INTERNATIONAL CATALYST AND WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY RECRUITMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND AUSTRALIA 1963 - 2002

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a comparative study of the impact of international catalysts on women's entry into the national parliaments of Kenya and Australia. The central question that the thesis addresses is whether international catalysts have similar impacts on women's parliamentary recruitment in countries that have had different terms of incorporation into the international system. I answer this question by examining the political life stories of nine women each from Australia and Kenya who have succeeded in gaining parliamentary seats in the federal parliament in Australia and in the National Assembly in Kenya. I locate these women's life stories in three stages which address the obstacles that they had to overcome in their parliamentary pursuits and the factors that enabled them to overcome such barriers: namely self-selection (the decision to vie for parliamentary seats), party selection and voter selection. National contexts in both countries create socio-economic hurdles (for example lack of funds and other resources for campaigning), political obstacles (for example sexist candidate selection systems) and ideological or psychological prohibitive factors (the willingness of voters to select women candidates or the ability of women to imagine themselves as parliamentarians). In both countries, the chances of women succeeding at each of these three stages increases if there are facilitative factors that provide women with resources to overcome gender specific obstacles, or where facilitative factors neutralise or reduce the impact of the gender specific obstacles. Women's first entry into parliament and their period of greatest election vary between Kenya and Australia. In Kenya, the first woman entered parliament in 1969. The current parliament has 7.1 percent female

representation. In the Australian federal parliament, women have been represented since 1943, but in very small numbers until the 1970s. By 2002, women made up 25.3 per cent of the House of Representatives and 28.9 per cent of the Senate. Domestic factors alone are insufficient to explain women's varying representation in the two countries. The thesis turns to the international system and identifies the comparative ways in which international factors have contributed to the national variations in women's parliamentary recruitment in the two countries. This thesis argues that, while the national context forms the environment within which women's parliamentary recruitment occurs, international efforts act on the national contexts in ways that influence women's parliamentary recruitment. The thesis addresses this argument by focusing on two themes: the comparison of Kenya and Australia as influenced by international factors, and secondly, a comparison of women's political recruitment in the two countries in terms of domestic issues.

Statement of Authorship

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when, deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

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Abbreviations

AAWORD	Association of African Women for Research and Development
AD	Australian Democrats
AFWV	Australian Federation of Women Voters
ALP	Australian Labor Party
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CCGD	Collaborative centre for Gender and Developemnt
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era
DP	Democratic Party
EAA	East African Association
EAWL	East African Women's League
ECA	Economic Commission of Africa
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
FORD	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
FWCW	Fourth World Conference on Women
GAD	Gender and Development
HOR	House of Representatives
IAW	International Alliance of Women
ICW	International Congress of Women
IDEA	Institute For Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IED	Institute for Education and Democracy
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPU	Inter Parliamentary Union
IR	International Relations
IWSA	International Women's Suffrage Alliance
IWY	International Women's Year
JSCEM	Joint Standing Committee on Electoral Matters
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
LP	Liberal Party
LKWV	League of Kenya Women Voters
MP	Member of Parliament
NCSW	National Committee on the Status of Women
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
NFLS	Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies
MYO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake

PR	Proportional Representation
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SMD	Single Member District
STV	Single Transferable Vote
UN	United Nations
UNCIO	United Nations Conference on International Organisation
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WEL	Women's Electoral Lobby
WID	Women in Development
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WINGO	Women's International Non-Governmental Organisation
WLEA	Women and Law in East Africa
WPA	World Plan of Action

Introduction

Women's representation in politics remains an important research area, with the compelling need to draw out the reasons behind the dearth of women in parliaments globally. Political under-representation of women has been reframed as a serious problem for democracy and human rights since the 1980s (Mackay 2004). It has become more pressing to examine national variations and to provide explanations as to why some countries have been able to significantly increase the number of women in parliaments while other countries continue to lag behind in women's parliamentary representation. There is a general consensus on both the need for women's parliamentary representation on the grounds of equality, justice and fairness and on the benefits of women's representation to inform political processes from women's perspectives (BPFA 1995; Anne Phillips 1992; Sawer 2001). The United Nations fourth world conference on women that took place at Beijing in 1995 confirmed 30 per cent (endorsed initially by the UN-ECOSOC) as the critical minimum representation for women to exert a substantial influence in politics (UNDP 1995, p. 41). This can be traced back to the 1952 United Nations convention on the political rights of women that recognised women's right to vote, stand for elections and to hold public office. These advances for women, further draw from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his/her country. The standardisation of forms of women's advancement particularly through the United Nations makes cross-national comparison significant. This is because the United Nations and international efforts have not been able to achieve uniform progress towards women's representation.

In this regard, progress has been made in understanding national trends in women's representation, as well as comparative trends among specific countries. Such studies have contributed significant statistical and comparative information that include a

large number of countries, and make for insightful generalizations. However, cross-national comparisons remain overwhelmingly oriented towards comparing most similar cases, e.g., comparing the so-called advanced industrialised democracies on the one hand or, the so-called "developing" countries. Cross-national comparisons that cut across these two divides have been rare, and, on the other hand when attempted, have addressed numerical variations in representations, rather that the larger political frameworks within which these variations occur. The few studies that have included comparisons of the so-called developing countries have found that data yields different understandings of women's parliamentary recruitment when developing countries are included in the analysis (Kenworthy and Malami 1999).

In almost all cross-national research, the national context remains the unit of analysis. The national arena forms the context for identifying comparative cross-national variables that influence women's parliamentary recruitment, such as the electoral system, party structures, and the socio-economic status of women, among others. The national context also remains the framework from which the comparative factors that favour women's parliamentary representation are identified. This leaves open to question the role that the international system plays in the cross-national variations in women's parliamentary recruitment. In particular, the international community recognizes women's political rights in international conventions and engages in copious activities, especially through the United Nations, to advance the status of women generally, and in politics particularly. In such activities, it has been assumed that the move from tradition to modernity reduces cultural barriers resulting in more egalitarian attitudes towards women's leadership, especially in the post-industrial phase of development (Inglehart and Norris 2003). This links the international agenda for women's advancement to

international forces such as development and modernisation within a world system that enacts nation-states as legitimate units of action and mobilises the nation-state towards specific forms of women's advancement. In this regard, the international system is significant as a unit of analysis to enable us understand the enabling and disabling factors in women's parliamentary recruitment.

The Originality of the Thesis

This thesis originated from much of my own thinking about the different positioning of women in the international system in general following my readings, and mostly, my travel to different countries. Politics has been an area of interest for me, and it marked an arena where I felt a comparative study would yield understanding of some of the similarities and differences among women. The main issue in my mind as I thought through the different positioning of women revolved around the question that if there has been international endeavour to enhance women's political empowerment, and some countries have made headway while others have not, it must mean that the international efforts are having differential impacts on women situated in different parts of the world. As I was located in Australia my attention naturally turned to the achievements of Australian women viz that of my own country Kenya. I decided to do a comparative study of woman in politics in Kenya and Australia within the context of the international system.

This thesis takes the case of Australia and Kenya, two fairly different countries in many respects. The two countries exhibit differences in their historical incorporation into the international system, as well as differences in the current terms around which women are framed in the international system.[1] I wondered if this might explain some of the different outcomes for Kenyan and Australian women. Kenya, once a British colony, holding a colonial status under international agreements and

law, is now classified as a "developing" nation, a classification designed and understood within the international system. Australia has been a sovereign nation-state since 1901. This particular set of differences raises the question of whether such differing historical and current frameworks contribute to some of the different outcomes for women's political empowerment in the two countries, given the two frameworks. I read further on some of the less obvious differences among Kenyan women and Australian women, and on the situation of Australia and Kenya in the international system. Several differences and some similarities emerged that finally set me on the road to this comparative study.

The two countries exhibit differences in the national trends in women's parliamentary recruitment. In Australia in 1902, the Electoral Act gave all white women aged over 21 the right to vote and to stand as candidates in federal elections. Aboriginal women and men were not entitled to vote in the federal elections unless they already had the right to vote in the state elections, which was the case only in South Australia and Western Australia at the time (Haines 1995, pp. 18,19).

Currently, Australia has a bi-cameral parliament, and women make up 25.3 per cent of the HOR and 28.9 per cent of the Senate (IPU 2004). This points to Australian women moving closer to meeting the international target of 30 per cent female representation in public decision-making positions from the 1990s. Women in Kenya, with a unicameral parliament, hold 7.1 per cent of the seats in the Kenya National Assembly (IPU 2004). Consequently, the country remains far behind the international standard of the 30 per cent minimum for women's representation in national parliaments. Such patterns provide significant aspects for comparison within the international community that consolidated its global agenda for women from the 1970s onwards, and currently creates and deploys a global agenda for

women's parliamentary recruitment. Is it only the national context that explains cross-national variations, or, does the international system explain some of these variations? If yes, how does the international system explain the cross-national variation?

These differences provide exemplary cases for analysis of the ways in which differential positioning in the international system interacts with the local contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment and the conditions that this generates that facilitate or fail to facilitate women's parliamentary recruitment. However, the effects of different frames through which women have been incorporated into the international system, and of the legacy of the different terms of incorporation into the international agenda[2] on the outcome of universal international standards for women's parliamentary recruitment,[3] remains unexamined by scholars who focus on women and politics.[4]

The efforts towards attaining parliamentary seats by women, and their efforts to increase female representation in national parliaments mark moments of arrival; each with a long history linked both to local[5] and international forces. Women's parliamentary recruitment is a long process during which they must overcome obstacles at various stages of the parliamentary recruitment process. These can be divided broadly into the phase during which women make the decision to vie for parliamentary seats (self-selection), the phase during which they seek party nomination (party selection), and the phase of campaigning to get the necessary votes to win elections, i.e., voter selection (International IDEA). In these stages, obstacles to women's parliamentary recruitment have been associated with social structures, political culture and ideological barriers (Paxton and Kunovich 2003;

Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Githens, Norris and Lovenduski 1994; Matland 1993).

This thesis argues that, while the national context forms the environment within which women's parliamentary recruitment occurs, international efforts act on the national contexts in ways that influence women's parliamentary recruitment. The thesis addresses this argument by focusing on two themes: the comparison of Kenya and Australia as represented internationally, and secondly, a comparison of the two countries in terms of domestic issues.

Comparing Kenya and Australia as Represented Internationally

Both Australia and Kenya are members of the United Nations, and signatories to the international conventions and international agreements on women's advancement such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Both countries have been represented in the women's international summits organised by the United Nations. In spite of the universal international standards and conventions, not all women have always been represented in the international system, either in the League of Nations from 1919 or later in the UN when it was founded in 1945. Some women, mostly white women of European background were represented and were active in the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

Up to 1963, the international community incorporated Kenyan women as 'colonised' and thereby defined them outside the immediate scope of women's political rights built around the concept of equality in international agreements.[6] The

colonial status meant that women in Kenya and in Australia became incorporated into the emergent ideas and discourses on political rights for women as either colonised or belonging to sovereign nation-states. Australian women were represented in the transnational women's organisations, such as the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) from 1913, as part of the British delegation. By 1919, Australia was given status as an independent nation at the League of Nations and Australian women became eligible to participate as national delegates (Lake 1999, p. 157). Australian women could thus participate in international forums through two avenues: transnational women's organisations and as national delegates of a member state.

Following the independence of Kenya in 1963, Kenyan women became, in principle, incorporated into the internationally enshrined rights for women via another identity category, different to that of women from western nations. Kenya, as a newly independent nation-state, became categorised as a "developing" nation. In this regard, Kenyan women once again assumed a different status category in relation to the formulation and application of the international agenda for women's political empowerment. As a corollary, Australian women assumed the identity of 'developed' and continued to make demands for women within the frame of equality.

From the 1960s, there were constantly expanding modes of interaction between national/domestic factors in Australia and in Kenya, with international global rules and models concerning the status of women. The interface between international factors and local contexts expanded in the 1970s and 1980s as the international

community began to implement models and enacted a reporting mechanism by countries to report on measures taken to implement models and strategies.

The interface between the domestic contexts and international factors engendered and generated circumstances that explain some of the different trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in each country. Women's international summits and action plans, specific themes of focus for women's advancement that ensued from such meetings, and the international conventions such as CEDAW, mobilised the state, generating national responses to initiate and support activities around women's advancement. These global rules and models on women's advancement were articulated and mediated through the framework of development for Kenya and equality for Australia.

In both Australia and Kenya, women struggled to actualise the political rights for women's representation within these international frameworks. In the earlier pre-independence period, Kenyan women did so through the nationalist movements, anti-colonialism and the independence struggle. In the post-independence period, women did this through the framework of development while Australian women struggled for political representation through the framework of equality.[7] The ability of each framework to enable the interface between international factors and domestic contexts to catalyse favourable conditions for women's initiatives in their struggle for parliamentary representation was dependent on the extent to which politics as an arena of women's advancement was coupled to the overall agenda of each of the frameworks of equality and development.

Development and equality assumed both local and international parameters and frames of understanding, articulating and giving meaning to women's demands. The

two concepts informed the various approaches in formulating the agenda for women's advancement at international forums and for the application of these policies at the domestic level. For Kenyan women, the concept of development and the development agenda, one that originally focused mainly on women as producers and on their involvement in the subsistence economy and not on them as political actors, left women's political pursuits outside the scope of international concerns for women's advancement in Kenya. For white Australian women the concept of equality around which they had aggregated many of their demands and concerns at the international level proved expansive enough to incorporate their political aspirations and to provide a forum through which to articulate and make demands for women's political rights. Subsequently, the international system accounts for some of the factors behind the progress in Australian women's parliamentary recruitment and the increase of women in the federal parliament.

Comparing Australia and Kenya in Terms of Domestic Issues

Australia has a bi-cameral parliament comprising the Senate and the House of Representatives (HOR). The HOR comprises 148 single member electorates, and general elections take place at least once every three years. The HOR employs the direct preferential majority vote in which a candidate is elected if she or he gains an absolute majority or 50 per cent + 1 votes (IPU 2002). The Senate comprises twelve Senators from each of the six states and two senators from the two territories making 76 Senators in total. The Senate uses a form of proportional representation (PR). The independence constitution of Kenya originally provided for a bi- cameral parliament with the Senate and a House of Representatives. This lasted for only one year and in 1964, Kenya became a Republic with a unicameral parliament. The

Kenya National Parliament uses the direct simple majority vote; voting is not compulsory. There are currently 210 directly elected MPs and twelve nominated MPs together with two ex-officio (Attorney General and the Speaker) members, making a total of 224 MPs (IPU 2003)

The first three Australian women stood for the federal parliament in the 1903 election, but it was not until 1943, over forty years after the attainment of suffrage, that the first two women in the federal parliament in Australia were elected. In Kenya, white British women received the franchise in 1917. African women only attained the right to vote and to contest national elections in 1963.

In Australia, the 1950s and 1960s were barren years for women in Australian politics with the politically active women relegated to roles as auxiliary helpmates in the male dominated parties (Kaplan 1996, p. 11). There was one women in the HOR between 1974 and 1975 and thereafter, no women in the HOR for the entire decade. Between 1902 when women got the franchise and 1977, 12 women had been elected to the Senate and five to the House of Representatives (Haines 1995, p. 23). From the 1980s, a number of women, especially in the Australian Labor Party, gained federal seats.

In Kenya, the first woman got into parliament in 1969, about seven years following independence and gaining the right to vote. In the following decade, in the 1970s, there were five women in the Kenyan parliament. There was a marked decrease in female representation in the national parliament from the 1980s, and some rudimentary gains in women's representation in the 1990s. In 1992, six women were elected to parliament, reduced to four elected in the 1997 election, making 1.9

per cent of all parliamentarians. There was a notable numerical increase in 2002 with nine women elected, 4.3 per cent of the total. An additional eight women were nominated to parliament, making a total of seventeen women currently in the parliament (Republic of Kenya 2003, p. 4). This remains a significantly low percentage in terms of the international critical minimum for female representation.

In both Kenya and Australia, women have to overcome a number of gender related impediments in order to attain parliamentary seats. In cases where they are not perceived as such, women have to see themselves as political in order to make the decision to vie for parliamentary seats. Once they make the decision to vie for parliamentary seats, they have to seek and attain party endorsement. In both countries, this phase is characterised by a number of obstacles. Yet women have to surmount these because, in Kenya for example, one can only contest elections through a registered political party, while in Australia, it has been difficult for women to win federal seats as independent candidates. In party nominations, women have to make sure that they are endorsed in seats where the party has a strong enough support to improve their chances of winning the seat. There is often strong competition for such seats and party selectors may overlook women for such seats, or manipulate the nomination process in favour of men, leaving women to be nominated to very hard to win seats, or in electorates that are unwinnable due to lack of party support. In Kenya, women have to overcome both physical and psychological violence associated with electoral politics, and party manipulation of the electoral process. In Australia, women have to overcome personal attacks, often through the media. Finally, women have to garner enough votes - party votes, personal votes or both - to enable them to win the elections. In this regard, they require the necessary political capital, including personal campaign skills, campaign

resources, and the ability to mobilise the voters to vote personally for them or to vote for the party that they represent.

These obstacles in the different stages in the electoral process call for facilitative factors both at the domestic and international levels that can reduce the impact of such obstacles or eliminate them altogether. Facilitative factors have come in the form of the women's movement, party leadership support for women's parliamentary representation, or party policies that require a particular percentage of women's representation. Both domestic and international forces influence these facilitative factors. They are considered facilitative because they may produce the necessary orientation in individual women to see parliamentary politics as a viable option in their political careers and thereby enable women to embark on political careers. They may also provide women with the necessary resources to overcome specific obstacles to their parliamentary recruitment, or act as pedestals that produce sufficient advantageous conditions that offset gender disadvantages in women's parliamentary recruitment.

The presence of such facilitative factors is particularly important given the global acclaimed significance of women's representation in decision making positions and the subsequent need to increase the number of women parliamentarians by improving women's chances of winning parliamentary elections.

Chapter Breakdown

The thesis is divided into eight chapters, an introduction and a conclusion.

The introduction provides an overview of the thesis, the comparative issues that I address in the representation of women in Australia and Kenya internationally, and the comparative domestic contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment in the two

countries. The introduction also briefly explains the electoral systems in the two countries.

Chapter one is the literature review and the theoretical framework. I explain some of the theoretical frameworks that inform my approach such as international relations, postcolonialism and Africanist studies, feminist critiques and critiques from Third World women and women of colour. I also review the literature relevant to the themes that I address in my study such as political recruitment, development and some of the literature on the trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in Australia and Kenya.

Chapter two, the methodology chapter, explains the methods used in collecting, interpreting and presenting the data. The chapter also discusses the comparative method that I employ, and the ways in which I use the basic premises of this method, maximising its strengths and minimising some of its limitations.

Chapter three examines the evolution of trends in the international system between the 1880s and 1963 that located women in Kenya and in Australia differently within emergent international standards and models for women's emancipation.
Chapter four examines self-selection as the first step in women's parliamentary recruitment. For Australia, I discuss the evolutionary context towards this decision that takes place within the party while for Kenya, I identify the context largely as revolutionary change in the direction of women's career paths towards

parliamentary politics. I then discuss the variables that proceed from this decision that finally lead to women seeking party nomination.

Chapter five identifies and compares the necessary and sufficient conditions within which parties select women as candidates once a woman makes the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat. I then examine four factors that are necessary to improve women's chances of getting party selection, namely pioneering women, women's organizations, support by party leadership and, lastly, party policies aimed at facilitating women's candidature.

Chapter six examines voter selection by discussing and comparing the ways in which women campaign and win elections in the two countries. This chapter draws upon the contextual factors that have facilitated and propelled women into successfully campaigning to win votes. The chapter also delineates the significance of the electoral system in facilitating women's election to office.

Chapter seven draws upon the findings of the three preceding chapters to determine the role of international factors in women's parliamentary recruitment. The chapter links the heritage of women's locations in the international system as colonised and belonging to a nation-state, described in the first chapter, and weaves the heritage of this classification through its successor frames of "development" and "equality" for women in Kenya and Australia respectively to address how this impacts on the domestic contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment. The chapter points to some of the links between the necessary and sufficient conditions and ingredients

for women's parliamentary recruitment and the contextual factors generated through interactions between the local and international system.

The conclusion brings together the major findings of this study, and discusses the insights gleaned by comparing Kenya and Australia.

Endnotes

[1] Historically however, there were a number of parallels between Kenya as a settler colony and Australia. The two countries were both British colonies, with a resisting indigenous population to colonial occupation/ invasion by the British. The British settlers saw Kenya as a "new Australia" in which they sought to evolve a form of government like that in Australia or Canada (Chamberlain 1985, p. 40).

[2] The international agenda is used to mean the product of international discourses: plans and policies that specify intended outcomes of proposed international activities, objectives or goals at the national level.

[3] In this study, the idea of parliamentary recruitment includes all those activities around self-selection, party selection and voter selection.

[4] In parliamentary politics, the international target for women's representation currently stands at 30 per cent as the critical minimum for women's representation that would make any significant gender impact in decision-making. Both women in Kenya and in Australia use the 30 per cent target as the gauge of pursuit for women's parliamentary recruitment.

[5] Local here means country specific, and is used synonymously with domestic or national as opposed to external or international.

[6] International laws recognised colonies and colonial states had a legal international definition that described a particular form of relationship between colonisers and the colonised (Ojwang 1990).

[7] Although equality, development and peace have been the universal themes for women's advancement within the international community since the 1970s, equality was for long, the main framework preferred by western women, while women from the South preferred development. The frameworks were often points of contestation and conflict among women from the different sides of the global divide and led to the adoption of "Equality, Development and Peace" as the themes of the women's decade in order to incorporate the differing sentiments (See Kabeer 1994; Tinker 1992).

Chapter 1

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The discipline of history, which marks the major discipline informing my study, sits rather uncomfortably with theory. Many historians prefer to let facts speak for themselves and not be dependent on theory. However, the purpose of theory is to select, organise, and explain the evidence of history (Berman 1990), and, while theory should not drive history, good theory can and should lead to writing good history (Berman and Lonsdale 1992). My comparative study of women and politics, within an evolving international system that sweeps across a long historical period spanning over a century in the evolution of the international system is located at an intersection of history and three other disciplines, international relations, gender studies and politics.

I use and apply theoretical insights that come from international relations (IR) and politics. In IR, I use world systems theory, to enable me depict the interconnectedness of nation-states and the connection between women's political life space and world culture models of women's emancipation. I do this within the confluence of some of the major critiques of international relations namely postcolonial and Africanist[1] studies that theorise the colonial legacy and its continuing impact on current global trends and outcomes for ex-colonies. Secondly, feminist international relations that call for paying attention to gender as a significant organising principle in, and constitutive of, international relations. Lastly, the approaches of Third World women[2] which generate theoretical positions that take into account gender, class, race and ethnicity as interlocking, yet different oppressions for women. These theoretical positions inform my understanding, analysis and interpretation of the locations within which women's

political advancement have been debated, demanded and extended to women. Because my study is located at the margins of the three disciplines that intersect with history, I only identify and utilise the specific postulates of these theories that inform my study rather than examining the entire range of each theoretical frame per se.

The Colonial Framework

Colonial subjugation, colonial administration and decolonisation were specific forms of international arrangements and organization[3] that served the global system of capitalism in ways that give the former effective control over African production and labour (Berman 1990, pp. 34, 35). The late nineteenth century Europeans rationalized their colonial domination through an ideology of a civilizing mission in several variations (Adas 2004, 31; Mazrui 1990; Mudimbe 1988; 1994). Colonialism was a relationship of racial power and racial hegemony that incorporated populations into a European centred system of physical, political and cultural power but shaped both European and Asian and African history (Cooper 2002; Ake 1981; Leys 1975). The colonizing structure was characterized by the domination of physical space, the reformation of the native's mind, and the integration of local economic history into western perspectives in ways that produced marginalized societies, cultures and human beings represented in a dichotomising system (Mudimbe 1988). However, indigenous peoples also subjected colonial power systems to deflections and reinterpretations as distinctions between colonizers and colonized had to be continually reinterpreted (Cooper 2002). In effect, colonialism served as a transformative encounter for both the coloniser and the colonised (Loomba 1998, p. xiii). And as King (1991, p. 5) has

argued, the colonial empire was not only a political and economic, but also a social and cultural system.

Anti-colonialisms

The encounter between African and European colonizers was marked by a generality of resistance, often described as anti-colonialism. African women alongside men resisted colonisation from its very beginning (Ogot 1973; Berman and Lonsdale 1992). They resisted administrative policies that undermined women's pre-colonial earlier power bases, or that failed to produce equivalent locations through which women could negotiate positions in the new administrative set up in the colonial state (Preseley 1986; Stamp 1986; Kettel 1986; Thomas 1997; 1998). Women became active in the nationalist movement as it gathered momentum in the immediate post Second World War period, for example, in the lead up to the independence of Kenya (Mugo 1975; Miguda 1988; Kanogo 1987; Odhiambo 1995). Seemingly, the racial privileges and racial discrimination in the colony produced particular gender solidarity between African men and women in a common context of anti-colonial struggles. However, anti-colonialism also reveals aspects of gender tensions, conflicts and negotiations for men and women in the anti-colonial struggles.

The African resistance to colonialism was consolidated in nationalist movements that demanded an end to colonisation, coined in the language of self-determination that was articulated mostly by western educated African elites, and finally leading to

decolonisation (Neuberger 1986). The nationalist agenda involved a new valorization in Africanist discourse promoting another centre, one which urged respect for historical knowledge of traditional societies. African history encouraged new representation of the "native" who previously was a mere object within European historicity (Mudimbe 1988; 1994). The active participation of women in the processes that made this possible did not yield the results expected by women in the post independence period (Asiyo 1989; Oduol 1993; Miguda 1999; 2001).

