya as a barrier to effectively investigating the political objectives and experiences of women at an individual level. Furthermore, Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) asserts that the data obtained from a limited number of women lawmakers provides insights into the potential for women's leadership in politics. Hence, this study relies on international laws and conventions, notably CEDAW, which posits that the inclusion of women's viewpoints in decision-making processes at all levels is crucial for the attainment of equality, progress, and peace within any given community.

In the region of Homa Bay, there exists a prevailing belief that the political leadership demonstrated by Phoebe Asiyo and the late Carren Bondo during the early 1980s, as evidenced by their political speeches and subsequent fulfillment of promises, played a

significant role in garnering the trust and acceptance of both men and women towards women's capabilities in political and administrative leadership. This phenomenon can be attributed to the innovative approaches and strategic actions undertaken by these women, which effectively challenged the prevailing stereotype that women are indolent and lack the capacity to achieve success autonomously (Asiyo, KOI, 04/04/2021).

It is noteworthy to mention that women in Homa Bay have utilized women organizations as a means to advance their political careers, a trend that has persisted from the era of Phoebe Asiyo to the subsequent generation of women leaders including Gladys Wanga, Eve Obara, Lilian Gogo, Mildred Mabona, and Jane Kitche. These women have successfully leveraged these organizations to attain and maintain their political positions, a phenomenon examined in the present study. Therefore, this study examines the phenomenon of gender shift and transformation and its ongoing influence on the political landscape in Homa Bay. Female politicians engage in a critical examination of masculine discourse, thereby constructing distinct roles that shape their identities in novel ways.

Griffin and Newman (2005, April) suggest that the concept of identity can be delineated by the capacities or roles that contribute to the development of women as distinct individuals, hence providing them with a sense of purpose and fulfillment in life. When considering this matter from a similar standpoint, it becomes evident that such identification is interconnected with membership classifications, such as race, gender, and class, along with the corresponding roles that delineate individuals within the specific group under examination. In the specific context of democratic regression in Kenya, particularly in Homa Bay, the manifestation of this phenomenon is observed through the inability of parliamentarians to successfully enact the gender bill. Women organizations and politicians have resorted to employing patriarchal discursive strategies in order to challenge and reject patriarchal political institutions and procedures. The vocal advocacy was led by female representatives from Homa Bay in both the national and county assemblies during the duration of this research.

The research revealed that female political aspirants and contenders in Homa Bay strategically adopt elements of male identities within patriarchal frameworks while formulating their manifestos and ideologies. This approach is employed as a means to

navigate the male-dominated political structures and processes in the region. Moreover, women also employ formal tactics, such as seeking assistance from gender-based organizations and non-governmental entities. Despite the fact that a significant number of women politicians, like Gladys Wanga, Lilian Gogo, Eve Obara, Mildred Mabona, as well as other female members of County Assemblies such as Carolyn Owidhi and Judy Kamaria, have achieved success in their political careers, the overall representation of women in political offices remains limited. This is due to the fact that their endeavors have effectively contributed to the reduction of gender disparities, while also playing a significant role in advancing the interests and priorities of women on both local and national levels.

This investigation has proven that the Honorable. Gladys Wanga, the daughter of former Kisumu councillor Mr. Nyasuna, held the position of party county Chairperson for the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) at the time of this research. During the culmination of this research, she received a nomination to vie for the gubernatorial position in the upcoming election scheduled for the 9th of August 2022. This nomination was the result of a consensus reached with other prominent male contenders within her political party during the party primaries. Notable individuals among these contenders include Joseph Oyugi Magwanga, Isiah Ogwe, Hamilton Orata, and Akello Misori.

The reason for this can be attributed to the substantial contribution that Wanga had made to the party, both at the national and county levels. Wanga assumed the position of party county chairmanship following the untimely demise of Monica Amollo, a fellow female party member who tragically lost her life in a deadly road accident while returning from her political engagements within the party. It is worth noting that the political party ODM has been perceived as a women's club in terms of both its numerical representation and leadership. It is worth noting that the party structures effectively accommodate and actively encourage female membership and involvement, as seen by the direct ticket allocation to all women members of parliament.

It is imperative to acknowledge that the presence of women in decision-making bodies is widely seen as a significant signal of the progress and evolution of gender dynamics. Cheryl (2012) asserts that feminists have consistently advocated for the necessity of a

substantial representation of women in decision-making arenas as a means to advance gender equality. However, Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) argues that achieving gender equality should not be solely measured by the representation of women within an organization. Instead, it should encompass various crucial elements, including women's involvement in decision-making processes, the implementation of gender-sensitive policies and practices, equal access to skills development and opportunities, the transformation of institutional cultures, and the redistribution of power.

The preceding discourse suggests that the hurdles faced in Homa Bay include the attainment of nominations by women, the articulation of their concerns, and their ascension to leadership positions within a political party historically perceived as male-dominated. Additionally, the pursuit of statewide representation is also identified as a significant hurdle that has been surmounted. In a similar vein, it is worth mentioning that achieving electoral victory, particularly for female candidates, necessitates their integration within the prevailing political party frameworks and regulations. Consequently, Wanga's attainment of party leadership at the county level can be attributed to her adherence to this approach.

‘As a woman I am only able to assert myself in the noisy and violent nature of Kenyan politics simply by involving in the specific topics that are part of the patriarchal political discourses but not our number as women. In politics, all must show the masculine face and energy to move on otherwise you will be viewed as public kitchen occupant (Wanga, KII; 16/03/2021)

The major political shift in Homa Bay is the formal and informal political entry of women in decision-making which for long has been the domain of men. The institutional, cultural, economic and societal factors that used to limit women's opportunities and abilities to participate in decision making are no longer tainable. This study identified a new trend of political ‘reverse role’ where men do not only seek political advice but also partnership from female seasoned politicians like Phoebe Asiyo and Gladys wanga on the startegies to be elected either as governor, member of parliament or county assembly. Same men in Homa Bay seek collaboration with women political aspirants to raise their chances of winning election in the tight political contestations and some have also swallowed their pride to deputise women aspirant as was the case of Magwanga deputising Wanga, this is what Phoebe Asiyo had to say;

In the run up to the 2022 general election, all the six male contestants for the position of governor of Homa Bay have visited me here at my Home. They all want me to talk well about them; this was not as before when women were not consulted in such serious societal political affairs. Infact there is very big shift on how male view women of late compared to the days when I was trying to break from the patriarchal yolk. The glaring advantage that we as women must utilise is that our number is slightly higher than men, hence male politicians would want a gate of influencing such crucial female constituency to their side and infact this make women to benefit much on the appointment and parties engagements and policies (Asiyo, KII; 08/03/2021).

Even though Waring (2011), states that political representation is not an adequate measure to reflect women's empowerment and gender equality, this study gives contrary opinion to the statement because such representation have made contributions which encourage more flexible approaches to capture successful interventions across a range of activities which are better related to the diversity of women's roles in leadership, empowerment and governance. For sometime now, the low women representation in the political field in Homa Bay has often than not been used by the laymen as an indicator of gender inequality. This is contrary to the MDG 3, which indicates that the 'proportion of seats held by women in assemblies' is not the only indicator to measure progress on gender equality and women's empowerment in any society.

In relation to the argument above, Homa Bay as a county was leading the rest with the highest number of elected women members of parliament on common roll election in the period of this study. According to Onyuka, (KII; 18/03/2021) this could be because of the foundation laid by the strong Luo women such as Aboge, Grace Onyango and Phoebe Asiyo and Grace Bondo. It is justified to state that the moment women representation began to increase in number, the narrative of gender inequality changed in Homa Bay. It is worth noting that at the time of this study there were five men and four women members of national assembly in Homa Bay. Interestingly ODM party again gave all of them the direct ticket to contest the position in the up coming 9th August 2022 election without subjecting them to the nomination procedures which also increased number of women contestants for the member of County Assembly by eight aspirants compared to two of the previous election in the County Assembly. In the current county assembly there were also twenty two women members who were nominated.

Therefore, at the time of this study, women were well represented in the political sphere and decision-making table in both private and public sphere at all levels in society. This is seen even in the administration where there were about 23 women assistant chiefs of the possible 40 in sub locations (Lilaan, KII; 27/04/2021), which was not the case before. The earlier domination of men in the position of power at the local level including religious and traditional leadership, local politics and village organisations was already shifting as women were found in such positions that were in the past considered the domain of men. It is noted that the leadership of women is no longer confined to the traditionally 'feminine' territories such as social welfare as reverse gender roles are also reported. During this study it was established that women's representation in informal decision-making processes is almost matching their representation in formal positions and structures where they are highly valued similar to men.

The description above is in conflict with the past experience where gender differences in formal representation were attributed in large part to both institutional and societal constraints. In the statement of Nyandiko (KII; 10/04/2021), the societal constraints are social norms that made it difficult for women to leave their traditionally assigned domestic chores for more public roles outside homes. These are weakening daily in Homa Bay. Institutional barriers such as political systems that operate through stiff schedules that do not take into consideration women's domestic responsibilities are also giving way. This study established that such social norms that in the past dictated and confined women to domestic roles and often left them with limited time and freedom for leadership and political participation is no longer realistic in modern societies where both men and women work far away from their homes.

Women who have been active in the informal roles and recognised power within the community as mothers, teachers, volunteers, entrepreneurs and community leaders began to be outward looking and participate in both public and private domain unlike the past. In the argument of Obara (KII; 06/04/2021), women private leadership that existed in pre-colonial period was a 'quiet leadership'. It majorly focused on community service. But unlike before, these leadership skills have of late been harnessed and formalised to give women political and formal decision making power. This can be witnessed through the socio-economic and political contributions of women in various platforms in Homa Bay County.

It is noted that the reduction of 'quite leadership' among women contributes to the increase of acknowledgement and assurance that women's concerns should be heard and addressed. Nevertheless, Waring (2011) explains that despite increased socio-economic participation, women in some regions and cultures are still primarily a minority within patriarchal political systems which still makes it difficult for them to have their voices heard purely on their own stand without the support of their male patrons. This could be the reason why Ogwe (KII; 15/04/2021) posits that women still lean on male political patrons so as to succeed on their political ambitions and make their agenda be felt in the society. Such an approach has been a crucial component of female political agency among the women of Homa Bay. This is because women in these societies are "coming from an environment in which women's issues are community issues that require the participation of villagers regardless of sex (Nnaemeka, 2001). In the view of Nyandiko (KII; 10/04/2021), 'women are politically shrewd in engaging and ensuring the participation of all social branches of the society; male, female and youth, hence regardless of which gender holds the authority, they have been accustomed to be communal but under the authority'. Obara, however, gives a contrary reason for women-men involvement for the success of gender equality programs by saying;

'Women have of late learnt that men are part of the gender problem hence 'if men are part of the gender equality problem, then it is only fair and just that they should be part of the solution to the gender equality problem in the society' (Obara, KII; 06/03/2021).

Contrary to the above argument, this study established that women politicians and leaders do not prioritise or even identify with the needs of other women and this makes them to be their own enemies. In spite of this, Beaman, L. *et al'* (2009), asserts that the solutions to the experiences above is the application of affirmative action that is slowly but steadily changing the society's understanding about women which consequently increases and strengthens the opportunities for women's voices in Homa Bay than before.

This study found that increased number of female legislators in Parliament contributes to development of pro-women policies and organisation such as women's caucus in Parliament. This influences the support of male legislators and transforms the relationships between female legislators and civil society actors both at the national and

county government levels. Though the number is increasing, this study explains that the mere presence of the number of women in the assemblies is not enough to create pro-women policies if they are not provided with an enabling environment. In an interview with Gladys Wanga, she explains that it is not the mere numbers but a total transformation that has levelled the ground for women political participation in Homa Bay;

Institutional, socioeconomic and cultural barriers which used to limit women's effective participation in democratic elections have substantially been reduced by our constitution and party structures. Politics is no longer viewed, by both men and women to be a male domain where women should struggle to make a contribution by their number but their ideas. The party politics, especially in Homa Bay County where I am the chairman, is no longer talking about the number of men or women representation but what makes it easier for both genders to get on party lists as voters and aspirants of various seats indiscriminately (Wanga, KII; 16/03/2021).

During this study, it was revealed that women's representation and leadership which for long had been more at the grassroots level and based on social welfare positions is progressively changing to total political agitation and participation. Women have been able to secure political offices, such as Speaker of the County Assembly and several county executive committee jobs apart from having a substantial number in the county assembly. Despite all the advantages for women, Gogo (KII; 19/03/2021) states that political progress of women in Homa Bay still faces a number of challenges compared to their male counterparts especially in the government party structures. She says that more often than not, women face intimidation or threats in running for offices and as leaders of political parties where more often than not men gang against them. This is primarily due to the fact that at times men or local customary authorities feel that their traditional male hierarchy or patriarchal order is under attack by the feminists.

This study also noted that women contend with male and female opposition in political contestation apart from the masculine landscapes of the politics of Kenya which consequently creates low confidence that describes women's attitude. Socially, women empowerment has led to the isolation of such women who at times break their families or fail to raise families as men fear to engage them as social partners in marriage. This could also be contributed by the fact that women politicians find it difficult to balance

their public responsibilities with their domestic chores. In the words of Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) in order to get elected, many female candidates are forced to downplay the fact that they are concerned with 'women's issues', or of being a wife for fear that this may alienate male voters and hence undermines the women agenda.

Despite the challenges above, this study established that women are in the course to reverse such negative cycle by ensuring that a significant number of women are strategically in positions of power to help implement gender issues that will make them seek political kingdom. The emergence of national and local gender based legal and social movements such as FIDA which are led by feminists, and gender justice activists indicate that women empowerment is given multi-approach strategy to promote equality. In his understanding, Horn (2013) states that gender based social and legal movements have been pivotal in transforming, demanding, making and sustaining changes to gendered injustice globally.

Based on the above, this study provides cases of engaging with questions of women's rights and transforming gender power relations across social movements and the commitment to progressive visions as an example. The study draws from the effective and promising strategies and reflects on challenges from existing gender based movements such as; Homa Bay County women Sacco, 'Abedo' Stepping Stone and "In My small Way" as local women based organizations committed to the course of women. It is noted here that most of the women's activism have been conducted through such women's organisations mobilised around issues of particular concern to women. Women's organisations in Homa Bay, therefore, have worked against patriarchal domination and are often termed as women's rights organisations.

During this study it was realised that women's rights organisations have had significant impact on a number of occasions in Homa Bay. Such organizations have even participated in communal and gender based peacebuildings. It is worth noting that women's organizations often access national and international funding which in turn empower women economically and politically. A case in point is the formation of the Homa Bay women Sacco and Abedo by Gladys Wanga which continues to attract funding from the government and the senior politicians such as the second Prime Minister and also from

the fourth President of Kenya, His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta, as well as, the NGO's and International organizations. Meanwhile it is important to note that the scope for action for such organizations is often limited due to the competition for scarce resources and dishonesty. Such barriers also limit women's organizations from working cooperatively as cases of mismanagement and embezzlement are also cited by members.

4.5.2 Women political involvement in Homa Bay since 1992 to 2010

As previously mentioned in this study, prior to 1992, women in Kenya exhibited a greater inclination towards political conservatism compared to men, as evidenced by their ideological preferences, party affiliations, and voting patterns. This assertion is substantiated by the argument that women's heightened levels of religiosity fostered deeper connections to religious and conservative political activities (Lipset, 1960). This research confirms that throughout the colonial era, there was a lower representation of women in the paid labor force, resulting in their limited access to trade unions, which traditionally served as key platforms for political engagement and organizational involvement.

Hence, during the era of colonialism and the subsequent three decades of independence, as well as following the granting of suffrage, women's participation in voting in Homa Bay was consistently lower than that of men. This trend persisted until 1992, when the first documented instance of a reverse gender gap, favoring women, was observed, as reported by the IEBC county coordinator. The data from all eight constituencies consistently indicate that men exhibited higher voter turnout rates than women over the course of three decades. In the past few decades, specifically starting from 1992 and more prominently from 2002, there have been notable shifts in gender equality measures that have resulted in a reduction in the voting disparity in favor of women in Homa Bay, as seen by the findings of this study.

The observation was made that the historical disparity in political participation, known as the "traditional gap," wherein men exhibited higher voting rates compared to women, has gradually diminished in Kenya. Both men and women have altered their voting patterns, resulting in a change towards gender-inclusive practices that favor women. In the past few decades, there has been a reconfiguration of gender disparities in political and

electoral engagement, facilitating the increased participation of women alongside their male counterparts (Inglehart & Norris, 2003). The introduction of women into the paid employment during the post-World War II era had a significant impact on the political inclinations of women in Kenya. Despite the political and legal emancipation of women, Grevins (2004) contends that their propensity to exercise their right to vote was notably lower in comparison to men. According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), despite accounting for many social, economic, and political factors that hindered women's engagement in public political activities, the disparity in political participation between genders, specifically in terms of women's voting, continued to persist in Kenya.

A thorough examination of the electoral patterns in Homa Bay County, Kenya, based on the records of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) dating back to 1992, reveals a notable disparity in voter turnout between men and women. Specifically, it is seen that a greater proportion of male voters participated in the elections until the year 2002. The electoral dynamics in Homa Bay experienced a notable shift during the last general election in 2017, as the participation of women voters began to exceed that of men. This trend was mirrored by a rise in the election of women MPs in the region. According to Onyuka's research (KII; 18/03/2021), the phenomenon of gender transformation is associated with the observed beneficial outcomes that arise from increased female participation in electoral processes. This is due to the high expectations placed on the provision of life-altering services, the lack of which is particularly felt by women who predominantly assume the role of primary caregivers within families, in contrast to men. As stated by Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), women exhibit a natural inclination towards supporting democratic systems, as evidenced by their general life patterns. In contrast, men occasionally resort to alternative methods in order to achieve their objectives.

According to data provided by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the distribution of total votes cast in several election years demonstrates a fluctuating pattern between women and men. In 2002, women accounted for 57% of the total votes, while men constituted 43%. In 2007, women's votes decreased to 53%, whilst men's votes increased to 47%. Similarly, in 2013, women's votes further declined to 49%, while men's votes rose to 51%. Finally, in 2017, women's votes accounted for 51%, while

men's votes constituted 49%. since previously mentioned and in contrast, the 2013 elections exhibited a divergent pattern compared to both the years that followed and those that preceded it, since there was a higher proportion of male voters in comparison to their female counterparts. Based on the data obtained from the research, it can be confidently asserted that the primary cause of women voter indifference in Homa Bay, as well as in Kenya as a whole, can be attributed to the post-election violence that occurred following the 2007-2008 election. This violence resulted in a greater number of women experiencing distress compared to men.

The variation in voting patterns between men and women in Kenya is contingent upon factors such as county and ethnic group. In traditional Luo society, it was uncommon for women to espouse liberal ideas or express support for democratic values. This viewpoint is widely observed among the Nilotes and Cushites, who have made somewhat more progress in addressing the effects of patriarchy compared to the Bantu speakers. The disparity in gender representation is particularly evident among elderly females in comparison to younger females within the Luo community. The comparative analysis of different groups of women sheds light on significant patterns related to gender equality. Smooth (2006) highlights that in the United States, a significant portion of the gender difference may be attributed to the support for democracy among black women and youth.

On the other hand, the study conducted in Homa Bay establishes a connection between the fluctuating gender gaps and the political opinions of women, which are influenced by the preceding and future elections. Elections of this nature serve as prominent factors in elections that contribute to variations in the gender gap in voting throughout different electoral cycles. There exists a discernible disparity in the prioritization of concerns between men and women. It is evident that feminist principles and social spending hold greater significance for women compared to males among the electorates of Homa Bay (Gogo, KII; 19/03/2021). The aforementioned argument posits that the 2002 elections witnessed a notable increase in women voter turnout, potentially influenced by the NARC government's campaign promises of significant social reforms and welfare initiatives outlined in their manifesto. In contrast, their competitors, who exhibited more traditional masculine traits, had only appointed a single woman to their cabinet.

According to the findings of this study, an increase in female voter participation resulted in wider gender disparities in election outcomes. In addition to the attribute of salience, it is commonly observed that men and women exhibit divergent responses to policy shifts.

The aforementioned discussion should not be interpreted as suggesting that women's participation in politics surpasses that of men. Broad generalizations of this nature frequently lack accuracy. The answer, however, is contingent upon other factors such as the specific decade, county, ward type of participation, and specific subcategories of women being considered. Hence, this study aimed to analyze the variations in the gender gap across different types of participation. It commenced by examining the enduring forms of electoral participation, followed by more recent forms of protest participation, and ultimately concluded by investigating the participatory attitudes and activities that foster and involve gender-specific participation. This study has proven that in recent elections, there exists a modest disparity in voter turnout across genders, with women being the beneficiaries of this difference. The data presented in this record illustrates the variations in voter involvement between genders across the eight constituencies of Homa Bay. These disparities have been identified by analyzing the proportions of women and men adopting different voting styles since 2002. While the constituencies and wards may differ, a consistent trend is observed in the gender difference, which typically runs between one and seven percentage points, favoring higher turnout among women.

According to the study, the reduction in the gender gap in voter turnout in recent decades may be primarily linked to the implementation of affirmative actions and gender mainstreaming methods (Ndeda, 1994). Assiyo (KII; 08/03/2021) argued that the promotion of gender equality in Kenya, together with the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), have emerged as influential variables contributing to the evolving voting behavior of women over the past three decades. This study has also identified Education as a significant component, as indicated by Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021). In contemporary times, numerous cultures have observed a notable increase in gender equality within the realms of education and the workforce, thereby bringing men and women in closer proximity to achieving parity. It is important to highlight that despite notable accomplishments, particularly in the realm of voting, women in many Kenyan societies

still lack complete political emancipation. Voting is regarded as a distinctive political endeavor due to its widespread nature, encompassing various forms of engagement, while also demanding minimal resources in terms of time, information, and civic competencies.