Furthermore, in the narratives about African women in the nationalist project and in IR, both nationalist discourses and western women, through the international women's movement, have marginalized African women (Nzenza 1997; Oyewumi 1999; Nnaemeka 2003). African women slipped between masculinist African national discourses and white western feminist scholarship (Nzenze 1997, pp. 215, 216), or between the discourses on race and on gender (Oyewumi 1999). In this space, African men's attempts to retrieve African cultural and racial identities marginalized gender, while western feminism marginalizes race. In these marginalisations, African women and women of African origins are lost to history.

Colonialism produced a diametric opposition between white women, who were part of the colonising enterprise with the white men, and indigenous women, who were part of the anti-colonial resistors with indigenous men. White women participated in the racial hierarchies of colonisation, for example, as missionaries, missionary wives, settlers,

military officers, businessmen and so on, bringing their western religion and ethos to thousands of women in all parts of the globe (Strobel 1987; Bernard 1987). This relationship was hierarchical, one between superior and inferior, superordinate and subordinate, with a wide status disparity built in as western women held the advantage of other status prerogatives along racial lines (Bernard 1987; Midgley 2001; Grimshaw 2001; Strobel 1987). The unequal status among women manifested itself in several sites of encounters, assumptions, and representations. For example, to highlight the severity of their subordination, white women equated their subordination to people in non-western societies, in the process circulating negative images of non-western societies (Midgeley 2001, pp. 5, 6).

In Australia, white women participated in the racialised processes of constructing a new nation by representing images of a colonial society from which the Aboriginal people of Australia were firmly excluded, or were seen as alien curiosities (Burney 1994; Allen 2000; Woollacot 2003; Lake 1998). Burney (1994, p. 20) points out that there was a conspiracy of silence about Aboriginal Australia through the years of the White Australia policy. White women also assumed a special authority as the agents of civilisation and custodians of the race which included a need to reform masculine behaviour such as drinking, gambling and predatory sexuality, which came to be seen as antithetical to civilisation, and women's and children's welfare (Lake 1998, p. 96).

Secondly, European women often failed to identify indigenous women as part of the women to whom rights were to be extended. They were silent about the implications of their demands on indigenous peoples (Grimshaw 2001, p. 31) and, at times, opposed the extension of specific demands for women such as suffrage to indigenous women or women of colour (Terbog-Penn 1998; Hudson-Weems 2001).

A third manifestation of unequal status among women was the construction of the so-called natives as needing "maternal protection and forms of welfare from white women". In colonies, part of this construction involved an almost total focus on the welfare needs as opposed to other aspects of agitation and demands by colonised women. In this regard, they were applying the League of Nations' assertion of the duties of civilized nations (Grimshaw 1997, p. 108).

Within the colonies, gender inequalities between white men and women were also prevalent as colonising women participated in the colonial enterprise as part of the racial privilege and gender inequalities between white men and white women (Lake 1999; Lees 1995; McIntyre 1985; Frost 1997). Lake (1999) points to the lack of basic political, civil and economic rights for women in Australia in the nineteenth century. During this time, women were denied access to most professions, were unable to earn a living wage in those occupations into which they were admitted, forcing the vast majority of women to find a husband in order to provide them with a livelihood. White women who had worked hard to help establish the Australian colonies did not get an

equal share in the political processes (Lees 1995, p. 3). This produced conditions in which equality became feminism's defining goal. Women began to demand equality of opportunity and equality of outcome in political, economic and social life (McIntyre 1985; Lake 1995).

Such gender differences were also manifested in the differing racialism of white women from that of white men (Grimshaw 1997). For example in colonial Australia there was a difference in their response to the Aboriginal question in which white women claimed Aboriginal women's citizenship under the guidance and protection of white women, while white men mostly perceived the Aboriginals as a dying race (Grimshaw 1997).

Transnational Women's Organisations

From the 1880s, women, largely drawn from the industrialised western nations, converged in transnational organisations that became affiliated to international organisations such as the League of Nations, and later the United Nations after 1945. Gender issues were at the heart of the factors motivating the emergence of these organisations that sought to address issues of gender inequality in their societies.

The literature points to three key characteristics of transnational women's organisations. First, they attempted to speak on behalf of women, but were characterised by several exclusionary tendencies. The International Council of Women (ICW) formed in 1888, the International Women Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) founded in 1904 and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) formed in 1914/15,were often sites of solidarity among certain categories of women, that in

turn made them produce exclusionary tendencies. The organisations represented only specific categories of women, mainly of European origin and the industrial nations of the western world, while harbouring prejudice against black women, anti-Semitic sentiments and imperial condescension (Rupp 1998; Rupp and Taylor 1999; Pernet 2000; Weber 2001).

The transnational organisations operated within the large assumption of the binary divide between the "civilised" and "uncivilised" peoples of the world. In this regard, groups of white women from the colonies readily joined the transnational women's networks, often through exclusively white women's organisations in the colonies. White women also participated in different parts of the empire as a way of negotiating their own position within imperial hierarchies (Allen 2000; Woollacot 2003). They were often preoccupied with negative aspects of women in the non-western world, giving such things as the veil and polygamy prominence as the quintessential symbol of women's oppression and lastly, provided male colonisers with the language of feminism to justify imperialism (Weber 2001, p. 144). This in turn led to a general failure to comprehend the degree of influence of other women in their own societies, or how these women interpreted their own status.

Women active in transnational women's organisations constructed themselves as the spokespersons of "Other" women, but often set agendas that excluded the oriental "Other", by focusing on things western, on western women's experiences within the general assumption that western women would lead the international feminist movement (Weber 2001; Pernet 2000). Some of these exclusionary tendencies, and their impact, were transferred to the United Nations founded in 1945. For example, the

Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) found it difficult to apply the universalist intent of raising the status of women irrespective of their nationality, race, language and religion (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999, p. 3).

My study examines the linkages in these exclusionary tendencies from the 1880s and examines how they played out from the 1970s, when the UN instituted laws, conventions and agreements, responded to the women's lobby and demands and initiated events to commemorate, think through and provide the opportunity for concerted efforts to intensify action for women's concerns and issues.

I interrogate the continuing legacies of colonialism, on the one hand, and the continuing legacy of practices in the international system, on the other, and how these combine in the postcolony in ways that marginalize African women. How were these recast into the postcolony once colonialism folded? To examine the maze in colonialism that engendered racial and gender hierarchies, movement of peoples and ideas into and from colonies, and the international system and international organising to champion the political cause of women, I turn to the theoretical insights of international relations, transnationalism and postcolonialism.

Theoretical Insights from International Relations

International relations (IR) is the discipline charged with theorizing the world (Blanchard 2003, p. 1289). IR theories, such as realism, liberal pluralism and world systems theories, each foreground a different aspect of international relations. In a broad sense, realism foregrounds the state as the main actor in the international system,

liberal pluralism foregrounds non-state actors while world systems theory foregrounds the impact of the worldwide spectrum of capitalism.[4]

World systems theory tries to account for a world whose societies, in spite of many differences, are organised as nation-states that are structurally similar in many dimensions, and change (however unexpectedly) in similar ways (Meyer et al.1997). World systems theory grew out of the intellectual debates of the Third World Liberation movement's controversy over dependency theory and the development of under-development (Denning 2002, p. 353). Wallerstein (1974) identifies two varieties of the world-system, namely world empire (the political system) and the economic world system with an extensive division of labour characterised by the ability of some groups within the system (core states) to exploit the labour of others (periphery) in a hierarchy of occupational tasks. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1993, p. 851) expand the concept of core/periphery and distinguishes between two usages, namely "core/periphery differentiation" on the one hand and core/periphery hierarchy on the other hand.

According to world systems theory, many features of the contemporary nation-state derive from, worldwide models constructed and propagated through global cultural and associational processes, defining and legitimating agendas for local action. Boli, Thomas and Ramirez (1997) argue that world culture order enacts the geo-spatial entities regarded as nation-states and defines them as a fundamental and strongly legitimated units of action. Within the nation-states, world models set the rules for

nation states about how to organize internally (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999). As a result, nation-states adopt similar practices via:

> Carriers and transmitters of world culture, creators of a global agenda and a global discourse within which world models of general principles and prescribed ways of organising are formulated and advocated and, as such, shape states' actions and structures in a variety of ways (Berkovitch 1999, p. 9)

Berkovitch (1999) applies the world systems theory to women in international relations, and subsequently demonstrates, as Steinstra (1994) observed, that world systems theory allows for an incorporation of gender issues in international relations. Berkovitch (2000) explains that world culture models and world processes drive many nation-states to define women's situation as a state concern that requires special legislation, public policy, and a designated state agency. World models call upon nation-states to enact legislative and organisational activities around women, which constitute women as a social category of citizens comparable to men in their entitlement to participate in public institutions. At the international level, international laws serve as agents that transmit these rights by mobilising nation-states to regulate women's participation patterns in public life.

I use world systems theory to examine the institutionalisation of the quest for equality for women and women's advancement in both Kenya and Australia in spite of the differences in the history, resources and traditions of the two countries.

Feminist international relations (Feminist IR) focuses on gender as a central feature for understanding IR (Steinstra 1994; Whitworth 1994; Sylvester 1994; Beckman 1994; Blanchard 2003; Grant 1991). Feminist IR challenges traditional IR theories such as realism and liberal pluralism for lacking room for analysing gender issues in international relations (Steinstra 1994; Blanchard 2003). Among the mainstream IR

theories, Steinstra (1994) perceives the world system as providing some room for gender, though not necessarily engaging gender issues while Whitworth (1994) sees all the traditional IR theories as containing some spaces within which to locate gender analysis.

By focusing on gender, feminist scholarship in general and feminist IR in particular has contributed to deconstructing and revealing the androcentric biased knowledge categories in the empirical studies and theoretical perspectives in the traditional disciplines and broadened the understanding of IR by adding women's experiences (Blanchard 2003, p. 1289). Gender analysis has also led to examining ways in which international institutions contribute to the creation and maintenance of particular gender relations (Whitworth, 1994, p. 4). Critical Feminist IR, in particular, explores how notions about appropriate roles, relationships and behaviours of women and men are created, sustained and legitimised by international institutions (Whitworth 1994, p. 26). These contributions have led to a broadening of our understanding of women in IR, but often with limited desegregation within the category "women".

Third World women and women of colour have challenged much of the gender focused analysis as being Eurocentric in outlook, and for treating women as though women are a homogenous category (Oyewumi 2003a; 2003b Nnaemeka 2003, Collins-Hill 1991; Hudson-Weems 2001). For Third World women, race, class and gender are inseparable determinants of inequalities, functioning interdependently and forming interlocking patterns that serve as a basis for the development of multiple systems of domination that affect access to power and privilege, construct meanings and shape peoples' everyday lives (Ling-Chow 1996, p. xix). In recognition of such challenges, feminist

IR, as with other feminist scholarship, now acknowledges class, race and ethnicity alongside gender as constitutive of IR (Sylvester 1994, Whitworth 1994). However, a number of issues still remain in question for Third World women and women of colour.

In many instances, there continues to be a tendency to treat gender oppression as the more fundamental oppression even when other forms of oppression such as race, class, ethnicity and sexuality are acknowledged (Oyewumi 1999). At other times, they are acknowledged by piling them over one another, or by viewing racism as a further burden. Sexism and racism must be seen as interlocking, not as piled upon each other, and that racism is not a further burden, but a different burden (Ling-Chow 1996; Oyewumi 2003a; Collins-Hill 1991; de Groot 1991). Oyewumi has pushed the debate further by suggesting that, not only is the category "women" problematic, but that the category gender is problematic. As she puts it, if gender is truly a social construction, then we must be able to understand that it is not only constructed in a number of ways in different places at different times, but that it need not be constructed at all as a social category in some other societies (Oyewumi 1999).

Third World women and women of colour propose a viewing of women's engagement in international relations as a struggle against domination by class, race, the state and gender that form multiple layers of struggle in which women engage individually or simultaneously. They propose a viewing of international relations through the prism of colonial histories that produced various forms of inequalities in the international system (Sedghi 1994; Mohanty 1988; Denning 2001; Yuval-Davis 1997).

My study is located within this gap left by both feminist IR as the discipline seeks to redress the gender gap in mainstream IR. Drawing from insight that arises from world systems theory, my study departs from the feminist IR that foregrounds gender as the central analytical tool in two key respects. I incorporate race and class, alongside gender, as significant in our understanding of international relations. Applying insight from postcolonial studies, I analyse the interlocking nature of race class and gender in the lives of women through an understanding of their location in the periphery of the international system. My population of analysis comprises women in relation to each other within the international system, a selection that blunts gender as the sole analytical tool and calls for alternative analytical tools. By comparing women located on different sides of the divide in the international system, I raise different questions about international relations and world models for women's advancement from those raised by feminist IR that focus on gender analysis.

Theoretical Insights from Transnational Studies

The concept of transnational refers to sustained ties, networks and organisation across the borders of multiple nation-states (Faist 2000, p. 189) and the types of ties that link transnational communities. My main reason for adopting the transnational theoretical framework is that it blurs boundaries erected by the idea of a nation-state. As Diaz (2003) notes, transnationalism blurs the borders between centre and margin and between the West and the non-West, destabilises binary oppositions that colonialism engendered and shows how the West and the non-West have shaped and been shaped by one another in specific and specified ways. Subsequently, this offsets the critiques of

world systems theory as being realist in outlook by overemphasising both the power of core capitalist countries and that of the nation-state (Chowdhry 1994, p. 159).

Transnational relations result in international pluralism, i.e., the linking of national interest groups in transnational structures (Steinstra 1994, p. 10). In this regard, transnational theories allow for an analysis of border crossings and mutual constitution among the colonisers and the colonised, as well as among colonisers themselves.

The link between transnationalism and world systems allows for examining the international and transnational women's movement without losing sight of the boundary markers around nation-states and non nation states that provided specific definitions and organisational principles that placed women from nation-states differently from those in colonies in the early stages of an emergent international system.[5] The usage of the two theoretical positions allows for an understanding of the hegemonic position of certain nation-states in the world system, at the same time as an understanding of border crossings. This approach overcomes the analytical constraints that would necessarily attend the usage of the concept of globalisation with its almost uncritical emphasis on blurred boundaries.

Postcolonialism

Scholars who utilise postcolonialism acknowledge the diverse meanings given to the term (Moore 1997; Darby 1997; Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1998, Chrisman and Parry 2000; McComarc 2002). The gulf between postcolonialism and African studies has recently come under scrutiny, ranging from those who see postcolonialism as inapplicable to, and disengaged from, African studies to those who see it as useful for African studies (Abrahamsen 2003). However, postcolonialism is closely linked to

African studies because, as Denning (2002, p. 354) observes, postcolonialism was founded as a critique of the orthodoxies of anti-colonial nationalism. As such, the postulates of postcolonialism are pertinent to my study that covers the colonial and postcolonial eras.[6]

Postcolonialism is used in wide and diverse ways that engage the effects of colonisation on world cultures and societies (Ashcroft et al. 1998). Postcolonial theories critique European grand narratives and frameworks that seek to explain the world, in a similar vein to European colonialism by constructing postcolonial non-European cultures from the perspective of western European knowledge and so maintain the binary oppositions that privilege western theorising (Diaz 2003). In this regard, postcolonial theories destabilise binaries and unmask their continuing hegemonic role in western thought (Goldberg and Quayson 2002, p. xii). Postcolonialism also interrogates the current theorisation of modernity by re-inscribing the repressed histories and social experiences of the historically marginalized (Moore 1997, p. 123).

For the formerly colonised peoples, the theory calls for a reconsideration of events through the prism of anti-colonial uprising. Postcolonial critique in this regard exposes concepts such as Third World/First World, Centre/Periphery, the West etc, as ideologically imbued constructs produced in discourse, but equally constantly mobilised and used as if they were real (King 1991; Hall 1992; Darby 1997). Postcolonial theoretical positions also allow for an incorporation of race as a major organising principle in the international system (Wollacott 2003; Young 2001, 2004) and the interrogation of various forms of relations of domination in the history of

colonisation that determined much of the configuration of power structures in the past and continue to influence power structures today.

Insights from postcolonialism provide me with the space to foreground the significance of anti-colonial movements as a significant force in understanding both local events and international engagements of colonised peoples, what Mohanty describes as using the local to illuminate the universal, in ways that re-emphasise the connections between the local and the universal (Mohanty 2003, p. 505). In particular, I utilise postcolonial theory to critique the binaries that arose in international relations between civilised and uncivilised, between sovereign nation-states and colonial states in the extension of rights to women under colonialism. I also use the postcolonial critique to examine concepts of developed and developing or underdeveloped to examine the continuing production of binaries and varying locations among women in the deployment of international models for women's political advancement framed around development and equality. Post colonial scholarship also illuminates ways in which the feminist espousal of the advancement of women has rested on the construction of categories of backward women, often non-white, non-western and non independent, who are expected to embrace a western model of emancipation (Grimshaw et al. 1994, pp. 141, 144,147).

I identify the assumptions and practices that passed on from the colony into the postcolony and how these affect trends in women's parliamentary recruitment. This is because, in the newly independent states, some core elements of the colonial state ideology passed intact to its successor (Young 2003 p. 29) while some assumptions and practices within the international system, such as the traditions of dichotomisation, also

continued (Mazrui 1990). There emerged a new dualism in the international system in which the earlier world system involving Christian versus non-Christian, civilized versus non-civilized, peace loving versus non-peace loving, turned to a world which recognizes development, or lack thereof, as the central divide in the configuration of the globe (Mazrui 1990, p. 23).

The United Nations and Women's Advancement

The United Nations, founded in 1945 after the Second World War, serves as an international organisation that processes world models on women's advancement, and in which such models have been created and disseminated. In this regard, the United Nations serves as a key international institution through which we may understand and analyse the international context of women's parliamentary recruitment.

The nexus of interaction between the domestic and the international contexts included proclaiming 1975 – 1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women. The UN declared 1975 as the International Women's Year (IWY) through the General assembly in its 1972 resolution 3010 (XXVII), and 1975 – 1985. The UN has also sponsored major summits to address the woman question. These include the 1975 meeting in Mexico, the 1980 mid-Decade meeting in Copenhagen, the 1985 meeting to mark the end of the women's decade in Nairobi, the Beijing meeting in 1995 and more recently the Beijing + 5 meeting in New York. Each of these international women's meetings has had specific aims and has both reviewed and built on earlier achievements and produced international documents that guide action and bind signatories to international agreements to specific standards. They have also mapped out the way forwards by

adopting specific long and short-term strategies, agendas and plans. In 1975, for example the World Plan of Action was adopted to implement the objectives of the IWY; the Copenhagen meeting adopted the Program of Action for the second half of the decade for women; at Nairobi, the meeting adopted the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (NFLS) for the advancement of women, 1986 – 2000. NFLS identified obstacles, basic strategies and measures for implementing strategies at the national level. The 1995 document arising from the Beijing meeting - The Beijing Platform for Action - extends strategies further and identifies more categories of agents and parties to push the women's agenda at the national and international levels (UN-FWCW 1995).

Analysis of the impact of these activities on women globally indicates mixed interpretations. Some of these interpretations draw their claims from a gendered analysis of the impact of the UN activities (Russell and Sawer 1999; Charlesworth 1996; Cook and Lurie 1995). Others draw their views from an analysis of the impact of the UN efforts on women located differentially in the international system (Ilumoka 1994; Oloka-Onyango and Tamale 1995; Oyewumi 1999; Berkovitch and Bradley 1999; Oyewumi 2003b).

Russell and Sawer (1999) point to the advantages for women that arise from the International Women's Non Governmental Organisations (WINGOs), which serve as a resource for the women's movement at home, and as "model mongers" in women's affairs in the development of women's policy structures. Such resources influence the agenda setting for domestic reform and provide a ready made model which gives a strategic advantage to those who would otherwise be relatively powerless in a resource mobilisation framework.

However, the ability of many of the summits to challenge gendered forms of power and knowledge inherent in the international system, or to adequately respond to the diverse disadvantages and different realities of women's plight in economic, social and political life, have come under question (Charlesworth 1996; Cook and Lurie 1995; Berkovitch and Bradley 1999). For example, Berkovitch and Bradley (1999) point to the multiple outcomes of the construction of issues at the global level and the meanings made of these issues by activists, and by governments. Gender within the international discourse is embedded within emerging global cultural rules generating, normalising and diffusing the meanings of woman and women's status while making alternative non-global meanings less legitimate within the discourse. In reality therefore, these same procedures expose and maintain conflict between opposing visions of women's roles in society as certain topics and certain groups present challenges to the notion of universalism.

The summits have also been challenged on different counts. For example, that they serve as sites in which domestic western feminism has emerged as the dominant discourse on the international stage. Also that they have produced an international feminism that is rife with relations of power, and of intellectual hegemony in terms of who produces knowledge about women that informs international activities concerning women worldwide (Oyewumi: 2003b; Oyewumi 1999; Oloka-Onyango and Tamale 1995; Ilumoka 1994). Despite the adjectives used to qualify feminism (African feminism, western feminism, black feminism etc), western feminism dominates,

traveling without qualification, elucidating the western worldview and the western socio-political organisation, and processes that flow from it, retaining the "othering" of Africa inherent in western views of African women (Oyewumi 2003b).

Differences in the resonance in the language of women's struggle have also been identified. Iluomoka (1994, p. 320) says that the discourse of rights has had little resonance for the majority of African women, while the national and international procedures and rules for enforcement of rights have rarely been the arenas of African women's struggle. She posits that the language of freedom, justice and fair play has a greater resonance, partly because women have generally not seen themselves as organising in opposition to men, but for social justice (Ilumoka 1994, p. 321). Furthermore, Third World women and Western feminists have different access to the international institutions of decision-making, which ramify international agendas (Oloka-Onyango and Tamale 1995).

At another level, western feminists appear party to dumping western cultural goods on the African feminist market, while not purposively importing the values and contributions of African feminism back to the west; thereby, contributing to the Us/Them construction in the world order (Mazrui 1990; Yancy 2000).

White feminist discourses, ostensibly from a location of European dominance, appropriate the right and power to represent, interpret and give meaning to African

cultures whose history, language and social organization is vastly different from their own (Nzenza 1997; Nnaemeka 2003). This leads them to misread and exaggerate the power of men, by privileging gender discrimination at the expense of other concerns of many African women, thereby ignoring many of the historical and cultural contexts within which African women speak. Oyewumi (1999) views these omissions in terms of discourses on gender and on race that leaves black woman variously imagined as a black hole, a void or an absence.

Recognising the disparities among women, Bulbeck (1998) proposes a re-orienting of western feminisms given the critiques of the whiteness of western feminism. She proposes and adopts a viewing of western feminism through the eyes of Third World women, to expose the aspects of the Third world women that challenge western feminisms' theoretical and empirical preoccupations. Bulbeck thus produces a transnational feminism that, as she says, carries western feminism's issues across the borders, but also seeks to carry back across the frontier a cargo that will ask new questions of western feminism, and challenge the imaginative spaces that non-western people occupy in western minds. Such feminism should not only take cognisance of diversities among women, but should also acknowledge some of the more liberating attitudes within the so-called Third World's worldviews (Bulbeck 1998, p. 2).

Diaz (2003) however points to a disregard, in spite of the celebration of diversity, by some of the so called Third wave feminists, for material living conditions of non-western women that truly prevent an equal commemoration of difference. She argues

that the Third Wave feminists focus on the self as a unique individual, which limits women's experiences to the immediate cultural location and provides very limited reference to global conditions within which the self is embedded.
Differences among women have also arisen through the terms around which to pursue women's advancement, in particular, between the concepts of equality and development, and more recently, women's rights. Equality was the term preferred by women from the west, development by women from the South and peace by women from Eastern Europe (Tickner 1994; Tinker 1990).[7]

For Western women, equality has been a language that women have used to make specific demands, almost since the word came into national and international dialogue. Summers (2003, pp. 2, 3) traces the decades of political action, feminist rhetoric and state and federal legislation promising equality in Australia. Up to the 1990s, equality was a national goal and an ongoing subject in government, parliament, and newspaper articles and in women's studies in tertiary institutions. Pateman (1992, pp. 17,18) argues that women have demanded both equal civil and political rights, but also that their difference from men should be acknowledged.

The term has constantly been rejected by most Third World women and women of colour for various reasons. Equality with men who themselves suffered unemployment, low wages, poor work conditions and racism within socio-economic structures was not an adequate or worthy goal (Kabeer 1994), nor has equality been the fundamental issue facing all women (Kabeer 1994, pp. 32, 33). Because skin colour remains a marker of

difference, equality based on difference/sameness with men propounded by white women is underpinned by a deracialised but gendered universal subject, and thereby continues to normalise, centre and naturalise whiteness (Robinson-Moreton 2000, pp. 172, 172). Under colonialism, the usage and application of equality for Western women came to rest on an understanding of the subordination of non-western women (Burton 1994; Allen 2000, p. 94).

Equality has also come under challenge by western feminists who point to the limits of equality so that equality should be seen as a necessary, but limited goal (Lake 1999). There are limitations of equality based on expectations of formal equality of rights and equality of provision that fails to meet specific circumstances (McIntyre 1985). Summers (2003) concludes that by the twenty first century, the promise of equality has not been met, pronouncing the "end of equality" because institutional gains made by women have not been sustained but dismantled.[8]

Development and Power Relations

A number of studies have shown that development has disempowered women, has had an adverse effect on women or, has not had the intended impact on women. The shortcomings of development as a goal for women have been discussed extensively (Boserup 1970; Ramamurthy 2000; Ng 1997; Parpart and Marchand 1995; Kabeer 1994; Escobar 1995), and I do not repeat it in this review. However, three aspects related to the adverse impact of development on women are pertinent to my study. Development as a practice has drawn heavily from colonial orientations where

Europeans of different persuasions operated within a hegemonic framework that positioned the achievements of the west as the best. Development in particular has been linked to colonisation as part of the larger political project of reconfiguring the "colonies" into the "developing world" with the unit of analysis moving from colonial state to "nation-state" (Ramamurthy 2000, p. 240). In this regard, "development" can be traced to colonialism and the doctrine of trusteeship that was enshrined in the covenant of the League of Nations that flowed into the later understandings of donors and recipients (Ng 1997; Boserup1970; Parpart 1995).