While the gender gap in Kenyan politics is currently being influenced by higher voter turnout among women, their involvement in other electoral activities remains comparatively lower. Similar to other nations across the globe, Burns, Scholzman, and Verba (2001) have discovered that in the United States, women exhibit a consistent tendency of lower participation rates in various political activities, including making campaign contributions, joining political organizations, and writing letters to elected representatives. In the context of Kenya, these trends persist, wherein men exhibit a considerably higher likelihood than women in terms of engaging with politicians, affiliating with political parties, or participating in political gatherings. In the eight seats of Homa Bay, the likelihood of women's involvement in political parties is lower compared to that of men, similar to the situation observed in the United States (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2001).

This study demonstrates that as of 2017, the comparative analysis conducted by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) reveals that men consistently surpass women in terms of their ability to influence others, engage in campaign activities, and establish communication with public officials across all eight seats. Nevertheless, there is significant diversity observed among the eight constituencies. In recent times, political engagement has exhibited a gendered aspect or attitude, similar to other regions in Kenya. This statement corroborates the claim made by Onyuka (KII; 18/03/2021) that men exhibit a higher level of engagement in protests compared to their involvement in the election process. Similarly, it is observed that women tend to have a lower rate of participation in collective actions, such as protests, in comparison to men.

One of the notable causes for gender disparities in political engagement revolves around elements that stem from individual-level activities or initiatives. One potential factor contributing to the limited political participation of women is their comparatively lower levels of resource control. Based on Kamaria's research findings (KII, 20/04/2021), it can be observed that women own a comparatively lower amount of resources in comparison

to men, and these resources play a significant role in predicting levels of engagement. In the United States, there is a prevailing belief that women tend to have lower levels of education, money, occupational status, civic skills, and affiliations with mobilizing groups, such as labor unions. These factors are considered to be obstacles to women's active political engagement, beyond their participation in voting (Norris, 2002; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).

An alternative argument provided is based on socio-economic development. The perceptions regarding the suitable roles for women and men in politics are influenced by wider societal values and priorities. These perceptions are, in turn, heavily influenced by patriarchal structures that have a significant impact on economic development and religious traditions. Additionally, it has been disclosed that nations with higher levels of economic development and a greater degree of secularism tend to foster more equal attitudes towards gender. According to Ogwe (KII; 15/04/2021), there is a differing viewpoint regarding the impact of secularization in Africa, specifically in Kenya. The author argues that the increased level of democracy since 1992 has led to a rapid pace of secularization, resulting in religion playing a diminished role in shaping traditional gendered patterns among modern electorates. Consequently, a limited number of women remain bound by conventional societal expectations, thereby creating opportunities for their engagement in the political sphere.

An in-depth examination of the economic structure and its relationship with gender and political behavior reveals that economic expansion has not only influenced values and attitudes, but has also exhibited significant gender disparities. The inclusion of women in the workforce exposes them to specific sectors characterized by undervalued and underpaid occupations, irrespective of their biological characteristics. Consequently, the gendered nature of paid employment persists, influencing the allocation of resources as women enter and engage with welfare organizations situated at the intersection of politics. Furthermore, Ogwe (KII; 15/04/2021) posits that welfare organizations have a significant role in shaping the political engagement of both men and women, as they advocate for their well-being. Public sector employment also provides opportunity for women to engage in paid work, hence encouraging their participation in political activities. The need stipulated in the Kenyan constitution for counties to hire women in

public positions serves as an indirect approach of promoting women's involvement in political endeavors.

The existence of gender-based organizations in Homa Bay has served as a catalyst for promoting women's engagement in politics. These groups and similar organizations encourage women to come together and communicate their collective gender identities under the umbrella of "women's interests." As stated by Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), when women unite and collectively perceive themselves as members of a marginalized group, their determination to engage in political activities is strengthened. According to Brown's (2014) argument, gender serves as one of the various means via which women establish their collective identity. This shared identity, in turn, facilitates the possibility of increased political mobilization among women by fostering a sense of common interests. This study documents the contemporary psychological perception of collective group consciousness among women, which has been shaped by various women's organizations. Furthermore, it explores the ongoing impact of this perception on women's political engagement in the region of Homa Bay.

Since 1992, there has been a notable rise in non-elective political participation in Kenya, encompassing both male and female individuals. This trend has emerged alongside the traditional elective political participation, highlighting a broader spectrum of engagement in the political sphere. These emerging phenomena are regarded as novel manifestations of political engagement. There has been a notable rise in various types of political engagement beyond traditional electoral processes in Kenya. Certain researchers, such as Burn et al. (2001), classify non-electoral activities in the United States as "protest" or "unconventional" forms of participation. According to Ndeda (1994), the aforementioned activities observed in Kenya are characterized by a reduced emphasis on electoral or political elements, instead focusing on addressing specific concerns that impact certain subsets of populations. Various forms of protest actions were observed in Homa Bay, including the signing of petitions against political office processes, active participation in demonstrations, and engaging in product boycotts. According to Burns et al. (2001), it has been shown in the United States that both women and men exhibit equal likelihood in participating in protests or signing petitions, even in areas that were historically dominated by men.

This study highlights that a significant portion of the women engaging in the protest exhibit characteristics of higher education and gainful employment. In each of the eight constituencies, women have engaged in various forms of activism, such as signing petitions, raising funds, and supporting social or political organizations, without necessarily participating in physical demonstrations (Pheobe, Key Informant Interview, March 8, 2021). This study documented the phenomenon of political consumerism, characterized by a range of political activities such as purchasing or boycotting products or services for political purposes, as a means of expressing discontent with political developments. This behavior was observed during the 2017 election, when women abstained from certain products for political reasons. Despite the fact that certain individuals may not view boycotting as a political endeavor, this study characterizes this non-electoral form of activism as primarily driven by gender egalitarianism. This assertion is based on the strong associations between protest movements in general and the feminist movement, which originated in the 1970s. The findings of this analysis indicate that the women's movement frequently utilized strategies such as petition signing and participation in demonstrations as initial forms of engagement, which then leads to increased involvement in political actions pertaining to other problems.

4.5.3 Women and political party in Homa Bay 1992-2021

In recent years, there has been a growing acknowledgment among gender equality advocates and policy makers regarding the crucial role of political parties in promoting gender parity in political representation and decision-making processes. This understanding has significantly improved over the previous two decades. Furthermore, significant advancements have been achieved in the formulation of international standards and global obligations aimed at addressing gender disparities in political representation and leadership roles, as well as decision-making processes. The need of ensuring coherence between a country's national and international obligations for gender equality in politics, public leadership, and decision-making, as well as pledges at the political party level, cannot be emphasized enough. This phenomenon occurs due to the fact that political parties serve as the initial platform for individuals to gain entry into the realm of political power, leadership, and decision-making. Since the ratification of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action in 1995, there has been a discernible inclination among gender equality proponents at national, regional, and international

levels to prioritize the assessment of political parties' efficacy in advancing gender equality and facilitating women's political empowerment.

The issue of gender imbalance in political party leadership and decision-making remains prevalent in Africa and other regions globally. While the specific circumstances may differ across nations and political groups, there exist certain common patterns that impede women's equitable engagement and representation in positions of power and decision-making within political parties. These hurdles and challenges contribute to the distinctiveness of Homa Bay. Therefore, the present study examined the distinctiveness of women's involvement and representation within political parties through the implementation of several strategies. The task of enhancing knowledge and comprehension of gender issues inside political parties as organizations that support democratic society has proven to be a formidable challenge for numerous political parties. However, the situation in Homa Bay presents a contrasting scenario.

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya grants the principle of legal equality and ensures that all individuals, irrespective of their gender or color, are entitled to equal protection and benefits under the law. The constitution similarly ensures that both women and men are entitled to receive equal treatment, encompassing equal chances within the realms of politics, economics, culture, and society. Furthermore, the Constitution prohibits discrimination against individuals based on several factors, including as race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health condition, ethnic or social origin, color, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, attire, language, or birth (Part 2 (27) (1) (2) (4)).

Regarding the matter of gender, the Constitution includes provisions for the implementation of affirmative action strategies and establishes the principle that no more than two-thirds of the individuals serving in elective or appointive positions should belong to the same gender across all domains of socio-economic and political involvement (Part 2 (27) (6) (8)). Hence, it may be argued that although national constitutions and laws hold considerable importance in terms of explicitly outlining provisions for gender equality and the political empowerment of women, the role of political parties is crucial in effectively converting these formal rights into tangible achievements within democratic societies.

In the examination of Kenyan political parties, it was discovered that a majority of the political parties established subsequent to 1992 were founded with a focus on incorporating gender ideals. Political parties often include goals related to gender equality in their party strategy documents and manifestoes. For example, the strategy documents of parties like ODM and Safina outline a specific objective to enhance gender equality within the party. This includes striving for one-third representation of women in party leadership positions.

The two political parties articulate their objectives in implementing reserved seats for women within the party structure, as well as establishing a gender program aimed at fostering comprehension and endorsement of gender mainstreaming and equality between men and women at all levels of party engagement. This political transformation, which was absent in Kenya prior to 1992, represents a novel development in the country's political landscape. In contrast, the present analysis reveals that political parties in Kenya, including KANU, DP, and FORD-K, exhibit a discrepancy between their expressed dedication to gender equality in their strategy documents and the absence of corresponding provisions within their party constitutions.

The correlation between a political party's constitution and its strategic documents is typically of significant importance. Hence, the inclusion of core gender principles in the strategic documents of political parties represents a novel political shift towards promoting gender equality. This transformation is evident in Homa Bay County, where the constitution of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the predominant political party, incorporates objectives aimed at ensuring women's comprehensive engagement in public governance and national progress. These objectives encompass affirmative action measures as well as the integration of women's participation in party activities and organizational frameworks across all tiers. The ODM manifesto outlines strategies for promoting the empowerment of women, primarily through facilitating their access to education, challenging oppressive practices and legislation, advocating for the eradication of all forms of discrimination against girls and women, endorsing international agreements on women's rights, striving towards achieving gender parity in all public institutions, and implementing affirmative measures to guarantee a minimum of 30 percent representation of women in parliament, local government, the foreign service, and other spheres of governance and decision-making.

The examination of political party membership in Kenya revealed that the majority of political parties' constitutions explicitly declare that party membership is inclusive of both genders, granting every member the right to participate in the electoral process and seek leadership positions. This represents a significant departure from the situation prior to 1992. Political parties often establish constitutions that are supported by policies, rules, and regulations. These governing mechanisms serve to regulate the operations of party organizations and establish a clear hierarchy of power and decision-making processes inside the party. In general, party structures tend to mirror the geographic structures of the respective regions in which they operate. This entails a hierarchical arrangement, whereby the party's base comprises the largest category of individuals at the grassroots level, while the most influential positions are concentrated at the upper echelons of the party hierarchy.

The findings of the analysis indicate that the National Convention, which convenes on a yearly basis, serves as the predominant highest decision-making body within all political parties. This assembly plays a pivotal role in establishing the overall trajectory and strategic direction of the respective political party. The National Convention plays a crucial role in various aspects, including the establishment and communication of the party's principles, policies, and programs. Additionally, it is responsible for electing important individuals to leadership positions such as the Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Secretary General, and National Treasurer. Moreover, the convention is responsible for nominating the party's presidential candidate for national elections and assigning responsibilities to the National Executive Committee.

The National Executive Committee, sometimes known as the Central Committee in certain contexts, assumes primary responsibility for overseeing the day-to-day activities of political parties. The primary duty of the National Executive Committee typically entails overseeing the execution of party policies and programs, budget management, revisions to the party constitution, and the establishment of rules and regulations in accordance with the resolutions made at the National Convention. The examination of the evolution of gender and political party dynamics revealed the existence of a significant organizational component known as the women's wing, commonly referred to as the women's league, within political parties. This entity plays a crucial role in advancing

gender equality and empowering women both within and outside the realm of political parties.

In Homa Bay, an examination reveals the presence of a county women's league inside the ODM party, known as 'Waremba na Baba'. The league is led by the chairwoman, Honorable [Name]. Florence Owidhi, alongside Gladys Wanga, both hailing from Homa Bay County, has membership in the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the aforementioned political party. The inclusion of a provision that mandates the creation and maintenance of a dedicated framework for women inside the political party serves to enhance the participation of women in the party's decision-making processes, spanning from the grassroots level to the highest echelons of leadership. Nevertheless, according to Brown (2014), there is a scholarly perspective that contends that attributing the responsibility for gender equality and women's empowerment exclusively to women inadvertently results in the marginalization of gender problems from the party's central agenda. The author contends that while many political parties have established women's wings, the extent of their efficacy and their involvement in the administration and decision-making processes remains inconsistent and uncertain.

This phenomenon arises due to the findings of the investigation, which indicate that women's involvement in political parties does not consistently align with their level of engagement and representation in the parties' leadership positions and organizational frameworks. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that despite the attainment or surpassing of the crucial threshold of 30 percent for women's presence in party leadership, there remains a conspicuous absence of women occupying deputy positions at the national level, such as Deputy Chairperson, Deputy Secretary General, or Treasurer. This phenomenon can be attributed to the persistent marginalization of women's representation by the male majority, even when the women's wing is included in the National Executive Committee. The commonly accepted threshold of 30 percent, typically seen as the minimal need, is insufficient to exert a significant impact on democratic decision-making within political groups, as it does not necessarily guarantee equality.

Despite the inclusion of women's wing leaders in the National Executive Committees of political parties, this study demonstrates that such inclusion may serve as a means to not

only ensure representation of women's perspectives in crucial decision-making structures, but also to mobilize their support for the male-dominated agenda. Moreover, it is a verifiable fact that women's wings actively engage in the National Convention and hold a permanent position at this echelon among nearly all political factions in Kenya. Based on the findings of this study, it is observed that National Convention meetings occur with varying frequencies, typically ranging from an annual to a five-year interval. During the periods between these meetings, the National Executive Committees assume the responsibility of supervising a secretariat, which is headed by the Secretary General. The Secretary General is accountable for the party's daily management and operational activities. Notably, it is noteworthy that even in Kenyan political parties led by women, the position of Secretary General has never been entrusted to a female candidate.

The ODM party in Kenya has implemented a constitutional provision that mandates the inclusion of a minimum of 30 percent women in leadership structures at all levels of political parties, rather than confining women's representation solely to the leader of the women's wing. This approach can be likened to the practices observed in political parties in Rwanda, where genuine efforts have been made to transcend symbolic gestures and provide women with substantive participation in party decision-making structures. During the ODM party primaries and nominations held on April 14th, 2022, in Homa Bay, Kenya, in anticipation of the upcoming elections on August 9th, 2022, the party provided complimentary tickets to all incumbent female members of parliament, including Milly Mabona, Dr. Lilian Gogo, and Dr. Eve Obara. This decision caused discontent among male candidates and their supporters. However, the outgoing woman representative, Gladys Wanga, received a complimentary ticket to contest the gubernatorial position in Homa Bay. According to Wanga (KII; 16/03/2021), this approach is deemed commendable as it contributes to the promotion of gender equality within intra-party leadership. Furthermore, it serves as a rationale for the political evolution, not alone within the party, but also within the broader context of Kenya.

This study demonstrates that the level of women's representation in party leadership structures has exceeded the thresholds outlined in parties' constitutions or other pertinent policy documents. The high presence of women in the central committee of this organization can be attributed to its progressive constitution and policy documents, which

actively encourage gender equality and the inclusion of women at all levels of its structure. As a result, women make up more than 30 percent of the central committee's membership. This study posits that political parties offer a conducive climate for promoting the progress of women's political participation. According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the significance of internal practices and democratic processes inside political parties cannot be overstated when it comes to attaining gender equality in politics and decision-making within a given society. It has been observed that all political parties are facing challenges in fulfilling the international obligation to address various forms of discrimination and gender disparities in politics, as outlined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The aforementioned commitments are also strengthened in the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, which aligns with the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action and the 2000 Millennium Development Goals, namely objective number 3, as outlined in chapter three of this report.

The incorporation of the 1985 Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies about the progression of women, gender equality, and women's involvement in politics and representation across many levels has emerged as a significant aspect of political discourse, not solely inside Kenya, but also throughout Africa and globally. The ratification of the African Union's Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa in 2003 affirmed the entitlement of women to experience parity with males in terms of social and political standing, alongside other rights, throughout all domains of life, including political organizations. In contrast to the aforementioned commitments, Burns et al. (2001) argue that achieving genuine gender equality requires the implementation of direct actions at all levels, beginning with internal reforms within political parties. However, it is seen that certain political parties lack practical implementation of such policies. An examination of the prevailing political party in Homa Bay reveals that these written pledges serve as a pragmatic strategy for offering understanding into the party's beliefs and organizational frameworks, with the aim of fostering internal gender democratic procedures and practices. It has been determined that there exists a gendered political transition within the political party.

A prevalent issue observed in democratic systems worldwide is the notable absence of women's influence inside political parties. In contrast to the aforementioned perspective, Eshiwani (1985) asserts that the level of women's representation in decision-making processes inside Kenyan political parties is inadequate, and in certain instances, completely absent. According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), the stance of Homa Bay County differs from other regions in terms of women's involvement in politics. In addition to being courted as voters and active supporters of political party mobilization and campaigning, women in Homa Bay County are now included in party policy development and decision-making processes. This is exemplified by the prominent role of women in the dominant party ODM, where the Chairperson is a woman. Furthermore, the research conducted at the time revealed a higher representation of women as delegates compared to men. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the situation in Homa Bay is distinct from other counties in Kenya. This is due to the fact that it is the sole county among the 47 where the chairperson of the predominant political party has consistently been a woman. This trend began with Monica Amollo and was followed by Gladys Wanga, who subsequently achieved the position of Governor. Additionally, Homa Bay stands out for having the highest number of elected women members of parliament in the country during the period under study.

The matter under consideration in Homa Bay pertains to the extent of women's capacity to actively engage in political parties. Presently, women already make valuable contributions across all levels, encompassing administrative duties as well as active engagement. In agreement with the aforementioned statement, the national chairman of the ODM party, Mbadi (KII; 21/04/2021), argues that the inclusion of women in party administration expedites their entry into the political sphere. As a result, this inclusion ensures that their perspectives are truly acknowledged, and their significant membership within the party aligns with their active participation in leadership and decision-making procedures. During the period of investigation, the County ODM party chairperson, Hon. Gladys Wanga leveraged her political influence within the party to secure both a party certificate for her candidacy in the gubernatorial election for Homa Bay, as well as direct tickets for all female sitting members of parliament. This allowed them to bypass the party primaries scheduled for April 14th, 2022. The observed phenomenon represents a significant political shift, as opposed to the historical situation in Homa Bay where

political parties had predominantly been dominated by male individuals.

The increasing interest and participation of women in party politics in recent years indicate a rising acknowledgment of the significant impact that intra-party democratic values and processes have on ensuring equal access for both women and men in political and electoral spheres. According to Ogwe (KII; 15/04/2021), one of the key aspects involves the process of identifying, selecting, and nominating individuals for positions of internal leadership and public decision-making. This aligns with Onyuka's assertion (KII; 18/03/2021) that political parties serve as the primary arbiters of access to positions of authority and decision-making within a given society. Consequently, in order to create a conducive environment for meaningful and impactful participation of women in politics at both national and global levels, it is imperative to implement strategies for gender equality and women's political empowerment within political parties.

This study has revealed that although there have been advancements in terms of the representation of women in elected positions and their participation in party politics, the achievement of gender equality and the empowerment of women in the political sphere remains a multifaceted issue. Based on Gogo's (KII; 19/03/2021) findings, it is evident that while several political parties include women's political empowerment in their campaign manifestoes, the actual implementation of these promises is infrequent. However, it is important to note that women in senior positions within the party are persistently striving for progress, and there is optimism that their efforts will yield positive outcomes in the near future. According to Osodo (II; 12/04/2021), the aforementioned assertion can be substantiated by the observation that some political parties have yet to integrate gender equality into their policy documents, or have relegated the commitment to its implementation to a secondary position.

Upon analyzing the manifestoes and constitutions of the primary political parties in Kenya, this research acknowledges that while most party constitutions and manifestoes include broad statements regarding their dedication to gender equality, these documents lack specific provisions outlining the necessary measures for translating these commitments into tangible actions and outcomes within the party structures. In contrast to other political parties, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) seems to have

established party guidelines and protocols for the identification, selection, and nomination of female candidates for leadership positions within the party and other influential roles involved in decision-making processes. This study posits that the greater representation of women in areas where a particular political party holds dominance can be attributed to the party's adoption of gender equality as a crucial mechanism for developing effective policies and strategies to address existing gender disparities and inequalities in politics and democratic governance, as stated by the national chairman of the party.

‘ODM is a gender responsive party, this can be witnessed when the party organ deliberately, during the nominations and party primary of 14th April 2022, intentionally adopted a mechanism which reduced fees for women aspirants, so as to encourage more women to present themselves as candidates for public positions. The party even went further to waive the conduct of primary elections in constituencies which were held by women such as Rangwe, Suba North and Kabondo Kasipul in order to retain and increase women’s participation and representation in leadership and decision-making positions both in Homa Bay and the National level (Mbadi KII, 21/04/2021).

This study subsequently found that the level of dedication to gender issues among political parties is generally more prominent in election campaign manifestoes compared to party constitutions. In pursuit of this objective, it is evident that political parties possess an understanding of gender-related concerns, as seen by the inclusion of relevant provisions in their policy documents. However, the primary obstacle lies in progressing beyond this initial stage and effectively translating this awareness into tangible measures that establish gender equality as a fundamental aspect of party politics. In Homa Bay, it was observed that, in addition to other minor political parties, there existed a significant correlation between the inclusion of gender equality commitments in campaign manifestos and the likelihood of garnering electoral support, particularly within the ODM party.

In the course of this investigation, it was observed that the incorporation of gender-related texts in the policy documents of political parties exhibits diverse degrees of political change and recognition of gender concerns among the respective political parties in a particular geographic area. According to Asiyu (KII; 08/03/2021), while it is important for political parties to recognize and address gender issues, they must also

confront the task of developing effective strategies to eradicate patriarchal practices and systems that hinder women's involvement and representation in political leadership and decision-making roles within the parties.

The level of involvement in the political process is a significant and influential determinant in forecasting individual participation. In this scenario, engaging in a political campaign necessitates adherence to some fundamental requirements, including affiliation with a political party, actively seeking information regarding the candidate and party policies, attending party gatherings, and establishing connections with the campaign organization of the respective party. It is worth noting that women often have challenges in allocating sufficient time to fulfill these obligations.

According to Ogutu (KII, 11/04/2021), the prevailing disparity in political engagement between men and women since 1992 can be attributed to several factors. One key factor is the differential level of interest and time invested in politics by men compared to women. Men tend to exhibit a greater inclination towards political matters, actively participating in discussions, regularly following public affairs programs on television, and keeping themselves informed through newspaper reading. Conversely, women often face constraints in engaging with politics due to their responsibilities in domestic chores, which limits their ability to afford the same level of political involvement as men. This study has demonstrated that there are ongoing gender disparities in political party involvement, which are evident across several political parties and within different social groups and classes in Homa Bay County. This study finds that there is variation in the level of women's involvement in political parties, which is influenced by party manifestoes. However, it also reveals that men generally exhibit higher levels of political interest, engagement in political discussions, political knowledge, and attention to news about party politics compared to women. Women, on the other hand, tend to prioritize domestic issues over political matters. This gender disparity leads to significant gaps, particularly among women residing in rural areas.

In addition to the benefit derived from the possession of knowledge pertaining to a specific political party, it is worth noting that gender inequalities exist in the perceptions of political knowledge. In the course of examining political party discourse, it was shown

that individuals of both genders tend to consider women as possessing a lesser degree of political expertise regarding their preferred parties, in comparison to males. The view that women's political knowledge hinders their participation and engagement with political parties is a commonly held belief, as political knowledge is typically seen as a necessary for involvement and discourse inside these parties. In the context of party engagement, resource-based explanations are posited as potential factors contributing to gender disparities in participation within political parties. However, the explanations of these resources encounter less traction in this region compared to the explanations of electoral forms of participation in Homa Bay.

While there is a correlation between resources and gender disparities in political party participation and knowledge, it is well acknowledged that the socialization of traditional gender roles also acts as a deterrent for women's involvement in party politics. This phenomenon has posed a significant obstacle to achieving gender equality in the political sphere. In contrast to the aforementioned statement, despite the rising levels of education and workforce involvement among women, as well as improvements in their political participation and representation, persistent gender disparities in political party engagement persist in Homa Bay.

This is particularly evident when men begin to assert their presence within the dominant party and when the belief persists that women's representation and participation should be limited to elite circles. According to Atkeson and Carrillo (2007), the inclusion of women in elected positions has a transformative impact on women themselves, leading men to reconsider and challenge their preconceived notions about the appropriate role of women within political parties. However, Mabona (KII; 10/03/2021) contradicts this viewpoint by asserting that the presence of women in elected office and party engagement represents a new form of gendered mass-level political party participation, rather than an exclusive club of elite women opposing men, as perceived by individuals lacking knowledge about gender issues in our society.

The examination of the relationship between women in political office and the level of involvement in mass parties has shown inconsistent findings, as revealed by comparative research. Desposato and Norrander (2009) assert that in a selection of European nations,

the level of female representation in parliament is inversely related to the gender difference in political party involvement. Based on an analysis of a cross-national survey conducted among adolescents, it can be shown that the disparities in participation intentions between female and male individuals diminish in nations where the representation of women in political office is higher.

According to Asiyo (KII; 08/03/2021), there is a lack of exemplary behavior among contemporary female politicians, which hinders their ability to motivate young women to engage in political party activities. This is evident in their tendency to primarily seek support from male counterparts, thereby neglecting the promotion of gender-related issues. Similarly, this study reveals that the level of interpersonal connections among female political leaders in Homa Bay is significantly low. This phenomenon can be attributed to the ongoing rivalry between prominent female politicians, namely Wanga and Gogo, who both represent the same constituency. Similarly, there exists a discord between Wanga and Mabona, despite their shared affiliation with the same political party. According to the findings of this study, the competition for supremacy undermines the gender-focused agenda in Homa Bay County.

4.6 Conclusion

The pursuit of gender equality has been a driving force behind women's involvement in politics in Homa Bay since the colonial era. However, there have been disparities in the extent of political participation and voting preferences between men and women, which have resulted in the emergence of multiple gender gaps. These gaps have exhibited significant variations over time and across different cultural contexts in Kenya. The involvement of women in the national political sphere in Kenya commenced throughout the period of the country's war for independence. While it is true that certain women, such as Muthoni Ngatha, were involved in the composition of songs that celebrated combatants, it is important to note that there were other women who actively participated in the war effort and achieved the rank of field marshal. In the Luo community, women actively participated in various activities, including those who accompanied their husbands to European farms in central Kenya. These women engaged in similar tasks as their counterparts in that region. Additionally, Luo women residing in Mageta, Sayusi, and Yamo Islands, where freedom fighters were held captive, played a crucial role. They

clandestinely transported food and conveyed covert messages to the fighters by concealing them within their skirts. Furthermore, these women composed songs that celebrated and honored the bravery and resilience of the freedom fighters.

The persistence of women's political marginalization persisted beyond the attainment of independence, as evidenced by the experiences of notable women such as Jael Mbogo from central Kenya and Magdalene Aboge Alila from Nyanza. The advent of men's independence marked the commencement of women's endeavor for inclusion and recognition, as indicated by their own testimonies. During the colonial era, Aboge, also known as Mama Uhuru, organized a group of female vendors in Kisumu to protest against the local colonial authority. This protest was in response to an order that prohibited Africans from selling their goods in the town center. The individual embarked on a journey across the Nyanza region and arrived at Homa Bay with the intention of raising awareness among women about the need of striving for independence. During this endeavor, she assured them that attaining independence would grant them the freedom to engage in trade.

Aboge gained national and worldwide attention due to the efforts of Oginga Odinga, who, along with a group of others, was brought on visits to Egypt, Sudan, Romania, and Russia. During this time, they had the opportunity to meet with Indira Gandhi, who was invited to Kenya by Oginga before to assuming the role of Indian Prime Minister. These activities facilitated Aboge's engagement in a dialogue with Indira Gandhi over the political emancipation of women in Kenya. The independent government apprehended her upon her return from Russia, suspecting her involvement in a plot to overthrow President Kenyatta. This allegation arose due to her publicized activities, which included advocating for the release of Kenyatta alongside eight male counterparts. Notably, she was the sole female among the group of nine individuals. The resurgence of the concept and comprehension of women in Kenya commenced in 1985 subsequent to the United Nations conference on women held in Nairobi. This was in spite of the recent paradigm shift that depicted women as an oppressed and vulnerable demographic.

In contrast to the aforementioned perspective, women such as Asiyo shown resilience in navigating the challenges posed by patriarchal structures, ultimately successfully

competing for and securing the seat of Member of Parliament in the Karachuonyo constituency. During the 1990s, Aboge and Asiyo collaborated with Oginga and other individuals in their efforts to advocate for political pluralism in Kenya. This collective endeavor eventually led to the establishment of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). It is noteworthy to acknowledge that Phoebe Asiyo and Carren Bondo effectively utilized women organizations as a means to attain political leadership in Homa Bay during a period when political participation was predominantly male-oriented. Following in their footsteps, subsequent women leaders such as Gladys Wanga, Mildred Mabona, Eve Obara, and others similarly engaged with diverse women organizations, thereby facilitating their ascent to positions of influence and involvement in the realm of power and politics.

The Kenya Constitution of 2010 represents a political maneuver aimed at addressing the issue of gender equality in Kenya. It achieves this objective by implementing affirmative action measures and a quota system designed to enhance the representation of women in many spheres of society. Throughout the historical period of Asiyo's activism, the women residing in Homa Bay have consistently demonstrated their resilience in resisting patriarchal endeavors aimed at marginalizing their participation in the political sphere. The individuals in question have consistently diminished the political sphere by adopting masculine behaviors and employing masculine rhetoric, so influencing the discourse about gender in Homa Bay. The endorsement of international communities, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), imposes an obligation on nations to advance gender equality and provide women with opportunities for socio-economic and political participation. This commitment aligns development efforts with the principle of gender equality. The impact of Asiyo and Bondo on the perception of female leadership in Homa Bay is a noteworthy observation. The political influence exerted by women in Homa Bay has facilitated their access to direct party nominations for participation in diverse political posts. During the period under investigation, the prevailing political party was under the leadership of Gladys Wanga, a female politician who succeeded the late Monica Amollo from Ndhiwa, also a woman.

The implementation of gender equality measures has resulted in an upward trend in the representation of women from Homa Bay in political leadership positions at both the

national and county levels. This increase has been observed consistently since 2012, with women now approaching parity in terms of their participation in representative politics, both at the county and national levels. This progress serves as an indication of the successful attainment of political equality. In certain sectors, such as provincial administration, there is a noticeable trend of increasing female representation. Women are increasingly occupying positions of authority, including county executive committees, thereby establishing a significant presence in these areas. Therefore, the previously observed phenomenon of women assuming passive leadership roles in Homa Bay is gradually being supplanted by the emergence of proactive female players from both the public and commercial sectors, who are less reliant on men for achieving success. Despite the advancements made towards achieving gender equality, women continue to encounter instances of intimidation and encounter challenges in balancing their familial responsibilities. Furthermore, they may experience isolation due to the apprehension felt by males who perceive their socio-economic and political influence as a danger, leading to their marginalization. Women continue to face challenges in managing their public and domestic obligations simultaneously.

The study on women's political engagement in Homa Bay reveals that during the colonial era until 1992, women in Homa Bay exhibited a greater degree of political conservatism compared to men in terms of ideology, party affiliation, and voting preferences. However, it is worth noting that there were a few exceptional cases where certain women deviated from the prevailing norms and actively engaged in political activities. This study highlights the role of female religiosity as a contributing factor to the conservative political orientation observed among women. It is worth noting that throughout that time, women were not actively engaged in the paid labor force, which consequently limited their opportunities to participate in trade unions, the primary avenue for establishing political connections. This situation persisted until the advent of women's inclusion in the paid labor sector following the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945.

As previously mentioned, there has been an upward trend in the participation of women as candidates and voters since 2002. This can be attributed to the NARC party's program, which pledged significant social reforms that particularly appealed to women. In contrast, the policies and administration of the reigning KANU party were perceived as favoring

men, thus contributing to the growing support for NARC among women. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the rise in female voter turnout and representation in elected offices should not be interpreted as evidence of greater overall engagement compared to men. The level of women's participation varies depending on factors such as the specific decade, county, ward, kind of participation, and the specific group of women being studied. Overall, the rise in female engagement in political endeavors, which varies across different wards and constituencies in Homa Bay, indicates a decreasing disparity in gender representation in political participation.

One of the contributing elements to the reduction of the political gender disparity in Homa Bay is the implementation of affirmative action, as stipulated in the 2010 Kenyan constitution and relevant party laws. The aforementioned initiative advocates for the integration of gender perspectives in political matters and the equitable involvement of both men and women. The implementation of regional and international accords, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), serves to reinforce the affirmative action. As a result, education also facilitates the development of gender consciousness, so fostering greater proximity between men and women in their pursuit of equality.

The rise in female voter participation in Homa Bay serves as a significant indication of women's political empowerment, as voting is a widespread activity that necessitates few resources, such as time, information, and civic abilities. There is evidence to support the notion that despite the increased political contestation and voter turnout among women in Homa Bay, their engagement in other electoral activities remains lower compared to men. This phenomenon is observed in instances where males exhibit a higher propensity for engaging in political interactions with political patrons, affiliating themselves with political parties as members, and actively participating in political rallies and meetings, as compared to their female counterparts.

One of the factors that dissuade women from participating in the aforementioned activities is the occasionally contentious atmosphere and associated demonstrations, which tend to primarily appeal to educated women and those employed in paid labor. It should be mentioned that these women are predominantly of a younger age, as opposed

to being older. While it is widely acknowledged that women tend to exhibit a preference for engaging in activities such as signing petitions or fundraising to support social or political causes, rather than actively participating in demonstrations and protests, they also actively participate in consumerism as a form of political protest. This involvement in consumerism manifests through actions such as purchasing or boycotting specific products.

Despite some progress in the gender discourse in Kenya, particularly since 1992, the enactment of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action in 1995 serves as a legal mechanism for addressing gender equality issues. This initiative has contributed to a positive trajectory in the examination of the roles and efficacy of political parties in relation to gender equality and the empowerment of women in the political sphere in Kenya. The heightened impetus has led to an increasing focus on the imperative of implementing policies that guarantee women's access to and active involvement in positions of authority and decision-making at both the national and local levels.

The acknowledgement that political parties serve as the primary determinants for men and women to attain positions of power and influence has prompted more attention towards their role in addressing gender disparities within the realm of Kenyan politics. The prevailing consensus among researchers is that the initiation of political power, leadership, and decision-making opportunities primarily occurs within the realm of political parties. Consequently, the establishment of conducive conditions that facilitate the substantial engagement and inclusion of both genders in political parties is imperative for addressing issues of equality. This study aimed to assess the level of gender awareness across political parties, specifically focusing on the dominant political party in Homa Bay. To do this, an analysis was conducted on the party's policy documents and philosophy. During the course of the process, certain limitations were identified that impede progress beyond mere knowledge and hamper the implementation of practical measures to institutionalize gender equality in party politics.

Mitigation efforts prompt political parties to develop internal policies aimed at addressing gender inequities and the underrepresentation of women in political processes and decision-making, specifically inside party organs and structures. Despite the fact that an

analysis of political parties' foundational documents in Kenya reveals the need for significant efforts to improve the status and conditions of both women and men, particularly in the realm of politics, it has been determined that the party has successfully established favorable conditions and is actively implementing gender-responsive initiatives. These initiatives are characterized by sustainable strategies and actions that surpass mere formal equality and strive for substantive equality. These tactics aim to reveal and address long-standing gender inequities that have become deeply ingrained. In the region of Homa Bay, a distinct situation arises due to the active promotion of political party reform by the dominant party ODM. This party continuously upholds the ideals and obligations pertaining to gender equality as outlined in its constitution and platform. Political parties often adopt pragmatic approaches to gender equality in their election campaign manifestos and party constitutions, which typically feature declarations addressing women's empowerment and gender equality matters.

In contrast to the ODM party, this study reveals that certain political parties tend to merely incorporate gender equality as one of their election campaign promises, without explicitly prioritizing gender as a fundamental objective within their party constitutions, which serve as guiding documents for internal processes and practices within these parties. It is indisputable that there exists a discrepancy between the commitments to gender equality articulated in campaign manifestos and the subsequent implementation of these commitments by most political parties. The lack of specificity in political parties' policy documents about mechanisms for translating commitments to gender equality into tangible actions and outcomes is the reason behind this.

Notwithstanding the dearth of efficacious implementation and enforcement procedures across various political parties, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that these parties incorporate gender-related content in their policy documents, so evincing a certain degree of cognizance regarding gender issues. The final task at hand is to develop effective strategies that address and rectify behaviors and procedures that hinder the engagement and representation of women in political leadership and decision-making roles. The insufficiency of political commitment alone becomes evident as a party's true dedication is measured by its ability to effectively implement policies and programs.

In contrast to previous circumstances, this chapter highlights an additional political shift wherein political party membership is now accessible to "all citizens," irrespective of their gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, or sex. In pursuit of this objective, political parties have undergone a transformation to become more attuned to gender-related concerns. Furthermore, the policy documents of political parties include shared elements that affirm the right of each party member to participate in the election process and hold leadership and decision-making positions. Additionally, party members are entitled to engage in all events organized by the political parties. Nevertheless, empirical examination of political parties in Kenya reveals a prevailing pattern wherein the majority of parties fail to achieve equitable representation and involvement of both genders in high-ranking leadership roles, which have consistently been dominated by males.

It has been observed that the ODM political party is the only party that purportedly achieves gender parity in both elective positions and party leadership at the county level. In this context, a significant number of MCAs and women elected members within the party hold positions that are either equal to or outnumber their male counterparts. This gender balance is also reflected in the party's leadership at the county level, where women hold the majority of positions.

There is a prevailing trend towards reducing the usage of masculine generic terms, such as "he/his," "chairman," "sons of the country," and "menfolk." These terms are progressively being substituted with more gender-inclusive expressions, such as "our," "chairperson," "people of the country," and "womenfolk," particularly in the political parties' constitutions. This shift is particularly evident in the context of leadership positions, such as the party President, Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Secretary General, or Treasurer. Historically, these practices have often been employed to associate the attainment of leadership positions exclusively with masculinity. This was particularly evident during a period when the term "she" was only utilized to refer to the leadership of women's divisions or as a designation for the political party coordinator. In their efforts to adopt a gender-responsive approach, politicians are going to great lengths to use inclusive language, such as pronouncing the phrase 'country men and women.' This demonstrates their dedication to promoting gender equality and implementing this commitment in their verbal communication.

Despite the presence of transformation and the inclusion of women in the highest echelons of decision-making across all political parties, including the National Convention, it is worth noting that the NEC convenes on an annual basis to establish the strategic trajectory of the political party. The incorporation of a women's wing within the National Executive Committee (NEC) holds significance due to the NEC's primary role in overseeing the activities of political parties. This committee is responsible for formulating policy programs, implementing them, and managing financial matters in accordance with decisions made by the National Convention. This study contends that the delegation of gender issues solely to women's organizations results in the marginalization of these concerns from the central agenda of political parties, thereby categorizing them as women's affairs. One significant concern pertains to the overall scarcity of women's representation at the executive level across various political parties. This raises inquiries regarding the efficacy and function of the women's wing in the management and decision-making procedures, despite their guaranteed presence in the National Executive Committee (NEC).

This section presents the demographic composition of Kenya, indicating that women constitute the majority at 51%. It further highlights the significant contributions made by women in various spheres, including social, economic, and political domains, dating back to the pre-colonial era. Despite the active involvement of women in both production and reproduction responsibilities, their participation in decision-making processes has experienced a drop. Colonialism facilitated the establishment of a material foundation and legal framework that led to the displacement of patrimony by patriarchy, resulting in the dominance of men over women in socio-economic and political spheres.

The social dynamics pertaining to the roles assumed by women in pre-colonial societies underwent a discernible transformation in the wake of colonization, resulting in a perceived diminishment of their significance. The advent of hospitals resulted in the decline of prolonged confinement practices that displayed a bias towards males. The categorization of violence against women as a criminal offense by both the Kenyan constitution and international legal frameworks serves to advance gender equality and mitigate the ephemeral nature of such behavior. The enforcement and dissemination of the CRC, CEDAW, and CRWAC were crucial in fortifying these laws, as they were

aligned with both local and national legislations. The implementation of a standardized national education system within the nation facilitated the advancement of gender equality throughout all segments of society, both through its academic curriculum and extracurricular activities. The implementation of boarding schools specifically catering to female students, alongside the introduction of compulsory and inclusive education for all children, has played a significant role in advancing gender equality.

The implementation of affirmative action guarantees the allocation of resources to support the advancement of girls and women. Adult education has played a significant role in transforming societal attitudes towards females' education, while simultaneously focusing on strategies to enhance retention rates and minimize attrition. From an economic perspective, affirmative measures play a crucial role in empowering women by allocating financial resources that foster gender equality with males. In conjunction with the emergence of gender-based idioms, such as the phrase "what a man can do, women can do best," there has been a notable enhancement in gender relations throughout the course of history. The aforementioned phenomenon has resulted in the emergence and implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies within various departments of both national and local administrations.

The implementation of strategies aimed at bringing clean water and renewable energy resources in close proximity to communities has been found to have a positive impact on the health and well-being of women. This is mostly due to the reduction in time spent searching for these essential resources. Additionally, the implementation of life skills and family life education has proven effective in addressing reproductive health issues, resulting in a decrease in instances of preterm pregnancy and unsafe abortion, both of which can disrupt girls' educational pursuits. The implemented strategies facilitate the re-enrollment of female students who have undergone childbirth back into the educational system.

The government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) persist in offering enhanced income-generating strategies for girls. Various strategies have been implemented, including creative programs in the realm of non-formal education, aimed at empowering women and girls, reducing their dependency, and ultimately decreasing their

fertility rates. According to the findings of this study, it is additionally noted that the aforementioned programs provide females with equal opportunities to obtain employment, especially in remote regions. As a result, these initiatives enable women to become effective economic participants and catalysts for economic development. The economic empowerment of women serves to eliminate detrimental gender norms by facilitating their participation in both public and private spheres of society.

From a political perspective, this chapter asserts the existence of institutions and entities that advocate for gender equality through the promotion of equitable and impartial treatment under the legal system. Furthermore, they actively promote and enable the adoption of a constitution that is attentive to gender-related issues. This study demonstrates that there has been a recent shift in prioritizing gender equality as a concern for males, with more encouragement and support for their involvement in initiatives aimed at achieving gender equality. In addition to utilizing media as a means to advance gender equality, governmental bodies at both the county and national levels have implemented structural adjustments and policy interventions to foster gender equality. Multiple governmental entities are responsible for the enforcement of pertinent rules, procedures, and legislation pertaining to gender.

In Homa Bay, a greater proportion of women have achieved success in the political arena compared to other counties in Kenya. During the period of this study, it was observed that out of a total of eight constituencies, women constituted three of the elected representatives in a shared role. The female lawmaker, who concurrently held the position of county chair for the prominent political party ODM, was unanimously selected as the nominee for the upcoming gubernatorial election slated for August 9th, 2022. The ongoing engagement in political activities continues to advance the cause of women. This is due to the fact that their position enables them to exert influence over the formulation of gender-based legislation and the interpretation of laws pertaining to gender equality.