Development has been portrayed as a site of the exclusion of women (Boserup 1970). Development has also been portrayed as a site of power relations between the west and the rest (Escobar 1995; Parpart 1995; de Groot 1991; Ng 1997; Hall 1992) and as a site of power relations between Western feminists and Third World women (Parpart and Marchand 1995; Kabeer 1994; Escobar 1995; Hirshman 1995; Oyewumi 2003a; Nnaemeka 2003). Applying the notion of discourse as the medium which constitutes power and through which power is exercised (Foucault 1972). Escobar (1995) points to development as a 'cultural space' and a historically produced discourse that has generated knowledge, concepts and and practices imposed on the Third World.[9] Development discourse embarked on a social production of space - First world/Third world, North/South, Centre/Periphery - that was bound with the production of differences, subjectivities and social orders. According to Escobar:

> Development reproduces endlessly the separation between reformers and those to be reformed by keeping alive the premise of the Third World as different and inferior, as

> having a limited humanity in relation to the accomplished Europeans ...development relies on a perpetual recognition and disavowal of difference (Escobar 1995, p. 53).

Boserup (1970) shows how development continued the tradition of earlier colonial policies that promoted male agriculture and enhanced male prestige at the expense of women, just as European administration transferred rights of land from women to men. The development projects that took place in the post-independence era overlooked women's labour participation in several areas such as agriculture, casual work, trade, services and domestic work among others.

Boserup's conclusion that development had largely left out women resulted in a whole new field, Women in Development (WID) in the 1970s and the 1980s (Escobar 1995). Even as development integrated women, the practice exhibited specific power relations between western women and women in the developing world. Women from the South accused Northern scholars of creating a colonial/neo-colonial discourse that represents women in the south as an undifferentiated "Other" and oppressed by both gender and Third world underdevelopment. They question the dominance of voices of First World women in articulating their version of the problems of Third World women (Parpart and Marchand 1995; Kabeer 1994; Oyewumi 2003a, 2003b). Kabeer (1994, p. 31) argues that WID interventions focused on commonalities in the marginalisation of women that served to disguise and deny material differences in power resources and interests between women themselves. The WID discourse and practice posited "poor women's labour" as the defining category and the founding source of women's experiences in the South (Hirshman 1995, p. 45). Ultimately, WID as a development approach was based on western stereotypes, which represented women primarily as mothers and wives rather than as economic actors who might produce goods. At the same time, the unequal world order ensured that WID interventions were distorted by

the politics of development and reflected the divergent experiences, interests, needs and orientations of women from the North (Parpart 1995, p. 227).

Oyewumi (2003a) sees the processes that led to WID as marking the universal defeat of women in the 1970s, when feminist scholars created patriarchy by a process of fitting the image of one society to the others all over the globe, ending up recreating all women in the image of the western women. With this was born the WID discourse that feminists saw as entailing the rescuing of the exploited, helpless, brutalised African woman from the savagery of the African male and primitive culture (Oyewumi 2003b, p. 28). The policy shift in the 1980s that adopted a Gender and Development Approach (GAD)[10] continued to homogenise Third World Women.[11]

De Groot (1991) links development to the growth of world system characterised by a historic experience of subordination to the Western political economic and cultural power over the last two centuries. The perceptions and assumptions about non-western peoples arising from these experiences have had a significant impact on the terms in which the development policies are conceived and applied (De Groot 1991, p. 107). In particular, the development field rests on Eurocentric, gender-blind foundations and powerfully sexualised and racialised understanding and scholarship expressed in the neutral language of planners, researchers, and experts (De Groot 1991, p.118). De Groot concludes however that examination of development must deal not just with exploitation, subjection or oppression of women but equally with women's positive ability to create and sustain both material and cultural autonomy and to subvert, adopt

or resist specific interventions within the structures of male power (De Groot 1991, p.125).

Snyder (1995) criticises arguments that "development left out women" and contends that earlier ideas of development were inherent in women's thinking in the lead up to independence and in the immediate post independence period. She uses the history of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and places the origins of women and development concepts in developing countries within the larger history of the rise of independence movements. She explains that, in the evolution of concepts relating to women and development, feminist theory is a later influence, beginning in the mid-1970s, to ideas on women and development that began in the 1950s among African women (Snyder 1995). In her view, African women had laid the foundations of the meanings of development long before the 1968 (Snyder 1995, p. 28). This means that such a foundation predated Boserup's 1970 intervention that claimed that development had left out women. Through seminars organised in the 1960s, African women produced resolutions for women's future and women's participation in development. Yet African women began to lose the momentum of these early ideological achievements and empowerment approaches,[12] as they came up against encroaching approaches of the UN department of ECOSOC and its largely western, Victorian image of the African woman inherited from colonialism, and which perceived women primarily as mothers.

My study extends this position by examining the shifts and the impact of these changes and conflicting meanings of development, and how these influenced women's parliamentary pursuits in Kenya. Clearly, development theory understood African women as mothers, and, later, as producers following Boserup. But only in the 1990s did development conceive of women as political actors, even though African women themselves were participating as political actors long before this, as discussed above.

Tripp (2003) points to the ways in which the 1990s reflects a shift in donor strategies from sole emphasis on funding activities related to economic development, education, and health and welfare concerns to an added interest in advocacy around women's rights and promoting women's political leadership and political organization. She points to the international pressure and norms and the international women's movement that gave added impetus to, and influenced, women's mobilisation, encouraging women in Africa to think about how their struggles related to an emerging globalisation of women's concern for equality (Tripp 2003, pp. 239, 240).

Women's Political Recruitment

An understanding of women's political recruitment rests on the understanding of politics, historically seen as one of the most explicitly masculine activities because women do not usually dispose public power, belong to political elites or hold influential positions in government (Lovenduski and Norris, 1993). Squires (1999) identifies two broad definitions of politics, i.e., the institutional definition that views politics as government institutions and the instrumental definition of politics as power and

decision-making. This broad conception of the political has created the disciplinary space for considering issues of gender as central to the study of politics (Squires 1999, p. 9). Studies of gender and politics have revealed that overall, women have not been recruited into politics because they have been excluded from traditional political activities and discouraged from defining their activities as political (Squires 1999).

Similar to the case of IR discussed earlier, the discipline of politics and its theoretical formulations has left out women. As in the case of IR, the feminist critique of political science foregrounds gender as an analytical category. This results in a three-fold schema of adding women to the discipline, extending the boundaries of the discipline by broadening the range of questions asked, and re-conceptualising the core concepts of the discipline (Squires 1999, pp. 16,17; Gretchen and Mellow 2000, p. 123).

Political recruitment can be viewed as the process whereby citizens seek public office (Flammang 1997, p. 149). It can also be seen as consisting of those structures that exist for the recruitment of people into political or administrative office (Clavert 2002), or as the selection of people for political activity and government office (Almond et al 2001). Czudnowski (1975) portrays the political as a framework with four aspects, i.e., stages of recruitment, which includes eligibility, nomination and election; actors which include candidates, party selectors and voters; the characteristics of actors whether amateurs, professionals and their motivations; and, lastly, the context of political recruitment which includes political opportunity and political culture. Norris (1997)

describes political recruitment as a filtering mechanism with outcomes explained through political party selection demands on the one hand, and candidate supply on the other hand. The recruitment processes operate like a structured market place, with components, a structure of opportunities, rules governing processes of recruitment within parties, and issues of demands by party and the supply of candidates.

In political recruitment in all countries, women are disadvantaged as compared to men, leading to an under-representation of women in parliaments globally (Nelson and Chowdhury 1999; Sanbonmatsu 2002). In general, political recruitment differs by gender, party, electoral system and political culture, and indicates that women come to parliament through different networks and with different bases of organisational support (Sanbonmatsu 2002, p. 794). In many instances, the unit of analysis for women's parliamentary recruitment has focused on national contexts. Cross-national variations are explained in terms of the presence or absence of specific obstacles or facilitative factors in women's parliamentary recruitment.

Some scholars explain the cross-national variations in women's parliamentary recruitment in terms of the electoral system in use in different countries (Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Rule 1987, 1994; Moser 2001; Sanbonmatsu 2002). Rule (1987; 1994) and Moser (2001) for example, argue that the electoral system is the primary reason for women's low representation. They point to the list system, which emphasises political party representation as producing favourable conditions for women's

recruitment as compared to individual representation and the single member district system that tends to focus on the general appeal of individuals. Party list elections, mute cultural biases against women by forcing voters to vote for parties rather than individuals (Moser 2001, p. 4). Kenworthy and Malami (1999) however point out that this is only true in western nations where the two are used in conjunction. On the contrary, in Africa and Asia, the party list method is often used in conjunction with a winner-take-all method of seat allocation, usually during the primaries, which offsets any advantage these electoral systems may afford to women because women lose at an earlier stage.

Political parties and their opportunity structures[13] have also been identified as significant in shaping women's political opportunity structure (Sanbonmatsu 2002). Contextual factors such as ideology and political culture, electoral rules such as quota system for women, affirmative action and institutional setting that advocate for women's representation are important determinants of women's parliamentary recruitment.

Other scholars identify disadvantages in specific contexts in the recruitment process (Studler and Mcallister 1991; Matland 1993; and Matland and Taylor 1997; Rule 1981). For example, Rule (1981) identifies the effects of disadvantages as highest in the decision to run phase of the recruitment process. Studler and Mcallister note that it is incumbency that inhibits women's political advancement. As they put it, women do not

get elected because they are not incumbents and because they do not get elected, they do not become incumbents (Studler and McAllister 1991, p. 468).

The different explanations for women's disadvantages in political recruitment also urge different theoretical explications as to why some women get to be recruited into parliaments and the strategies to improve women's chances for parliamentary recruitment. Black (2000) discusses recruitment in terms of models of 'similarity' that require, on the one hand, that women must resemble men with regard to key attributes that have traditionally facilitated men's recruitment. On the other hand, the 'compensation' model implies that women have to do more than men and surpass men in order to offset gender impediments (Black 2000, pp. 147,148). Differences among women may imply that for the more disadvantaged women, e.g., due to additional constraints of race and ethnicity, the compensation model holds that their more subordinate conditions require them to exceed the already high demands made on women, and have stronger credentials than majority women (Black 2000, p. 148).

Drawing from theories of ambition: Kelly and Bouitler (1978) point out that entry into politics is often mediated by personal desire, and personal initiative in relation to substantial political issues. Using insight from socialization theory, they add that it often requires years of internship to acquire political power. Individuals, they posit, pass through certain stages that enable them to become politically active and that influence their political efficacy (condition of participation). The key to understanding political efficacy lies in the interface between an individual's life-space and politics. Political internship is necessary for parliamentary recruitment in order to acquire political power, choose politics as a major area of interest and become devoted to the

political world. Rule (1981) identifies the contextual factors as the key to understanding women's parliamentary recruitment.

Matland and Taylor (1997) identify the strength of the women's movement, women's representation among the professions from which candidates are drawn, party systems and electoral systems as particularly significant influences in the variations in women's representation. Kenworthy and Malami (1999) note that progress in political power depends in part on the degree of progress made outside politics, for example, progress in education expands the pool of women who feel qualified to stand for office, labour force activities outside the home expand women's horizons and so enhance confidence and independence. A strong women's movement active in pressing for social, economic and political opportunities also tends to increase women's representation. Finally, women may win greater representation in nations that engender more liberal attitudes toward the role of women in politics because an egalitarian culture renders the environment more favourable for women's representation.

International-IDEA (2001) posits that women have to overcome hurdles at three stages in the political recruitment process, the self-selection, party selection and voter selection stages. I utilise these three stages as the broad framework to collect data on the specific obstacles that women faced at each stage and how they managed to overcome obstacles associated with each of these stages. I use the three phases identified by IDEA because they provide an analytical frame that separates party from

self-selection. They also build on some of the ideas contained in Rule's three phases of eligibility, selection and election (Rule 1981) by acknowledging that each phase is a selection process. My study draws upon and builds on the explanatory power of the factors and processes which generate the conditions that favour women's parliamentary recruitment.

Parliamentary Recruitment Framework in Australia

A number of shifting contextual factors have been identified with regard to why women have not been readily recruited into the Australian federal parliament. In the early days, women's role in the family, and social aversion to women working outside the home was a factor (Simms 1984). The tyranny of distance acted as a barrier to women parliamentarians, as becoming a parliamentarian involves having to be away from families for long periods. The male oriented socialisation process in politics means that women possess only limited political resources and lack the necessary tools for entry into politics. Furthermore, some of the practices of political parties discriminate against women because men are seen, in general, and party selectors specifically, as more suited to advance the political cause.

Most scholars have identified hurdles for women at the party level because a masculine culture in political parties governs assessment and produces masculine notions of what is successful (Mackerras 1980; Sawer and Simms1993). Sawer and Simms (1993) explain that women candidates were rarely fielded by major parties because women were seen as a liability, evoking prejudices that women would not vote for women. They also point to the fact that women have lacked access to male party patronage networks. Difficulties for women at the preselection level have also been identified,

pointing to the continued unequal expectations placed on women candidates by parties that expect women to perform far better than men before they qualify for preselection (Mackerras 1980; Parliament of Australia, Senate Brief No. 3: 1999).

Deverall et al (2000), Sawer and Simms (1993) and the JSCEM report (1994), all argue that pre-selection places women in a difficult position as parties seldom pre-select women in safe or marginal seats, but rather in unwinnable seats. This makes women merely 'flag-wavers' without much likelihood of winning elections. Moon and Fountain (1997) further point out that, while there has been an increase in the candidature of women seeking federal parliamentary seats, this has not always resulted in an increase in women's membership of national parliaments because the increase of candidates takes place within minor parties, which do not win many seats in parliament.

Some hurdles at the party level are, however, party specific. For example, Sawer and Simms (1993) say that the ALP did not pioneer women's representation as did the labor and socialist democratic parties in many other countries. On the contrary, the influence of Irish Catholicism, the dominance of machine politics[14] in the big cities, and the ethos of mateship, effectively excluded women and offset the nominal egalitarianism of the ALP. They also observe that the ALP was founded as a political arm of the unions, and Australian unions are overwhelmingly male. Consequently, in the ALP women lacked strength in unions while, on the non-Labor side, they lacked access to the clubs and business organisations where many political connections are formed.

A number of factors have been associated with the increase in the entry of women into the federal parliament in Australia from the 1980s. Some scholars have identified the

women's movement as a powerful force in the struggle to achieve equality through the increase of female participation in the political arena (Grey 1999; Clarke and White 1983; Kaplan 1996; Parliament of Australia Senate Briefs 1999). In particular, the significance of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) established in 1972 for women's parliamentary recruitment has been underscored (Millar 1994). WEL provided Australian women with new support networks for entry into politics and opened up new spaces, for women in the political agenda.

Sawer and Simms (1993) also point to the significance of favourable social attitudes towards women in the 1980s. The change in social attitudes, they posit, shows an acknowledgment of the fact that women were under-represented in political life and an acceptance of a need for more women in political life. This period, therefore, marked a manifest shift in the social expectations of women in Australia. By this period too, feminist ideology had moved emphasis away from the primary role of the mother in the care of young children towards the concept of shared parenting. This made it both possible and easier for women interested in political careers not to wait until their children were grown up before they could vie for legislative seats. The changes in social attitudes and expectations on women during this period gave leverage for greater involvement of women in national politics. All the achievements discussed above are explained in terms of national contexts. My thesis examines how these national contexts favouring women's parliamentary recruitment in Australia were linked to international factors and how these compare to the case of Kenya during the same period.

Parliamentary Recruitment Framework and Kenya

A number of factors have been associated with the dearth of women in parliament in Kenya. These include inadequate laws that support women's political participation, or prohibitive laws that obstruct women's advancement in general, as major obstacles to women's participation in politics in Kenya (Mbeo and Ombaka 1989). The political socialisation processes also direct women away from politics into more domestic roles while the historical and cultural constraints continue to tie women to domestic roles and to create prohibitive social attitudes to women's participation in politics (Lawless and Fox 1991; Nzomo 1993; Mugo 1978). Kabira and Wasamba (1998) underscore the powerlessness and indecision on the side of women candidates, patriarchal arrangements in many families, violence and anti-women sentiments in society as well as lack of resources that act as prohibitive forces for women's parliamentary recruitment.

During the *de facto* one party system, the only party KANU became repressive, authoritarian and amassed excessive powers. The party grew intolerant of any opposition or alternative views that did not reflect the party's position of dominance, and became a vehicle for the ambitions of local party bosses (Wanjohi 2001; IED 2001).[15] In the *de jure* single party system from 1982, women began to face new difficulties in political participation associated with the emerging tight control of the political process by the now *de jure* ruling party, KANU (IED 2001).

Prior to the 1990s, the [national] women's movement was in some ways a hindrance to women's parliamentary recruitment (Khasiani 1993; Nzomo 1993; Miguda 1999a, 2002). Khasiani (1993) and Nzomo (1993) for example, underscore the drawback for women when the national women's organisation *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* became

affiliated to the ruling party KANU and assumed a new name *KANU-Maendeleo ya Wanawake*. The movement consequently became a mouthpiece among women for the ruling party and became oriented to achieving party objectives rather than women's objectives.

The literature also reflects changes in women's parliamentary recruitment associated with the democratisation process in the 1990s (Oduol 1993; Nzomo 1993; Maina and Mbugua 1996; Mbote and Kibwana 1992; Miguda 1999a, 1999b)

In an earlier article (Miguda 1999), I discusses the impact of a resurgent women's movement in Kenya in the early 1990s that mobilised women to contest elections, vote in women, lobbied the emerging political parties to respond to gender issues in their structures, policies and party manifestos, and to support women's candidacy. In 1992, Kenyan women gathered momentum through lobby and caucus groups to make gains through the democratisation process, which was sweeping across Africa at the time.[16]

Maina and Mbugua (1996) explain that, as the multi-party system began to take root early in the 1990s, party manifestos became important in attempts to achieve gender parity in politics. Manifestos encompass the party's vision of the society it seeks to create. Mbote and Kibwana (1992) argue that the Democratic Party (DP) was founded as a progressive party, manifested in its support for affirmative action for women. IED (2001) however, argues that the DP's progressive gender policies did not lead to any substantial nomination of women by the party to parliament.

The literature discussed so far outlines the situations of women in politics at different historical moments in Kenya and Australia, and examines the patterns of female

participation in politics in the two countries. I use these national case studies to determine areas of coincidence and difference *vis a vis* the role that international bodies play in women's recruitment to national parliaments. How far do these historical moments of achievements coincide with international undertakings? If there is a coincidence, how far do the coincidences intersect with parliamentary women's life spaces and success sites at different levels in their political careers influencing their successful entry into politics?

Endnotes

[1] The term Africanist is broadly employed as an attempt to view the African past from an African perspective. The term originally served as an ideological response to colonial historiography that was seen to represent the history of the white man in Africa rather than African history. This is the intellectual tradition that I bring to this study. For a general account of Africanist history, see (Temu and Swai 1981).

[2] I acknowledge the stereotypes associated with labeling such as "Third World", and the binary this produces in relation to the industrialized so called "First World". However, I also note the positive resonance of this term to subvert repressed voices. For a discussion of these issues, see (Bulbeck 1998, pp. 34, 35). I adopt the definition of the term Third World provided by Hamideh Sedghi as referring to societies whose contemporary histories include resistance to colonialism, national liberation movements, and revolutions (Sedghi 1994 p.92).

[3] The colonising impulse was an international activity and is understood within the larger forces arising from the relationship between the Industrial Revolution and international trade (See Ake 1981, p. 6). The Berlin conference of 1885, which outlined the procedure for occupation, and partition of Africa, was conducted in the spirit of an international agreement among European nations as to the conduct of occupation of African territories in a way that would at least deflect major confrontations among European nations. The British were interested in East Africa because it was situated in one of the major highways of international trade. Colonial administration itself was based on international law that began with the idea of "sphere of influence" (1885) and shifted to that of mandate from 1919 onwards with the League of Nations and later to the idea of Trusteeship.

[4] These are not the entire range of IR theories, but the significant ones for this study.

[5] The idea of globalisation may also express the same idea and, in some cases globalisation is seen to have displaced "international" as the key word of an earlier moment (Denning 2002, p. 352).

[6] I note here that I believe the gulf between postcolonialism and African studies is not as large as some believe, rather, the perceived gulf is a reflection of the various definitions of the term, in which the Africanist foundational location and contribution to much of postcolonial thought, and indeed engagement with postcolonialism remains unacknowledged.

[7] It was not that Third World women rejected equality per se, but that they felt that through development, women would achieve their entitlements in the society.
[8] Anne Summers points to the Women's Bureau that was shut down, the Sex discrimination Commission that was forced out of office and the Office of the Status of Women's budget and influence that has been slashed (Summers 2003, p. 142).

[9] Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Giyatari Spivak and Hommi Bhabha have used similar arguments on discourse and power, and their works have been extensively discussed in other studies (See Moore-Gilbert 1997).

[10] Critiques of WID approaches showed this approach to abstract women from their setting within an untenable orientation of an "add and stir" approach (See Pietilla and Vickers 1990; Tinker 1994).

[11] The Aim of GAD was not only to integrate women in development, but also to look for the potential in development initiatives to transform unequal gender relations to empower women (Kum-Kum, Foran and Kurian 2003).

[12] The emphasis on ideological and empowerment issues is mine.

[13] The political opportunity structure is the structural factors such as quota system, affirmative action for women and so on, which shape candidate emergence (Sanbonmatsu 2002, p. 795).

[14] Machine politics can be understood from the point of view of party structures and a party's style of operation applicable at different levels in the party, e.g., dominant faction, leadership clique, style of behaviour etc that propelling the party (Parkin & Warhurst 1983).

[15] Kenya was governed under a *de facto* one party state from 1969 to October 1982, and a *de jure* one party state between 1982 and 1991.

[16] The democratization process began in the late 1980s and early 1990s partly due to citizens' demands for greater freedoms in society from authoritarian rule and dictatorship, and partly due to pressure by donor organizations for undemocratic governments to open up political space and allow for democratic political and government structures.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Introduction: Positioning Myself

In cross-national research such as this one, the researcher brings his or her cultural cognitive baggage to the reality being analysed (Berven 2003, p. 6). Furthermore, in cross-disciplinary research, analysis and presentation necessarily occurs within the margins of some of the disciplines that the research cuts across. In feminist scholarship, positioning oneself occurs both in the interview/interviewer power relations in the interview and in the interpretation of data. In this study, my identity has traversed my firmer grounding in history, the discipline in which my scholarship has been based, and the margins of international relations, political science and gender studies, the disciplines that my study cuts across. Also, my identity has moved between Kenya and Australia, the two countries that form the national contexts of my study.

I was born in Kenya, I live and study in Australia and my research involved interviewing both Kenyans and Australia. My position as a scholar from Kenya living in Australia enables me to draw comparative insights about women in politics in both countries. I was born in a political family, I have been an activist for women's issues in Kenya and I am trained as a historian in the Africanist tradition. These positions have influenced my orientations, my interview/interviewer relations in Kenya and in Australia and what I bring to this study. They have also influenced my relationship to the respondents and to the data. As a Kenyan African woman studying white Australian women of power, such as those in political life, I possibly stress certain aspects as opposed to if I were an Australian studying similar comparative issues. This position enables me to see certain issues from a different perspective.

In the Kenyan interview process, most respondents knew me and/or my family. I knew almost all of them through personal contacts and press reports on their political activities. In Australia, the situation was different in that I did not know any of the respondents. I had to read about their profiles from newspaper articles but mostly through biographical profiles on the Parliament of Australia website. Respondents in Australia only knew me initially through my correspondence with them by mail. Consequently, the interviews in Australia and Kenya took place in two different contexts and in settings in which I was positioned very differently with regard to my respondents. I did not however, find that these different settings and the context of my relationship to the respondents impacted on the interviews or data collection in any negative way. I was granted interviews readily in both countries and also received some refusals for varied reasons in both countries.

In Kenya, I was aware of some of the stories told by respondents. Respondents would refer to my knowledge, for example, "You remember ... ", "You heard about ...". This made it easier to make local or national comparisons among parliamentarians, as I was more familiar with the political life stories of most women parliamentarians and politicians. In Australia, there was a general assumption that I was not familiar with Australian politics. This came through questions like "Are you familiar with ...?" "You may not be familiar with ..." "Do you know about ...?" at several junctures during the interview. On the other hand, reference to Africa by my Australian respondents was often punctuated with "You would know about ..." In this regard, respondents offered very helpful explanations and useful suggestions about the Australian political system, including a number of

additional resources posted to me that provided further political party specific information that proved very useful as I analysed party recruitment of women. In both countries, the respondents allowed glimpses into their political life stories, responding to all questions posed. The manner of answers differed from long narratives around specific incidences, which called for listening keenly and picking issues around which to ask for clarification, to short matter-of-fact answers that called for quick successive questions.

My reflection as I wrote the proposal for this study and engaged in the research process revolved around the link between this study and feminist research. I am studying in a gender studies department in Australia, with two feminist supervisors, which has exposed me to a greater feminist orientation. I was brought up and my intellectual make up is around the Africanist historical tradition that celebrated the liberation of and the writing of African history, but subsumed gender under this overall celebration.