As stated in this chapter, it is widely acknowledged that gender inequality has emerged as a significant challenge in contemporary society. Despite the recognition of the importance of gender equality in achieving sustainable development in Kenya, inequality

persists within the family, society, and the state, despite the implementation of numerous methods aimed at realizing gender equality. This disparity is deeply ingrained in the structures, mechanisms, and relationships within these domains. Despite the existence of laws and legislation that grant women and men equal rights in the realm of development, the achievement of sustainable development may remain elusive unless there is substantial and meaningful engagement from both genders. Hence, it is imperative to prioritize the achievement of gender equality for the purpose of inclusive development. This objective should be regarded as a valuable pursuit, particularly through the implementation of affirmative action measures that aim to bridge the gap between females and males. While it is important to acknowledge and support female empowerment, it is crucial to do so in a manner that upholds the principle of gender equality. This can be achieved by incorporating the slogan of "protect males as you lift females" inside the framework of gender budgeting tools.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION OF THE STUDY

5.1 Summary of the study

This study set out to investigate the pursuit of gender egalitarianism amid survival of patriarchy in Kenya with specific attention to Homa Bay County. The study investigated the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the precolonial period, examined the influence of colonial policies on gender relations, and evaluated the gender equality mitigation strategies and its impact on women political development in Homa-Bay.

The work adopted Patriarchal Theory to develop arguments on the pursuit of gender egalitarianism amid survival of patriarchy since 1894. This theory has been in existence for decades and has consistently been used to analyze the backgrounds and situations where men are suspected to be taking more socio-economic and political advantage over women. Initially it was meant to describe the power of the father as head of the home but later the theory acquired a new meaning to mean male supremacy and female insubordination. In light of the feminist theorists, patriarchal societies include feudal, capitalist and/or socialist systems. According to them Patriarchy is a sex gender system and a system of economic discrimination which operates simultaneously.

It is established in this work that the practice of male dominance over women and children, is a historic process formed by men and women. In that establishment, patriarchal family serves as a basic unit of organization. In the investigation of gender relation in Homa Bay therefore, patriarchy was a system where the head of the household controls the productive resources, labour force, and reproductive capacities as grounded on the notions of superiority of men and inferiority of women. This is because the study used patriarchy as a set of social relations with the material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable such men to dominate women.

In Homa Bay Patriarchy is witnessed in many ways, such as; the way men exercises their control in receiving personal service from women, avoiding to do house chores like nursing children, limitless access to women's bodies for sex, and in feeling powerful and being powerful. In light of the above, this study viewed gender relations as part of social

relations, in which the social categories of men and women, male and female, relate over the whole range of social organization. It is not just interactions between individual men and women in the sphere of personal relationships, or in terms of biological reproduction. Patriarchy also includes access to resources for production, rewards or remuneration for work, distribution of consumption, income or goods, exercise of authority and power, and participation in cultural, political and religious activities.

In chapter two, this study examines the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in Pre-colonial era. Socially, patriarchy influenced the marriage institutions which were organized to ensure that men remained dominant and influential. Marriages were designed to portray the importance of men who bought off women through the bride price and prize in the three types of marriage arrangements. The arrangements included parents' friendship leading to the offer of their children for future marriages, the elopement and lastly through the suitor. Though such marriages were exogamous, the post marriage remained patrilocal while power and inheritance was patrilineal.

The chapter establishes that patriarchy favours male children who were seen as the communal continuity and heir apparents of their families. Male children and their parents were respected and adored, as the boys were knitted and given idioms that showed power and authority. In the family a man remained so only with the ability to sire children. In case of barrenness women were blamed most and they had to either allow for the cowife or bring her sister to the husband. In such setting, girls in the family were viewed as transient and source of wealth for the father as they were often prepared to marry off to join the clan of her husband. This continued until the time women reached menopause when they became degenerated and acquired position closer to that of men. Such degenerated women were then allowed to administer medical therapy and psychotherapy in the community, they also nurtured children through educating and socializing them to the world wider than household. Such women, to the contrary became leaders who were consulted on the communal issues even by the men.

In economic front, patriarchy placed resources such as land, animals and labour basically in the hands of men though women had some degree of donated economic power and independence. Traditionally man acquired land only after marriage, though such land was

left in the hand of women to manage and use for the family. Women acquired land by virtue of being married to a man since the unmarried men were not given land. During the land use, there were performance of some rituals that forced husband and wives to come together before any economic activity was pursued on the land. The first wives used this power to exert their authority and punish both men and co-wives and proves that they are the owners of the home in the event of poor relations with husband or co-wives.

Women controlled crops to be grown in the land and how it is used; they also mobilized labour in the farms. The harvest she used for the nuclear and extended family and the rest she exchanged with what they lacked marking the popularity of women in the grain trades. Men were restricted on the use of the farm outputs without consultation with wife more so it was a taboo for men to access the grain store (*dero*) except through wives even his own store (*mondo*) which he could only access through wife or children. Men inherited livestock and some he acquired from the bride price from the daughter's marriage. All livestock belonged to man but were used by wives unless in the polygamous family where man divided livestock to be used by different houses as though he still retained ownership since the number of animals owned by man determined their status in the society.

The hunting and gathering was also gendered, men hunted as women gathered which led to division of labour. The aspect of gathering made women to understand the edible and non-edible herbs and the ones that could treat various ailments. This contributed to making more women than men traditional doctors. The aspect of fishing which was the main economic activity of the Luo was also conducted in gender lines. Men fished while women cooked and sold the extras. Fishing also led to the development of some gender based industries like boat making for men while pottery and weaving for women. In pre-colonial society patriarchy was the basic principle of structuring production relations which mandated men to have rights in the form of productive resources which gradually changed with colonialism.

This work asserts that the generalization of the male authors of history that political position of women in pre colonial societies was subordinate is the genesis of the production of the distorted picture of the tyrannical African man against the dispossessed

African woman. The research position is that women had some direct and indirect political powers that they did not hesitate to use but not against men. In the pre colonial period men regularly consulted women before major decisions were reached, hence mere absence of women in public domain did not mean passivity as they were not expected to express their views publicly on important issues but through men.

In spite, the first wives were also considered as the co-owners of the homestead and made most of the decision even in the absence of their husbands. When such women reached menopause their femininity extinguishes and acquire the masculine status. As their sexual relations declined but their private and public political participation increased. These were expressed by the decisions they made. Among the community some of such women like Mang'ana became chief and others like Odele Nyalonde and Ayoo Owigo are reported to be among the women who led regiments against the Gusii and Kipsigis respectively.

The post colonial period in this study is taken to mean colonial and independent historical periods. In chapter three, study establishes that colonialism integrated African indigenous socio-economic and political systems with the imperialist system by instituting legal structured organization which marginalised all women in the colony. The first colonial leader in south Kavirondo was Boughton Knight who first came to Homa Bay on his way to Karungu but passed through Rusinga island. The establishment of colonial rule and its policies on gender relations in the Luo regions especially southern Kavirondo District relegated women to private life. The colonial political system undermined women but promoted men leading to the rise of a new form of a structured and legalised patriarchy among the Luo community. It is pointed out that colonial policies like taxation, education, politics and labor relegated Luo women to a position lower than men; however, women struggled to defend their positions in the society by protesting such colonial marginalisation in various forms.

The taxation system was meant to get revenue and to recruit labor for government and settlers works. Though the taxation was not new to African societies before colonialism, the colonial intention of controlling labor migration and finance was unique and opaque. In gender relation taxation led to overcrowding of women in the huts. This is because

some men who were polygenic pulled down their some huts to avoid overtaxation which compromised the privacy of women as they were conjected in one or few huts. Because of the harsh taxation policies, some men moved away from their homes to seek paid jobs inorder to rais taxes which isolated them from their wives and children as they became absentee husbands and fathers. In the working areas men encountered prostitutes in the highly congested areas which consequently made them to be affected with the venereal diseases later to be passed to their wives on return. It is also true that when men paid taxes for the huts occupied by wives the latter was relegated to the position of men's properties.

In order to collect taxes, colonial government appointed only men from the African villages while women were not contracted which undermined the presence and ability of women. As men went for wage labour, they took longer period and others even died on course due to poor sanitation making women to become widows. It was also realised that most of the men became hesitant to espouse for fear of tax budden while others even migrated from Homa Bay to Tanganyika to avod harsh taxation policies. The absentism of men gave women additional responsibilities which were previously meant for men in the past. The only positive aspect is that the absence of men accorded women freedom to make independent choices and decisions devoid of men influence. Additionally, taxation protest by women laid a foundation for their future active involvement in nationalists' politics into the future past colonial regime.

This work reports that colonial eduction was organised for the males, though this was contrary to the missionary intention which considered girls education to train good wives and home makers for the educated men. Colonial education denied women intellectual skillsneeded to participate in western system of politics. Instead it introduced new gender roles which further relegated and domesticated women while elevating men consequently developing colonial patriarchal society.

In the early colonial era, females were denied access to formal education thereby denying them effective competition with men in the future. Though the missionary education for girls was inferior comparatively, it exposed girls and women apart from giving them self confidence; it planted seed for future activism unlike the colonial education. The industrial education given to boys made such boys to be the first low band

workers for the settlers farms and promoted their labour migration as women and girls were still christened to domestic duties at homes.

The explanations above indicate that colonial education system developed a society of educated men and domesticized women. A part from the colonial attitude against women and girls education, some of the cultural practices like earlier marriage and domestic duties for girls also kept women away from both missionary and colonial education. Men who achieve colonial education viewed women and girls as those who belong to the private lives at home. As educated men migrated for labour the responsibilities of taking care of homes remained in the hands of women. In this work, it is confirmed that colonial education did not prepare women and girls for public duties since they were developing their men's world like that of the Victorian model.

At independence education and training continued to be used to build skills, confidence and knowledge required for active involvement in socio-economic and political activities in independent Kenya. Education at independent Kenya has been used to improve women consciousness and change their relationship with men unlike the initial colonial education. It is recored that the limitation of women in colonial education reduced their chances to access the socio-economic and political opportunities at independence. After independence many girls and women were encouraged to enroll for formal education which increased their chances of interacting with formal employment sector. Girls' entry into formal education started progressively as they lagged behind boys interms of number and quality for the first two decades of independence because of among others; the curriculum was gender blind interms of content, structure and illustrations used apart from the few established girls schools which also had poor facilities comparatively.

Since 1963 the government has been committed to expand education of both girls and boys including the illiterate adults. The aim was to empower citizen to participate in the socio- economic and political aspect of live and attain descent living irrespective of gender. Even when the government initiated education for all, the enrolment of girls was low which to some extent was caused by the domestic needs and traditional view of the role of girls in the society which do not need education but to mature for marriage. Parents also viewed girls as transient hence preferred to use there resources on boys to

girls. Good news during at the time of this study, the number of females is higher than those of males in almost all level of society in Homa Bay County. This is because some of the cultures that were against girls' no longer count just like the parents' attitudes on girls have also changed. This study established that in the contrary some generational challenges affect boys than girls which consequently raising their drop out rates from education in different levels differing with the receptive nature of society against boys.

Currently education has propelled women and girls to greater heights of their lives. Women and girls utilise their educational achievements to grab available opportunities at their disposal. In Homa Bay, most women and girls who have acquired formal education have achieved the socio-economic and political prominence and achievement. They continue to use education as a tool for better life and empowerment. Education enhances their stake in the society as they are propelled to get better jobs and leadership opportunities at the public level. Admittedly, this work records that most of the educated women and girls encounter domestic challenges in their homes, they have remain single mothers of their children without husbands respectively which at times becomes difficult to balance. Their education at times leads to marriage breakups when not consciously applied in the family issues. This has attracted current women narrative of 'I can live without you'. At times the nature of job and the resources at their disposal, gives them the economic power which scares the would be potential husbands or existing ones away.

In respect to labour, the way it is controlled and who controlled it, determined the relationship between men and women. It is justice and prudent that those who provide labour should control the benefit of their labour. Colonialism introduced wage labour to facilitate non-stop supply of cheap African labour for government projects and European settlers. The change in the job market by colonial masters was felt more by the women who lacked education and skills required as they were denied that education.

The introduction of the colonial cash economy influenced gender relations as women and men relationship was now determined by the colonial capital. The husbands' rights over wives were strengthened as they gained a stronger control on women productive and reproductive labour. This consequently widened the gender gap in colonial Kenya. Men left their homes for wage labour while wives and children remained at homes which created absentee husbands and fathers as was the case of taxation explained above.

Colonial labour migration changed gender relations in homes, it destroyed economic structure and impoverished rural areas. It also promoted rural decay apart from enlarging women's role in Agriculture. It is also found that the introduction of cash crops by colonial government denied women arable land that they could have used for subsistence cultivation of crops like sorghum, sesame, potatoes and cassava in Homa Bay where the land was used for cotton growing.

As stated above, in the colonial era, women were marginally incorporated into formal labour which created unequal opportunity in economic structure between men and women later into the independent period. The denial of women the formal education in the colonial period, rendered them handicapped at independent labour market. The employers also discriminated women in the first two decades of independence based on traditional beliefs and the fear of frequent maternity leaves. It is interesting to note in this work that some women shied away from wage labour claiming overburdened by household chores. It was established that independence did not immediately offer solution to women coveted wage labour as was expected. This could be because of the inherited colonial labour relics, cultural belief, institutional set up and the low or non education qualification among women. Even though after independence the education of girls and women were prioritised, they could not afford to catch up with labour market within the first two decades of independent labour market.

In the unlikely case where women lacked land or were the head of the families, they had to seek wage labour so as to take care of the family in the colonial and post colonial period. The inherited poor education among girls and women made them only to fit in the unskilled or semi skilled labour at independence. The flow of female to labour market at independence was later driven and sustained by changes that occurred in education system, land tenure and the household structure which changed the gender relations at independence. At independence employment opportunity was opened for women in the public sector, they were given jobs that were popular with women such as teaching, nursing and other service jobs.

Interestingly, at independence, few women in Homa Bay worked in the available wage labour since they remained at home as most husbands had gotten used to the migration labour making them to remain in the towns and urban centers. The other reason was

because the land at their area was not interfered with by the colonial masters compared to the women in central and Rift Valley hence they had land to work on. When Carren Bondo became a councillor in Homa Bay Town in 1985, women employment increased in the town council. In spite of the employment opportunities for women, this work established that the wages were not commensurate with their male counterparts even in the similar jobs. Despite, women were comparatively engaged in the low cadre jobs which attracted little pay consequently obstructing them from venturing into politics which required a lot of economic resources. The independent government also institutionalised wage differentials in terms of sex in the same way it was inherited from the colonial government which argued that women just function to supplement their husband's earnings who were the bread winners.

The independent government did not have regard for women on the social security. At the time NSSF was established in 1965 it was only meant for men aged between 16 years and above while women regardless of age was not registered as a member. The same case was with NHIF which the qualification was placed at Ksh 1000 which most women could not afford at the time that the average earning of women was far below the amount stated. The policy was also that whether beneficiary or a member woman could only claim maximum of Ksh 150 when hospitalised while children below ten days were not covered. In the aspect of pension, the independent government excluded women from pension scheme, and could only benefit a widow who has not been co-habited by a man.

The KNIF rule made many women among the Luo to miss out of the scheme because in their culture women inheritance was part of life. In the decades later, the government amended some of the discriminatory laws. This created maternity leave that initially women were not paid for. Though it was introduced in 1970, the scheme was only for the first pregnancy up to the time of the presidential decree of 1976 which forced all employers to pay maternity leave after spirited the fight from Phoebe Asiyu and Grace Onyango.

In the political affairs, colonialists organised themselves in the model of the British crown colony with all the structures dominated by men. It is from the 1912 when the Native Authority Ordinance empowered the governor to appoint African chiefs and

headmen to be part of the racially whitemen administration. The colonial political system created a society of politically marginalised women who were made view to men as leaders. The system alienated women from the decision making positions and made them to remain invisible public observers. The pre-colonial traditional values of the distributed and shared political authority between genders in African societies did not find a place in colonial system; instead they transferred their male dominated politics to Kenya and brought the Victorian conceptions concerning women. Hence colonial system introduced a new version of patriarchy which even African patriarchs had to learn for future adoption.

As colonial political system professed men as public actors, they viewed women as private and silent performance. In the same it advanced the stubborn customary laws which progressed into new structure and forms of domination into new model of colonial patriarchy. It is noted in this work that even though women faced colonial gender oppression, they still united and challenged the colonial patriarchal structure by the use of various strategies and methods. In effort to get space for themselves, some women used spirit mediums to lead their communities in anti colonial activities which even men could not match. On the same note, women in Kenya initiated the primary anticolonial movements and some like in Nyanza joined the male anti colonial movement like Mumboism, Nomiya Luo mission and even the Young Kavirondo Association. It is in the record that it's the women protest against forced labour in Kenya that made the British secretary of State for colonies Winston Churchill to dispatch a deligation that advised the colonial government on how forced labour should be used in the government undertakings. It is also the women protest that led to the passing of the law of 1933 to curb the worst effects of female and child labour in Kenya.

At the dawn of independence, women continued with the personal and national emancipation struggle. It is asserted in this work that even with their struggle for independence prior to 1963, did not immediately change the status of women who remained ostracised and subordinated in the face of republican constitution which by letters did not only prohibit gender inequality but also racial, ethnic and class discrimination. In the sesseinal paper no. 10 of 1963 Kenya was to be a country where there would be equal participation of men and women. That statement remained in letters

without its spirit in the independence government. The patriarchal relationship that characterised colonial era which relegated women to the socio-economic and political periphery continued into the independent government which failed to recognize the role women played for and at independence. This study is cognizant that during the drafting of the Lancaster constitution in 1962, women issues were ignored even after the reminder by Priscilla Abwao who was the only woman representative in the conference. The independent constitution instead diffused power to centralised government of male dominated regional blocs apart from creating the male 'club' dominated Bi-cameral legislature up to 1966 when Grace Onyango joined parliament after great struggle.

However, before long the government called for the by-election to tame the members of KPU who were seen as the rebels of the government. In the by-election majority lost their seats but Grace Onyango retained her seat to the national Assembly in disbelief of the Kenyatta government. Unfortunately her political life was cut short when the government in 1969 deregistered and proscribed KPU and all its members and any one who wished to continue with their political career had to join the conservative male only KANU a state which disenfranchised women in political participation. Kenyatta retained and upscaled the male colonial administrative system and structure in its socio-economic and political administration true to his description as a 'man whose vision of the future was conservative'.

This study records that independence did not offer political opportunity and democratic space for women instead perfected the colonial patriarchy. In the national plan and official documents, there was no mention of the women issues as a target until 1974-78 development plans which was formulated during the United Nation Decade for women. Even though in 1963 women gained rights to vote and to be voted, there was no single woman in parliament up to 1966 when Grace Onyango and another was elected and nominated respectively to the National Assembly. In the subsequent years the rights of women remained just on papers without implementation because of the culture of patriarchy and the traditional customs on political and economic participation of women.

In 1976 the government established the women bureau after the pressure from the UN which was an indicator of the recognition of the needs and concern of women in Kenya. During the decade of women the number of women in parliament began to increase. It

is in the same time that Julia Ojiambo was appointed Assistant Minister for culture being the first highest office to be held by woman in Kenyatta and Moi's tenure. It is the same time that Phoebe Asiyo was also elected the Karachuonyo Member of Parliament. Among the reasons for women hesitant in politics since then, is the brutality and chaos that characterises election in the independent Kenya.

It is established that the first independent government propagated worse form of women oppression and was believed to be 'the strengthened version of colonial gender discrimination'. The regime encouraged the feminization of the neopatrimonial politics in Kenya where women are treated as lower species whose place is in the kitchen. Between 1969 and 1985 there was low presentation of women in parliament as the first independent government continued to water the seed of women discrimination sowed by the colonial government and is harvested by subsequent independent government.

Since colonial times, among the viable tools that women have used to assert themselves politically are the women based organisations especially Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO). MYWO was initiated by the European in 1950's to enable women contribute to the improvement of their welfare and that of their families. As the AEMO were struggling for the increase of men in the LegCO, women were battling to take over MYWO from European women. Hence towards the end of 1950's Jael Mbogo and Phoebe Asiyo liberated MYWO from the hands of the European women. Jael became the first African President while Phoebe Asiyo became the secretary general of the organization respectively. Subsequently, women continued to use MYWO as a vehicle amid marginalisation to articulate their socio-economic and political concerns during the colonial and independent period. The collective action through MYWO was both economic and political to make women voices heard from the colonial period to post independence period.

The use of MYWO took the trend the unions of the oppressed workers. Women used such organisation to fight against socio-economic and political inequalities and marginalisations. The organisation enabled women to break the cultural and structural barriers to become members of parliament and councillor as was seen in Phoebe Asiyo and Carren Bondo respectively in Homa Bay. The leaders of MYWO popularised it in all

parts of the country and established the branches in all the villages. They expanded its agenda to include among others political representation. This made the two leaders of MYWO to join politics so as to be where decisions concerning women could be made.

MYWO faced challenges in the hands of the independent government which even cut down its operative finances and consequently the leaders decided to join civil service which as well gave them the opportunity to mobilise women even further. Their role made the government to establish the Department of Social Services to coordinate women organisations. When the government learnt the value of women in development, it formed the Department of Community Development to work with MYWO. By 1967 many women clubs emerged that were working under MYWO and the organization continued to be engaged in moulding women leaders in villages and sensitised them on the need to get to community leadership.

MYWO became the spring board for many women in Homa Bay to this date to join public leadership. It placed women to be at the strategic places where national policies are made. The organisation also attracted national and international funding for women course. The women organisations made government realised that women contribution was neither minimal nor insignificant as was the belief before. The organisations also made women to actively participate in the income generating projects which boosted their confidence, independence, autonomy hence became self reliant which changed women relationship with their husbands and other male relatives. MYWO attracted attention from the mainstream politics, therefore giving them political bargaining authority hence it became a vehicle that mobilised women in every village for the course of women. It also provided women with the space to exercise their political aspirations outside parliament. Therefore MYWO simply empowered women socially, economically and politically in every corner of the country to favourably contest with men.