Central to my addressing this question is my location at some tension points of debate around feminism and its applicability or not to African women's experiences. The Africanist historical tradition in a broad sense, means studying African history from an African perspective, but cautions against studying Africa primarily to serve interests outside Africa in ways that concentrate only on aspects relevant to this service.[1]

As I reflected on the feminist/Africanist relationship, and my own location with regard to both, I became wide awake to earlier Africanist critiques which challenged African studies that seek African equivalents of everything that happens in the west (Mazrui 1990), or Africanist scholarship that "swings" African history from the exotic extreme or to the banal. This approach represents the flow of events in Africa as either too exceptional, on the one hand, or merely routine, on the other hand, in the process of which African history simply dissolves into the general flow of other histories, losing its specificity and leaving only invented notions of Africa (Mamdani 1996, p. 11)

There was also the variety of feminist theoretical positions, often holding contradictory views on similar issues, a situation that Judith Butler has referred to as the conceptual rifting that now marks the terrain of feminist theory (Butler 1991, p. 88). When I started the study, I was sure I knew what a 'woman' is; after reading a number of feminist critiques of 'woman' as a category of analysis, for a while, I was not too sure that I did. However, my respondents did not question this as a category. Furthermore, womanist discourses, including those in the assumptions of the international system that I focus on, the documents about women, and the panoply of activities around "women" provide reason to view the term "woman" and "women" as engendering a variety of locations, such as women in politics, that provide useful analytical categories of research and scholarly investigation around womanhood.

At another level, I have also been particularly aware of the critiques, from a number of African women and women of African origins and some women of colour, of feminism as an approach, with its prime focus on gender, and of feminism as an overall identity category, particularly for respondents. My analysis and orientation, and indeed my presentation of this thesis necessarily occurs within the backdrop of these intricacies in writing about Africa.

As I interpreted my data and wrote the thesis, these cautions were mediated by my involvement in the women's movement in Kenya and debates around the application of western derived feminist paradigms and feminism to Kenyan women's experiences as well as my own shifting positions and views in these debates. In particular, I am critically aware of a number of Kenyan women activists who do not label themselves as feminists. I am also aware of the predominance of the term feminist in the Australian context and that some of my Australian respondents considered themselves feminists while others did not. I have had to give considerable consideration to the terminologies that I use for my respondents and to frame the claims that I make about them or on their behalf. Subsequently, I chose to use the terms "women's movement", "womanhood" and "feminism" in the ways in which respondents used them without submerging one identity into the other. This enabled me to avoid either over-interpreting or under-interpreting the actual contexts in which the respondents represented themselves.[2]

My own understanding of the difference in the application of these two terms became more stable towards the end of my thesis when I read Alicia Boisnier's

article on race and women's identity. Her study concluded that black and white women experience feminist identity development differently, and that womanist and feminist identity development models differ in their ability to capture those experiences (Boisnier 2003). This corroborates the point that, as discrimination research shows, dominant and subordinate groups inhabit different cognitive universes. Dominant groups see equal opportunity and merit-based progression whereas subordinate groups see patterns of discrimination and bias (Burton 1997)

Not only was feminism a point of tension, but postcolonialism also produces another set of tensions, particularly because of the charges that have been brought against its application and usage in African studies. I did not find the charges to be universally applicable to all who utilise postcolonial approaches in studying African history. First, as I point out later, the gap between postcolonialism and Africanist studies may not be as wide as depicted. And the lenses through which we view and employ postcolonial ideas may be very diverse. For example, many of us who studied in African universities would have, as undergraduates, "met" Frantz Fanon in the company of African thinkers such as Leopold Senghor, Tom Mboya, Julius Nyerere and within the ideas around negritude, African personality, African socialism, and so on. It is only much later that we "meet" him, especially in the universities abroad, within post-structuralism mainly in the company of Foucault and power and knowledge, Edward Said and orientalism, and Gyatari Spivak and subaltenship, almost to the exclusion of the company around which we first met and knew of his works.

Apart from the tension points, I also note points of harmony and coincidence, particularly in data sources as used in feminist oral history and the Africanist struggles and achievements in the 1960s in having oral traditions and oral narratives accepted as authentic and valid sources for the reconstruction of African history.[3] I was brought up in the heyday of celebrating the achievements of African historians in general, and Kenyan historians in particular, who had argued for and used oral traditions as a significant source of African history, and had used such methods as sources of their own teaching and research. My own liberation, because of this earlier Africanist scholarship with regard to authenticity and usage of oral sources, coincided with the approach of feminist oral history.

A number of incidents during my research capture the variety of issues that make up my experiences as an Africanist historian in a gender studies department with a significant feminist orientation working in two different countries. Here, I mention only two of them.

In Kenya, one respondent who finally declined to be interviewed had set times and dates for an interview with me but failed to appear on two of the occasions. The third time, she asked me to wait in her office at 8.30 am. She finally arrived at 11.30. Soon after, her secretary came to inform me, in the room where I was waiting, that the politician would not be seeing anyone including myself. She also informed me that she had informed the potential respondent that the "lady from Australia" was waiting, but the response was the same. She would not see anyone. The secretary, however, asked me to wait for a while; she might see me once she

had settled. Finally, I was informed one hour later that she would not see me. The secretary noted my frustration and in a touching sisterly act, "consoled" me somewhat with a deep sense of understanding and sympathy. She was truly sorry that, I still failed to get an interview despite these three attempts. Her helplessness was evident.

As I left I met a former male MP who also frequented the building. We had earlier met, so he knew the reason why I was in the building. He asked me if I had completed the interview. I told him I was unable to get an interview. He promptly 'dragged me back' to see if he could talk to the MP. She had left. The honourable member turned on me "Look at you women - A woman like you comes all the way from Australia and you cannot sit with her just a few minutes to grant her an interview. See why we [meaning men] don't take you women seriously". I had been promptly branded with the female MP on gender and the problem became a woman's trait in the mind of the male MP.

I went to my sister's office and she noted the frustration on my face. "What happened?" she asked. I informed her. "So why do you look so frustrated? You said you were using feminist methodology", she remarked. I asked her what she meant by that. "Well you said the interview situation and experience is as important as the facts, so you don't have the information you sought, but you have the experience to write about". In this spirit, I record this experience. More significantly however, this incident symbolised much of what feminist scholarship offers, as well as the challenges that the feminist positions entails for me as a historian researcher seeking

facts on specific issues. It also made me, in spite of my disappointment, more aware of the difficulty that the few women politicians face, being overworked with so few of them in parliament. I reflected at this time that for every woman I sought an interview with, I could have had a lot more men from whom to select a sample.[4] The incident was also indicative of some of the difficulties in the research process experienced by researchers in the field, and why knowledge must remain partial due to the unavailability of informants. In the whole research process, I failed to get interviews with a total of four of my original intended respondents in Kenya, and three in Australia.

In Australia, a number of acquaintances, not always from the university, made comments on my study that located some of the major tensions in the comparative nature of the study I was conducting. Often, I would get asked, "What are you researching on or what is the topic of your study?" After explaining that I was doing a comparative study involving Kenya and Australia, I received questions such as "Is there anything comparable?" "Oh! But your country [meaning Kenya] needs to fight corruption first!" As I understood from the gestures in addition to the remarks and subsequent discussions, I was 'lowering' the status of Australia by such a study, or raising Kenya to a status it had not yet achieved. Such comments could also provide a sense that Kenya does not have the right to inhabit the world, or that part of the world reserved for "advanced" countries such as Australia.

In analysing the data, as a historian I am located at some tension point that exists between analysis and narrative within the historical profession.[5] In this tension, I

bring with me a strong drive to analyse the data. The feminist orientation however cautions against the power relations that this may entail. How do I erase the power relations both in the research process and in the outcome of the interviews? Whose story comes out of the interviews? Is it mine as the interpreter, or the respondent's as the informant about her own life story, or is it both ours? Through these questions, feminist insights opened up my contours of thought and drove me to think and articulate these relationships and tensions. My Africanist orientations, kept me in continuous check to ensure that I did not end up merging the Kenyan women's stories into either that of Australian women or the dominant narratives about women in the international women's movement.

Marla Arvary (1998) discusses inequities in the research process through what she refers to as "researcher privilege". This she argues is inherent in any research relationship, given that the topic of study, the research method, authorship, and the interpretation of the final text remain within the domain of the researcher. [6] She suggests placing narrative accounts first in an attempt to tell the interviewees' story and thereby limiting the effects of such power relations in data representation.[7]

I utilise this insight and privilege respondents' experiences by foregrounding their response and narratives at all the junctures of my main arguments, findings and discussion. In doing this, I am able to establish a conversation with secondary texts, respondents' claims, and my analysis, using the respondents' narratives as the central location from which discussed ideas arise. This approach allows the

respondent not just to be engaged but also to engage and remain an active voice in the whole presentation.

It was also interesting to note the contacts that had been made between some Kenyan and Australian respondents. For example, Phoebe Asiyo and Rosemary Crowley are good friends, with great respect for each other. Both of them shared with me some of the jokes they had shared with each other at some of the international conferences where they met. Some of the Australian respondents have also been involved in projects in Kenya. These marked moments of engagement in the interview that indicated common struggles by women and some mutuality of interests within women's diverse contexts of interaction.

Methodology

A scientific methodology is a system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based, and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated (Frankfort 1996, p. 13). This is a comparative study, and, as such, relies much on the comparative method. Skocpol and Somers (1980) point to three logics in the use of comparative history, namely for macro-causal analysis, for parallel demonstration of theory or for contrast of contexts. The key issue in comparison is that comparability rests on some similarity in the classificatory data in order to make what we compare comparable (Hammel 1980; Smelser 1976). In this regard, I set out to collect data that I could classify and compare. I identified broad themes around which to collect data and from which I could generate specific and common themes for analysis.

My study is specifically a cross-national comparison on women in politics in two different countries. Cross-national comparison aims to observe social phenomenon across nations (Hantrais 1999, p. 93) and can be approached in terms of analysing most different or most similar systems design (Berven 2003, p. 7), both of which allow for unveiling values in national contexts and highlighting the relations between the cross national and national. My own comparison occurs within the broad framework of the goals of comparative politics that encompass an analysis of the major political similarities and differences between countries in order to develop some perspective on the mixture of constants and variables, and the contexts in which these operate (Hague, Harrop and Breslin 1998, pp. 272, 273; Clavert 2002, p. 27).

I employ the comparative method in order to provide inductive generalisations in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and Australia, as well as to form deductive conclusions as to the processes of women's parliamentary recruitment. I cite illustrative cases that exemplify different or similar features in women's decisions to vie for parliamentary seats (self-selection), in the party selection process and in the election phase (voter selection) in Kenya and Australia, and the comparative contexts within which women have won parliamentary seats.

I make the cross-national comparisons in relation to the international agenda for women's political empowerment. In doing this, I combine three layers of analysis. First, an analysis of strategies deployed by potential women candidates as they seek parliamentary seats. Secondly, an analysis of the local contexts within which

women seek parliamentary seats, i.e., the political agents or the machinery which support or inhibit them in this purpose and the electoral environment within which they seek parliamentary seats. Lastly, I analyse the effects induced by the international environment within which they act and that shapes the local contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment.

The three layers of analysis have enabled me to address and answer the central question of my research, i.e., whether universal international catalysts have a similar or different impacts on women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and Australia, countries which have varied legacies in, and different terms of incorporation into, the international system. I use the national differences in the conditions and processes of women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and in Australia to explore the comparative role of international links to women's parliamentary recruitment in the two countries. I examine the comparative impact on women's parliamentary pursuits of the legacy of the two broad categories, colonised and nation-state, the frameworks within which the international system historically incorporated women in Kenya and Australia respectively into the international community up to 1963 when Kenya gained independence from the British colonial rule. I then examine the comparative impact of the frames of equality and development, around which the international system generated activities, models and discourses for women's advancement in Kenya and Australia after the post independence period in Kenya.

Variables

A variable is an empirical property that can change either in quality or in quantity, with the variable that the researcher wishes to explain as the independent variable, and the variable that the researcher expects will explain the change as the dependent variable (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996, pp. 55, 56). In comparing Kenya and Australia, I use the international system as the independent variable. The international system comprises creators, carriers (disseminators) and consumers of the international agenda on the one hand, and the actual international agenda, discourses and policies (e.g., international conventions and laws) on the other hand. Data from the political life stories of the sample provides contextual factors that serve as dependent variables. I use three variables to depict the broad contexts in women's parliamentary recruitment, namely self-selection, i.e., the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat, party selection, known as nomination in Kenya and preselection in Australia, and voter selection. In order to get data for comparison, I designed a sample (discussed below) that comprises women who have won parliamentary seats in Kenya and in Australia between the 1970s and 2002. I have also used biographical material to extend the period of coverage to the 1960s in both countries. I use the life story approach based on interviews through which I gathered data on the three broad stages in women's parliamentary recruitment. Stories around these three broad stages provided me with the comparative data on processes, trends and contextual factors in women's parliamentary recruitment in the two countries.

Sources of Data

The main source of information on the life stories of the sample comes from interviews. Information from oral interviews enabled me to seek participants' views,

not just on their political life story, but also on the role that they felt international catalysts and efforts had played in their political careers in general and parliamentary recruitment in particular. Data collected through oral interviews has enabled me as a researcher to engage in an analysis through which the voices of respondents participate actively in the situations and contexts that depict their political recruitment.

In addition to information from interviews, other sources that I utilised came from biographical works, archival materials, daily and weekly newspapers, magazines, internet resources and secondary data from libraries. I used the Kenya National Archives in Nairobi, the Public Records Office in Kew (United Kingdom), the archives of the *Daily Nation Newspapers* in Kenya, and records stored at the University of Nairobi Library, Flinders University Library and the Barr Smith Library at the University of Adelaide. All these sources form a significant part of the literature on the life story of the respondents, which enabled me to generate broad comparative issues and questions in the political recruitment of women in Kenya and in Australia.

Sampling

The sample was taken from a population of Australian women legislators either in the Senate or the House of Representatives from the 1970s to 2001, and from Kenyan women elected MPs and some nominated MPs during the same period. I interviewed nine women each from Australia and Kenya. The sample sought to include women in national politics in each of the decades from the 1960s to the 1990s up to 2003. Due to my inability to obtain interviews from women who held parliamentary seats in the 1960s in both Australia and Kenya, the sample is limited

to women who held parliamentary seats from the 1970s onwards in both countries.[8] To get some data on the political life histories of women who held parliamentary seats prior to the 1960s, I relied on newspaper articles and biographical secondary data where necessary to get information on their political life stories that were significant for my explanation.

I used the biographical works on Grace Onyango who was the first woman in the Kenya parliament, and the only woman from the attainment of independence in 1963 to 1974, in order to extend the coverage of my study to this period. Because women entered the Australian federal parliament from the 1940s, I use secondary sources about these women where this information is important for my analysis. I also use the biographical works of Susan Ryan in Australia to expand my coverage of Australia women parliamentarians in the 1970s.

The sample includes some women who have held office for two terms or more, and is representative of the major political parties in the two countries.[9] In Australia, the parties represented in the sample include the Liberal Party (LP), the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the Australian Democrats (AD). In Kenya there was a single party system up to 1992. Consequently the sample prior to this period represents the only party in Kenya at the time - Kenya African National Union (KANU). The sample after 1992 represents the multi party nature of the country and includes opposition political parties. In addition to KANU, the sample represents the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-Kenya), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and the Democratic Party (DP). For the period after 2000, the sample also represents the National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC), the "super opposition party" through which different opposition parties joined forces under one

presidency in the 2002 general elections in an attempt to dislodge the ruling party KANU from government.

The sample in Kenya includes nominated MPs because nomination is a significant space for the numerical increase of women in Kenya's parliament. Nominated MPs do not go through similar processes in self-selection or voter selection, but are significant in party selection. The process is an exemplar of how affirmative action can sharply increase women's parliamentary representation. [10]

The sample in both countries includes women legislators with international or transnational links such as travel to trans-national and/or international women's meetings, personal formal and informal links, connections or interactions with such organisations and so on. My sampling was also targeted but closely dependent on the availability of the MP to give an interview. In Kenya, this was also dependent on the limited number of women who have served as MPs. Due to budgetary constraints; the sample from Australia is biased towards South Australia.

I conducted most of the oral interviews face to face. However, once again due to budgetary constraints, I conducted two interviews in Australia by telephone. During the interviews, I used open-ended questions that explored four broad areas: the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat (self-selection), gaining party endorsement, the campaign and winning elections and, lastly, what the participants thought of the role of international factors in their political careers. These broad issues generated discussion around specific issues and stories raised by participants. The interviews took about 30 to 45 minutes each. Because of the busy time schedules and communication problems as I am based in Australia, I interviewed participants only once but as exhaustively, as the MPs schedules allowed. This meant that the depth

of coverage would be uniform for both countries. I hoped to tape record all interviews but some respondents preferred that I take notes instead. In Kenya, I had to rely on note taking because the tape recorder was faulty.

Interviews in Kenya

I travelled to Kenya between February and June 2002, and again in May 2003. I went back in 2003 after Kenya held elections as there were new political contexts within which new women were elected into parliament, and this created a need to sample respondents who attained parliamentary seats during this period. In preparation for my travel to Kenya, I made contact with the sample by sending letters introducing myself, my proposed study and inviting the sample to participate in the interview. I provided them with the broad interview focus, a copy of the University of Adelaide Ethics Committee Letter, and a consent form (See appendix). I also informed the respondents of the period that I would be in Kenya to conduct the interviews.

Once in Kenya, I contacted the sample through telephone to make arrangements for interview dates, time and venue. The response to telephone calls was rather slow. Consequently, I personally went to the offices to seek appointments. It was difficult getting firm appointment dates and times, evidently due to the extremely busy schedule of the sample particularly because 2002 was an election year in Kenya. In the first two weeks of my arrival in Kenya, a number from the sample had to travel to New York to attend the CSW General Assembly meeting and a few others were involved in a regional meeting of African women MPs in Morocco. Consequently, most of my interviews began two weeks after I arrived in Kenya and spread over the three months that I was in Kenya.

Apart from Grace Onyango, whose story is gleaned from secondary sources, the Kenya sample matched my original selection criteria in spite of the fact that some of the originally selected individuals were not able to grant the interview (see tables 2.1 and 2.2 below).

Table 2. 1 The composition of the sample and relevant women parliamentarians by party membership, years in parliament and type of parliamentary recruitment.

Name	Party	Years in Parliament	Elected/Nominated	Source	Constituency
Grace Onyango	KANU	1969 – 1983 (lost in the 1983 elections)	Elected	Newspaper articles	Kisumu Town
Julia Ojiambo	KANU ___ (NARC)	1974 – 1983 (Lost elections)	Nominated to parliament in 2002 (NARC)	Interviewed 1/05/02	Busia Central
Phoebe Asiyo	KANU FORD - Kenya	1979 – 1988, Lost in 1988, won in 1992 – 1997 retired)	Elected	Interviewed 6/03/02	Karachuonyo
Grace Ogot	KANU	1985 – 1992 (lost elections)	1983 Nominated, 1985 - 1992 elected.	Interviewed 9/05/02	Gem
Tabitha Sei	KANU, DP from 1997	1997	Nominated 1992 - 1997	Interviewed 25/04/02	Kerio South
Martha Karua	FORD-Asili 1992 Defected to DP 1992 and won seat DP/NARC 2002	1992 – present	Elected 1992, 1997, 2002	Interviewed 18/04/02	Gichugu
Beth Mugo	FORD-Asili, 1992 DP 1997, SDP 1997 SDP/NARC 2002	1997 - present	Elected 1997, 2002	Interviewed 14/04/02	Dagoretti
Catherine Nyamato	KANU	1997 Only	Nominated	Interviewed 12/05/02	South Mugirango
Naomi Shabaan	FORD-Kenya 1992 KANU 1997 & 2002	2002- present	Elected	Interviewed 11/06/03	Taveta
Catherine Mango	FORD-Kenya/NARC)	2002 - present	Elected	Interviewed 12.06/03	Butula

Table compiled from information through interviews, newspaper articles and Electoral handbook.

Interviews in Australia.

I conducted interviews in Australia between July 2002 and August 2003.
Once I was ready to conduct the interviews, I sent similar letters and information to respondents much as I had done in the case of Kenya.

Three respondents declined my request, two due to their busy schedule and one due to her position in parliament, which, as she explained, did not allow her to readily grant interviews. As a "political outsider", it was comparatively more difficult in Australia for me to locate ex- MPs who are no longer in parliament. Almost all interviews in Australia took place in the state office of the respondents apart from the telephone interviews and one interview where the respondent came to my department. In Australia, this was the only interview that took place within the backdrop of a social occasion (Melbourne cup celebrations) rather than in an office. (The respondent suggested that we first watch the Melbourne cup with other members of the department, and then proceed with the interview after that). It is also the interview that took the longest amount of time and one that had the most explanations and additional narratives. I conducted two interviews by telephone, which did not allow for a face-to-face meeting or for establishing a more personal rapport. Because of her age, I had to conduct an interview on three different occasions with one of the respondents, each time continuing from where we had previously left off.

Table 2.2 Sample of Senators and Members of the HOR in the Australian Federal Parliament

Name	Party	Year	Senate/HOR	Source	Electorate/ State
Joan Child	ALP	1974	HOR	Interviewed 4, 10, 18 December 2002	Henty
Susan Ryan	ALP	1975-88	Senate	Biography	Electorate/State
Rosemary Crowley	ALP	1983 - 2001	Senate	Interviewed 5/11/02	South Australia (SA)
Margaret Reid	LP	1981 - 2001	Senate	Interviewed by telephone 29/11/02	Australian Capital Territory
Meg Lees	AD Independent candidate 2004 election	1990 - 2004	Senate	Interviewed 15/11/2002	SA
Amanda Vanstone	LP	1984 - present	Senate	Interviewed 6/11/2002	SA
Christine Gallus	LP	1990 -2004	HOR	Interviewed 7/11/02	Hindmarsh
Natasha Stott - Despoja	AD	1995 - present	Senate	Interviewed 25/11/2002	SA
Linda Kirk	ALP	2001 - present	Senate	Interviewed 20/11/2002	SA
Carmen Lawrence	ALP	1992 - present	Senate	Interviewed 2/12/2002	Western Australia

Data Analysis Procedures.

I utilised interdisciplinary triangulation, given that my study spans history, politics, International relations and gender studies. In this regard, I employed the multiple perspectives to interpret my data set. Participants consented to the use of their names and I have done this apart from a few cases where, given the nature of my narration or analysis, I refer to "the respondent" or "respondents" rather than the actual name (s).

In answering questions, the responses often went beyond my specific question, meaning that the respondents may have interpreted the question to include information on parts of their life stories that I may not have necessarily covered. The question, "How did you come to choose politics as a career?" produced varied responses with long historical backgrounds form the Australian respondents, but with a much shorter span from the Kenyan respondents. These antecedent events that respondents drew on to answer the questions revealed information that might have otherwise been silenced by referring to specific historical moments in the life history. Respondents therefore opened up the contours of the interview, and by doing so, interpreted, informed, gave meaning to and became part of directing the life narrative beyond the confines of the question posed by myself as the researcher. In the presentation of the thesis, I have asked questions of, analysed, given order to and arranged these interpretations and information for the information to shed light on my analytical issues. In the final analysis, this thesis reflects the respondents' stories as told by me.

Endnotes

[1] Mazrui for example points to African studies in the US that primarily serves the domestic consumption relevant to Black and white relation in the US.

[2] Berven refers to this as the challenge of "stretching" versus "travelling" in ways that stretch inapplicable concepts to different situation or travelling that allows for contexts to emerge (Berven, (2003, p. 2).

[3] For feminist oral history, see Shulamit Reinharz (1992), especially chapter seven.

[4] Between 1963 and 2002, men were always at least 90 per cent of parliament.

[5] For a discussion on the narrative tension in the historical profession, see Ronald Grele (2002).

[6] See Marla Arvary (1998).

[7] For further discussion of this, see, S. Reinharz (1992), *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford University Press, New York.

[8] For the 1960s, in Australia, the few women who held national parliamentary seats during this period are now deceased. In Kenya, Grace Onyango was unable to grant an interview.

[9] Independent female candidates are not represented in the sample because none has won parliamentary seats in this capacity in Australia while in Kenya candidates must belong to a registered political party in order to stand for elections. As such, independent candidates fall outside the scope of the present study.

[10] Following each general elections, a total of twelve MPs, are nominated to parliament in addition to elected MPs. Some of the nominated MPs have contested subsequent elections and won parliamentary seats.

Chapter 3

Internationalism and Womanhood: 1880 - 1963

Introduction

Between the 1880s and 1901, neither Kenyan nor Australian women had the suffrage. Australian women, in search of sexual equality, began to demand suffrage from the 1880s and attained federal suffrage in 1902. Kenyan women at the time held their traditional rights, but were to be drawn into an international system through colonization, as a result of which politics and suffrage would take increasing significance. From 1963, Kenyan women had the suffrage, but were incorporated into the international system as being in need of development while Australian women were incorporated through an equality discourse. This chapter explores and identifies the locations of Kenyan and Australian women in the emergent international system of nation states and colonial states from the 1880s. This is with a view to providing an account of the different locations in the international system between Kenyan and Australian women. I also discuss the effects for Kenyan and Australian women on their actualising the political rights of women recognised in the international system given the different locations in the international system.

I explore the discourses on equality and concepts such as "women", "women of the world" and "motherhood" that portray universalism and which were used to make demands on women's political rights in international organisations such as the League of Nations and ILO and later the United Nations. Between 1885 and 1963, [1]

the meaning of womanhood, both in the international organisations and in different countries, together with women's issues and women's proper role and place changed fundamentally, together with the extent, form and agenda of the global discourse on women (Berkovitch 1999).

I argue that the international system organised around the binary divide along the lines of "civilised" and "uncivilised", of sovereign nation-states and colonised subjects, resulted in variable experiences for Australian and Kenyan women in the international context up to 1963.[2] First, this divide generated different responses from Kenyan and Australian women to the international system operational in their worlds. The different classification of women in the international system yielded different applications of political rights and other rights extended to women, and sought on behalf of women in international forums.