This study also exposed that among other things, that the Luo culture has been defining gender relationship between male and female in Homa Bay from the pre-colonial to post colonial period. The reason for this is because Luo culture has been built on patriarchy and therefore socialization of male and female from childhood plays a vital role in their relationships. Among the Luo, even after independence male continue to internalise the

status of superiority and dominance over female. Males show themselves as powerful, strong, domineering and respectable members of the society. Culturally Luo women are expected to appear and behave subordinate to male irrespective of the age just like wives are subordinate to their husbands and their kins. It is further established that the main cultural tool used among the Luo to portray men as conquerers and female as subordinate is the use of language.

The study further asserts that discrimination of females through language still persists to the twenty first century Homa Bay as men are given powerful and brilliant animals names, such as elephant, Lion, Buffalo and Leopard while women and girls are knitted with animals believed to be senseless, lower and humble like cow and antelope. Men are knitted names that portrays that women must depend upon them such as protector, leader, provider and defender. Some cultural and folk songs sung are always being used to pass the message of the women and men roles. Some of the Luo dirges embody the gender relations and expression. They promote males as they malign females. Such idioms include '*ogwang thur gi bor*', '*wuoi siro*', and *bedoeot kadhako* and *dhako tije ngeny*.

In chapter four this study documents that there is numerical strength of females in the country following the census report of 2019 which put female at about 51%. The same chapter documents that females have played and continue to play a crucial role as mothers, producers, managers, community developers as early as pre colonial period. Their performance of dual roles and contribution in society has been realised to be more than a half. Study also confirms that for a long time, females' participation in the formal and informal process where decisions are made regarding societal resource generation and use has been missing into 21st century. The study blames the development of patriarchy for the lapse to recognise the contribution of females. This is because patriarchy developed a structure of social relations with material base and legal principles which make males to dominate female consequently giving men undue advantage on the socio-economic and political prospects of the society. The above motivated the development of better socio-economic and political strategies to promote gender equality with reference to Kenya in general and Homa Bay to be specific as summarised herein.

In social perspective the study established that there is organised social gender equality mitigation strategy such as Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation which has for decades engaged ruling class on behalf of women to pursue socio-economic and political gender justice. It demonstrated that global society's is in constant attempt to redefine patriarchy to patrilenialism with the purpose of promoting the gender co-existence and respect as was in pre- colonial societies which in return gradually promotes gender equality recorgnition. It is demonstrated that the effort to promote the equality of children irrespective of their gender as opposed to the traditional special treatment of boys during birth which was replaced when hospitals were introduced consequently rendered the culture of seclusion that potrayed male dominance irrelevant. Incriminating the gender based violence following the MDG goal number 5 also reduces the trend that men have used for long to undermine the dignity of women. This is also followed by the economic empowerment of women to reduce theirdependency on men.

Study indicates in this chapter that the adoption of the gender friendly education system in Kenya allows girls to continue with their schooling after conception and even after delivery. This is made possible by institutionalisation of education laws that make it free and compulsory for all children. It was also established that education makes learners to take longer period in schools which reduces the traditional contact which undermined the females in the traditional society. The study argues that the content, structure and illustrations in curriculum have been re-designed to promote gender equality in Kenyan societies and that the application of positive discrimination in schools like reducing their entry points, financing and offering necessary reproductive care and materials promotes gender equality in Kenya.

This chapter illustrates the new cultural norms culture which is recently applied to reduce the traditional belief and cultural norms that enhanced gender inequality in the past through feminist language idioms phraces such as; 'women can', 'what a man can do women can do best', what a man has belong to family what a woman have belong to the world', by replacing the former traditional idioms that promoted the power of male while discriminated females. Study also demonstrates how the reduction of the female domestic chores through education system and cycle give them time to explore their potentiality in public life hence participate in leadership roles equally with males. In

Homa Bay this is made possible by the national and county governments which work with different NGO's to promote the accessibility of clean water and cheap, clean renewable energy with the reduced prices so as to help reduce the traditionally cultural domestic chores that consumed much time of the female.

This chapter points at how the use of multi-media promotes gender equality as it changes the traditional attitude by embracing gender equality done through broadcasting programs of some of the successful women to show how women are capable to scale the socio-economic and political height just like or better than men through print or electronic media. The gender equality discussions and songs are always broadcasted in the media which reaches many people at the same time and in convenient form and language.

This chapter further indicates how promotion of female participation in the socio-economic and political affairs of the society leads to progressive acceptance of females as full members of society hence advances gender equality. It demonstrates that socio-economic and political gender mainstreaming in all the departments and organs of the society promotes gender equality. This is in support of the expressions of the ideology that the society that values its women is better off than one that excludes them. The adult literacy is also used to improve and encourage the change of gender mentalities in the society. Through education women and girls are also equipped with life skills and family life education which helps to address the reproductive health challenges such as early pregnancies, unsafe abortion and premature sexuality.

This chapter further underscores the active involvement of men in the pursuit of gender equality as a working strategy. This is meant to justify the modern expression that 'since men are part of the problem of gender equality, it's just fair that they are made part of the solution'. Hence in Homa Bay County, men in various platforms are involved actively to articulate the issues of women which resonate well with the society and promote gender equality and the debate is no longer the feminists' problem but of the masculinity. This is inline with the recommendation of the report of the fourth world conference on women in Beijing-China which has been adopted in Kenya which reports that eradication of poverty in any society will depend on social justice where both men and women are involved.

Politically this chapter describes among other strategies such as, the adoption of Kenya vision 2030 as a political projection for the gender mainstreaming mitigation which influences national and county government policies for gender equality. Study demonstrates how the vision recognizes the gender concerns and increases the holistic opportunities among women by aggregating their participation in decision making as contained in the medium term plan one of 2008-12. The vision's medium plan two of 2013-2017, also undertakes to promote equity in access, control and participation in resource distribution for improved livelihood for women respectively.

The other political mitigation in this chapter is the adoption and operationalization of Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The goal number 5, endeavours to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure prosperity for all regardless of gender. The aim is to end all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls. SDG commits the governments, NGO's and other donors to support women by encouraging them to participate in political parties where most of them are given direct tickets or are charged lower nomination fees compared to men as a gender equality positive discrimination strategy. The application and legalising of the affirmative action to favour women into political domains such as two third gender rule and women representatives is part of the SDG.

This chapter confirms that the formation of institutionalised gender equality departments in Kenya is political gender equality mitigation. Such institutions include National Gender and Equality Commission which established gender mainstreaming departments and strategies in all level of government and ensure the concern of women and men are considered equally in decision making tables.

The chapter also explores promulgation of the progressive gender based constitution 2010 as the main leap into the gender equality mitigation. In the Article such as 91 (1) (f) enforces a requirement for political parties to respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedom, and gender equality and equity. This made the dominant political party in Homa Bay to have the county woman chairperson of the party and at the same time, the party gave direct certificates to four female to contest for the three parliamentary seats in Homa Bay and one ticket for the gubernatorial seat for the 9th

august 2022. In Article 197, the county executive and assembly must not have more than two third of its members to be of the same gender.

Fundamentally, the chapter argues that the available legislations and the landmark gender equality court pronouncements in terms of the gender equality of inheritances reduces the female traditional transient mentality and exclusion of females in the family inheritance hence promotes gender equality. The same rulings and legislations have criminalised the traditional levirate right which has been common in Homa Bay. The legislations also encourage the provision of the special fundings to promote females rights. The other political strategy is the adoption and operationalization of the CRC, CRWAC and CEDAW by the national government and integrating them into the County Intergreted Development Plans. This has promoted the rights and health of girls and women. Such organizational documents are not only popularised but also adopted in the national and county legislations and helps condemn discrimination against children and women in all its forms as is enshrined in Article 3 of the CEDAW.

The increase of women in the county and national parliaments is a political strategy to ensure that women participate in gender sensitive policies that requires immediate attention for the equality to be achieved. This has facilitated the gender based legislations and judicial interpretations of the gender equality laws and clauses. Women in leadership positions have always sort the judicial redress on the gender equality impasse in Kenya. One of the landmark pronouncement on the gender equality debate was when the then Chief Justice Emilitus David Kenani Maraga advised the then present Uhuru Kenyatta to dissolve parliament since it was notable to legislate in the gender equality clauses meant to ensure the realisation of the a third gender rule in Kenya.

Economically, this chapter argues that there are efforts to increase women's access to economic resources like land, credit and markets that women have missed since pre-colonial. The trategy improves females's capacities to enjoy the benefits of equal access to these resources. This is meant to fulfil the provions of Kenyan constitution 2010. The constitution makes different organs and departments to be under constitutional obligation to encourage equitable access to land and eliminate gender discrimination in the issues of land.

This chapter explains the importance of education which places male and female strategically for future economic empowerment as a political gender mitigation strategy. This is because women who have attained higher qualifications in education increase their chances in the world of job. Such women do not only compete with men favourably but also contributes to fellow female development which further boosts them to gain access to the formal sector. The recognition of the public and private contribution of women in homes and society alongside that of men is a way to promote gender equality.

It is established in this chapter that there is the adoption of the gender responsive budget at both levels of government which is an economic gender equality mitigation strategy in Kenya. Such budget promotes the course of women as the disadvantaged group and is implemented by the national and county government to ensure an equitable allocation of funds so that it satisfies the most pressing needs of girls and women. This chapter concludes that apart from the governments involvement of the NGO's, civil society and parliament to ensure more funds to promote the course of women, it also encourage the external sources of funds and economic resources to supplement the internal support. The study also established that women are also given greater access to markets and credit facilities so as to promote their businesses and agricultural produce.

In chapter five records the impact of gender equality on political transformation by analysing women's political journey since colonial times and indicates the differences in the level of political participation and voting preferences between men and women since 1992. It also gives the differences which created the multiple gender gaps with considerable variation overtime and across cultures in Kenya. It unpacked women's national political role in Kenya as was witnessed during the struggle for independence. Study indicate that during the Mau Mau women were helpful in passing secret information, sabotaged colonial crop production, transported food to fighters and hid firearms to the fighters. It is established in this chapter that while other women composed songs in praise of fighters, the likes of Muthoni Ngatha was co-opted into the actual war and rose to the position of field marshall. It is believed that if not for the sacrifices made by women in Mau Mau the struggle could probably not lasted that long. Study demonstrate that Luo community women were not left behind while others accompanied their husbands in the European farms in central Kenya and were involved like their

counterparts there, the ones around the area where the freedom fighters were detained like in Mageta, Sayusi and Yamo Islands, sneaked food and secret messages in their skirts to the fighters apart from composing songs in praise of such fighters.

This chapter further demonstrate that women struggle for political space did not end even after independence. This is seen in the role of distinguished women like Jael Mbogo of central Kenya and Magdalene Aboge Alila of Nyanza. In there own statement the dawn of independence for men opened a women struggle for inclusion and consideration. This is because men either ignored or sidelined women emancipation in independent Kenya. In the colonial era Aboge who was also earned the name ‘mama Uhuru’ mobilised women vendors in Kisumu to rebel against colonial local authorities when they issued a decree barring Africans women from selling their trade items within the town center. The success in this mobilisation made her to be incorporated into ADA and made the leader of women wing an opportunity which made her traverse Nyanza. Sudy states that she came to Homa Bay to sensitise women on the value for struggling for independence as she promised them that it’s only through womens emacipation that was the way to freedom of trade.

During here political life, Aboge got national and intaernational exposure, Oginga Odinga took her together with others to Egypt, Sudan, Romania and Russia and even met Indira Gandhi when she was invited to Kenya by Oginga before becoming Indian Prime Minister, which enabled her to discuss with Indira the political liberation of women of Kenya. It is her exposure that made the independent government to arrest her and other eight when she returned from Russia on suspicion of planning to remove President Kenyatta from power irrespective of being the only woman among nine men who demanded the release of Kenyatta from detaintion.

This study explains the active resurgence of the notion and understanding of women in Kenya from in 1985, when UN conference on women was held in Nairobi. Though the new shift still potrayed women as oppressed and helpless group, women like Asiyo were able to wither the patriarchal storm to contest and win the position of Member of Parliament in Karachuonyo constituency when it was list expected. During the 1990’s Aboge and Asiyo joined hands with Oginga and others for the struggle for the second

liberation of Kenya by demanding for restoration of the political pluralism in Kenya which later culminated to the formation of FORD. This chapter notes that the two women mobilised and supported women in Homa Bay and influenced them to use women organisations as a platform for political leadership. It is through the same women organisation support that even Asiyo and Carren Bondo became Member of Parliament and councillor respectively at the time when politics was a preserve of men in Kenya.

This study asserts that affirmative clauses in Kenyan constitution 2010 provide a legal leap on the reclamation of gender equality in Kenya. This chapter argues that from the active times of Asiyo, women of Homa Bay have always resisted patriarchal attempt to push them out of politics. They have always wittled political space by even behaving like men and speaking their language which continue to change the gender landscape in Homa Bay. The study denotes the support of international communities such as CEDAW which oblige countries to promote gender equality and give women socio-economic and political space and pegs development on gender equality. It's also noted in this chapter that the role of Asiyo and Bondo as political leaders changed people's belief on the leadership of women in Homa Bay. It was also established that later influence of women of Homa Bay on the dominant political party ODM enabled most women to acquire direct tickets to contest in various political positions. At the time of this study the same dominant political party was led by woman who also inherited it over from another woman.

The other influence of gender in political transformation is seen on the number of women in political leadership at the national and county level which has been consistently increasing since 2012 to almost parity in representative politics by 2021 both at the county and national level indicating the achievement of gender political numerical quality. The increase is also seen in the provincial administration and county executives within Homa Bay where the earlier women silent leadership is consistently being replaced by outward looking public and private independent participants' determined to succeed. The chapter further asserts that even though much is happening to achieve political gender equality, women still face challenges in the government and party structures as they often face intimidation from men who view their patriarchal authority

under 'attack'. Apart from male intimidation, women leaders also face isolation as they are feared by men who feel threatened and undermined by their socio-economic and political achievements. The study established that successful women find it difficult to balance public and domestic responsibilities which make them to be poor wives and mothers in the African standard and on the same note most of them fail to sustain marriages and are either single, separated or divorced.

This study admits that the emergence of women based justice organisations such as FIDA give women legal empowerment and provide them with multi approach strategies as they transform, demand, make and sustain changes to gendered justice. Chapter five further explains that such organizations have easy access to national and international funding so as to empower women economically and promote their political voices. However, most of such gender based organizations reports cases of dishonesty, competition, mismanagement and embezzlement which impede their course of socio-economic and political justice for women.

In the gender and political involvement this chapter established that during the colonial era upto 1992 women were politically conservative than men in ideology, party attachment and vote choice across societies in Kenya. This study narrates that there are exceptional cases of one or two individuals who went out of their way as women because of their socio-economic backgrounds. Hence this study attach the cause of women's hesitation to their religiosity that contributes to the conservative nature of political issues apart from that they were not in the paid workforce hence were not lucky to join trade unions which was the only way to political connection. This remained the same until the historical entry of women in the paid workforce at the end of Second World War in 1945.

In this chapter it was established that the traditional political gender gap against women began to erode rapidly with the reintroduction of political pluralism in 1992 in favour of women. Even though women emancipation was introduced that early, they were still not enthusiastic to participate in political activities including casting of their votes as compared to men making women votes to remain elusive at the time when gender was synonymous to culture in the society. This study confirms that this trend had remarkable

change from 2002 when voting pattern began to favour women both in terms of voting, number of the elected women and appointed women in the political platform. The chapter give reason for the change as women positive value change as they are the core family care givers, hence expected a life changing services that were contained in the NARC government during their campaign. This voting trend remained upward infavour of women upto 2007. In the 2013 election the report indicates more men voters than women which according to IEBC could be because of the post election violence of 2007-8.

This chapter further indicates that women's political involvement is determined by the ethnic community, for instance, this study established that Nilotic and Cushitic women tend to be held more by their traditional customs compared to the Bantus hence women from such communities initially seemed reluctant to liberal ideals instead surrendered to the male control comparatively before 2010. Study shows that the subsequent elections had a reducing trend of political gender gap because men and women began to prioritise different issues which to women were values and social security for their families as men pursue power and economic gains which propel them to political world.

As stated in this chapter, since 2002 the number of women contestants and voters has been increasing because of the NARC manifesto which promised major social reforms which resonated well with women compared to the rulling KANU that was viewed as men's club in its policies, structure and management. However, the increase of women in voting and in elected positions should not be construed that women participate more than men; it depends upon the decade, county, ward, type of participation and the set of women understudy. All in all, the increase of women involvement in political activities varies per ward andconstituencuies of Homa Bay which exhibits a declining gender gap in political participation.

This study argues that among the factors that narrow the political gender gap in Homa Bay is the implementation of the affirmative action as enshrined in the constitution of Kenya 2010 which also promotes the gender mainstreaming in the political issues and participation betweenmen and women. The affirmative action is further strengthened by the adoption of the regional and international conventions such as CEDAW just like education promotes the gender awareness which put men and women almost at the verge of equality.

The reason why this study asserts that the increase of women in voting is just one indicator of women's political emancipation is because voting is pervasive exercise which requires few resources such as time, information and civil skills. It is also documented that even though women voter turn out and political contestation has increased in Homa Bay, their political participation in other forms of electoral activities still trails that of men. Chapter five further indicates that many men than women have political contact with political patrons, join political parties as members and even attend political rallies and meetings. Study gives reason that make women to shy away from the above as at the charged nature and protests that come with such events which can only attract the bold educated women and those in the paid labour. It is also noted that such women are also in the younger age unlike the old who can't speak the vulgar language of men. It is further established that women instead favour signing of petitions and or collect money to support social or political group than physically join demonstrations and protests. They also participate in the consumerism by either buying or boycotting certain products as a political protest even though there has been an improvement on the gender debate in Kenya since 1992, the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action in 1995 legally and conventionally promoted the positive trend in terms of analysing political parties' roles and performance in context to the gender equality and women's political empowerment in Kenya. This study posits that the momentum gained after 1995 increased the attention paid to the critical need to ensure women's access to and full participation in positions of power and decision making both in national and local level in Kenya.

This study recognizes that political parties are the 'real gatekeepers' for both men's and women's access to positions of power and decision making which make their role to become an area of focus in redressing gender inequalities in Kenyan politics. This chapter asserts that access to political power, leadership and decision making typically begins at the political party's level. Therefore, the creation of enabling environments for the meaningful participation and representation of both men and women in political parties is crucial for promotion of gender equality. In order to a certain the extent to which political parties possess awareness on gender issues, as shown by some of the provisions in parties' policy documents, this study compiles that dominant political party in Homa Bay and also examined some party policy documents and philosophies. In the process some of constraints were established which hinder the move beyond the awareness, there

is needed to mobilize pragmatic actions so as to institutionalize gender equality in party politics.

In Homa Bay this chapter recognized that the dominant party ODM possesses internal party strategies to redress gender inequalities and unequal participation including representation of women in politics and decision making in the party organs and structures. Even though the content analysis of political parties' foundational documents in Kenya illustrates that much work needs to be done in order to transform the status and conditions of women and men in general, consequently, this study established that in Homa Bay the party has created conducive environments and is systematically implementing the gender-responsive ingenuities through the sustainable strategies and actions that go beyond formal equal rights. Such strategies 'uncover gender inequalities' that is deeply entrenched in society and consequently transforms politics in Homa Bay.

Hence in Homa Bay there is a political party's transformation upheld by the dominant party ODM which consistently implements its principles or commitments on gender equality as contained in the party constitution and manifesto. However, it was discovered that commitments on gender equality tend to be pragmatic only during political parties' elections campaign, in manifestos and party constitutions which comprise statements on gender equality and women's empowerment issues in most political parties in Kenya. Contrary to ODM party, this study appreciates that the general trend in some parties is to mention gender among the list of election campaign promises without defining gender as a priority objective in party constitutions.

Commitment should inform political parties' internal processes and practices while the relationship between commitments on gender equality expressed in campaign manifestos and the actualising it remains within the pronouncements because most political parties' policy documents contain general texts on commitments to gender equality but do not necessarily outline corresponding measures for ensuring the transformation of the commitments into effective actions and outcomes.

In general trend, this study demonstrates that the way in which quotas are applied by political parties to promote gender equality makes a difference to whether the presence of women is 'token' or amounts to an effective and substantive form of participation and representation. However, this chapter established that even in countries with legislated

quotas not all political parties are in compliance with the law. This could be because party's decision to comply fully with the legislation is definitely influenced by factors like the methods for execution and the punishments or costs for non-compliance within the party framework. Despite lack of effective implementation and enforcement mechanisms among other political parties, this study mention that parties at times include texts on gender in their policy documents and show at least some awareness of gender issues. The only bit remaining is to design robust measures which eliminate practices and processes that undermine women's political participation and representation in political leadership and decision making. This is because the political commitment alone is not enough since the test of a party's commitment is found in its translation of strategies and programmes into action.

Unlike before, this chapter notes that membership to political parties is open to 'all citizens' regardless of sex, tribe, religion or gender. To this end, political parties' have transformed to be gender-sensitive. In addition, this study established that political parties' policy documents contain common provisions which state that every party member has the right to elect and be elected to any leadership and decision-making position, and shall be entitled to enjoy the right to partake in all political parties' activities. However, in practice the analysis of political parties' documents and commitments to gender quality, chapter demonstrate that most of political parties do not attain equal representation and participation of women and men in top leadership positions that has consistently remained masculine. It was further realised that it is only ODM party that has supposed gender parity in both the elective and party leadership at the county level where majority of the MCA and the women elected members are either equal to men or more, just like they command the majority in the party leadership at the county.