In Australia, federal suffrage for women meant that white women who attained the federal vote in 1902 were conceived as political actors, and politics also conceived as an arena for women's participation.[3] In Kenya, colonialism established the foundational structures for differences between Kenyan women and women of European origins, in which Kenyan women were not conceived of as political actors. The establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 institutionalised and consolidated differences among women in the international conceptions of women for whom political rights were possible. The United Nations established in 1945 and its agency, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), pursued women's emancipation along the received understandings of differences among women. It

was emptied of any political agenda for women from newly independent nation-states.

During colonialism, the binary divide along "civilised" and "non-civilised" stifled any possibility of gender based political coalitions between Kenyan women as colonised either with transnational organisations in international forums or branches of transnational organisations such as the East African Women's League in Kenya, in spite of a number of similar concerns among Kenyan women and women active in the transnational organisations. Instead, colonial relations with its civilising mission reinforced by the League of Nations and later the UN trusteeship system, produced welfare-oriented activities between colonised women and the white colonising women that continuously mediated the relationships that emerged between the two groups of women, both within the colony and in their relationship with transnational women's organisations after 1945. In these relationships, there was a consistent misrecognition of all political activities of Kenyan African women by women of European origins.

By 1963, white Australian women were defining their own concerns and aggregating these to the international agenda for women. Kenyan women, too, were defining their concerns and identities as political women. This definition came into competition with identities for women being designed by male African nationalists in the immediate post independence era, white women operating in international women's organisations and the CSW, the international system defining the

development agenda for ex-colonial states, all of which had failed to incorporate African women's visions and identities as political actors.

Gender/Racial Exclusion, Colonial Conquest and Transnational Women's Movement in the International System: 1880s to 1914

By the 1880s, international conferences to settle disputes, or to take unanimous decisions affecting nation-states, were increasingly becoming ongoing practice in the emerging international system. The Berlin conference of 1884 – 1885 that laid the rules for the "scramble for Africa" was one such conference, and exemplifies the different locations of women in international relations, and the different outcomes for women in international designs and international decisions.[4] African women, African men and European women were not represented at the conference even though the decisions made at the conference held far reaching consequences for them, both within their countries, and in the colonial enterprise. For the Africans, it was their territories under discussion. Female leaders led some of these territories while male leaders led other territories. Each territory and its social organisation, however, contained various forms of power bases for men and women, as I discuss below.

For African women, in addition to being excluded from the international decisions on the partition of their territories among European nations, another outcome of this conference was to propel European men towards Africa in a colonising impulse through explicit military expeditions and conquest of African societies.[5] Exclusion from international decision-making, military expeditions and conquest, generated

different responses to the emerging international system, from women in colonies such as Kenya, and from women in "mother countries" or nation states.

The Transnational Engagement in Australia up to the 1920s

To counter their exclusion from international negotiations, to find ways of participating in international forums, and to establish the means of using international forums to champion their cause, groups of women largely drawn from the industrialised nations of the west began to talk about and constitute themselves, together with part of what they were doing, within the rubric "international". Women's organisations, such as the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) later known as the International Alliance of Women (IAW), the International Congress of Women (ICW) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) fitted within the growing internationalism of the time, as women used the organisations to seek admission into the chambers of international relations (Steinstra, 1994, p. 48, 53). The 'international' image not only gave a "global" scope to what these women were doing, but also provided the possibility of mobilizing an international infrastructure, flow of resources and information, models of justice and progress to catalyse desired goals for gender justice and progress in each nation.[6]

Australian women were among the founding members of some of these international organisations, and were frequently represented in the meetings held by these organisations in various parts of Europe.[7] They also founded national or state women's organisations, which affiliated to transnational women's organisations and

thereby, contributed to the outlook of the transnational organisations as well as drew from the objectives of the transnational organisations to influence national objectives. The formation of the Australian Federation of Women Voters in 1913, (originally known as the Australian Federation of Women Societies), was a response both to local and overseas development (Lake 1999, p. 154). This led to similarities between the objectives of early feminist organisations in Australia and those in the transnational women's movement. Both focused on suffrage issues and issues of the equality of status, opportunity and payment between men and women, equality of rights of citizenship for men and women, the improved legal status for mothers, equal moral standards for men and women, among others.[8] Equality was linked to suffrage both in Australia and in transnational women's organisations.[9]

Up to about 1920, suffrage was a specific issue around which women, mostly of European origin, mobilised in the international system. Australian women had received the national vote in 1902. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was brought to Australia from America by the union's missionaries in the 1880s, supported suffrage organisations (Oldfield 1992). Australian women's suffrage achievements became of international significance as women of other nations used this achievement to make demands for their own suffrage rights. For example, Australian women's early victories in suffrage became expressed as markers of transnational developments of worldwide significance. Australian women secured representation at the IWSA as part of the British delegation nominated by the British dominions (Lake 1999, p. 157). The IWSA used Australian experiences to argue for the women's vote in other nations that had not given women the vote, claiming that Australia and New Zealand (that had also granted suffrage to women) were the healthiest countries in the world, having lower infant and general mortality rates than Europe (Berkovitch, 1999 p. 26). Australian

women also used their suffrage achievement to make demands on behalf of women of other nation states.

Suffrage rights mark an early locus of differentiation among women in general and between white Australian women and Kenyan African women in particular. A significant trend depicts women of European origins gaining the vote in white dominated countries or colonies while indigenous women or women of colour did not receive the ballot in the so-called "mother country" or in the colonies (Terborg-Penn 1998, p. 44). According to Grimshaw, in the discussions by white women activists for suffrage in the 1880s and early 1890s in Australia, they maintained a solid wall of silence about the implications of the vote for Aboriginal women, what political rights would mean to them, or how their particular oppression might be addressed (Grimshaw 2001, p. 31).

Celebrations of early suffrage for women in Australia eclipses, the fact that, when the federal vote was achieved, it cut across class lines as all white women got the vote, but failed to cut across racial lines, as Indigenous Aboriginal women and men did not get the vote.[10] This was also the case for Kenyan African women when women of European origins founded the East African Women's League (EAWL) in 1917 along racial lines for women's suffrage (Bennet 1978). In the year that it was founded, members made submissions on women's enfranchisement to the committee appointed by the colonial government to look into the settlers' demands for elective representation. In response to the submissions by the EAWL, the franchise given to European settlers in 1919 by the colonial government included white women (Bennett 1978, p. 39).

By the 1920s, women of European origins in Kenya and in Australian women were able to exercise political rights of voting and contesting elections, but not Kenyan women or Indigenous women in Australia. The attainment of suffrage in turn defined different identities among women, between those defining themselves as 'political women', perceived as able, and ready to exercise political rights, that marked them apart from other women, seen as not ready to exercise political rights (Terborg-Penn 2001). In the mutual construction between nation-states and the international system, transnational women's organisations, the dominant white men in the international organisations and nation-states that formed the member states of international organisations all evacuated Kenyan women from the definition of political women.[11]

As the international system evolved from the 1880s, transnational organising among women and suffrage demands and achievements mark only a partial understanding of women's struggle in the international system. Transnational organising represents only one of the approaches, and only one of the alternatives or responses through which we may understand and depict women's international engagements. Also, the suffrage and equality demands made by women through transnational women's organisations reflect only part of the international concerns of women at the time. I now turn to anti-colonialism as another approach engendering other demands made by colonised peoples in Africa in general and colonised women in particular.

Military Resistance and Anti-colonialisms in Kenya

Reviewing George Bennett's book on Kenya's political history, Ogot (1964), observed that the author approached Kenya's political history as the story of the European oligarchy: how they acquired power, how they tried to retain it, and how eventually they lost it. On the contrary, Ogot points out that Kenya's political history could equally be seen in terms of how Africans, who by 1920 had lost their original freedom, gradually regained it. Part of the Africans who lost their freedom were women, who also engaged in military resistance to colonisation by the British forces. They also were among the freedom fighters and anti-colonialists who regained Kenya's freedom in 1963. In pre-colonial societies, African women had various forms of power and a broad role in decision-making. Each sex had its sphere of activity through which women derived political status, exercised political control over some areas of activity, and occupied political institutions to rule their own affairs or influence the affairs of men (O'Barr 1984).

For Kenyan women, resisting colonial military expeditions against their people, resisting the colonial occupation of their lands and later being involved in anti-colonial initiatives against specific forms of colonial administrative policies, were the immediate and relevant issues. In this regard, Kenyan women actively engaged in wars of liberation from colonial invasion, occupation and subjugation.[12] For example, between 1872 and 1895, Chief Mangana Ogonje, the daughter of Ugu led her people in the fight against the British invading forces. In the British punitive expedition against the Abagusii, Moraa Moka Ngit, a prominent woman diviner and traditional healer among the Abagusii, mobilised her people to resist the British

invasion. Between 1913 and 1914, Me' Katalili, the women leader of the Gririama people led her people in resisting the British invasion at the coast of Kenya (Bantley 1981, pp. 86, 88; The League of Kenya Women Voters 1997, p. 9). Me' Katalili directly countered the speech of the colonial administrator, Hobley, by using her oratory powers to mobilise anti-colonial sentiments among the Giriama. She gathered Giriama women, assessed their grievances and organised meetings among the Giriama people as a result of which men were forbidden to agree to the labour demands and tax collection by the colonial government (Bantley 1981, pp. 85, 86). These women protected and sought territorial integrity and freedom from foreign occupation so as to determine their own destiny.

Once conquest was over, and the British began to establish administrative posts and set up administrative policies, women engaged in activities oppositional to the establishment of British administration. Between 1911 and 1913 in Ukambani, women danced the Kilumi dance, using it as a channel to express and mobilise opposition to the colonial government and as forums to preach anti-colonial messages. Siotune wa Kathuke, the woman leader of the Wakamba, for example, used the Kilumi dancing forums to order the Akamba people not to work as colonial porters, and not to pay the Hut and Poll tax, explaining to her followers that the intention was to remove all Europeans from Kenya (Ogot 1974, p. 263). These various forms and manifestations of anti-colonial resistances have not been readily perceived as "international". The attendant demands for justice and freedom inherent in anti-colonial struggles have also not attained the necessary space in the international arena, nor have they been perceived as international in the same way as European women making suffrage demands have.[13]

The Lack of Consonance between Transnationlism and Anti-colonialism

From their occupation, the colonialists organised Kenya along racial lines. Against the backdrop of colonial racial segregation and hierarchies, any coincidences in women's concerns in colonial states and in sovereign nation-states often failed to present themselves as an opportunity for a common front between African women's anti-colonialism and the transnational women's demands. For example, when the First World War broke out in 1914, the International Congress of Women in The Hague in 1915, responded to the expansionist activities among European powers that had led to the outbreak of the War. The ICW resolved that no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognised (Steinstra 1994, p. 52). These concerns of European women for territorial integrity coincided with the military resistance by African women to defend their territorial integrity as previously discussed.

Defence of their territorial integrity remained ongoing concerns as women joined forces to resist, for example, the Crown Lands Ordinance that was promulgated in Kenya in the same year (1915). The Ordinance asserted the Crown's power over the land in Kenya, turning Africans into tenants at will of the Crown and preventing Africans from owning land in the same way as Europeans (Odhiambo 1981, p. 6; Roseberg and Nottingham 1966, p. 62). A few years earlier in 1911, the colonial administration had forcibly removed Maasai men and women from their territory to make room for white settlers (Wolff 1974, p. 66).

Such coincidences in women's concerns and defence could not yield a meeting point between African women and transnational women's organisations in international relations organised around sovereign states (colonisers) and colonised, "civilised" and "uncivilised". On the contrary, alliances among women were along racial lines signified by European women moving into Kenya and readily forging links with transnational organisations around white women's suffrage issues, such as was the case of the East African Women's League (EAWL). These both reinforced, and were reinforced by, racial differences being constructed in colonies.

The presence of women of European origins in Kenya created an occasion for demarcating further racial and gender distinctions within the colonies. From the perspective of male Europeans, women of European origins were to be protected from African men. Floggings of African men by European males became a visible practice and a norm as deterrence to African men from contemplating any form of social association with European women, especially as the latter entered Kenya in larger numbers in the early years of settlement. One of the first incidents to 'warn' African men against European women occurred in Nairobi when three Kikuyu men were publicly flogged for allegedly harassing a European woman.[14] This according to Grogan was indicative of the fact that the Kikuyu had lost respect for the white man, a fact that would generally be followed by assault on white women (Kyle 1999, p. 208, 209). The colonial administration also enacted laws to protect European women and to prevent miscegenation (Ogot 1974), and, up to 1961, the colonial penal code made illicit, carnal connection between an African man and a white woman an offence (Cotran 1961, p. 3).

As colonial administrators sought to protect European women, European women's activities often fitted into the exploitative racial structure within Kenya. They

participated within the terms of racial superiority under colonialism and maintained by regulations such as the Masters and Servants Ordinances or the labour and taxations laws that turned Africans into labourers for Europeans (Roseberg and Nottingham 1966).

Like the male European settlers, European women also exploited African labour, paid low wages and, participated in making Africans work under very poor conditions, with poor health facilities and poor living conditions for Africans working on their farms.[15] They also contributed to creating gender distinctions among 'natives' through payment of different wages to male and female labourers.[16] At other times, European women redesigned their activities to incorporate women's specificities along racial lines, as we earlier saw in the formation of the East African Women's League with membership exclusive to European women.[17] By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the groundwork and foundational structures and identities that were to mark and continually reproduce differences among women in the application of political rights were in place, and were to be consolidated and institutionalised in the overall outlook of transnational women's organisations through the League of Nations.

The League of Nations and the Limits of "Womanhood".

Established in 1919 after the First World War, the League of Nations became a site of struggle and of identity creation. As an international organisation, it was a site around which various actors mobilised to promote and to oppose particular interests (Whitworth 1994, p. 73). In particular, the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization (ILO) provided lobbying grounds for international/transnational

women's groups (Miller 1994). In the words of Vera Brittain, an activist in the League, 'since the establishment of the League of Nations as the triumph of the international idea, women have come to regard the League as the one fitting instrument through which justice could be done to women' (Vera Brittain, quoted in Lake 2001, p. 254).

Yet, the League of Nations also perpetuated and reinforced differences among women as colonised and as belonging to sovereign nation-states. The League for example established guidelines for the administration of colonised people in mandated territories, which led to League of Nations Associations springing up to publicise such guidelines in many countries including Australia (Grimshaw 2001, p. 45). In protecting people's rights, however, the League was also defining them (Lake 2001, p. 254). In addition, the League was defining who should protect and who should be protected. In this regard, Australia gained a newly defined status as a nation-state when the country appeared in the list of nations signing the Versailles Treaty because only fully self-governing nations could be members of the League of Nations. Furthermore, The League granted Australia, as an "advanced nation", mandate over Papua New Guinea and Nauru, to administer the territories on behalf of the League (White 1981, p. 111).[18]

Through the recognition of Australia as a nation state, as a colonial power[19] and defining the League's agenda and mission concerning the duties of the "civilised" nations to the "less civilised" or "uncivilised" peoples (League of Nations 1919), the League buttressed both the potential and actual location of white women in

Australia as carriers and creators of women's issues by reinforcing the colonial claim of a "civilising mission". This also turned the relationship between coloniser and colonised into one of trusteeship that produced a welfare relationship and a welfare orientation between Africans and Europeans in general, and between African women and European women in particular. In articulating women's demands in international forums, white women through transnational organisation emerged as the creators and disseminators of women's issues.

During the inter-war years, women's demands expanded to include women's concerns beyond suffrage demands, but retained the political rights of woman as the key agenda in transnational organisations. The International Alliance of Women, for example, "recognised" in 1920 that suffrage had been extended to women and adopted a new charter in women's rights. The new charter realigned the goals of the organisation to include equality of sexes in all political, economic and social life (Steinstra 1994, p. 62). Transnational women's organisations made demands on behalf of women regarding an equal rights treaty, equality for women workers and on the question of the nationality of married women. (Steinstra 1994, p. 65; Whittick 1979, pp. 72, 74).

The IWSA and ICW sent a women's delegation to the peace conference at Paris in 1919 that recommended that the principle of woman suffrage should be proclaimed by the peace conference and the League of Nations so that it may be applied all over the world (Whittick 1979, p. 72). Yet this statement qualified that this would be done as soon as 'the degree of civilisation and democratic development of each

nation shall permit' (Berkovitch 1999, p. 74). Here, Kenyan women were part of those assumed not to have attained the requisite degree of civilisation, and they were certainly not from a nation, but rather, a colonial state, two factors that effectively left them out of the application of women's political rights. Such a qualification disqualified women from colonies who were structured outside the "civilised" and democratic world. On the contrary, this rubric fitted into the major argument of the League of Nations at the time that constructed the responsibility of the civilised nations to the "uncivilised" peoples of the world.

Up to the Second World War, women's demand for equal rights in international forums was intended to bolster national campaigns to advance the status of women, and international linkages were aimed at influencing the outcomes of domestic issues.[20] In Australia, equality as the central issue around which women's demands were framed, and the variety of demands made around equality, incorporated and fitted well with some of the Australian women's national demands, including politics as a specific arena of equality demands for women.[21]

White women as members of IAW, WLPF, and ICW were, in addition to aggregating their national demands and concerns to the demands made on behalf of women in the League of Nations, also able to draw from the League's agenda for women's emancipation to champion women's interests in Australia. The Australian Federation of Women Voters (AFWV), founded in 1921, became affiliated to the League of Nations through the IAW (Clark and White 1983, p. 19). Its leader, Bessie Rischbieth, served on the board of IAW between 1926 and 1939 (Lake 1999,

p. 217), giving Australian women an effective voice in international feminist organisations (Clark and White 1983, p. 20). The AFWV drew on the League's agendas and used these to promote domestic goals, (Sawer 1999, p. 216). Jessie Street, an activist in the non-party associations in Australia, was also active in the transnational women's organisations, linking Australian women's equality issues to the international agenda on women's advancement at the time.[22] The presence of Australian women as participants and providers of leadership positions during the inter-war years positioned them to contribute to the emergent "common" view of what constitutes gender justice, women's advancement, and what should be done to achieve gender justice among different nations of the world.

Their task involved both identifying equality as the central issue of women's demands, and also giving it meaning and expanding the concept to include a variety of women's concerns and demands. The equality demands made on behalf of women in the League and in the ILO paralleled the demands of Australian women. For example, in 1919, the ICW and IWSA made recommendations to the League on the eligibility of women for all posts in the League, maximum working hours for women, minimum wage levels and equal pay for equal work (Whittick 1979, p. 71). A parallel congress for women during the peace conference also addressed similar issues and called for members of the League to recognise women's suffrage, full legal and civil rights for women, equal pay, access to education and training for women, women's independent nationality (Steinstra 1994, p. 59; Whittick 1979, p. 71). For example, the Women's Service Guild, founded in Perth in 1909, set out to educate women on social, political and economic questions and to establish equal rights of citizenship for both men and women. The Feminist Club of New South Wales was founded in 1914 to work for equality of status, opportunity and payment between men and women in all spheres. The United Association, whose driving

force was Jessie Street, aimed at equal status, opportunity and liberties for men and women, equal pay for equal work and an improved legal status for mothers (Clark and White 1983, p. 19). The international context increasingly became a major determinant of the Australian government's structure and actions in relation to women's issues as the constitution of women's position in Australian society was pegged to international and transnational demands and changes.

The idea of women as a distinct category and equality as a specific pursuit of women centred on what men had and women did not was transferred from national experiences to the transnational women's movement and to women's agenda in international forums. As Norman Mackenzie notes, similar experiences led to similar problems in all advanced industrial societies, and, more or less in unison, women broke down the barriers of inequality (Mackenzie 1962, p. 235). The development of international standards had become crucial in making possible national standards for the status of women in Australia (Russell and Sawer 1999, p. 375).

Part of this larger process for Australian women was exercising political rights through seeking elections. A number of women active in the international organisations, for example, Vida Goldstein, Jessie Street all contested federal elections. Through exercising political rights, women were organising to get women elected and by the 1930s issues of obstacles to women's election were emerging in Australia. For example, at the third conference of the AFWV in 1930, speakers pointed out that the right to vote presupposed the right to representation, but that preselection, ballots and single electorates had all prevented capable women from being elected to parliament (Sawer and Simms 1984, p. 15).

From the point of view of Aboriginal women, they were far removed from this incorporation as racial inequalities played an important part in determining their life chances, opportunities and outcomes (Morton-Robinson 2000). Their experience was much closer to the African women's experiences of subjugation and racial control that is discussed later. The national response to the "Aboriginal question" in the 1920s and 1930s for both white men and white women was to apply the League of Nations' assertions of the duties of civilised nations to the less civilised or "uncivilised" peoples, although white women (perhaps not all) shifted from the male paradigm to a maternal one, claiming some form of Aboriginal women's citizenship under the guidance of white women (Paisley 1997, 1998, 2000; Lake 1999).

In the interwar years in Kenya, the diversity in the arenas of concern among African women remained invisible to the gaze of transnational women's demands made on behalf of women. Kenyan African women's demands at the time brought together politics and nationalism, and politics was a continuing process of articulating anti-colonial sentiments among Africans (Odhiambo 1981, p. 93).

In particular, labour laws, labour regulations and working conditions created the context for political engagements, protests and confrontations between Africans and the colonial authorities, producing common contexts of struggle between African men and African women in many instances. Women were particularly active in these protests. They resisted forced labour, as often they were recruited by force, made to work long distances from home, made pregnant through rape, leading to wide discontent among women (Ogot 1974, p. 263). Throughout the colony, women were engaged in protests, strikes, and political agitation against repressive labour

laws.[23] In 1921, women joined mass protests in Nairobi organised by the East African Association, one of the first mass movements in Kenya, based in Nairobi. They opposed increased taxes, unpaid compulsory labour and the "kipande" (identity tag) registration system all of which aimed to force Africans to provide labour for European settler farms and in urban areas (Roseberg and Nottingham 1966, pp. 51, 52). The common context of struggle was also characterised by gender tensions, negotiations and areas of disagreements and agreement. Kikuyu women, for example, joined the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), struggling both against the emergent Kikuyu masculinities that sought to domesticate women within the organisation as well as engaging in the main anti-colonial activities of this organisation.[24]

The Luo women, from Nyanza province, were increasingly moving into urban centres as petty traders in spite of, and in defiance of the restrictions by colonial administration on women's movement to urban centres (Miguda 1988). Significantly, Luo women travelled by train to Nairobi in defiance of male elders, colonial chiefs and the colonial administration to trade and seek opportunities not available on the reserves. Therefore, women bore the burden of transition in the sexual division of labour through new economic innovations to resolve emerging problems (Hay 1976, p. 88). Perceived as literally "breaking out", Luo men promptly termed women moving to the urban centres as "ochot" to break, or "Ochodororo", "Breaker of the chain". This descriptive word refers to a "prostitute" or to prostitution in Luo terminology. Women broke away literally from increasing

male control, and moved to urban centres and labour zones outside any form of male control.

Women also organised "women only" resistances to various aspects of colonial excess, for example, during the circumcision crisis of 1928 to1930 in central province and during the 1950s among the Meru in the present Central Province in Kenya.[25] In the Central Province of Kenya, in the 1920s and 1930s, as part of women's self-assertion and empowerment, women were singing resistance songs that mocked the whites for their cultural, economic and political imperialism.[26]

African women were also successfully competing with settler farmers in commodity production, causing settler opposition to African growing of cash crops and their manipulation of colonial administration to stake out advantages for settler agriculture at the expense of African women.[27] In effect, anti-colonialism's adoption of the few opportunities that arose from colonial rule were linked to a number of issues such as cultural survival, land ownership, education, freedom, economic control, political activities, all of which became enclosed in the language of self-determination and nationalism.

In the midst of anti colonial politics among African women, European women, seemingly oblivious to these political struggles, embarked on welfare activities for African women, far removed from the context of African women's struggles, and the larger implications of equality for women that transnational women's struggles entailed. Welfare became an ongoing hallmark of the relationship between white women and African women that engendered a misrecognition[28] of African women's

political pursuits that had far reaching consequences in African women's political advancement long into the post-independence period.

The focus on welfare seems to have been both a response to the League of Nations idea of trusteeship, and a duty that was also re-inforced by the colonial office that called on women moving into the colonies to take a greater interest in welfare activities as part of their own self-fulfilment. T.R.V. Vernon, from the colonial office, in response to a request made by one Mrs Egerton for a woman advisor in the colonial office to assist women moving into the colonies responded thus:

> the woman advisor must devote her efforts less to telling them [white women] about health and housing conditions in the colonies than to suggesting to them that unless they could take some active practical interest in health, welfare, education and similar quest in connexion with coloured races ... they would find life extraordinarily empty.[29]

Within these contexts, welfare activities were extended to African women when European women began to establish native baby welfare clinics and taught native women sewing, cleanliness and general welfare.[30] With this, they reified the domesticity of African women and suppressed the alternative identities of Kenyan women revealed by their activism in the politics of anti-colonialisms. This played into the hands of the colonial administration that established Local Native Councils that involved only African men as channels to express their political sentiments.[31] The pattern in which African women's political aspirations were overlooked in favour of welfare activities was reinforced.

By 1935, the League of Nations incorporated the subject of the status of women into the study of politics and the civil rights of women and equality for women workers to be carried out by ILO (Steinstra 1994, p. 75). However, the welfare approach meant that issues of equality and status were reworked in ways that confined activities around status to the colonizing logic of 'civilising colonial subjects' and engaging in welfare activities. Kenyan women's struggle for freedom and anti-

colonialism found little resonance with the meanings given to these two concepts – equality and status- within the League. The increasing orientation on welfare also meant that international attention focused on eliminating so called barbaric practices for colonised African women as part of the civilising mission.[32]

Equality based on sex and the standard of male sex had a precarious application to Kenyan African women or Indigenous Australian women. For both Indigenous Australian women and for Kenyan African women, there were two sets of males in question. The subjugated African male "natives" or dispossessed Aboriginal men did not have the rights and freedoms held by men of European origins, the measures against which women organising transnationally made their demands. In Kenya, African masculinity was being categorically negated and stripped of any values in the new public spaces opened up by the colonial administration. For example, colonial medicine subjected African men to public humiliations where males suspected of having venereal diseases were paraded publicly. There were frequent raids on African quarters and arbitrary arrests, and at times, corporal punishment after which the African men were expected to salute as a thank you after a flogging. In the meantime, the semi-professional Africans were constantly reminded that they could neither think nor act correctly (Odhiambo 1995, pp. 32, 33). African masculinities were thus being remade into a racially subordinate masculinity, subordinate both to white masculinity and to white femininity. For example, African men of whatever age was referred to as boys – hence house boy, ton boy, *shamba* boy (meaning farm boy), office boy, mine boy and so on (Mamdani 1996, p. 4).