This study established that the use of masculine genre such as 'he/his' 'chairman', 'sons of the country' 'menfolk' and countrymen is declining in Homa Bay and being replaced by a more gender sensitive words such as, chairperson, people of the country and women folk within the political parties' constitutions, particularly in reference to leadership positions such as the party President, Chairperson or Vice Chairperson, Secretary General or Treasurer. Of late the gender sensitive salutations are used to equate access to these

leadership positions with maleness, otherwise 'she' is only used in reference to the leadership of women's wings. In order to be gender responsive the politicians even go miles to pronounce the word 'country men and women' which shows the commitment to implementation at the verbal level gender equality.

This chapter concludes by stating that even though there is gender transformation witnessed by women representation in the higher decision-making structure of all the political parties' national conventions, study reports that the NEC's meeting which is only once annually is what sets the direction of the political party. Therefore the inclusion of women wing in the NEC is important because NEC is primarily responsible for directing the operations of political parties and initiates policy programmes for action and manage budgets and financial issues according to the decisions of the National Conventions. This study confirms that most of the political parties assign women wings the social and welfare issues responsibilities including gender equality and women's empowerment. At the same time, study argues that placing gender issues under women's wing places gender questions far from the mainstream priorities of the political parties and relegates it to be the affairs of women. The main worry of this study is that the current representation of women at the executive level is still low in most of political parties which put to test the effectiveness and role of women's wing in the management and decision-making processes in political parties even after the assurance of their permanent seats in the executive council.

5.2 Conclusion of the study

The present study arrives at the conclusion that the pre-colonial society in Homa Bay exhibited a mostly patrilineal social structure, although not conforming strictly to a patriarchal system. During the precolonial era, the societal structure of patriarchy exerted a significant influence on the organization and purpose of marriage institutions, primarily aimed at maintaining male dominance and control. These marriages were intended to symbolize the significance of men who acquired women through the exchange of a bride price or prize, as observed in the three distinct types of marriage arrangements facilitated by parents and relatives. Although these marital unions were characterized by exogamy, the residence patterns that followed the marriage were patrilocal, and the distribution of authority and inheritance was patrilineal.

The patriarchal system exhibited a preference for male offspring, as they were regarded as emblematic of the perpetuation of the community and the designated successors to their respective households. These youngsters were held in high regard, revered, and tightly bonded. In this particular context, young females were perceived as temporary members of their natal family and were regarded as a means to acquire economic resources for their fathers. Consequently, they were groomed for marriage, which entailed their integration into the husband's lineage. Similarly, the patriarchal system played a determining role in shaping the educational opportunities available to both girls and boys. Historically, societal norms have perpetuated the notion of male superiority, resulting in the assignment of masculine responsibilities to boys, while females were socialized to aspire to become dutiful wives who relied on men for support.

From an economic standpoint, patriarchy in pre-colonial culture allocated resources predominantly to men and dictated the division of labor along gender lines. However, it is worth noting that women possessed a certain level of limited economic agency and autonomy. In traditional societies, it was customary for males to obtain land upon entering into marriage. However, the responsibility of managing and utilizing this land for the benefit of the family often rested in the hands of women. Women obtained land through the legal framework of marriage, while unmarried men were not granted property ownership. The women in question exercised authority over the cultivation and allocation of crops on the land. Additionally, they organized the labor required for farming activities and utilized the resulting harvests to sustain both their nuclear and extended families. Any surplus produce was exchanged for goods or resources that were lacking within their community.

Distinguishing between economic and religious influences and their political effect proved to be a challenging task. This research highlights the distinction between the public and private spheres, as well as the formal and informal aspects, of women's political engagement. This study highlights that while patriarchy granted political authority predominantly to males, women were not confined solely to the domestic sphere. Rather, their engagement in political endeavors was often hindered by the extensive responsibilities associated with their domestic duties, which significantly influenced their participation in political affairs over an extended period of time. Women

have certain political powers, both direct and indirect, which they were not hesitant to exercise, albeit not in opposition to men.

The implementation of colonial policies, including taxation, labor practices, education, and political structures, served to solidify and perpetuate patriarchal norms within Kenyan society. The process of marginalizing women may be traced back to the era of colonization, and its effects have persisted throughout the six decades following independence. Women have shouldered the weight of colonial policies that subjected them to discrimination, yet they persisted in their protests initiated during earlier periods and actively participated with males in the pursuit of freedom. The colonial political system perpetuated gender inequality by marginalizing women and privileging men, resulting in the establishment of an organized and institutionalized patriarchy. The colonial policies implemented during the period in question resulted in the subordination of Luo women to a position inferior to that of men. Nevertheless, women actively engaged in efforts to safeguard their societal standing by engaging in protests against the marginalization imposed upon them by the colonial authorities, employing many strategies to achieve their objectives. The establishment of a colonial government characterized by male dominance resulted in the marginalization of women in political matters, relegating them to the private realm.

In Kenya, women constitute the majority, accounting for 51% of the population. Throughout the historical trajectory, women have played significant roles in several spheres, including social, economic, and political domains, dating back to the pre-colonial era. However, it is noteworthy that their involvement in decision-making processes has experienced a reduction from the colonial period to the post-colonial era. During the colonial era, the introduction of new material resources and legal frameworks resulted in a shift from patrimony to patriarchy, leading to the dominance of men over women in socio-economic and political spheres. This power dynamic continued throughout the age of independence.

The advent and utilization of hospitals during the colonial era disrupted the longstanding practice of gender segregation that displayed a bias towards males. The categorization of violence against women as a criminal offense, as stipulated by the Kenyan constitution

and international legal frameworks, serves to advance gender equality and mitigate the ephemeral nature of societal attitudes. These approaches, in conjunction with the reinforcement of gender-based idioms such as "what a man can do, women can do best" inside social norms, serve as social strategies aimed at enhancing gender equality. The consolidation and dissemination of the CRC, CEDAW, and CRWAC by their alignment with local and national laws contribute to the reinforcement of these treaties.

The implementation of a standardized national education system contributes to the advancement of gender equality within society. This is achieved through the inclusion of gender-sensitive curricular and co-curricular activities, as well as the establishment of boarding schools for girls. Additionally, the compulsory and widespread provision of education for all children, along with the effective implementation of adult education programs, further supports the promotion of gender equality. This is accompanied by the implementation of life skills and family life education programs, which aim to tackle reproductive health issues and mitigate the occurrence of preterm pregnancies and unsafe abortions that disrupt girls' educational pursuits. The implemented strategies facilitate the re-enrollment of female students who have experienced motherhood back into the educational system.

Economic gender mitigations encompass affirmative efforts aimed at enhancing women's economic empowerment through the provision of financial resources. The implementation of initiatives aimed at providing accessible clean water and sustainable renewable energy resources can be seen as a strategic approach that contributes to the enhancement of women's health and well-being. This is mostly due to the reduction in time spent searching for these essential resources. Various economic strategies have been implemented, encompassing inventive activities in non-formal education that aim to empower women and girls, reducing their dependency and thus decreasing their childbearing rates. The initiatives aim to provide females with equal opportunities to secure employment, especially in rural areas. As a result, they enable women to become successful economic participants and catalysts for personal economic advancement.

Political measures aimed at achieving gender equality encompass many institutions and mechanisms that actively seek to advance the cause of gender equality. These institutions aim to uphold principles of fairness and equality in legal proceedings, as well as

contribute to the development of a constitution that takes into account gender sensitivity. Additionally, they strive to prioritize gender equality as a key objective. County and national governments have implemented various measures, including media engagement, structural adjustments, and legislative interventions, in order to advance the cause of gender equality. Female politicians leverage their positions to exert influence over the formulation of legislation pertaining to gender issues and the interpretation of laws related to equality.

The promotion of gender equality has had a significant influence on the political change of women in Homa Bay, dating back to the colonial era, particularly in relation to their political engagement and voting behavior. The advent of male independence marked the commencement of women's endeavor for inclusion and recognition. Similar to the efforts made to secure physical territory during the colonial era, women also organized and rallied their fellow women against the ruling powers of the time. They sought to raise awareness among women about the importance of advocating for gender inclusivity and recognition.

The dynamics of gender relations resulted in the widespread national and worldwide visibility of individuals such as Aboge. This increased visibility subsequently led to the incarceration of these individuals by the independent government, despite their active participation in the war for independence. Certain women successfully navigated the challenges posed by patriarchal structures in order to actively participate in the political arena and secure positions as Members of Parliament and civic representatives. There was a growing need for political pluralism in Kenya, which eventually led to the establishment of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD). This occurred during a period when politics was predominantly dominated by men. Women consistently defy patriarchal efforts to exclude women from the realm of politics. They have historically navigated the political sphere by adopting masculine behaviors and employing masculine rhetoric. The presence of women within the prevailing political party facilitates their access to direct nominations for candidacy in diverse political posts.

The representation of women in political leadership positions at the national and county levels has exhibited a consistent upward trend since 2012, approaching a state of parity with their male counterparts. This progress signifies a significant stride towards achieving

political gender equality, transforming what was once a predominantly silent form of female leadership into a more visible and active participation of women in both public and private spheres. Despite the advancements made towards gender equality, women continue to encounter intimidation and obstacles in their pursuit of raising children. Additionally, they may experience isolation due to the apprehension and undermining behavior exhibited by men who feel threatened by women's socio-economic and political influence.

The level of women's political activity is influenced by their ethnic community. Women from Nilotic and Cushitic ethnic groups exhibit a stronger adherence to their traditional norms in comparison to women from Bantu ethnic groups. This may explain why Cushitic women, in particular, initially displayed reluctance towards embracing liberal concepts and consequently yielded to male dominance, especially before to the year 2010. Nevertheless, the rise in female representation in voting and elected offices does not necessarily indicate a greater level of female engagement compared to men. This phenomenon is contingent upon various factors such as the specific time period, geographical location, electoral district, kind of participation, and the specific group of women involved.

Voting serves as a singular measure of women's political empowerment due to its widespread nature and minimal requirements in terms of time, information, and civic abilities. Despite the fact that women voters have shown increased political engagement and participation in various electoral activities, their level of political involvement still lags behind that of men. This discrepancy can be attributed to the greater political connectivity that men tend to have with political patrons and their higher likelihood of joining political parties. These factors are influenced by the charged nature and protests associated with political events, which primarily attract educated women and those who are part of the paid labor force. The endorsement of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action in 1995 has had a significant impact on the examination of the roles and effectiveness of political parties in relation to gender equality and the political empowerment of women in Kenya, both in legal and conventional terms.

Political power, leadership, and decision-making processes typically originate within political parties. Consequently, it is crucial to establish conducive conditions that facilitate the meaningful engagement and representation of both genders in these parties. However, certain limitations impede progress beyond raising awareness and mobilizing practical measures to institutionalize gender equality in party politics.

Political parties have established favorable conditions and are methodically implementing gender-responsive initiatives through sustained policies and activities that extend beyond mere nominal equality. These tactics aim to expose and address long-standing gender disparities that have been firmly ingrained in society. The political party undergoes a constant change wherein it continually upholds and implements the ideals and pledges pertaining to gender equality as outlined in its party constitution and manifestos. Political parties often adopt pragmatic approaches to gender equality in their election campaigns, manifestos, and party constitutions. These documents typically contain declarations addressing gender equality and women's empowerment. The prevailing tendency observed in certain political parties is to merely incorporate gender equality as one of the many promises made during election campaigns, without explicitly establishing gender as a primary objective inside the party constitutions that guide the internal procedures and practices of these political organizations.

In contrast to previous practices, political party membership is now accessible to all citizens, irrespective of their gender, tribe, religion, or gender identity. In pursuit of this objective, political parties have undergone a transformation to incorporate gender sensitivity, as seen by the inclusion of sections in their policy documents that affirm the entitlement of all members to participate in all activities of the respective political parties. In contemporary society, there is a growing emphasis on promoting gender responsiveness and actively working towards eliminating gender-biased language.

The underrepresentation of women in the highest echelons of political parties prompts inquiries into the efficacy and function of women's wings in the realm of governance and decision-making, despite their guaranteed presence in the National Executive Committees of diverse political organizations.

5.3 Recommendation of the study

It is imperative to establish ongoing "Gender Impact Assessment" initiatives that prioritize individuals in the implementation of gender equality measures, in order to effectively address the diverse demands and interests of both women and men. This will aid in the identification of gender disparities in terms of access to and control over resources. The Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) should also take into account the influence of gender roles and stereotypes, and proactively anticipate the potential disparate consequences on individuals based on their gender. This approach ensures that the measures implemented to promote gender equality yield outcomes that effectively support gender equality within society.

It is imperative to align gender equality policies with the cultural and normative frameworks of societies in order to prevent cultural inconsistencies. This approach aims to foster a shift in societal attitudes towards the recognition of girls and women as equal participants in society. Rather than solely focusing on the effective implementation and operationalization of legal gender provisions and social policies, it is crucial to take into account the social organization of the respective society.

There is a pressing requirement for additional measures to promote and standardize the Convention on the Rights of Women (CRW), the Convention on the Rights of Women in Africa (CRWAC), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) within national legislation and County Integrated Plans. Furthermore, it is advisable to translate these documents into easily understandable, formal, and local languages. This approach would enhance accessibility and comprehension, while also mitigating existing negative societal attitudes that perpetuate gender inequality, thereby narrowing the gender gap.

It is imperative to engage men who are perceived as contributing to the issue of gender inequality in efforts to promote gender equality. Achieving gender equality necessitates the collaborative involvement of both men and women, ensuring a balanced approach that addresses the needs and concerns of both genders. This approach aims to prevent the marginalization of men while pursuing gender equality objectives.

It is imperative to undertake a comprehensive evaluation and restructuring of policy documents, including political parties' constitutions, manifestos, party rules and procedures, and strategy documents. These documents should be revised to integrate national and international standards and commitments pertaining to gender equality. This will foster a conducive atmosphere and cultivate a culture that actively supports and advances gender equality within political parties. It is imperative that political parties transcend mere awareness of gender issues and establish formal mechanisms for implementing gender-responsive interventions, policies, and procedures. This will ensure that the awareness and pledges on gender are effectively translated into tangible actions within the day-to-day operations of political parties.

Enhance the efficacy of existing monitoring structures, such as Gender Equality Commissions, which possess the authority to enforce accountability regarding the integration of gender perspectives across all sectors. Similarly, electoral administration authorities ought to possess the authority to implement legal affirmative action measures aimed at promoting gender equality. It is recommended that gender equality departments and organizations engage in periodic gender audits to enhance the efficient implementation of their responsibilities.

There is a necessity to conduct a study in order to evaluate the correlation between gender equality and the establishment and dynamics of marital unions. The reduction of the gender gap has led to the recognition of a challenge faced by women who have achieved gender equality or advocate for it. These women often encounter difficulties in balancing their roles as wives and mothers, resulting in limited time for their children and husbands. Additionally, their pursuit of equality can be perceived as a threat by men who fear the potential impact on their social positions and possessions. This study has determined that women in question do not maintain a marital relationship and instead remain unmarried, divorced, widowed, or separated.

In order for the constitutional advancements to have a tangible impact on the lives of women and effectively achieve gender equality benchmarks, it is imperative that the pertinent sections of the legislation are duly implemented. The absence of a comprehensive legislative framework that effectively tackles gender inequities in society

is not evident. The presentation of the fundamental components is seen in the Kenyan Constitution of 2010, which is widely regarded as a progressive document. According to the findings of this study, a notable deficiency has been identified in the need to enhance the fundamental responsibilities (Okong'o, KII; 05/04/2021). In summary, the County Assembly of Homa Bay and other institutions with designated responsibilities have significant challenges in carrying of their duties. It is lamentable that the National Parliament and County Assembly, similar to other mandated organizations, have continuously demonstrated a failure to enact the necessary legislation pertaining to gender-related matters.

According to Asiyo (KII, 08/03/2021), it is crucial for Parliament to promptly seize the legislative opportunity in order to establish a level of certainty within the Constitution, so facilitating the realization of gender equality throughout Kenyan societies. This study highlights the significance of promptly enacting legislation in order to clarify the uncertainties caused by various articles of the constitution through additional legal elaboration. Nevertheless, in Homa Bay, women have assumed positions of governmental authority with the primary objective of advancing the agenda of gender equality for women. Through conducting a comparative analysis, we may examine the representation of women in the parliaments of South Africa and Mozambique, where the proportion of female parliamentarians stands at 30 percent. In February 2004, Mozambique achieved the distinction of being the first country in the region to designate a female individual, Ms. Luisa Diogo, as its Prime Minister. Rwanda boasts the highest level of female representation in national parliaments globally. The proportion of female lawmakers stands at 49 percent, surpassing the defined target of 30 percent set in Beijing. The global average is at a mere 15 percent. During the period under investigation, it was seen that there was a possibility of a female candidate, namely Gladys Nyasuna Wanga, being elected as the governor of Homa Bay. This likelihood was attributed to her direct nomination by the main political party to run for the gubernatorial seat.

REFERENCES

Books and Journals

- Abbott, P., Tyler, M., & Wallace, C. (2006). *An introduction to sociology: Feminist perspectives*. Routledge.
- Abwao, P. (1962). "Memorandum on Behalf of the African Women to the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London, February, 1962" In Kihoro, W. (Ed) *A Vision of the Future from the Past: Essential Public Documents in the Making of the New Kenya Constitution*, Nairobi: ABANTU for Development, 2002.
- Adams, M., & Turner, S. (2005). Legal dualism and land policy in Eastern and Southern Africa. *Land Rights for African Development*, 6.
- Ademuson, A. O. (2016). Women domination and oppression in Nigerian society: Implications for sustainable development. *African Journal for the Psychological Studies of Social Issues*, 19(1), 24-36.
- Ahluwalia, D. P. S. (1996). *Post-colonialism and the politics of Kenya*. Nova Publishers.
- Ahmad, H. M., & Naimat, S. (2011). Networking and women entrepreneurs: Beyond patriarchal traditions. *African Journal of Business Management*, 5(14), 5784-5791.
- Amadiume, I. (2000), *Daughters of The Goddess, Daughters of Imperialism. African's Women Struggle for Culture, Power and Democracy*. London: Zed, 2000.
- Amadiume, I. (1987), *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*. London: Zed Press, 1987.
- Amadiume, I. (1987). African matriarchal foundations: The Igbo case.
- Amutabi, M. N. (2007). African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900-50. *Africa Today*, 53(4), 118-121.
- Asiyanbola, A. (2005, July). Patriarchy, male dominance, the role and women empowerment in Nigeria. In *Poster presentado en la XXV International Population Conference Tours, Francia*.
- Atieno-Odhiambo, E.S. (1979). "Seek ye First the Economic Kingdom: A History of the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LUTATCO) 1945-1956" in Ogot, B.A. (ed) *Hadith 5. Economic and Social History of East Africa*. Nairobi: KLB, 1979.
- Atkeson, L. R., & Carrillo, N. (2007). More is better: The influence of collective female descriptive representation on external efficacy. *Politics & Gender*, 3, 79–101.
- Aubrey, L.M. (2000) *Gender, Development and Democratization in Africa*" in Ndegwa, Stephen (ed). *A Decade of Democracy in Africa*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ayot, T. (1994) *Women and Political Leadership in Pre-colonial Period: Case Study of Chief Mang'ana of Kadem in Western Kenya*. Nairobi: Kaswanga Press.
- Ayot, T.O. (1990) "*South Nyanza Historical Texts, Vol. 11*" Kenyatta University, Dept. Of History.
- Ayot, T.A. (1990). "The Position of Women in Luo Societies: Case Study of Jok Onyango, A.D. 1750-1920", Ph.D. Thesis, Kenyatta University.
- Ayot, T. (1981). "A History of the Luo of South Nyanza, 1590 -1930" M.A., Thesis,

- Nairobi University, (1981).
- Badahdah, A. M., & Pedersen, D. E. (2011). "I want to stand on my own legs": a qualitative study of antiretroviral therapy adherence among HIV-positive women in Egypt. *AIDS care*, 23(6), 700-704.
- Beaman, L. et al. (2009). 'Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol.124, no. 4, pp. 1497 -1540
- Berman, B. J., & Lonsdale, J. M. (1980). Crises of accumulation, coercion and the colonial state: the development of the labor control system in Kenya, 1919–1929. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 14(1), 55-81.
- Berman, H., & Jiwani, Y. (2002). In the best interests of the girl child: Phase II report. *The Alliance of Five Research Centres on Violence*.
- Biscaldi, L. (2017). " *Fierce consumers of life*": *Feminism in the Works of Chimamanda Adichie* (Bachelor's thesis, Università Ca'Foscari Venezia).
- Brown, N. (2014). Political participation of women of color: An intersectional analysis. *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*, 35(4), 315–348.
- Brunton, R. (1989). The cultural instability of egalitarian societies. *Man*, 673-681.
- Bryan, E. (2008). Strategies for Promoting Gender Equity in Developing Countries: Lessons, Challenges, and Opportunities. *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*.
- Bujra, J.M. (1986). "Class, Gender and Capitalist Transformation" in Robertson, C. and Berger (eds) *Women and Class in Africa*, New York.
- Burns, N. (2007). Gender in the aggregate, gender in the individual, gender and political action. *Politics & Gender*, 3(1), 104–123.
- Burns, N., Schlozman, K. L., & Verba, S. (2001). *The private roots of public action: Gender, equality and political participation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Budlender, D., (2002). 'Gender Budgets: What's in it for NGOs?', *Gender and Development*, vol.10,no.3
- Cammack, D. (2007).The logic of African neopatrimonialism: What role for donors? *Development policy review*, 25(5), 599-614.
- Coffe, H., & Bolzendahl, C. (2010). Same game, different rules? gender differences in political participation. *Sex Roles*, 62, 318–333.
- Caprioli, M. (2004). Feminist IR theory and quantitative methodology: A critical analysis. *International Studies Review*, 6(2), 253-269.
- Creighton, C. And Yieke, F. (2006). *Gender Inequalities in Kenya*, UNESCO: UNESCO.
- Chanock, M. (1991). A peculiar sharpness: an essay on property in the history of customary law in colonial Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 32(1), 65-88.
- Cheeseman, N. and Power, T. (2014). Rethinking the 'presidentialism debate': conceptualizing coalitional politics in cross-regional perspective. *Democratization*, 21(1), 72-94.