To the extent that women's emancipatory demands made in transnational organisations were linked to white men as the national patriarchs with rights and privileges that women sought to equal, African women remained outside the scope of such emancipatory demands. For Kenyan women, their location was not outside the rights extended to men, as was the case for white Australian women. Rather, as colonial subjects, they were outside the conception of persons for whom such rights were possible.

Women representatives also made deputations to the committee dealing with international labour legislation in terms of protective laws for motherhood, or laws that would enable women to participate equally with men. Although the labour laws to protect "motherhood" were coined in universal terms, it was white motherhood and white races that were to be preserved and protected (Berkovitch 1999, p. 48), which made the idea of status linked to 'motherhood' and maternity issues exclusionary. This is particularly so because, at this time in Kenya, women had raised maternity concerns with the colonial government (Kanogo 2001; Achola 2001). Maternity debates involved the colonial government and its agencies, missionaries and African male members of the Local Native Councils (Kanogo 2001). In Australia, motherhood was linked with the future of the white race (Lake 1993). Motherhood could more readily invoke images of the "mother country" rather than the motherhood of African women. In this regard, President Wilson for example saw the women's delegation to the League as "representatives of mothers of the world" (Berkovitch 1999, p. 73), not realising that these were solely the mothers of the "mother country".

In the final analysis, during the inter war years, indigenous women in Australia, and African women in Kenya only found presence in the transnational organisations and in international meetings by proxy through files and matters referred to the mother country, minutes, and words of white women who "represented" some of their issues. From Kenya, some missionaries constantly communicated with the ILO over the general labour conditions in Kenya during the inter-war years,[33] with a specific focus on the subject of forced labour among women and children (van Zwanenberg, 1975).[34] In Australia, some women active in transnational and international institutions "represented" Aboriginal women's issues by demanding equal citizenship for Aboriginal peoples (Paisley 1997; Russell 1990; Lake 1999). After the Second World War in 1945, the establishment of the United Nations marked new arenas for articulating universalisms as well as practices that produced the continuation of some of the older structural differences among women.

The United Nations, Equality for Women and the Development Agenda

The UN, established in 1945, mapped out new forms of international relations after the devastating war that had implications for advancement for colonised peoples, now represented as the right to self-determination. The organisation also held implications for women, for example in the article on the equality of sexes in the UN charter. Issues related to gender and those related to colonialism both entered the United Nations Conference on International organisation (UNCIO). For example, issues of gender were incorporated through the preamble paragraph that represented equal rights for men and women, as well as in three other clauses that

called for the application of rights and freedoms regardless of sex, the eligibility of both men and women to the organs of the UN and the establishment of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) (Steinstra 1994, p. 78).

The clauses that enshrined gender equality and those that called for self-determination in principle entailed forms of political rights for African women. Self-determination implied electing representatives and the ability to represent. Yet they both engendered components that once again evacuated Kenyan women from actualisation of the implied political rights for them in these clauses, forcing Kenyan women to struggle to achieve the very political rights that they should have had automatically through the understandings of self-determination. Sexual equality evacuated Kenyan women as part of this equality when some members of the Economic and Social Commission of the UN (ECOSOC) contested the universalist intent to raise the status of women irrespective of their nationality, race, language or religion. This led to the introduction of a colonial Clause (A/C.3/L.333), which permitted states to exclude some territories from the rights embodied in the constitution (Berkovitch & Bradley 1999, p. 3).

For Australian women, the article on sexual equality was indicative of the mutual link between national demands by Australian women active in international and transnational women's organisations and the international system. Jessie Street, from Australia, made a strongest link between her national women's movements and the international meeting and the UNCIO in 1945. She distributed to all heads of delegations at the opening of the conference copies of telegrams sent by 1200 trades and women's groups in Australia. The telegram messages urged the United Nations Conference to incorporate into its post war plans the democratic principle of the equality of status, opportunity, responsibility and reward for men and women, and the elimination of all discrimination based on sex (Steinstra 1994, p. 77)

The UN-ECOSOC at its first meeting established the Sub-commission on the Status of Women (CSW) under the auspices of the Commission on Human Rights. CSW retained sexual equality as its premise, proposing at its first meeting in 1946 that the activities of the commission be that of raising the status of women to equality with men in all fields of human enterprise (Berkovitch and Bradeley, 1999). The universalist intent of CSW became untenable because women residing in non-states did not have a direct voice within the global project on women, but had their "interests" interpreted by member states within the UN. Also, they were set apart by their association with "traditional" rather than "modern", and their classification as traditional rendered them marginal to the project on women in its early stages (Berkovitch and Bradley 1999, p. 3).

The models of sexual equality that CSW utilised arose and were constructed from the experiences and activities of groups of women active inside boundaries of the international system since the 1880s. These models failed to capture the multiple forms of domination and aspirations of African women through colonialism, or the visions of these women in the economic, political and ideological status, manifested in their nationalist struggle (Steinstra 1994; Whittick 1979). The orientation of the CSW, its activities and approaches, were far removed from the immediate range of issues, agenda and concerns of Kenyan women at that time. This was a continuation of the practices of the colonising women.

As CSW consolidated its position on women, both African women and men were struggling within the nationalist movement for voting rights, rights to form political parties and to elect their own government. The independence movements provided the impetus for women to debate the nature of their participation in the new nations (Snyder 1995b, pp. 96, 97). The nationalist movement acted as a political socialising arena as women joined men in the nationalist struggle to demand independence and overthrow the domination of colonialists in various sectors.[35]

The East African Women's League that had hitherto been exclusively European began to establish clubs for African women that came to be known under one umbrella, Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Women's Progress). The clubs oriented African women towards specific tasks associated with rearing children, homecare and other welfare activities as part of the progress for natives.[36] They also reflected the racial divide, racial hierarchies and racial privileges in Kenya at the time. This welfare approach produced gender models diametrically opposed to the visions and aspirations of women's nationalism and anti-colonial struggle. To counter this, in 1959, African women mobilised and outvoted the white women, electing Phoebe Asiyo as the first African President of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake organization (*Weekly Review,* October, 1983) and turned the organization towards a nationalist orientation and into a channel for negotiating spaces for women in independent Kenya. For example, Phoebe Asiyo explains how together with six other women, she went to visit Jomo Kenyatta (later the first President of Kenya) while in detention at Kapenguria,[37] and urged him not to forget women's role in politics once Kenya attained its independence.

Yet CSW and the international women's organisations affiliated to CSW who were reaching out to Kenyan women adopted the welfare approach to Kenyan women, that had been prevalent in the EAWL and that Kenyan women had rejected.[38] Seeing the significance of international institutions and in concert with CSW that was also reaching out to women, Kenyan women, in conjunction with the CSW, sponsored the first "Kenya Women's Seminar" in 1962, as part of the forum for articulating women's specific visions and an agenda for Kenya that was moving towards independence from the British colonial rule (Snyder 1995). Kenyan women expressed their political aspirations and active involvement in politics as part of their understanding of development in Kenya and as part of their vision for support and engagement with CSW (Snyder 1995). In the first Kenya Seminar in 1962, women identified active participation in politics as a significant part of their understanding of development. A report of the proceedings of the seminar records the participants as saying,

> As our beloved Kenya moves toward and attains its long desired freedom, we ask that we women be allowed to assist our men in building a strong and prosperous country, through the unceasing struggle against poverty, ignorance, and disease. As mothers of her future citizens, we pledge our loyalty to our mother, Kenya, and express our desire that she may be free (Snyder and Bell 1962, p. 7).

The departing colonial government and the politics of independence that centred on race and ethnic relations and negotiations also overlooked women's political contributions and political visions. As Africans were enfranchised and allowed to elect leaders, there seem to have been very little talk among the nationalist leaders on women's political representation in the legislative council, or in the parliament in independent Kenya. The constitutional conferences organized at Lancaster House in London did not incorporate women's political visions, which included their political

representation, in spite of women's active participation in the nationalist movement. One woman, Stella Abwao, went to the Lancaster House conference but was refused entry into the conference hall where the meeting took place (Julia Ojiambo, interview, 1/05/02). Finally, by independence, the newly independent countries were classified as 'developing' countries (Mazrui 1990).

This unfolding situation reveals a number of actors emerging as significant players in the framework of women's parliamentary recruitment as Kenya advanced towards independence. The actors included women as potential candidates, the international women's movement as the creator of the various aspects of women's advancement, the male nationalists as partners with women in the struggle for political rights and forging new identities in an independent Kenya,[39] and the international community that was redefining ex-colonies as "developing" countries. In the independence period, the last three were to exhibit disregard for women's political advancement in varying degrees, for different reasons and in different ways. The modern state that African men sought to initiate was one where men ruled and women supported men (Miguda 1999 b).

In Australia, the formation of the Women's Bureau in 1968 was celebrated as a success story of the links between the international models and national achievements. This establishment of the Women's Bureau arose from long drawn out campaigns in the international and national arena by Australian women, traced to around 1945, and owed much to the interaction between the Australian Federation of Women Voters and the International Alliance of Women (Russell and Sawer 2000, p. 220).

From 1963, both Australian and Kenyan women held the rights to vote and to contest elections in sovereign nation-states. The equality and development divide remained as a framework that may be described generally as equality for the west, development for the rest and peace for all. In the next three chapters, I explore and compare the experiences of Kenyan and Australian women politicians who contested and won parliamentary seats between 1960 and 2003. I then return to the theme of this chapter, the international framework, in chapter seven to examine the ways in which the development and equality frameworks in the international system influenced the contextual factors in the parliamentary recruitment of women in Kenya and Australia.

Endnotes

[1] The 1880s are a significant starting point for both women in Kenya and Australia as this decade marks the crystallization of the two international impulses: the international capitalist system and its colonizing impact, and international organizations in which women in the two countries engaged. This chapter ends in the 1960s, and I pick up from this period in chapter seven.

[2] Australia was founded as a penal colony in 1788. In 1852, the Australian Colonies Government Act was established opening the way for responsible government in Australia, which federated in 1901 to form the Commonwealth of Australia with a national constitution. Within this history, Australians have been referred to as colonizing colonizers in reference to the indigenous population of Aboriginals viz the white settlers (See Angella Woollacott 2000, 2003). For a history of colonial Australia see McNaughtan (1955).

[3] I note however that the international system at this time did not have a general consensus on women's suffrage as a number of nation-states including Britain had not enfranchised women. In Australia, women in a number of states had not received the state vote although they had the federal vote.

[4] The Berlin conference was called by King Leopold II of Belgium following skirmishes and near wars among nations interested in colonizing parts of Africa. Representatives of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States of America signed the General Act of Berlin conference (Ojwang 1990).

[5] Up to around 1908, the British embarked on a number of military expeditions in the interior of Kenya against the Nandi, Embu, Gusii, Luo, Bukusu, among others (See Ogot 1974, pp. 250,251).

[6] The presence of women in these international forums was not automatic. Women had to struggle to be included and even when they were, they were confined to certain echelons within the institutions. See Rupp (1998).

[7] See (Whittick 1979; Rupp 1998).

[8] For objectives of transnational women's organizations, see (Whittick 1979; Rupp 1998; Steinstra 1994).

[9] On the main, there were similarities in the experience of white Australian women and British women because, up to the time of federation in 1901, much of the legislation affecting women's status in Australia was derivative, adopting legislation passed in the House of Commons (Mackenzie 1962).

[10] In 1902, the Commonwealth passed a Franchise Act, which set up uniform voting rights across Australia. This included a clause banning all "non-whites" from voting, except those who already had suffrage in a state. Aboriginal people were included in the definition of "non-whites" (See Parliament of South Australia, n.d.).

[11] I borrow this term from Christine Sylvester who has observed that there are clear historical phases when women have been evacuated from International Relations, in various approaches and debates in IR, See Christine Sylvester (1994).

[12] When the British took over direct administration of the East African Protectorate (as Kenya was then known), the first task was to bring Kenyan communities under effective control as was required in international agreements. To this end, Britain sent punitive expeditions against many of the African communities with devastating measures by burning villages, confiscating livestock, burning food reserves, killing resistors and exiling leaders.

[13] Amrita Basu makes the point that the focus on Europe and the US ignores women's movements in the Third world by considering women's movements a product of modernisation, and by assuming sameness in the forms of women's oppression and women's movements cross-nationally. See the introduction to Basu, (1995).

[14] Captain Grogan was one of the early settlers in Kenya. He was also a leader of the settlers' party known as the Colonist Association.

[15] See van Zwanenberg (1975).

[16] For example, one of the continuing demands of settlers was to standardize African wages in order to lessen competition among Europeans. In the proposed arrangements by settlers on wages, the settlers recommended the payment of different wages to men and women, advocating paying female labourers one florin less than male labourers (Odhiambo 1981, p. 40).

[17] European women also faced forms of exclusion along racial lines. For example in some of the farmers associations such as the Lumbwa Farmers Association, a small scale settler organization founded in 1919, membership was open to all European adult males residing in the district or owning land there, while the membership of women was limited to *bona fide* farmers or to those who owned land in their own right (Odhiambo 1981).

[18] International recognition as a nation was particularly significant to Australia because, in spite of nationhood established in 1901, Australia remained attached in law and symbol to Britain (See White 1981).

[19] W. J Hudson observes that Australia was slow to see the country as a colonial power. However Australia proposed gradualist independence policies at international forums portraying a need for a

"fair deal" for "backward" peoples to be guaranteed through international accountability, and that tutelage was a continuing need and the sovereignty of administering powers was inviolate (Hudson 1970, p. 4).

[20]Berkovitch also points out that in the early years of the international women's movement, international work by women, served explicitly national goals (Berkovitch 1999).

[21] Although equality was the central frame for articulating women's demands in international organizations, within Australia, some women sought emancipation in the name of independence and freedom (See Lake, 1999).

[22] A number were also linked through membership to AFWV and to the London based Dominion Women's British Commonwealth League. See Paisley (1997).

[23] In 1919, women were part of the African demonstrations against the infamous Northey Circulars, i.e., labour circulars introduced by the then governor Northey, which aimed to increase African labour flows to the European communities. African women were particularly opposed to such labour flows because it removed male labour from African reserves leaving women to shoulder all the work that otherwise would be shared through the sexual division of labour (See Rosberg and Nottingham 1960).

[24] The KCA leadership envisioned an inter-ethnic male Kenya, a situation that created gender competition because such a vision infringed on Kikuyu women's traditional power base. This led to competition in domestic life between husbands and wives, in the organization between KCA men and KCA women, in economic matters between male and female traders and in production (See Berman 1990, pp. 386, 387, 388).

[25] The years 1928 – 1931 are known as the "female circumcision controversy years". The controversy ran into the 1950s in Meru when girls defied a ban on clitoridectomy by the Local Native Council of male elders in conjunction with the colonial government and began to initiate each other, hence the "Ngaitana", literally meaning I will circumcise myself (For a discussion on this, see the chapter by Lynn, M. Thomas in Hunt, Liu and Quataert (1997, pp. 16 - 41).

[26] See Kabira and Nzioki, (1993).

[27] European farmers from all over East Africa met at a conference at Takuyu and agreed to oppose all government aid to African cultivation of 'economic crops' such as arabica coffee, tobacco and cotton. They argued that this was due to the 'slothfulness' of male Africans when their women and children successfully harvested such crops (See Wolf 1974, p. 140).

[28] This term is used widely in some of the current literature on issues of social justice around identity and redistribution. I use it in a remotely related sense suggesting that Kenyan women were denied recognition as political actors. For the usage of this term in social justice issues, see Fraser (2000): (107 - 120).

[29] PRO, Kew, CO 323/1036/18 Employment Overseas: advice to women proceeding overseas, correspondence between Mrs Egerton and TVR Vernon, September 1929.

[30] See, The East African League (n.d.)

[31] Local Native Councils were established in 1924 under the office of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, as forums in which Africans could vent their grievances. Both the Commissioner for Native Affairs and the African members of the LNCs did not see women as part of the LNCs. I have discussed the LNCs and women further in my chapter in Chweya (2002).

[32] Veiling, Polygamy, foot binding and sati were some of the issues highlighted (See Kumari 1986).

[33] Forced labour in Kenya was debated in Geneva within ILO. The Anglican Archdeacon Owen wrote constantly to the ILO, the British press, and the Labour government in Britain about women being forced to work, often far from home, and subjected to rape (See van Zwanenberg 1975, p. 143, 144).

[34] The labour conditions in Kenya were appalling, both in the urban centre and in the settler agricultural estates. The poor conditions included low wages, forced labour, poor housing and health and sanitation conditions. In some settler estates, it was observed that horse stables were in much better condition than the "native houses" and that there was more funding for veterinary department looking after settler animals than for the medical department looking after the health of the Africans (van Zwanenberg 1975).

[35] Women acted with the men in the various aspects of the nationalist struggles, including the Mau Mau movement in making demands for independence and constructing visions of active participation of women in politics in independent Kenya. Within the nationalist movement, women were left out of the formal leadership positions in KASU, and its successor KAU.

[36] See PRO Kew, CO 822/1139: Advancement of African Women in Kenya, EAF 269/5/04

[37] As the nationalist movement grew, the militant wing under the name Mau Mau engaged in guerilla warfare with the British colonialists. Kenyatta and some other African nationalists were arrested and detained as organizers and leaders of Mau Mau.

[38] ICW for example added only few women from the countries gaining independence and spent very little time on issues relating to these women. The IAW added more affiliates and developed an extensive network of activities, but failed to challenge the predominantly western focus of IAW (See Steinstra 1994, pp. 87, 88)

[39] Tom Mboya, one of the ardent nationalist leaders in the independence movement, summarised the move from colonial to political independence as marking a massive transition in which Kenyans sought new identities at personal, national and international levels" (See Mboya 1963, p. 14).

Chapter 4

Comparing Self-selection among Kenyan and Australian Women

Introduction

The decision to contest a parliamentary seat, self-selection[1], is a significant and ongoing activity in the constellation of the events that make up the first stage in parliamentary recruitment. Parliamentary recruitment is itself a part of the larger process of political recruitment, i.e., the process by which citizens are mobilised into politics (Brady, Schlozman and Verba, 1999). The decision to vie for parliamentary seats occurs in two major ways: first, as a moment in personal development prompted by societal events that leads to the desire of the individual to use parliament as a platform in which to influence changes in the society that they perceive as important. Secondly, the decision arises as a response prompted by appeals or requests by groups of citizens for individual women to consider standing for elections or to contest a particular seat. In most instances, such appeals to run for elections have come in the form of party officials and party power brokers as they seek candidates to contest seats on behalf of the party (party recruitment), or through groups of constituents e.g., women's groups, clan members or friends who may request an eligible person to contest a specific seat (citizen recruitment).

Self-selection is therefore based on a number of factors that shape candidate emergence, sometime viewed around supply and demand factors. The supply factors include eligible persons willing to pursue elected office, determined by individual motivation and political capital.[2] The demand factors are associated with party leaders

and the considerations that influence their selection of candidates (Randall 1987; Norris and Lovenduski 2001; Krook 2003).

For women to make the decision to vie for parliamentary seats, they must first see themselves as political, and possess the ambition to seek parliamentary seats. They must also possess the necessary status and resources for embarking on an electoral contest. Subsequently, women who stand for elections often have acquired an elite status obtained through class or education, and possess attributes that predispose them to seek parliamentary seats (Kelly and Bouitiler 1978). Such attributes may be similar to those that are possessed by the people already in office, i.e., a similarity model, or they may seek to acquire more of the attributes and qualifications possessed by those already in office in order to compensate for their disadvantages, i.e., a compensation model (Black 2000).

This chapter discusses the comparative attributes of women in Kenya and Australia who have attained parliamentary seats. I discuss the comparative contexts within which these women have attained parliamentary seats and the comparative frameworks around which they made the decision to run for parliament.

The chapter demonstrates that the decision to stand for a parliamentary seat comprises three aspects. These are the possession of factors that predispose the individual woman to embark on a political career, related to political socialisation processes. Secondly, the prompting factors that urge the decision to run for parliament, related to

incentives or motivations, and lastly, the factors that the individual has to give consideration to in order to make up her mind to stand for elections.

I demonstrate that, in Australia, the political party has been the key framework within which women self-select, whereas in Kenya, women self-select from the larger community (public). In both Australia and Kenya, it is only after a particular prompt that the respondents began to consider parliamentary careers.

Acquisition of Elite Status and Attributes for Self-selection

The elite status that enables certain groups of women to self-select arises through political socialisation. Political socialisation encompasses all the learning relevant to political events that inculcate political information and the transmitting of political values (Abcarian and Soule 1971, p. 6; Langton 1969). Political socialisation agents may include the family, education, media, peer group, adult organisations, and so on (Abcarian and Soule 1971, pp. 6,7; Langton 1969, p. 5). In both Australia and Kenya, women who self-select have acquired an elite status that locate them in the pool of eligible persons for parliamentary recruitment. The elite status provides the political capital, exposure, confidence, communication skills, problem-solving skills, all of which are necessary ingredients in pre-disposing potential candidates towards careers in politics and mark the foundations on which to build political careers. All respondents identified the family background as significant in providing socialising factors that provided them with their political outlook. For example, Natasha Stott-Despoja says:

> I grew up with a sort of outspoken feminist journalist mother so I was always interested in politics but not interested in being a pólitician. My sort of political involvement came through the women's, youth and education movements. It was during my high school years, but pretty much crystallised when I became a student on campus at Adelaide University ... My presence on campus coincided with the anti

> fees campaigns of the late eighties ... so I became an activist and then a student representative ... That essentially provided a springboard (Natasha Stott-Despoja, Oral Interview, hereafter O.I.).

Julia Ojiambo says:

> The family is a political field; my parents were missionaries, my father a clergy and my mother an evangelist. My mother was also a social worker. I saw her assist women in marriages where they were bartered wives, separated, anguished, she fed hungry, shared with them common things helping people to a better life and to overcome problems. When politicians Tom Mboya, Kenyatta, Odinga, Muliro, came to the area, I sat at the legs of my father, listening to them, ... all these made me interested in politics (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

In both Kenya and Australia, all respondents are very well educated, with post secondary education, diplomas, professional training and mostly university degrees. In Kenya, in addition to the professional status, they are very high profile women in public, community and national life. Grace Onyango for example, became a councillor in Kisumu town in 1964 and was an elected mayor up to 1968 when she decided to vie for a parliamentary seat.[3] Julia Ojiambo was a university lecturer, Phoebe Asiyo was the first African leader of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, the first national women's organisation in Kenya, she was also the first African woman superintendent of police in the 1960s. Grace Ogot, had served as a nurse, a social worker, and a public relations officer. She had a good community record, and was a writer, married to a prominent Professor of History at the University of Nairobi as well as a nominated MP. She says:

> Between 1983 and 1985, Moi [president], came to know me as a prominent woman in the Kenyatta [former president] era. I was also known through my writing of books, which are widely read, I campaigned for Omollo Okero (A former MP of Gem) this gave me a good grounding in politics (Grace Ogot, O.I.).

Beth Mugo is a niece to the first President of Kenya, which accustomed her to public life (*East African Standard*, Wednesday January 21, 1998). She served as the national chairperson of the Kenya National Federation of Business & Professional Women and

as the second vice president of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women between 1987 and 1992, being only the second African to hold this position. (Likimani 1992, p. 55). She held this position concurrently with that of Africa Regional Co-ordinator of IFBPW. These exposed her to a wide array of women leaders, global issues affecting women, men, children, the planet, and have impelled her to want to play a wider decision making role at home (Kenya) within a context that can have an impact on Kenyan people (Beth Mugo, O.I. 14/04/02; Likimani 1992, p. 55).

In Australia, respondents were active in party politics and party activities and the party has a strong influence on the entire process of parliamentary recruitment. Respondents from Australia indicate that when they became political, they turned to the party in order to influence political events. For example, Meg Lees says:

> I was at the university at the time of the Vietnam War and I remember noise and fuss ... internationally and locally, I became particularly interested in the plight of children I also began to get interested in the environment and environmental issues, so these two things led me to join a political party (Meg Lees, O.I.).

Margaret Reid says:

> I became interested in what parliament did during my secondary school years at school and I formed a view about what I wanted to be and do and I joined the Liberal Party in South Australia near the end of my last year in secondary school before I went to university. ... as soon as I went to Adelaide University, I joined the Liberal Club and I was an active member of the young Liberals ... I became president of the SA Young Liberals and I also became president of the Student Liberals and an active member of the party (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

All respondents had been very active in party service, and in party activities. Once in the party, their political orientation developed within the party framework and their decision to vie for parliamentary seats occurred within the party framework. Because of the party framework, party leaders and the party recruitment machinery have

played a significant role in asking women to contest specific seats in specific electorates and have thus been part of the prompting factors for women to contest elections. I discuss the role of the party below.

Clearly in both Australia and Kenya, socialization into politics is important in producing a political outlook and providing the attributes and status that made these women eligible for political office. As Kelly and Bouitler (1978) have pointed out, political internship is necessary for parliamentary recruitment in order to acquire political power, choose politics as a major area of interest and become devoted to the political world.

Because of the party framework, Australian respondents deploy their background achievements in the party as proof of their loyalty and commitment to the party in order to gain the support of party power brokers. Respondents from all political parties in Australia pointed to the need to show commitment and loyalty to the party. Consequently, conditions that justify self-selection, even though driven by personal ambition, are also re-worked as the achievements and role played in the party.