- Chege, F. and Sifuna, D. N. (2006). Girls' and women's education in Kenya. *Gender Perspectives and trends*, Nairobi:UNESCO.
- Chereni, A. (2017). 'You become two in one': Women's representations of responsibility and emotional vulnerability in Zimbabwean father-away families. *International Social Work*, 60(2), 366-378.
- Cheryl, H. (2012). Transformation of Gender Relations in the South African National Defence Force: Real or Presumed? Fahamu Pambasuka Press – New York
- Choti, C.O. (2005). "Gender and Electoral Politics in Kenya: The Case of Gusii Women, 1990-2002". Ph.D. Dissertation, Clark Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia.
- Delphy, C. (2016). *Close to home: A materialist analysis of women's oppression*. Verso Books.
- Desai, N., & Raj, M. K. (1987). Women and society in India
- Devlin, C., & Elgie, R. (2008). The effect of increased women's representation in parliament: The case of Rwanda. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61(2), 237-254.
- Dilley, R.M. (1966). *British Policy in Kenya Colony*. London, 1966.
- Dimitrova-Grajzl, V., & Obasanjo, I. (2019). Do parliamentary gender quotas decrease gender inequality? The case of African countries; *Constitutional Political Economy*, 30(2), 149-176.
- Elias, N. (1996). *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*. Oxford, 1996.
- Eshiwani, G. (1985). *The Education of Women in Kenya, 1975-1984*, Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University; Kenya.
- Fatton, R. (1989). Gender, class and the state in Africa. In P. J & K. Staudt (Eds.), *Women and the state in Africa* (pp. 47-66). London, England:
- Ferguson, J. (2006). *Global shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Duke University Press.
- Firestone, S. (2015). *The dialectic of sex: The case for feminist revolution*. Verso Books.
- Galperin, A., Haselton, M. G., Frederick, D. A., Poore, J., von Hippel, W., Buss, D. M., & Gonzaga, G. C. (2013). Sexual regret: Evidence for evolved sex differences. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 42(7), 1145-1161.
- Geisler, G. G. (2004). *Women and the remaking of politics in Southern Africa: Negotiating autonomy, incorporation, and representation*. Nordic Africa Institute.
- Gilbert J. Garraghan (1946), *In A Guide to Historical Method*, Fordham University Press: New York
- Gouws, A. (2016). Gender, Politics, and the State in Southern Africa. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1-6.
- Gray, L., & Kevane, M. (1999). Diminished access, diverted exclusion: Women and land tenure in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Studies Review*, 15-39.
- Griffin, J. D., & Newman, B. (2005, April). Does Descriptive Representation Produce Political Equality? In *Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association*.
- Hafkin, N.J. (1996). *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, in Bay, G.E. (eds).

- Harrington, A., & Chopra, T. (2010). *Arguing traditions: Denying Kenya's women access to land rights*. World Bank.
- Harlow, V. and Chilver, E.M. (1965). (eds) *History of East Africa*, Vol. 11. Oxford; Oxford Press
- Hay, J.M. (1976). Luo Women and Economic Change during the Colonial Period". In Hafkin N. and Bay, G.E. (Eds). *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Hewlett, B. S., Lamb, M. E., Shannon, D., Leyendecker, B., & Schölmerich, A. (1998). Culture and early infancy among central African foragers and farmers. *Developmental psychology*, 34(4), 653.
- Horn, J. (2013). Gender and Social Movements: Overview report. BRIDGE Cutting Edge Pack. Brighton: IDS.
- Johnson, V. R. (1990). Rural African Women: The Struggle for Literacy. *Sage*, 7(1), 38.
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Kabira, N. (2019). Constitutionalizing Traveling Feminisms in Kenya. *Cornell Int'l LJ*, 52,137.
- Kabira, W. and Wasamba, P. (1998). Reclaiming Women's Space in Politics. Nairobi: *Centre for Gender and Development*.
- Kabira, W. and Nzioki, (1993). Celebrating Women's Resistance: A Case Study of Group Movement in Kenya, Nairobi.
- Kaggia, B. (1975). *Roots of Freedom, 1921-1963: The Autobiography of Bildad Kaggia*. Nairobi.
- Kamau, N. (2008). Enhancing Women's Political Participation. *Perspectives on Gender Discourse* 6, 8.
- Kameri-Mbote, P. (1995). Law of succession in Kenya: Gender perspectives in property management and control. International Environmental Law Research Centre.
- Kanogo, T. (2005). African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900-1950.
- Kanogo, T. (1987). *Squatters and the roots of Mau Mau, 1905-63*. East African Publishers. Kariuki, M. (2018). *Attaining Gender Equity for Inclusive Development in Kenya: Journal of cmsd Vol 2(2)*
- Karp, Jeffrey A., & Banducci, Susan A. (2008). When politics is not just a man's game: Women's representation and political engagement. *Electoral Studies*, 27, 105–115.
- Kenya Gazette (1965). *African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya* (No. 10).Govt. Printer.
- Khasiani, S.A. and Njiro, E.I. (1993). *The Women's Movement in Kenya*, Nairobi.
- Kihoro, W. (ed). *A Vision of the Future from the Past: Essential Public Documents in the Making of the New Kenya Constitution*. Nairobi: ABANTU, 2002.
- Kiragu, J. (2000). Is there a Woman's Movement? in Muteshi, J. (ed) *Mapping Best Practices: Promoting Gender Equality and the Advancement of Kenyan Women*. Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation.

- Kitching, G. N. (1980). *Class and economic change in Kenya: The making of an African petite bourgeoisie 1905-1970*. Yale University Press.
- Kozieł, P. (2017). Gender-Based Violence in Northern Nigeria. The Context of Muslim and Christian Women's Rights. *Hemispheres*, 32, 41-53.
- Leeder, E. J. (2004). *The family in global perspective: A gendered journey*. Sage.
- Lerner, G. (1986). *The creation of patriarchy* (Vol. 1). Oxford University Press, USA.
- Leys, N. (1973). Kenya. London.
- Liczek, I. (2005). Cultural Parameters of Gender Policymaking in Contemporary Turkmenistan. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 25(3), 567-583
- Lipset, S. M. (1960). *Political man*. New York: Doubleday.
- Lomazzi, V., Israel, S., & Crespi, I. (2019). Gender equality in Europe and the effect of work-family balance policies on gender-role attitudes. *Social Sciences*, 8(1), 5.
- Longwe, S. H., & Clarke, R. (1994). Women in Development, Culture and Youth: Workshop Preparatory Readings 1–3. Lusaka: Longwe, Clark and Associates.
- Lonsdale, J. (1980). "The Conquest State, 1894-1904" in Ochieng, W.R. (ed). *A Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980*. Evans: Nairobi.
- Louis Gottschalk (1950) In the *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method*: New York (1950). ISBN 0-394-30215-X.
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: The way forward. *European scientific journal*, 9(17).
- Mama, A. (1995). Feminism or femocracy? State feminism and democratisation in Nigeria. *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement*, 37-58.
- Mathenge, G. (18/ April/2004). From Cookery and Knitting to key role in Big-league Politics" in The Sunday Nation Newspaper, Nairobi: Nation Media Group Archives.
- Marlowe, F. W. (2005). Hunter- gatherers and human evolution. *Evolutionary Anthropology: Issues, News, and Reviews: Issues, News, and Reviews*, 14(2), 54-67.
- Mbeo, M.A. and Ombaka, O.O. (1989). Women and Law in Kenya. Nairobi: *Public Law Institute*.
- McClendon, T. V. (1995). Tradition and domestic struggle in the courtroom: Customary law and the control of women in segregation-era Natal. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 28(3), 527-561.
- Miguda E.A. (1987), "Mau Mau in Nairobi: 1946 – 1956: Case Study – The Luo Experience, M.A. Thesis.
- Muli, K. (1992). Gender discrimination in Kenya. *Nairobi Law Monthly*, (45), 37-39.
- Musandu, P. (2006). Daughter of Odoro: Grace Onyango and African Women's History" M.A. Thesis, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.
- Nasong'o Shadrack, W., & Ayot, T. (2007). Women in Kenya's Politics of Transition and Democratization. *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy*. New York: Zed Books.
- Ndeda, M.A.J. (2002). "Women and Development since Colonial Times" in Ochieng, W.R (ed) *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya: Essays in*

- Memory of Professor G.S. Were. Nairobi: pp. 232-261.
- Ndeda, M.A.J. (1997). "The Women's Subordination in African Independent Churches: The Case of Nomiya Luo Church" *The Eastern African Journal of Historical and Social Sciences Research*, Vol 1 (2), pp. 10-13.
- Ndeda, M.J (1994) "Nomiya Luo Church: A Gender Analysis of the Dynamics of An African Independent Church Among the Luo of Siaya District in the Twentieth Century and Beyond" Kenyatta University, History Department.
- Ndeda, M.A.J. (1994), Women in Kenyan History: *The Women's Campaign Mekatilili and the Giriama Resistance of 1913 and 1914*. Nairobi: Kaswanga, 1994.
- Ndeda, M.A.J. (1991), "The Impact of Male Labour Migration on Rural Women: A Case Study of Siaya District: C, 1894-1963. Ph.D. Thesis, KU.
- Newman, D. M., & Grauerholz, E. (2002). *Sociology of families*. Pine Forge Press.
- Nnaemeka, O. (2001). "What's a Name?" In Susan Perry and Celeste Schenck, (Eds), *Eye to Eye; Women Practicing Development Across Cultures*; London and New York.
- Njoku, U. J. (2005). Colonial Political Re-Engineering and the Genesis of Modern Corruption in African Public Service. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 14(1), 18-18.
- Njoya, W. (2009). Lark Mirror: African Culture, Masculinity, and Migration to France in Alain Mabanckou's *Bleu Blanc Rouge*. *Comparative Literature Studies*, 46(2), 338-359.
- Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nyagosia, B., Zachary, O., Ian Moywaywa, K., & Nyamwaka, E. (2017). Historical reflection of selected women's involvement in the struggle for Kenya's independence, 1920-1963.
- Nyakwaka A.D. (2013), Gender and political transformation in Kenya: *A case study of women in Luo land; 1895-2002*. Egerton University.
- Nyakwaka, D.A. (2004) "Women's Political Participation in Kenya, 1963-2002" A Paper presented at the Historical Association of Kenya Conference, at Lake Baringo, 10th- 13th June, 2004.
- Nyakwaka, D.A. (2005). "Gender and Sexuality Among the Luo in Kenya: Continuity and Change" in Khamasi, J. and Chinkuyu, S.N.M. (eds) *Sexuality: An African Perspective: The Politics of Self and Cultural Beliefs*. Eldoret: Moi University Press,. Pp. 77-94.
- Nyakwaka, D.A. (1999). "Women, the State and Tax Protests: The Case of Colonial Kenya, 1895-1963" A Paper presented at CODESRIA Governance Institute, Dakar
- Nzomo, M. (1993) Engendering Democratization in Kenya. A Political Perspective" in Kabira, W. et al *Democratic Change in Africa: Women's Perspectives*. Nairobi: AAWORD.
- Nzomo, M. (<http://www.kenyaconstitution.org/docs/09cd002.htm>) Engendering Governance Through the Constitutional Review Process" Constitution of Kenya Review Commission: Official Website

- Nzomo, M. (1995). Women in top management in Kenya.
- Nzomo, M. (1996). Shaping democratic change: The women's movement and the state in Kenya.
- O'Barr, J. (1995). "African Women in Politics" in Hay M.J. and Stichter, S. (eds) *African Women South of the Sahara*, New York, Longman 1995. Pp. 141-171.
- Obbo, C. (1980). *African women: Their struggle for economic independence*. Zed Press.
- Obbo, C. (1989). Sexuality and economic domination in Uganda. In *Woman-nation-state* (pp. 79-91). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Ochieng, W.R (2002). "Thunder from the Islands: Mau Mau in Western Kenya" in W.R. Ochieng (ed) *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya*. Nairobi.
- Ochieng, W.R. (1974). *A Pre-colonial History of the Gusii of Western Kenya*, CAD.100-1914. Nairobi: KLB, 1974.
- Ocholla-Ayayo, A. B. (1980). The Luo culture. *A reconstruction of the material culture patterns of a traditional African society*.
- Ochwada, H. (2002). "Church Missionary Society and the Re-construction of Gender Roles in Western Kenya, 1919-1939" in Ochieng, W.R. (ed). *Historical Studies and Social Change in Western Kenya*. Nairobi: KLB. Pp. 158-180.
- Ochwada, H. (1997). Politics and Gender Relations in Kenya: A Historical Perspective. *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement*, 22(1), 123-139
- Odinga, O. (1992). Not Yet Uhuru. Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Oduol, W. A. (1993). Kenyan women in politics: An analysis of past and present trends. *Transafrican Journal of History*, 166-181.
- Ogamba, Z. O. (2017). Historical reflection of selected women's involvement in the struggle for Kenya's independence, 1920-1963 (Doctoral dissertation).
- Ogle, R. S., & Batton, C. (2009). Revisiting patriarchy: Its conceptualization and operationalization in criminology. *Critical Criminology*, 17(3), 159-182.
- Ogola, M.A. (2001). *The River and the Source*, Nairobi: Focus.
- Ojwang, J.B. (2000). "Government and Constitutional Development in Kenya, 1895-1995" in Ogot, B.A. and Ochieng, W.R. (eds) *Kenya: The Making of a Nation*. Maseno:IRPS, 2000 pp.149-160.
- Okaro-Kojwang, K.M. (1969). Origins and Establishment of the Kavirondo Tax-payers Welfare Association *Ngano*, Nairobi: E.A.P.H.
- Okonjo, K. (1976). "The Dual-Sex Political System in Operation: *Igbo Women and Community Politics in Midwestern Nigeria*". In Hafkin, N. and Bay, G.E. (Eds). *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. California: Stanford University Press, 1976. Pp. 45-58.
- Ominde, S. (1952). *The Luo Girl: From Infancy to Marriage*. London: Macmillan.
- Osamba, J.O. (1994). Colonial African Labour in the Asian Owned Sugar Plantations in Kisumu District – Kenya 1901 – 1963: *The Role of Colonial Capitalisation in Underdevelopment*" M.Phil, Moi University.
- Otiende, J.E. (1993). Education since the Early Times" in Ochieng, W.R. (ed) *Themes in Kenyan History*. Nairobi: KLB.
- Oyando, A. *The Epic of Gor Mahia*. Nakuru: Pangolin, 2003.

- Parpart, J. L. (1994). "Where Is Your Mother?": Gender, Urban Marriage, and Colonial Discourse on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1924-1945. *The International journal of African historical studies*, 27(2), 241-271.
- Pateman, C. (2016). Sexual contract. *The wiley blackwell encyclopedia of gender and sexuality studies*, 1-3
- Pikirayi, I. (2002). *The Zimbabwe culture: origins and decline of southern Zambezi states*. Rowman Altamira.
- Presley, C. A. (2019). *Kikuyu women, the Mau Mau rebellion, and social change in Kenya*. Routledge.
- Robertson, C. And Berger, I. (1974). (eds). *Women and Class in Africa*. New York.
- Schmidt, E. (1991). "Patriarchy, Capitalism and the Colonial State in Zimbabwe" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 16, No.4, 1991. Pp 732-756
- Rodney, W. (1983). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Villiers, 1983.
- Savage, K. and Taylor, C.(1999). Academic Freedom in Kenya,' *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 25, No.2. 1999. Pp. 310-340.
- Simien, E. (2007). Doing intersectionality research: From conceptual issues to practical examples. *Politics & Gender*, 3(2), 264–271
- Smooth, W. (2006). Intersectionality in electoral politics: A mess worth making. *Politics & Gender*, 2(3), 400–413.
- Stacey, J. (1993). Untangling feminist theory. In *Introducing women's studies* (pp. 49-73). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Staudt, K. (1990). Gender Politics in Bureaucracy: Theoretical Issues in Comparative perspective in Staudt, K. (ed) *Women International Development and Politics*. Philadelphia: The Bureaucratic Mire.
- Staudt, K. (1989) "The State and Gender in Colonial Africa" in Everret, S.C. and Staudt, K.(eds). *Women, The State and Development*. Albany: Albany.
- Stichter, B.S. (1988). *Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and Workforce*. In Parpart, J.L. (eds). USA.
- Stichter, S. (1982). Migrant Labour in Kenya: *Capitalism and African Responses, 1895-1975*. London.
- Stol, M. (2016). *Women in the ancient Near East*. de Gruyter.
- Talbot, M. (2002). Playing with patriarchy: The gendered dynamics of sports organizations. *Gender and sport: A reader*, 277.
- Tamale, S. (1999) When Hens Begin to Crow: *Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*, Boulder: West View.
- Tarus, K.I. (2003) "A History of the Direct Taxation of the African People of Kenya, 1895 – 1973." Ph.D. Thesis, Rhodes University.
- Tignor, R. I. (1976). *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900 to 1939*. Princeton: University Press.
- Tripp, A. M. (2001). *Non-formal institutions, informal economies, and the politics of inclusion* (No. 2001/108). WIDER Discussion Paper.
- Tripp, A. M. (2017). Women and politics in Africa. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*.

- Tripp, A. M., & Kang, A. (2008). The global impact of quotas: On the fast track to increased female legislative representation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(3), 338-361. UNDP (1995) Human Development Report. New York: UNDP
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vyas-Doorgapersad, S. (2014). Gender, ICT and millennium development goals for sustainable development in West Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(21), 405- 405.
- Waiyego, S.M. (2004). Engendering Political Space: *Women's Participation in Kangema, Murang'a District, 1963-2002*", M.A. Thesis, Kenyatta University.
- Walby, S. (2013). *Patriarchy at work: Patriarchal and capitalist relations in employment, 1800-1984*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Wamalwa, B. (1991). Limits of Women's Groups a Viable Channel for the Development of Women in Kenya" in Wallace, T. and March, C. (eds) *Changing Perceptions: Writing on Gender and Development*. Oxford:Oxfam.
- Waring, M. (2011). 'Women in Politics and Aid Effectiveness: an Aid to Evaluation of MDG3', A think piece commissioned by AusAID's Office of Development Effectiveness
- Weeks, K. (2015). The vanishing dialectic: Shulamith firestone and the future of the feminist 1970s. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 114(4), 735-754.
- Weiler, K. (2002). Rereading Paulo Freire. In *Feminist engagements* (pp. 75-96). Routledge. Widner, J. A. (1992). *The Rise of a Party State in Kenya: From "Harambee!" To "Nyayo!"* University of California, Berkeley. quoted in Phoebe Musandu, "Daughter of Odoro". www.knbs.org.ke.
- Yoon, M. Y. (2011). More women in the Tanzanian legislature: Do numbers matter? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29(1), 83-98.
- Zeleva, P.T. (1997) *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises*. Dakar: CODESRIA .
- Zeleva, P.T. (1988) *Labour Unionization and Women's Participation in Kenya, 1963-1987*. Nairobi.
- Zeleva, T. (1988) "Women and the Labour Process in Kenya since Independence". *TransAfrican Journal of History* Vol. 17, Pp. 69-101.
- Zwanenberg, R.M.A. (1975). *Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939*. Nairobi:Longman.
- Zwanenberg, R.V. (1972). *The Agricultural History of Kenya to 1939*. Nairobi: EAPH, 1972

Archival Sources

1. KNA/DC/KSI/3/2. Annual report, South Kavirondo District 1924-34
2. KNA/PC/NYA/1/2/3. Ainsworth Miscellaneous Record Book.
3. KNA/PC/NZA/I119. Nyanza Province, Annual Reports, 1914
4. KNA/PC/NZA/1/3/47/1, Native Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1934
5. KNA/PC/NZA/4/2/2/76, Correspondence on Taxation and guidance for Poll taxcollectors, 1931-49
6. KNA PC/NZA/1/3/48/1, Nyanza Province Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance, 1935.
7. KNA/PC/NZA/2/1/12/53, File on Soil Erosion, 1930-1944.
8. KNA/PC/NZA/5/5/1910: Annual Reports for Nyanza Province. 1910.
9. KNA/AV/12/260. Seventh Day Adventist School Kamagambo South Kavirondo
10. KNA/PC/NZA/2/11/10. Schools, 1924
11. KNA/ARC (M.A.A). 2/3/10 Vol. 111. Nyanza Provincial Annual Reports.
12. KNA/ARC/MAA/2/3/10. Vol. I – Administration Nyanza Annual Reports, 1939-1940.
13. KNA/DC/KSU/13/1 Nyanza Province Annual Report, 1922.
14. KNA/DC/KSU/13 Annual Reports, South Kavirondo, District 1924-34.
15. KNA/PC/NZA/3/20/4/2 Compulsory Labour Circular, 17th, March, 1925.
16. KNA/AMP/5/57. Maendeleo ya Wanawake Policy General, 1976.
17. KNA/AMP/5/59. Maendeleo ya Wanawake Policy General, 1985.
18. KNA/HT/17/3, South Nyanza Annual Report, 1963.
19. KNA/HT/17/4, Annual Report District Commissioner and other Districts, 1967.
20. KNA/HT/17/69 South Nyanza Annual Report, 1968.

News Paper and Magazine Articles

1. The Saturday Standard (Sept/ 4th /2021), Inside Kenya's Parliament: The Elusive Two-Thirds Rule
2. The *Weekly Review* 24, January 1986.
3. John Oyua; The Standard (March 15, 2009).“Still searching for elusive Uhuru” SundayMagazine.