In both Kenya and Australia, the women had a strong and active background in community service or involvement in community and social work. For example, Phoebe Asiyo worked as a community officer, worked with the Nairobi City Council assisting women and destitute children living in the slums. She pioneered destitute and home-craft training centres for children and women respectively, and served as the executive officer of the Child Welfare Society of Kenya. She also had a close

involvement in women's development as the first Kenyan to head Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYW) (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I).

In Australia, Rosemary Crowley in Australia says:

> I guess my politics and my involvement in politics grew out of my social justice and community involvement (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Prompting factors

In the period under study, none of the respondents grew up thinking about careers as members of parliament. Furthermore, as adults, even when active in other political activities, they were not gearing up to become parliamentarians prior to this decision being prompted at some stage in their adult life. This means that in the lives of parliamentarians, the decision to contest elections re-oriented the potential woman candidate to see parliament as an option in her career path. Information from the respondents in both Kenya and Australia indicate that the actual decision to run for a parliamentary seat has usually been prompted by an incident or context that re-directs the thinking of the potential aspirant to the realization that she should vie for a parliamentary seat, or that she has the potential to vie for a parliamentary seat.

Christine Gallus says:

> Well I didn't choose politics as a career, I am actually a psychologist and I was working with the SA health department at the time (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Martha Karua, to the question, "Had you thought about being a politician before?" answers:

> No. I was an activist by virtue of being active in the Law Society of Kenya. We were also active in the field of human rights but I never saw the connection between being active in the profession or being a human rights activist with being a fully fledged politician (Martha Karua, O.I.).

Rosemary Crowley in Australia says:

> I had not actually grown up expecting to be a parliamentarian or politician (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

With their high profile in the community, in public life, elite status and party service (the latter particularly in the case of Australia), eligible women responded to incentives to seek office. These came through promptings by party officials, groups of citizens, or as a result of a personal desire to use politics to change events, that culminated in the decision to seek a parliamentary seat. The incentive to contest elections, and the prompting that activates this incentive, is a significant context in parliamentary recruitment in two ways. First, it delineates the momentous point at which parliamentary recruitment separates from the wider political recruitment, which suggests that parliamentary recruitment is different from political recruitment. Secondly, the fact that the decision to run is prompted points to the crucial role of incentives that orients women to run for elections.

Sanbobmatsu (2002) has observed that women's path to office differs by political party, as different parties design different social eligibility pools and different structures of opportunity for women. In this regard, factors that prompt women to see parliamentary politics as a viable option are not pre-given. They arise from and are linked to different networks and different contexts that give rise to candidates such as political parties and the strength of the women's movement (Rule 1994; Matland and Taylor 1997), institutional factors (Rule 1981, 1987), ideological factors (Paxton and Kunovich 2003) and so on.

Within the LP in Australia, a number of women have come to make the decision to vie for parliamentary seats through feminist networks within the party. On other occasions, individual women active in party politics have, in their personal development process, come to see parliament as a platform to effect changes – self-recruitment. In self-recruitment, the context and reasons for self-selection is expressed as pursuit of personal identity issues, and as a part of a woman's life's goals.

Within the ALP, party agents in the recruitment process prompted the majority of women to contest elections, especially those contesting in the 1980s.[4] Respondents from the Democrats demonstrate a combination of party and personal promptings in the decision to vie for parliamentary seats. (I elaborate these issues in the following section).

In Kenya, both the single party system up to 1991 and the incipient political parties in the multi-party politics in the 1990s have meant that women have at times made the decision to vie for parliamentary seats outside the framework of political parties. In most cases, the prompting to consider standing for elections has revolutionised the life space of the potential woman candidate re-orienting her ambition towards a parliamentary career. The decision has been prompted by self-selection, citizen recruitment and, in the 1990s, through the women's movement (I elaborate these issues below). In both countries, incumbents tend to decide to continue with their parliamentary career so that second-time self-selection, and subsequent decisions to run, is based on the desire to continue as a parliamentary representative.

The Considerations

The decision to vie for a parliamentary seat involves making judgements on the "risk in the race", particularly with regard to the extent to which the electoral process is favourable or unfavourable to women's candidacy, and in general, chances of winning. Potential women candidates have to consider whether they can mobilise the necessary support, political capital and other resources needed to contest and win elections (Lovenduski and Norris 1993, pp. 11,12). In making the decision to run for a parliamentary seat, gender issues interact with socio-economic and political forces and play a significant role in mediating women's decision to contest or not to contest. A potential candidate's decision to seek office depends on the political culture, which limits or offers opportunity for persons with the appropriate eligibility attributes (Rule 1981, p. 60).

The considerations that women make are associated with the demand factors in parliamentary recruitment. Randall (1987) identifies the demand factors as including the environment within which women candidates are likely to operate, for example voter bias against female candidates, competition for seats, violence and so on. This study finds that women also made the decision based on the advantages that contesting a particular election would provide for them in future elections even if they were not likely to win the current one. In this regard, they consider the probability that the contest will place them in a better position to gain the support and experience that would enable them to win subsequent elections or to gain a more prominent place in the party in subsequent elections.

The issues that women consider in order to finally decide to go ahead and contest elections reveal the significance of the availability of opportunities for women to contest. Australian women can and must target the party to accrue the benefits of party support for parliamentary candidature of women.[5] One way of doing this has been to contest unwinnable seats[6] as part of their future considerations for parliamentary seats. This is in a bid to play their role in the party and later gain party support for a winnable seat, and also as a part of getting known. Another possibility is to fill a vacant seat following the death or resignation of a sitting member of the party. The unwinnable seat can be in State parliament or in the Federal parliament, and can be for a Senate position or for a seat in the House of Representatives. Contesting an unwinnable seat demonstrates one's loyalty and commitment to the party that finally leads to leverage in negotiating the possibility of being pre-selected for a winnable seat later on.

Margaret Reid says:

> In 1961, I stood as a candidate for the Seat of Bonython in SA. Not with a view to getting into parliament, but to sort of do my bit for the party. It is a seat that the Liberals don't do outstandingly well in and so this was just me putting my name on the ballot paper. It was not a serious attempt to get into parliament, it was just doing my bit (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

Natasha Stott-Despoja first ran for the Senate in 1993. She says of this contest:

> I ran number three on the ticket my first attempt in fact for preselection process. It was quite a token one. ... They had number one and number two which were the serious positions and then basically I got heavied! It was the most liberating experience running for parliament in 1993 'coz I knew I was going to lose, the other members of the ticket were the serious ones. They were not experienced in public speaking so they let me do it, so I was out there, debating seasoned politicians, everyone (Natasha Stott- Despoja, O.I.)

Because in some cases in Kenya, the decision to vie for parliamentary seat occurs outside the party among potential women candidates, the potential candidate during the single party era had to take up party membership in preparation for an election. In

the multi-party era, the decision would then involve considerations concerning the party through which to declare her candidature, and sometime, even the constituency to contest.[7] Women in Kenya have had to seek parties through which to contest elections once they make the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat.

In this regard, where Australian women work for the party to "earn" preselection, Kenyan women have to find a party that will accommodate and support their candidature in their desired constituency. Even then, party leaders often try to block them from contesting constituencies already identified for male candidate clients of party officials. This led to multiple party defections among Kenyan women candidates in the multiparty era. The first occurred as part of the general defections to opposition parties once Section 2A of the constitution was repealed to allow for multi-party politics. Beth Mugo started as a member of FORD –Asili then moved to SDP in 1997; Martha Karua started as a member of FORD –Asili in 1992 but moved to DP in the same year, claiming that she had been rigged out at the nomination process. Naomi Shabaan moved from FORD-Kenya to KANU.

Very specifically therefore, self-selection stories from respondents in both countries disclose that women decide to run for elections when they possess specific attributes that predispose them towards this decision. In addition, they have made the decision following promptings that provided them with the incentive or motivation to stand for parliamentary seats. Lastly, they made the decision to seek the parliamentary seats because there were available opportunities to contest and win elections. I therefore

turn to address the comparative frameworks within which women actually emerged as parliamentary candidates in Kenya and Australia.

The Significance of the Party in Self-selection in Australia

In Australia the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat occurs within the party.[8] Two indicators point to the gradual and evolutionary nature of Australian women's paths to self-selection through the party. To the question, "How did you come to select politics as a career?" they use the terms – "Slowly", "Gradually", or say, "It is an evolutionary process". For example, Amanda Vanstone explains her decision to vie for the seat as follows:

> Slowly! I don't think it is something that many women decide in an instant. I think it is something you think about for a period of time and then finally conclude that you would be prepared to try because many can try and not get there...and it was a long process (Amanda Vanstone O.I.).

Linda Kirk also portrays the process of making the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat in a similar way. She says:

> It was really very much an evolutionary thing (Linda Kirk, O.I.)

Secondly, the gradual and evolutionary nature of the self-selection process among Australian women parliamentarians is seen in their narration of the episodes in their life history around which they articulated how they finally decided to seek parliamentary seats. Their narrations span long periods of time and cover diverse events and episodes in their life-stories as formative and cumulative events that led them first to join a political party and then later to make the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat within this framework. For example, Rosemary Crowley who was first elected to the Senate in 1983 is a typical example. She says:

> While we were in Berkeley [the family lived there], the women's movement emerged, at the same time there was a very strong political involvement in the Vietnam War ...

> I used to get rung up in Berkeley early in the morning, "People are demonstrating outside the Safeway supermarket would you come and demonstrate". I could go and join the demonstration. There was also the Black Panther Movement, which was very powerful stuff; there was political action all over the place ... and I was in the middle of it. When I came to Australia, I joined the Labor Party. (Rosemary Crowley O.I.)

Meg Lees stood for a parliamentary seat in the 1980s as an Australian Democrat. Her experience portrays a similar assembling of diverse and episodic events in her life history as cumulative towards her first joining a political party and then later making the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat within the party. She says:

> I was teaching before my daughters were born. ... Trying to get back into the system was very hard, I was forced to resign, there was no proper child care, no part-time work, I was getting more and more frustrated at the fact that I couldn't get back to work, I'd lost my promotion opportunities. ... On Ash Wednesday in 1983, I was caught in bushfires. I guess for many people, when they are caught in a situation where things are looking grim, you start to think about what you are going to do with your life if you get out of it. ... I made a commitment to myself that I would move on and do something, I was just so fed up with teaching and trying to get back...I said maybe it is politics I don't know ... and then I had an opportunity in 1989 (Meg Lees, O.I.).

Natasha Stott-Despoja worked with the Australian Democrats, and only later did she join the party. She says:

> I applied for a job with the Australian Democrats as an advisor, researcher in 1991 and I started working for them in December '91. I worked as an advisor, speechwriter, researcher and a range of various roles up to 1995. My decision to run for the Senate seat or to join the party didn't take place til 1993 (Natasha Stott-Despoja O.I.).

Because of this party involvement, in general, most women parliamentarians in Australia are politically "inbred"[9] in the various political parties, and the party becomes a key institution determining the path in which the decision to vie for parliamentary seat traverses.

In the ALP, nearly all the respondents who contested elections in the 1970s and 1980s were asked by party machine men to contest their Senate or HOR seats. Among the ALP respondents, the answer "I was asked" was the predominant response to the

question concerning the actual incident that led to the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat. The case of Joan Child is an exception, as she offered herself to the party selectors, as the party officials sought potential candidates. As she explains:

> They were looking for someone to stand for Henty which was and had been a Liberal seat since federation ... I was the one raising the money and doing the work and they were talking about Tom, Dick and Harry. I said "Well! I've got news for all of you, it's going to be Joan, not Tom, Dick or Harry" ... That part of it was really very easy because at that stage political parties were looking around for a woman to stand for seats, not winnable seats, but to ensure that the public could see that the parties were a bit interested in having women into parliament (Joan Child, O.I.).

However, party leaders and the party recruitment machine prompted the decisions by Susan Ryan, Rosemary Crowley, and Carmen Lawrence of the ALP to vie for parliamentary seats. Ryan (1999) describes the party machine as the "nuts and bolts men" and points to their role in prompting her decision to vie for a parliamentary seat. Susan Ryan writes:

> Early in 1975, it was time for the local Labor [party machine] to decide on a candidate. Now the nuts and bolts men came to me. "You'll be a candidate for the Senate preselection," they said (Ryan 1999, p. 153).

Rosemary Crowley, also in the ALP in South Australia, says:

> I was kind of invited into political action. I hadn't actually grown up expecting to be a parliamentarian or politician. ...I had a letter while we were in Crete saying we need a candidate and we think you might be interested. ... So I really became a politician because when I was asked to stand in an unwinnable seat and taking that seriously and thinking about it, I decided yes, I wouldn't mind doing that and therefore that made me think about politics as a career (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Among the LP women, some arrive at the decision to vie for parliamentary seats based on different networks to that of the ALP women. In general, the prompting to vie for parliamentary seats among the Liberals results from a personal decision, prompted by personal desire to use the party platform to address issues that they have strong feelings about. However, there are also indications of an interplay between party membership promptings and their personal decision. Both Amanda Vanstone and Christine Gallus made the personal decisions to contest, recruited themselves (self

recruitment), while party members recruited Margaret Reid. Christine Gallus decided to contest a seat in the House of Representatives in 1993. She says:

> In 1986 I actually got very ... well I don't know, angry I suppose, with some of the things that were happening in the country and the leadership of the country and so ... everybody had similar concerns and we were all talking about it when we went out to dinner, [saying] ... "nobody is doing anything about it". I decided, well I should do something about it so I joined the Liberal Party, which was clearly in opposition at the time. ... I thought well that's silly, there is no point in joining unless I did something about it, so I finally went along to a meeting and became gradually more and more involved, having no intention to go into politics as a career at that stage. But, at every step, you found that you couldn't achieve what you wanted and there was always the one next step to take (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Margaret Reid points to the interplay between party promptings and the personal decision to vie for a parliamentary seat. She says:

> From John's death til this decision (i.e., to vie for the seat left vacant by his death) there were a number of people in the party who had been saying to me "You must stand". I in a sense I allowed my self to be persuaded that I should stand. My first reaction, he being a close friend of mine, was that I could not possibly replace him. I was grieving the loss, and my husband said to me one morning "You know you are the one who should replace John" ... I said "Yes". So the first thing I did was to ring those who had telephoned me and say "I have decided to stand" ... and then that was when I proceeded to nominate and aim for the seat (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

The Australian Democrats was founded on principles of gender equity and therefore had policies in support of female candidacy. Party selectors are important in seeking women to stand for elections, while equity principles also draw out women to seek election as a personal decision. Party officials recruited Natasha Stott-Despoja, and this prompted her decision to contest the election. She says:

> Within moments of me signing my form [for party membership], it was immediately put to me, "Will you stand on a Senate ticket for SA?" ... The leader of the party and the state, sort of hierarchy came up and said, "Look, we'd like you to consider being on the ticket". The leadership sort of gets the people and then gives the electorate the candidates and the electorate votes (Natasha Stott-Despoja, O.I.).

Meg Lees on the other hand, made the decision personally without party prompting. Asked the question, "What exactly triggered your saying I will stand?", Meg Lees responded:

Well! I really thought that I could do something positive (Meg Lees, O.I.)

The Revolutionary Nature of Self-selection among Kenyan Women

The revolutionary nature of the decision by Kenyan women to vie for parliamentary seats arises from the fact that the decision to vie for a seat exhibits a re-orientation from a different career path into parliamentary politics. Grace Onyango's decision to vie for a parliamentary seat in the 1969 General Elections was prompted by events that resulted from the conflicts between the two parties in existence at the time, namely, Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). She took advantage of the vacant seat opportunity that arose from a vacuum left by the inter-party conflicts between the ruling party KANU and the opposition party KPU[10] that led to the detention of KPU parliamentary members in 1968. She changed from her original intention to vie for a council seat to vie, instead, for the Kisumu parliamentary seat. Interviewed by the *Sunday Standard* in 1989, Grace reportedly said, "I just found myself in politics" (*Sunday Standard*, 7 May 1989, p. 11). Later, in 1990, Grace explained her decision at an interview with the Sunday Nation saying:

> I was determined to prove that women too could shoulder responsibilities ably, I wanted to illustrate that given equal opportunity, women can measure up to expectations in any discipline (*The Sunday Nation*, 21 October 1990, p. 12).

As a pioneer, Grace Onyango opened up the possibility of women winning parliamentary seats, which had a direct impact on the decision of Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo to contest elections in 1974 and 1979 respectively. Julia says:

> As I finished at Harvard Grace Onyango got into parliament and this just made it for me. Mboya died in the same year and I saw politics as hostile, but with Grace [in parliament], I said, here is a woman who has made it. Grace Onyango was in class with me ... She was very bright and very capable. She had this background and yet I had more education, ... I was saying "Grace has done this I can do the same". I began to build my strength from what I had seen in other leaders. I also listened to Grace's debates, and I said "So a woman can speak, and her voice be heard, and she be

> listened to". She articulated issues that touched on women, children and the family. Grace set the pace for me (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

Phoebe Asiyo, who also first stood for and won a parliamentary seat in 1979, says:

> Oh! Yes, I wanted to be a Member of Parliament, I had been a campaigner for Grace [Onyango] in 1969. I listened to her debates; I saw how calm she was, answering questions with confidence. I saw that she made it and I knew that I could also make it (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.)

Once the decision was triggered, the women began to build their political careers in a direct bid to lay strategies for the future contesting of a parliamentary seat. The entry of Grace Onyango into parliament was the trigger that propelled Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo into the political space associated with seeking a parliamentary seat. The example of Grace Onyango prompted them to consider their own chances and to make the decision to seek office. Phoebe Asiyo and Julia Ojiambo had not grown up thinking of becoming parliamentarians. The decision was made as adults, prompted by the opening made by Grace Onyango.

The second historical period occurred among women whose entry into politics began in the 1980s. Kenyan women who self-selected in the 1980s also largely did so as a personal decision. They made the decision to vie for parliamentary seats in a context mediated by a particular discourse and political culture that seems to have been discouraging women from politics. In this regard, the decision was something of a rebellion from societally prescribed expectations of women that did not incorporate politics. Tabitha Seii who first sought a parliamentary seat in the 1980s explains:

> I was merely trying to see what people would say if I contested elections so I told people I was going to contest, not really meaning to contest, ... you know, just to hear what people would say. The reaction I got was surprising. Everyone opposed the idea so strongly. I thought, "Why should they be so opposed to the idea?" I decided to contest (Tabitha Seii, O.I.)

Similar determination to prove the potential of women in vying for parliamentary seats is also reflected in Agnes Ndetei's decision to vie for a parliamentary seat. She entered the political arena and contested a parliamentary seat for the first time in 1988 due to a combination of factors. She is quoted as saying that her most immediate reason in deciding to contest a parliamentary seat was the poor leadership of the constituency derived from the previous MPs whom she felt, as one of the constituents and a women's leader, had a particularly bad attitude towards women.[11] Grace Ogot however, was already serving as a nominated MP. She explains how her constituents requested her to contest the vacant seat following the death of the incumbent. She says:

> In 1985, Hon. Ongili [the incumbent MP] was murdered; on the burial day of Ongili, Hon. Ambala, a former MP of Gem [the same constituency] also died under strange circumstances. With both leaders dead, Gem people were tearful and in great mourning. Gem people said, "Too much blood has been shed. We should elect 'mama' who is already there" [in parliament as a nominated member]. Elders approached me after the burial to run [for elections]. I felt, and told them, that I am already a member [of parliament] and would not like to lose this chance. But the elders were persistent, arguing that we need a woman as our leader as Gem is "smelling of blood" I finally agreed to contest (Grace Ogot, O.I.).

Newcomers to parliamentary seats in the 1990s were prompted to think about going for parliamentary seats by the women's movement and the events around the democratisation process and its trajectories that took place at the time. The context of self-selection in the 1990s was influenced by the incipient multi-party era in Kenya. Self-selection at this time occurred outside the party as a formal political recruitment institution, or within inchoate and incipient political parties. In this context, potential women candidates self-selected in the context of a quick and urgent push into the political space opened up through the democratisation process and multi party politics.[12] The decision to run for elections was prompted by the direct appeals by a burgeoning women's movement urging women to come forward, join politics and

contest elections. It was also prompted by some women leaders identifying potential women candidates and urging them to contest the elections.

As the move towards democratization picked up momentum, Phoebe Asiyo, who had decried the dearth of women in parliament since the 1980s, mobilized women via the idea of "not missing the boat this time round". Phoebe Asiyo claims that nowhere have there been such a betrayal of women's cause, aspirations and vision as happened in the political arena (Phoebe Asiyo, cited in Gituto & Kabira 1998).

As the recruitment momentum mounted, a number of women activists who were recruiting women asked the question of themselves, "These women [whom we are recruiting] am I not one of them?" On this premise, many of the women activists made the decision to contest the 1992 elections. Martha Karua, who first stood for and won a parliamentary seat in 1992, says:

> Actually, I had been a human rights activist, and it seemed most people thought I would stand for elections... but I never saw the connection between being active in the profession, as a human rights activist, with being a full fledged politician. Yes, we spoke about issues of the day, the need for democracy and holding the rule of law. It never occurred to me that I could be a player in the political field. So when I went there [to the US] to receive the award and we were talking about events in Kenya, one person asked "Are you gonna run?" And I was like, "What?" I had not thought about it then. I came home and my own father was like "Can you declare your stand?" And I was asking him "What do you mean?" And he was like: "You mean after all that work you are not going to run?" So ideas are coming... and up to then, we are saying "Women should vie. These women are they not me?" There you see, so I hadn't really thought about it but I then thought about it (Martha Karua, O.I.).

A closely related response also comes from Beth Mugo who also first stood for a parliamentary seat in 1992. She did not win the seat in 1992 but won it in both the 1997 and the 2002 elections. She says of her decision to vie for a parliamentary seat in 1992:

> I was ushered into politics by the wave of democratisation that was taking place in 1992 and women's activism at the time. I realized that we were asking women to get involved and asked myself, "Who are these women. ... Am I not one of them?" And so, I decided to contest a parliamentary seat (Beth Mugo, O.I.).

Beth Mugo had earlier made this point saying:

> I wanted to remain behind the scenes advocating for women's empowerment, what I had been doing since the 1960s, but in 1991, the women challenged me to take the lead and try a hand in politics (*East African Standard,* 21 January 1998, p. 17)

Women in groups and individually, actively began to recruit eligible women to contest elections. In the same period, Catherine Nyamato ran for elections but did not win. She was later nominated to parliament. She says that her decision to contest the 1992 election came about when:

> A woman politician took me to lunch and asked me to contest saying, "We need women to contest these elections and I know you can make it". She took me to lunch three times and on all these occasions, she urged me to stand for elections. The third time, I agreed (Catherine Nyamato, O.I.).

Clearly then, in Kenya, women standing for parliamentary seats in the 1990s made the decision to contest the elections in the climate of women's movement activism.

The "evolutionary" and "revolutionary" nature of self-selection in Australia and Kenya respectively indicates the different positioning of women in the two countries in two different respects. Women in the two countries are differently positioned in the political parties, one of the key institutions that shapes candidate emergence and defines opportunity for attaining office. Secondly, women in Australia have emerged as candidates through incentives prompted by a diverse base of political actors, namely the women's movement, party and self. Eligible women in Kenya initially had to rely on self-recruitment, and occasionally citizen recruitment. However, later, in the 1990s, the women's movement was central.

Representing Genders

At the centre of the decision by women to seek parliamentary seats is the idea of the representation of women, and of women as representatives. This means that womanhood intersects closely with the specific processes that result in the emergence of a candidate, i.e., the processes associated with self-selection and the candidate recruitment processes. The word representation engenders multiple levels of meaning such as the representativeness of the legislature, representation of interests and the equal right to act as a representative (Sawer 2002, p. 5). How and where does womanhood intersect with the ideas of representation? Which idea of representation encapsulate the factors that have predisposed women to seek parliamentary seats, reflect the reasons why women decide to run, or symbolize the considerations that women have to make in order to contest elections?

In both Australia and Kenya, gender and womanhood form a significant locus of understanding the contexts of self-selection, the obstacles to women's participation in politics, and in defining the aspects that need redress in order to encourage women to seek parliamentary seats. In both countries, the justification for the decision to vie for parliamentary seats reflects the significance of women's parliamentary representation and portrays the variations on the locus around which "womanhood" is given meaning in the emergence of women as candidates and in their decision to vie for parliamentary seats.

Respondents from both countries agree that women's representation in parliament is of global significance. They also perceive themselves and their parliamentary careers

to be part of the progress towards the goal of women's parliamentary representation. However, they exhibit party and national differences in their interpretation of the processes through which their womanhood intersects with their emergence as female candidates. They also differ in their interpretation of the role and context of their womanhood in their emergence as candidates. One reason for these differences is that womanhood was foregrounded in the party in Australia but in the community in Kenya.

The feminist networks in the LP, affirmative action in the ALP, and gender equity principles among the Democrats point to the fact that women negotiate their entry into the political field, and their political participation from a gender perspective. Broadly, the LP appears to foreground sameness principles in their effort to increase women's representation. The ALP foregrounds difference principles in a similar effort to improve women's chances. The ALP's affirmative action arguments, for example, can be viewed as foregrounding differences between men and women that disfavour women's opportunities and therefore calling for affirmative action to remedy the gender based barriers. The Democrats, with equity principles factored into its constitution, may draw from either sameness or difference in a bid to attain women's representation. All of these aim at getting women to contest and win elections and increase women's representation in parliament

In spite of these gender understandings, in the main Australian women do not identify "womanhood" as the reason or justification for their decision to seek parliamentary seats in the way that is so evidently asserted among Kenyan women. The self that is

selected is not represented as a woman or feminine, but rather as a party "self". The respondents, the literature on female party membership and women's organizations refer to "Liberal women" or "Labor women" and so on[13]. Yet, ideas of "womanhood" or feminist ideas are clearly paramount in matters of self-selection and the decision to vie for parliamentary seats among many of the Australian women. This is seen in the machineries and activities that women have instituted and initiated, both inside the party structures and outside, to ensure women's representation in parliament.