The Party Documents

Democratic Party of Kenya (DP), ‘Manifesto’, 2013

Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), ‘Constitution’, ‘Manifesto’, 2013

National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), ‘Constitution’, 2012, ‘Manifesto’, 2013 National

Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya), ‘Constitution’, 2007 Party of National Unity

(PNU), ‘Constitution’, 2007 —, ‘Manifesto’, 2007 Safina, ‘Constitution’, 2010 —,

‘Manifesto’, 2010 Social Democratic Party of Kenya (SDP), ‘Constitution’, 1997

(revised in 2008 to comply with the Political Parties Act)

Key Informant Interview

A.N	NAMES OF INFORMANTS	YOB	SEX	INTERVIEW DATE	CONSTITUENCY	PLACE
1	Adhiambo Eunice Kwama	1965	F	14/04/2021	Ndhiwa	Home
2	Amadi Isreal	1973	M	10/03/2021	Karachuonyo	Chiefs Camp
3	Anduko Joshua	1964	M	13/04/2021 26/04/2021	Homa Bay	Home
4	Arum Richard Ogalo	1965	M	29/04/2021	Suba South	Got Oloo Sec School
5	Asiyo Phoebe	1948	F	08/03/2021 20/12/2021	Karachunyo	Home
6	Dudi David	1960	M	23/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Kadel Market
7	Enock Onyango	1966	M	24/04/2021	Ndiwa	Sukari industry
8	Gogo Lilian	1974	F	19/03/2021	Rangwe	CDF Office
9	Kamaria Judy	1976	F	20/04/2021	Suba North	Home
10	Mabona Mildred	1973	F	10/04/2021	Suba North	Mbita
11	Magak Enosh	1961	M	21/03/2021	Kasipul	Oyugis
12	Magak Gedion	1973	M	25/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Oriang Market
13	Mbadi John Ng’ong’o	1977	M	21/04/2021	Suba South	Home
14	Mboga Samwel	1977	M	12/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Home

15	Mijungu Leonidah	1946	F	10/04/2021	Ndhiwa	Home
16	Moraa Millicent Omanga	1980	F	15/03/2021	Homa Bay	County Educ. Office
17	Ndhune Jannes	1981	M	27/04/2021	Suba South	Home
18	Ndiga Richard	1962	M	04/04/2021	Homa Bay	Rodi
19	Lilaan Moses	1971	M	27/04/2021	Homa Bay	County Com. Office
20	Nyamuche Ngala	1966	M	28/04/2021	Homa Bay	Home
21	Nyandiko Ngadi	1943	M	10/04/2021	Ndhiwa	Home
22	Nyangoje Benson	1979	M	26/04/2021	Karachuono	Kandiege Market
23	Nyonyango Blastos	1956	M	22/04/2021	Kasipul	Home
24	Obara Eve	1975	F	06/04/2021	Kabondo	Home
25	Obwana Lucas	1953	M	20/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Got Oyaro
26	Ogal Silvance	1968	M	16/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Kadel Market
27	Ogotu Samson	1976	M	11/04/2021	Ndhiwa	CSO' Office
28	Ogwe Isaiah	1965	M	15/04/2021	Homa Bay	TAUSI
29	Okomo Ronald	1983	M	13/04/2021	Suba North	Kirindo Sec. School
30	Okong'o Samuel	1981	M	05/04/2021	Rangwe	Home
31	Omamo Joshua	1949	M	02/04/2021	Homa Bay	Home
32	Onyindo Samson Omondi	1986	M	20/03/2021	Karachuonyo	County Assembly
33	Onyuka Rose	1954	F	18/03/2021	Kasipul	Oyugis
34	Oria Roc'x	1981	M	18/04/2021	Kabondo	Ringa Market
35	Osodo Dancun Jomo	1968	M	12/04/2021	Ndhiwa	Home
36	Otonde wicklif	1975	M	10/04/2021	Homa Bay	Imbo Market
37	Owenga Betha	1959	F	16/04/2021	Homa Bay	Sero Polytechnic
38	Oyomo Dalmus	1956	M	19/04/2021	Homa Bay	Home
39	Wanga Gladys Atieno	1983	F	16/03/2021	Rangwe	Home

Infomant Interviews

S.N	NAMES OF INFORMANTS	YOB	SEX	INTERVIEW DATE	CONSTITUENCY	PLACE OF INTERVIEW
1	Abeka Samuel	1970	M	09/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Chiefs Camp
2	Achieng Mary	1963	F	06/03/2021	Homa Bay	Masakla
3	Adoyo Donald	1957	M	03/03/2021	Kasipul	Kotieno
4	Agola Debora	1953	F	06/03/2021	Rangwe	Nyambare
5	Anyango Jane	1962	F	12/03/2021	Homa Bay	Home
6	Awendo David	1948	M	06/03/2021	Rangwe	Anind Oko
7	Awidhi Gumba	1952	M	06/03/2021	Homa Bay	Home
8	Elseba Nyakeyo	1946	F	06/04/2021	Suba South	Agolo Muok
9	Joys Lavendah	1976	F	03/04/2021	Kasipu	Kosele
10	Kajwang Alice	1949	F	14/03/2021	Rangwe	Randung'
11	Mangese George	1978	M	29/04/2021	Suba South	Magunga
12	Mary Ajengo	1961	F	21/03/2021	Ndhiwa	Home
13	Mule Dolly	1964	F	02/03/2021	Karachuonyo	Oriwo
14	Nyacharo Zilper	1944	F	19/03/2021	Karachuonyo	Oriang
15	Nyamollo Esther	1945	F	02/03/2021	Karachuonyo	Kanam
16	Obonyo Raphael	1943	M	14/03/2021	Homa Bay	Masakla
17	Ocholla John	1949	M	05/03/2021	Homa Bay	Kijawa
18	Odhiambo Sam Okello	1965	M	11/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Omboga Market
19	Okulo Lala Joseph	1947	M	22/03/2021	Homa Bay	Home
20	Omollo Javan Singh	1949	M	13/03/2021	Kasipul	Saye
21	Omollo Maranda	1953	M	08/04/2021	Rangwe	Omoya
22	Omollo Sero	1977	M	7//04/2021	Rangwe	Obwanda
23	Oraro George	1943	M	04/04/2021	Homa Bay	Otaro
24	Ougo Simon	1949	M	20/03/2021	Karachuonyo	Gendia
25	Ouma Bildard Ondiek	1968	M	05/04/2021	Karachuonyo	Wagwe
26	Owala Joseph	1969	M	01/03/2021	Homa Bay	Maguje
27	Oyier Mary	1967	F	17/03/2021	Homa Bay	Home
28	Ronald ajengo	1975	M	21/03/2021	Ndhiwa	Okok

Focuss group discussions

S.N	GROUP NAME	DATE	ROLL	GROUP LEADER	VENUE
1	Abedo women group	11/10/2021	06	Susan acquinox	Nyangweso
2	Homa Bay County Women Sacco	07/08/2021	10	Glady Wanga	Homa Bay
3	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Homa Bay Chapter	27/10/2021	06	Jane Kitche	Oyugis
4	Masco women welfare	30/10/2021	07	Judith ongoro	Masakla
6	My small way women Sacco	20/09/2021	08	Donnes Auma	Kendu
7	The Stepping Stone women group	15/9/2021	09	Prof. Karodah	Oriwo

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Introduction

Greetings! My name is John Akumu Orondo; I am a student of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology. I am conducting a study on the pursuit to of Gender Egalitarianism in Homa Bay Kenya amid Persistent patriarchy (1894-2020).

This study investigates the influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the pre-colonial period in Homa-bay county, examines the influence of colonial and post-colonial policies on gender relations in Homa-bay county, it also intends to evaluate the mitigation strategies and their effects on gender transformation in Homa-bay county lastly it intends to assess the state of gender and political transformation in Homa-bay county since 1992.

Your honesty in contributing in the discussion on the questions of your choice will be of much value to the study. Feel free to participate in the discussion and ask any relevant question of concern about this study and or seek clarification on any ambiguity in this study.

Your responses will be anonymous and confidential when need be and will be used strictly for academic and research purposes. I would like to record your voice as we discuss so that I can capture all the details correctly for the purpose of compiling the research report.

Respondents will then be asked to identify part of the objectives they intend to participate in. Questions will be structured according to the groups in discussion considering the positions and standing in the society without compromising the anticipated responses.

Appendix II: Sample Research Interview Schedule

(a) Introduction

The aim of this interview schedule is to collect data on The Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism amid Persistent patriarchy in Homa Bay Kenya (1894-2020). Data collected will purely be used for academic reasons so as improve gender egalitarian historiography and re-assess gender relations in pre-colonial, colonial and post independent period amid persistent patriarchy in Homa Bay County. Any information given will be kept confidential. Your voluntary participation in interview is encouraged and appreciated. There would be no intimidation and or embarrassments in the process or after the interview and there would be no right or wrong answers. Participate in the interview freely and ask any question or clarification that you may need in the process of interview.

Interview will then be conducted to the individuals depending on their areas of expertise and experiences according to the interview schedule guide as follows;

(b) Sampled interview schedule guide.

Name.....Age.....sex.....Date of Interview.....
Place of interview.....Occupation.....

Part one: I

Influence of patriarchy on gender relations in the pre-colonial period in Homa Bay County up to 1894

a) Economic influence of patriarchy on gender relationships in pre-colonial Homa Bay to 1894

1. Who was the bread winner of the families in pre-colonial Homa Bay?
2. What was the source of livelihood in the pre-colonial society?
3. Which type of foods were eaten in pre-colonial Homa Bay?
4. What relationship existed between family and clan on land in the pre-colonial community?
5. What were the valued wealth resources in your pre-colonial community?
6. Who controlled the produce from the land in your pre-colonial community?
7. What were the structural barriers to division of labour and work force in pre-colonial community?

8. Which roles were performed by female but not by male in your pre-colonial community?
9. What type of trade was carried out in your pre-colonial community?
10. Who participated in trade? Who controlled the profit of trade in pre-colonial community?
11. What was the system of property acquisition and inheritance in pre-colonial community?
12. How did the economy determine the system of naming in your pre-colonial community?

b) Social influence of patriarchy on gender relationships in pre-colonial Homa Bayto 1894

1. What was the nature of the family structure and what constituted a family?
2. What was the difference between a home and the house within in your pre-colonial community?
3. What were the differences which existed between a monogamous and polygamous homes?
4. What necessitated polygamy in your pre-colonial community?
5. What was the nature of the organization of monogamous and polygamous families?
6. Which names were given to the wives in the polygamous families to show their hierarchy?
7. What rituals were performed in cases of marriages, births and deaths? Who performed them?
8. What were some of the ceremonies that family and community celebrated?
9. What was the role of women in the ceremonies and celebrations if any?
10. How did family and homes acquire their names?
11. Who was the head of the family?
12. What determined the quantity of bride price and dowry to be paid?
13. What was the value given to male and female children? And why?
14. What differentiated the birth of a male and a female child in pre-colonial community?

c) Political influence of patriarchy on gender relations in pre-colonial Homa Bay upto 1894

1. Who was the head of the family in your pre-colonial community?
2. What were some of the functions of the head of the family?
3. What were the symbols of authority of the head of the family in your pre-colonial community?
4. Who determined where the house is built and people are buried?
5. What are some of the roles that could only be performed by male but not female in a family?
6. Where were the burial sites of male and female in pre-colonial community? And why?
7. What type of food was only eaten only by male? And, why?
8. Who was the supreme decision maker in the family?
9. Which circumstances were women allowed to make decisions?
10. What are some of the domestic animals that symbolized the authority of male?
11. Why male children were valued more than female counter part?

Part one: II

a) Influence of colonial economic policies on gender relations in Homa Bay to 1963

1. What was the impact of land alienation on gender relationships in colonial Homa Bay?
2. What was the impact of wage labour on the families in colonial Homa Bay up to 1963?
3. How did the labour migrations affect family in colonial Homa Bay?
4. How did colonial taxation system affect gender relations in colonial Homa Bay?
5. What were the colonial economic activities performed by male in colonial Homa Bay?
6. What was the impact of colonial cash crop growing to gender relations in colonial Homa Bay?
7. What is the impact of money economy on gender relations in colonial Homa Bay?
8. How did colonial economic policies affect gender relations in colonial Homa Bay?

Bay?

9. What was the impact of railway construction on gender relations in colonial HomaBay?

b) Influence of colonial social policies on gender relations in Homa Bay

1. What was the impact of colonial education on gender relationships in Homa Bay?
2. How did colonial religion affect gender relationship in Homa Bay?
3. How did colonial interactions affect gender relations in Homa Bay?
4. What was the impact of colonial medicine on gender relations in Homa Bay?

c) Influence of colonial Political policies on gender relations in Homa Bay

1. How did colonial system of government affect gender relations in Kenya?
2. How did colonial administrative structure influence gender relations Homa Bay ?
3. What are some of the colonial political policies that affected gender relations in colonial Homa Bay?
4. What were the colonial political policies which influenced gender relations in Homa Bay?

Part one: III

Contributions of post independent governments to gender relations in Homa Bay up to 2020

a) Influence of economic policies on gender relations in post independent Homa Bay

1. Which economic changes were brought by independent governments in Homa Bay?
2. How do the economic changes affect gender relations in post independent Homa-Bay
3. What is the impact of education to economic development in post independent HomaBay?
4. How do job opportunities affect gender relations in independent Homa Bay?
5. What are the economic activities that influence gender relations in post

independent Homa Bay?

6. What economic activities promote gender equality in post colonial Homa Bay?

b) Influence of Social policies on gender relations in post independent Homa Bay

1. What are the social policies that promote gender equality in post-colonial Homa Bay?

2. What are the social policies that promote gender equality in post independent HomaBay?

3. What is the performance of independent governments“ social policies on gender equality?

c) Influence of political policies on gender relations in post independent Homa Bay

1. What is the political factors that promotes gender egalitarianism in post-colonial Homa Bay

2. What ways have independent governments promoted gender equality since independence?

3. What political strategies promote gender egalitarianism post independent Homa Bay?

4. What challenges are facing gender egalitarianism in post independent Homa Bay?

5. What are the political challenges facing gender equality in independent Homa Bay?

6. Why does gender egalitarianism fails in Homa Bay despite global and local legislations and policies aimed at establishing it?

The mitigation strategies and their effects on gender transformation in Homa-BayCounty

1. What are the social, economic and political methods that are used to improve gender relations in Homa-Bay?

2. How has County and national governments tried to promote gender equality in Homa Bay up to 2020?

3. How has NGO promoted gender equality in Homa Bay up to 2020?

4. How has the global strategies promoted gender

equality in Homa Bay up to 2020?

5. What are the impacts of the gender egalitarian strategies in Homa Bay Kenya ?

Part one: IV

The gender and political transformation in Homa-bay County since 1992.

1. What is the influence of gender relations to democracy in post independent Homa-Bay?
2. What is the gender of your MCA, MP, Senator and governor?
3. How many contested for the above seats in terms of gender?
4. How do political parties in your area observe gender egalitarianism during nominations, appointment and elections?
5. Which political seats were contested by single gender and why?
6. What gender will you prefer to vote for in the above mentioned seats and why?
7. How does gender inequality affect domestic democracy in your community?
8. How do gender differences limit democratic space in your community?

Part two: A

Sample interview schedule guide for gender professionals, administrators, politicians and gender based NGOs (Key Oral Informant)

Name.....Department/Org.....

Designation. Interview Date.....Sex.....Age.....

1. What is the effect of patriarchy in gender relations in Homa Bay County?
2. What is the place of gender egalitarianism in Homa Bay County?
3. What has been the place of women in pre-colonial Homa Bay societies?
4. What is your role in promoting gender egalitarianism in Homa Bay County?
5. What are the challenges you are meeting in your attempt to promote gender egalitarianism?
6. What are the strategies that are in place to make Homa Bay County be a gender egalitarian society?
7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of gender egalitarian society?
8. Why is it taking too long to achieve socio-economic and political gender egalitarianism in Homa Bay County?

9. Why do gender egalitarianism fails in Homa Bay despite numerous global and local legislations and policies to entrench it?
10. Where should blame be directed for the failure of gender egalitarianism in Homa Bay County?
11. Why have government policies and legislations fail in establishing gender egalitarian society in Homa Bay County?
12. What are the reasons that make patriarchy to survive in egalitarianism in Homa Bay County?
13. How do gender inequalities affect domestic and local democracy in Homa Bay?

Appendix III: University Authorization Letter



JARAMOGI OGINGA ODINGA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES
Office of the Director

Tel. 057-2501804
Email: bps@jooust.ac.ke

P.O. BOX 210 - 40601
BONDO

Our Ref: Z162/4211/2017

Date: 7th September 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: AKUMU JOHN ORONDO – Z162/4211/2017

The above person is a bonafide postgraduate student of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology in the School of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences pursuing a PhD in History. He has been authorized by the University to undertake research on the topic: *“The Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism amid Survival of Patriarchy in Homa-Bay County Kenya 1894”*.

Any assistance accorded to him shall be appreciated.






Thank you.

Prof. Dennis Ochuodho



DIRECTOR, BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Appendix IV: Research Permit

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 530050	Date of Issue: 02/February/2021
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Mr.. JOHN AKUMU ORONDO of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research in Homabay on the topic: 'The Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism Amid Survival of Patriarchy in Homa-Bay since 1894' for the period ending : 02/February/2022.</p>	
License No: NACOSTI/P/21/8791	
530050 Applicant Identification Number	 Director General NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
	Verification QR Code 
<p>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</p>	

Appendix V: Ministry of Education Research Authority Letter



MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING & BASIC EDUCATION

Telegrams: "SCHOOLING" Homa Bay

Telephone

When replying please quote

cdehomabay@gmail.com

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

HOMA BAY COUNTY

P.O BOX 710

HOMA BAY

DATE: 4TH JANUARY, 20201

REF: MOE/CDE/HBC/ADM/11/VOL.II/121

Mr. John Akumu Orondo
Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University
P.O. BOX 210 – 40601
BONDO

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The Pursuit of Gender Egalitarianism Amid Survival of Patriarchy in Homa bay County*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Homa Bay County for the period ending **2nd February, 2022**.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under Science, Technology and Innovation Act 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a copy of the final research report to the County Director of Education Office after completion both the soft copy and hard copy.

Thank you in advance.


MILLICENT M. NYABUNGA
FOR: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION

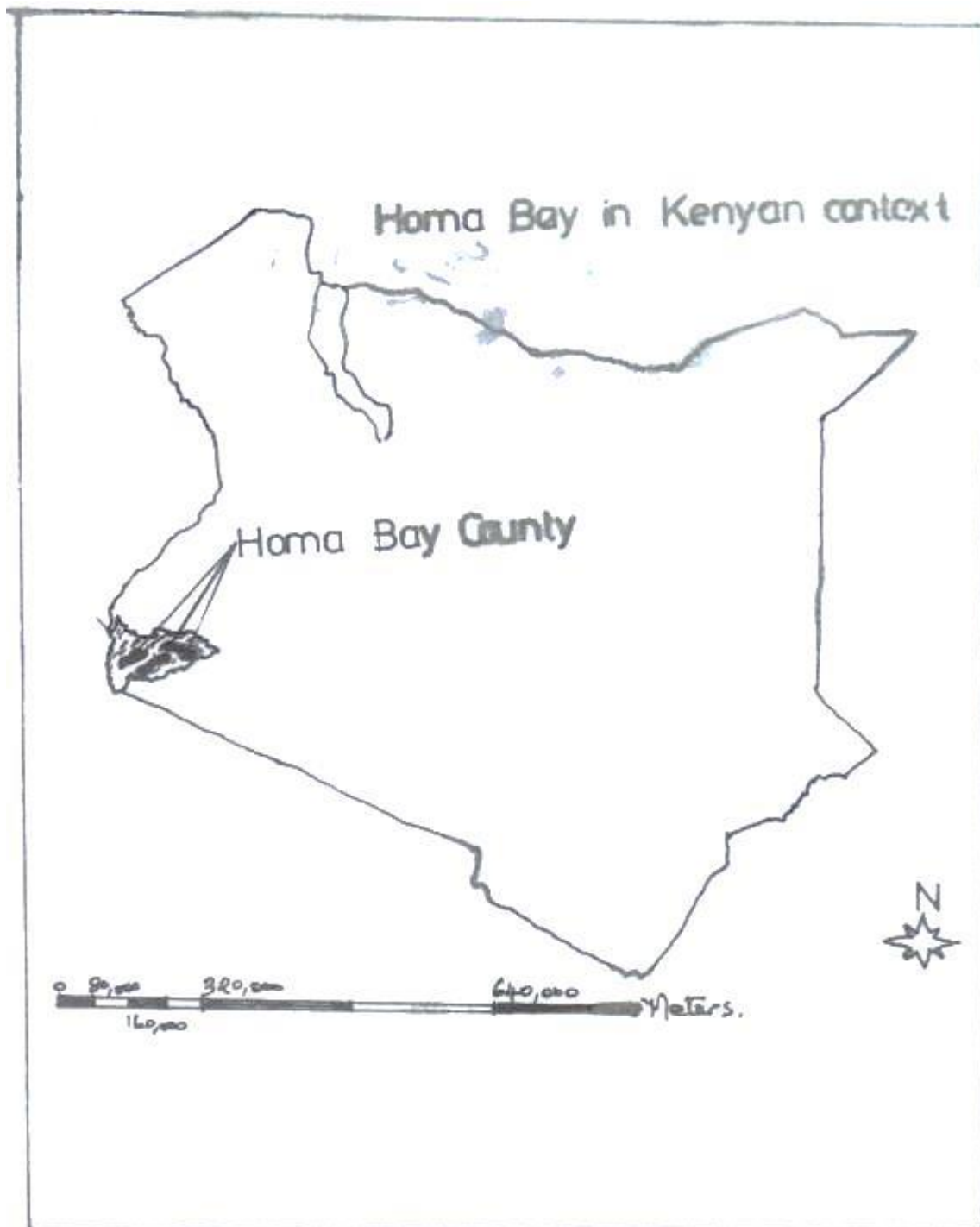
COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
HOMA BAY COUNTY
P O BOX 710-40300, HOMA BAY
Email: cdehomabay@gmail.com

Cc.

1. County Commissioner – Homa Bay

Appendix VI: Maps of the Study Area

Map of Homa Bay in relation to Kenya



Map of Homa Bay County showing major roads and towns