In Kenya, women's experiences during the three political eras of the *de facto* single party system, the *de jure* single party system and the multi party era, display uniformity concerning the central place of "womanhood" in the decision to vie for parliamentary seats. Respondents claim that they made the decision to vie for parliamentary seats as women. Grace Onyango was subjected to questions on her womanhood when she decided to vie for a parliamentary seat for the first time. The concerns were that she might find herself lost in a man's world (*East African Standard*, 19 December 1969), or on who would look after her young family while she is in parliament (*The Sunday Nation*, 21 December 1969).

In the 1970s, the women aspirants justify their decision based on their qualification to deliver, seeing themselves as capable women with the ability to win and serve in parliament in the same way that Grace Onyango had done. These sentiments reflect the "symbolic" argument for women's representation,[14] pointing to Grace Onyango's efforts to extend the notion of woman's social roles beyond that of wife and mother. In the 1980s, women laid emphasis on "making a political point" on the place of

women in parliamentary politics. Tabitha Seii and Agnes Ndetei, for example, appear to claim the right of individual women to act as representatives. They pegged their decision to their equal rights to act as representatives; Agnes Ndetei also claims to represent women's interests and image calaiming: "I felt that women deserve better treatment and more respect, particularly as they are the ones who elect the politicians" (*Daily Nation*, 20 December 1992). In the 1990s, women made the decision to seek parliamentary seats as a result of being called upon as women to contest the elections. One of the rationales was getting more women in parliament to improve the representativeness of the parliamentary institution, with advocates claiming it is a duty of women to contest elections and contribute to the representativeness of parliament. Kenyan women represented "womanhood" prominently and very directly as a central factor that oriented their drive, desire and ambition to self-selection.

The difference between the Kenyan emphasis on womanhood as a locus of the decision to vie for a parliamentary seat, and Australian women's suppression of "womanhood" for party identification reveal the different locations in which gender questions are raised and in which women's place in parliamentary recruitment is processed. It would appear that in the evolutionary trends towards self-selection within the party system in Australia, potential candidates self-select in the context of a closer affinity between women's concerns and party policies and strategies. Subsequently, the party takes over custody of the place of "womanhood" in the quest for parliamentary seats, which it then re-articulates via party policies to improve women's participation and increase their chances of winning elections. Thus party women narrate their decisions within the broader confines of party policies of which

womanhood is one part, without necessarily foregrounding this fact over and above other party policies when it comes to the quest for parliamentary seats. Women in Australia are recruited into political parties as "party women", as in feminist networks, EMILY'S list[15] and affirmative action. In this regard, women have to champion party policies and show commitment to the party in return for party support in their self-selection. What political parties may be able to do for Australian women, by contrast Kenyan women have to do for themselves, which places the accent on the woman herself.

One example of the Australian politicians acting as party women is the discourse on the strategies employed by different parties to provide opportunities for women to run. The LP women, for example, criticised the affirmative action policies of the ALP, while a number of the ALP defended this strategy. For example, Amanda Vanstone says,

> The idea of rolling up and saying "You need more women in parliament well here I am", is a joke...I don't want a system where women get pre-selected because they are women because then that person can always be undermined. I mean, I don't want a man to ever be able to say to me, "You only got your job because you are a woman", and I don't think we should ever have women in that position. (Amanda Vanston O.I.)

In a similar vein, Christine Gallus of the Liberal Party also says:

> We don't patronise women. Women are given the same rights as everybody else and nothing special and nothing unspecial ... I think that one of the terrible weaknesses of the Labor Party right now is the fact that it has affirmative action. I think that is extraordinarily demeaning to women, because it reflects on those within the Labor Party who could have got there without the special consideration that they give through affirmative action (Christine Gallus, O.I.)

Defence for this position and criticism of the Liberal women's "womanly benefits" came from the ALP respondents. For example, an ALP respondent, though advocating

for an increase of women in parliament, did not see an increase in the LP women as an answer, arguing thus:

> Yes, I am pleased that we have more Liberal women in Parliament after the last election and I will fight them to the day I die on its ... policies for women. These women in parliament have voted to cut the benefits of child care, they have cut the women's budget, they have cut the funding for all the services for community organisations and for women, they have cut the money for charitable organizations ... They don't understand what is good for poor women or women in general. Whereas the Labour government has a policy or had policies of making sure that every woman was included... No, I don't want women in parliament, I want more women committed to the benefit for women, and that means I need a Labor government in this country (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Subsequently, the self that is selected should represent women's interests within a party in government that supports women's issues.

Another discourse revolves around the intersection of womanhood with the problem of women's under-representation. According to Christine Gallus:

> One of my problems is that it is very hard to get women with the commitment to actually fight to get in. Women will put up their hands but when you explain to them that they have to really want it and go and do it, ...they are not willing to do what it takes which is work hard ... So, why aren't there more women in politics? A lot of the reason in Australia is that women will not make the effort that men are prepared to make (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

The major difference between Australia and Kenya, as discussed in this chapter, is that Kenyan women make the decision to stand outside political parties whereas Australian women make the decision within political parties. However, the processes involved in self-selection in both countries are similar and include the need to possess specific attributes, prompting factors and considerations that result in the decision to run. Once this decision is made, the next stage is the party selection stage. This is a major process with its own definitive characteristics and dynamics. Party selection forms the subject of discussion in the next chapter.

Endnotes

[1] I have adopted the term self-selection from International IDEA that describes it as the first step in political recruitment during which a candidate takes the decision to run for elected office.

[2] Political capital includes financial assets, political connections, motivation and other resources (See Norris 1997, p. 11,12).

[3] For some biographical background of Grace Onyango, see an article by Naphtaly Owiti-Otieno, "This Year of Grace", *The East African Standard*, 19 December 1969. Also "People, Places and Events", *Sunday Nation*, 21 October 21 1990.

[4] This claim represents the sample for this study, and there may of course be other women who self-selected personally or through the women's movement within the ALP.

[5] R.E Matland explains that institutional arrangements are pliable unlike most cultural and socio-economic factors and therefore lend themselves readily to policy proposals for changes in order to produce desired outcome such as increasing women's representation (Matland 1993, p. 734).

[6] In Australia, Jaensch explains that the compulsory voting system tends to maintain a situation where most electorates are safe for one party or another. The safe seats are the winnable ones for a particular party and this becomes the unwinnable seat for the opposing party (Jaensch 1991).

[7] In Kenya, one can contest an urban seat, where the potential candidate would be working and living or rural seats where the potential candidate also possesses a home. Also, one must belong to a political party in order to contest elections

[8] As noted earlier, some women have attempted to contest seats as independent candidates, but have so far, not succeeded in gaining federal seats as independents. This category falls outside the scope of this study.

[9] Joan Kirner, a former Victorian Labour Primier describing the composition of Labour pool of potential candidates, used this term (See Anne Henderson's article in Deverall et al. 2000).

[10] KPU was an opposition party founded in 1966. In 1968, the party was banned and all the parliamentarians in that party placed in detention by the then KANU government, leaving their seats vacant.

[11] While these are not the sole reasons why the women made the decision to vie for parliamentary seats, the clear emphasis on these issues mark womanhood out as a contested arena and a driving impulse on the decision to vie for parliamentary seats (See "Why Ndetei is so Sure of Winning the Polls", *Daily Nation*, 20 December 1992).

[12] Two factors influenced the urgency and immediacy for the decision to vie for parliamentary seats. First was the repeal of section 2A of the Kenyan Constitution in late1991 that opened the country to multi party politics and provided opportunities for women. Secondly general elections were scheduled for the following year and women needed to meet the deadlines for party nomination to contest parliamentary seats.

[13] See for example "Party Girls" as the title of a book on Labor women (Deverall et al. 2000).

[14] See Sawer (2001, p.7).

[15] EMILY is acronym for Early Money is Like yeast – "it makes the campaign dough rise", started in 1996, to raise money for Labor women candidates who are endorsed EMILY's List candidates. It also provides training and mentoring for women candidates endorsed by EMILY's List (See ALP 2002).

Chapter 5

Party Selection: Obstacles and Facilitating Factors for Women's Nomination

Introduction.

If self-selection depicts women as seeing themselves and women as political actors suitable for parliamentary representation, women still have to overcome gender specific obstacles in order to obtain party nomination. Political parties are adaptive organizations competing for votes in a multi-dimensional issue space, taking policy positions on issues (Kollman and Miller 1998, p. 141; Smith 1990, p. 117). Parties have the responsibility for fielding candidates for elective office (Hague et al 1998, p.131), referred to as preselection in Australia, and as party nomination in Kenya. Party selection entails all those activities and processes in which political parties engage in order to select and field candidates to contest parliamentary elections on behalf of the party. Studies have shown that parties engender inequalities in the candidate selection activities and processes that disadvantage women in a number of ways (Rule 1981, 1987, Norris 1994; Kenworthy and Malami 1999; Matland 1993; Caul 1999; Interantional IDEA).

In both Kenya and Australia, barriers and hurdles for women in party selection arise from the historical context in the formation of specific parties that engender structural and ideological barriers to women's nomination. Women have only been able to succeed at party nomination under conditions where certain pedestals lift them above these historical and structural constraints and hurdles associated with male dominated parties. One such pedestal is the example of pioneer women, who

opened up the frontier of parliamentary politics and began to make women visible as parliamentary representatives to the party selection machinery. Pioneer women also proved that women can win hard to win seats and that they do not lose votes. Secondly, the women's organizations whose objectives have included getting women into parliament, have also acted as pedestals to party nomination of women. Women's organisations urge and lobby party agents to nominate female candidates and thereby, thrust women into the paths of party selection processes. A third pedestal has come in the form of party leadership support for women's candidature. Finally, party policies that target gender equity in representation make party selection of women a women's rights issue and it becomes the duty of party selectors to seek out and nominate women candidates on the party's ticket. These four pedestals provide favourable conditions for women's nomination, which can offset the historical and structural conditions that relegate women to subordinate positions in party politics.

Each pedestal arises from various historical and social forces, and has proved to be necessary in facilitating the party selection of women to contest parliamentary seats. These pedestals emerged at different times in Australia and Kenya. As each of the pedestals comes to the fore, they turn out to be necessary but not sufficient in improving women's chances of preselection. It is not until they all surface that they generate a noticeable decrease in the unfavourable conditions in women's preselection or provide noticeable advantages that equip potential women candidates with the necessary political capital to overcome gender inequalities in party nomination. I discuss each of the four pedestals separately for clarity, but this

separate discussion does not mean that the four factors are not closely connected with each other. Indeed, as will be shown, these four factors feed off and are fed by each other.

In Australia, women managed to begin to offset disadvantages to women's nomination when they built a constituency around women voters that made the women's vote decisive in electoral outcomes. Women's organisations in and outside parties used this as leverage to stake out advantages for women in the party nomination process. The recognition that the female vote was decisive in the late 1970s and early 1980s, made it necessary for party leaders to consider nominating female candidates and placed pressure on party leaders to support women's preselection as part of their vote seeking activities. In Kenya, it is not until the 1990s that women sought to have some of the emerging new parties incorporate affirmative action principles, or urged parties to nominate women. There are currently attempts to bring about changes in the constitution that would provide advantageous conditions for women's nomination to contest parliamentary seats.[1]

Gender Inequalities in Party Selection

The party selection process disadvantages women in several ways, associated with the dynamics of highly competitive party politics (IED 1998; Sanbonmatsu 2002). The historical origins of political parties enshrined various structural and ideological orientations that link parliamentary representation with men and therefore favour male candidates over women in party selection (van Acker 1999; Rule 1981; Haines 1994; Sanbonmatsu 2002; Millar 1994). In Australia, it took a long time for women

to gain federal parliamentary seats because of the tightly disciplined nature of the major political parties in which 'it has been no easy matter for Australian women to gain preselection' (Millar 1994, p. 69). The formative context of political parties was characterised by male dominance that significantly limited or closed women's opportunity structures in party selection (van Acker, 1999; Sawer and Simms 1993, p. 17), and thereby limited what Sanbonmatsu (2002, p. 795) refers to as the structural factors that shape the emergence of women candidates. As early as 1925, public commentators had said that women could have little hope of being elected where the keys of admission were absurdly left in the hands of exclusionists, the parties, which were in the hands of men who had got there first (Sawer and Simms 1993, p. 17).

Many party selectors have held the belief that women would lose votes and so have not readily selected women. This was the widely held view in most of the parties in Australia, reflected in the political commentators' claims that women could never win seats since women would not vote for other women (Lake 2003, p. 205; Sawer and Simms 1993, p. 55). This was the case even in the 1980s. Rosemary Crowley states:

> Before I became a Member in 1983, people thought women could only win if we put them on the Senate ticket. They said they could not have women for HOR because women would lose (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Political parties overlook women at the party selection level (Rule 1981, p. 62), and often relegate women to roles in political parties that place them several removes from the paths of recruitment of potential candidates (Clark and White 1983). For example, in Kenya, male patronage led political parties to create women's wings or

women's leagues as appendages to the mainstream party (IED 1998, p. 60). Finally, political parties often select women to unwinnable seats, that is, seats that are only safe for an opposing party (Haines 1992; Outhwaite1997; van Acker 1999). The preselection process became a vicious cycle for Australian women in that if they stood as independents, the major parties campaigned against them. Also if they stood in unwinnable seats and lost, the fact that they were not elected, gave the major parties a justification for not nominating women to winnable seats (van Acker 1999, p. 77).

Political Parties and Women's Preselection Disadvantages in Australia

One of the major problems for aspiring female politicians in Australia, with the sole exception of the Democrats (who select their candidates by full membership ballot), is that political parties choose their candidates via selection panels made up mostly of men (Haines 1995, p. 23). The ALP is the oldest existing party in Australia, founded among workers and middle-class reformers in cities and towns as well as rural workers and small farmers (Smith 1990 p. 111). The ALP was founded in the early 1890s, predating the votes for women in South Australia and Western Australia in 1894 and 1899 respectively, and the federal votes for women in 1902. This means that the party originated within the backdrop of the socio-cultural exclusion of women. Van Acker (1999, p. 98) has pointed out that the first Labor platform in 1891 did not mention political rights of women. The party was in the main associated with the trade union movement, which ensured that the primary support for the ALP came from manual workers (Solomon 1975, p. 65). Women became disadvantaged under such arrangements because male advantages shaped

union politics, provided the material and habits that constitute trade union politics and union groups largely blind to questions surrounding gender (Pocock 1997). Joan Child identifies the initial problems for women in the ALP saying,

> You've got to get well known on the union side as well as the political side, the two arms to our party. There are two wings to the Labor party, there's the political side and the industrial side (Joan Child, O.I.).

The male domination of the party made for a largely "blokey" party that situated women away from the mainstream of potential candidates for pre-selection (Clark and White 1983). Women became located in the position of supportive political housekeepers who gained only token representation on party policy committees (White, 1981). Rosemary Crowley explains:

> The Labor Party is an organisation that is mainly still male predominant and women still have a long way to go to get an equal understanding (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Within the history of male dominance in the party, two processes emerged that disadvantaged potential women candidates with regard to their preselection. Originally, when women got the right to vote and to stand for elections in Australia, women preferred the non-party option as the route to parliament up to the 1960s.[2] This located the majority of self-selecting women outside party pre-selection paths. Hence fifty-six women stood for elections between 1903 and the end of the Second World War, out of which only fourteen, or 25 percent were endorsed by the major parties. The rest stood as independents or for minor parties (Haines 1992, p. 88). The second disadvantage is in part related to the first in that parties rarely endorsed women candidates. This was not because there were no women in the party; there had been dedicated Labor women and women's branches of the Labor party since the early part of the century (Millar 1994, p. 86). In cases where women were endorsed, party selectors did not preselect women to winnable seats. In the 1943

elections, for example, only two women, Enid Lyons (Liberal) and Dorothy Tangeney (Labor), were endorsed for winnable seats, becoming the first two women in the federal parliament (Haines 1992, pp. 88, 89).

As women began to seek preselection for safer seats, the ALP women still found themselves sidelined in favour of the interests of powerful male trade union members who in turn relegated women as service providers in women's wings of the party. Nay (2002, p. 152) has pointed out that party selection is typified by varying tradeoffs and calculations among various actors in the process of selecting candidates whereby party leaders, powerbrokers, officials and voters negotiate power related stakes, making strategic choices, as they compete, bargain and haggle with each other in a bid to influence candidate selection. Finally, within the ALP, even as female membership rose, the influence of Irish Catholicism, the dominance of machine politics in the big cities, and the ethos of mateship effectively excluded women and offset the nominal egalitarianism of the ALP (Sawer and Simms 1993, p. 14).

The Liberal Party was founded in 1944 out of a number of anti-Labor organisations (Smith 1990). In the Liberal Party (LP), women drew some advantages from a historic deal brokered by the women founding members of the party who gave financial support to the party's founder, Sir Robert Menzies, in 1944. Through this support, these founder women demanded an equal representation of women in the party hierarchy. However, these demands were not pegged to parliamentary representation of women, and therefore did not have a positive influence on women's emergence as candidates, or on their preselection within the LP. Liberal

women, in spite of this deal, were rarely preselected to stand for parliamentary seats until the mid-1990s. Similar to the case of the ALP, the experience of Liberal women testifies to the fact that political parties associate women with political duties other than parliamentary representation. This withdraws women from the direct paths of party selection or from the party nomination machine so that women remain invisible in the processes of party selection. (Outhwaite 1990, p. 199) has noted that, within the LP, women have been disadvantaged because the cultural norms of the party present a strong bias against the participation of married women, especially those with young children. For a long time therefore, the major political parties rarely endorsed female candidates for federal parliamentary seats because women lacked access to the established party male patronage networks. On the Labor side, they lacked strength in the unions and in the trade halls while, on the non-Labor side, they lacked access to the clubs and business organisations where many political connections are formed (Sawer and Simms 1984, p. 55).

The Australian Democrats were founded in 1977 as a protest party against the entrenchment of the two parties, the ALP and the coalition, in Australian politics (Smith 1990, p. 116). The founding of the Democrats occurred when gender equity principles were increasingly taking root in Australian society, and the party was founded on gender equity policies. In the main, the equity principle has made women highly visible in the Democrats nomination processes, and the Democrats have often run a high percentage of women candidates since its formation. The national president of the Democrats, Heather Southcott, holds that because of the party's newness, it lacked the vested interest and hierarchies of the other

parliamentary parties, and women have not had to get into an existing preselection system dominated by men (cited in Sawer and Simms 1993, pp. 56, 57). However, the Democrats remain a smaller party, generally seeking only the Senate seats. Nevertheless, the party also experiences challenges in sustaining its gender equity principles. Natasha Stott-Despoja, a former leader and senator of the Democrats explains:

> I have noticed in my own party that despite my best efforts to try and encourage young women to get more involved, ... a lot of young women have got more involved in the party at the grassroots levels, but it is mostly young guys that have been given the patronage and the support to run for pre-selection. ... I am in a party room with seven senators where the leader is a man, the deputy is a woman, but there are only two women in that room. I have never been in a political environment in the Democrats before where women are obviously in the minority and that troubles me, not just because of my own feminist politics, but that is not what I signed up for, so I think there are some challenges for our party (Natasha Stott-Despoja, O.I.).

Political Parties in Kenya and Women's Nomination Hurdles

In Kenya, potential women candidates seeking party nomination have also had to pass through barriers significantly influenced by three factors: the historical origins of political parties that keyed ethnicity as the locus of party conflict and cleavages; the single party system associated with a *de jure* party system up to 1982[3] and a *de facto* single party system between 1982 and 1991; lastly, the multi party system from the 1990s. In these three contexts, political parties failed to nominate women to parliament.

African seats were made elective in the legislative council (hereafter legco) in 1957 with the first African elections held in 1961 when the British government conceded the principle of majority rule and lifted the ban on African political parties (IED 1998, pp. 17, 24). Racial and ethnic anxieties pitched Europeans, Asians, Arabs and

Africans against each other, leading to the emergence of several racial and tribal political parties to bargain their representation in independent Kenya (CKRC 2002, p.15; Wanjohi 1997, p. 52). None of these conflicts and negotiations took gender into account. Women were left out of the independence bargain when the British government arranged three constitutional conferences at Lancaster House (known as the Lancaster conferences) in the early 1960s to negotiate the independence of Kenya. Only one woman representative went to the Lancaster house conference (Karuru, Kamau & Wambui 1999, p. 1). Julia Ojiambo names her as Stella Abwao and says that she was not allowed into the Lancaster conference hall because of being a woman (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

In the 1961 elections, stiff ethnic and racial rivalries ensured that party competition was associated with masculinity. Also, the few number of seats for the Africans escalated competition for these seats. It has been observed that a smaller number of seats per district (in this regard, the African districts), is less advantageous to women because of the stiffer competition among men, for the few seats available (Kenworthy and Malami (1999). Subsequently, African parties failed to nominate any woman in the first African elections to the legislative council (legco). This prompted women in the 1962 First Kenya Women's Seminar to draw attention to the lack of women's representation in the legco and to women's non-participation in the political parties. They claimed that women's representation would bring in sensitivity and concerns for family, health, education and progress and contribute to the full development of Kenya. Subsequently, they resolved to put "unceasing efforts to obtain representation in all levels of government": in the legco, the local

councils and the African District Committees (ADCs) (Snyder and Bell 1962, p. 16). In the pre independence elections, political parties clearly overlooked women as potential representatives. In the main, nationalist discourses were carried out in masculinist terms (Nzenza 1997, p. 216). Masinjila (1997, pp. 7, 8) has concluded that, at independence, women were hounded by the empty mythical title of "mothers of the nation", a position that did not translate into political power. By contrast, the male "fathers of the nation" were rewarded with powerful offices. This parallels the case in Australia where Enid Lyons, the first woman in the Australian federal parliament, became known as "mother of the parliament", a sobriquet that held more patronising overtones than the title "father of parliament" traditionally bestowed on the longest serving male MP" (Haines 1999, p. 89).

By the 1963 independence elections, to justify the lack of women's nomination, male politicians in both KANU and KADU, the two parties competing in the independence elections, were clearly constructing women as "unqualified" (IED 1998, p. 56). Ideologies and arguments against women's right to participate create substantial barriers to women's political participation (Paxton and Kunovich 2003, p. 91).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, soon after independence, new challenges for women in party nomination arose when the broad nationalist coalitions began to fall apart. Ethnic and class groups began to assert their particular interests leading to a change in the political configuration when KADU was dissolved; its members crossed the floor and joined KANU. These brought new roles for political parties (Okumu 1984,

p. 6), severe personal and ethnic rivalries among the major politicians and class based differences that gave rise to a left-right cleavage within KANU (Okumu 1984, p. 53). The ideological, class and ethnic bases as the locus of conflicts and considerations in party cleavages and rewards overlooked women as potential representatives of specific interests within the party. Due to anti-colonial struggles, Kenyans were mobilised by political aspirants and leaders on ethnic or racial grounds and not on gender grounds.

The ideological shifts and differences within KANU did not incorporate the gender dimension in its mainstream argument or locus of conflict. In this regard, the west also played a role in overlooking gender issues. Due to the politics of the Cold War, the west supported the then President, who was pro-west, against the more left socialist oriented faction led by Oginga-Odinga (Ochieng 1995, pp. 87, 88). The ideological conflicts did not open up gender as a site of struggle, but instead reinforced ethnicity as the site of struggle among political parties. Subsequently when the opposition party, KPU, was founded in 1966 and went for elections, they too did not nominate women candidates to contest elections.

Within these conflicts, reinforced by support from the West, the president emerged as a specifically powerful figure, which conversely led to the decline of the party. By 1968, KANU had turned into a party dominated by the president, a fact that favoured a patron/client relationship that favoured men who could form a small clique of party insiders aligned to the president (IED 1998, p. 125; Okumu, 1984, p. 59). This was a relationship that worked against potential women candidates who

could not sustain the demands of such a relationship, given the times and venues that the clique around the president spent with the president in his visits, national functions, and movements in different parts of the country.

The experiences of Grace Onyango, Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo, who sought party nomination in 1969 and in the 1970s, during the *de facto* single party system, reveal several contexts of party manipulation of women's candidacy in the *de facto* one party state. Grace Onyango faced intimidation by KANU based on opposition politics at the time. For example, when Grace Onyango first declared her interest to stand for a parliamentary seat in the 1969 General Elections, her imminent candidature immediately became appended to the ongoing party rivalry between the ruling party KANU and the opposition party, Kenya People's Union (KPU). She had a clear affinity with the KPU rather than KANU (*East African Standard*, 18 October 1968), yet when KPU was proscribed in 1968, Grace was forced to seek party nomination from KANU even though she clearly had no support from the party.

Grace Onyango's experience in party selection in KANU from 1969 to 1978 reflects a general lack of any party support for her candidature by the ruling *de facto* single party KANU.[4] It also portrays a significantly different condition for women's nomination in the *de facto* single party context up to the late 1970s as compared with nomination in the *de jure* one party state that began in the 1980s. Both Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo also note intimidation by opponents, but gained

nomination in the main through meeting the administrative requirements of the party.

During the *de jure* single party system, 1982 to 1991, there was a clear shift in women's experiences as they began to encounter specific barriers and additional unfavourable conditions in the nomination process.[5] Respondents identify powerful KANU leaders who manipulated the party nominations, and new obstacles in the party nomination process instituted in the 1980s associated with 'queue voting'[6] and 'clearance'[7] to contest party nominations. Queue voting triggered patriarchal pressures, for example, a husband and other members of the family would not line up behind a female candidate (Nzomo 1997, p. 237).

The need to have party clearance at the District sub-branch and national level in order to contest elections provided party stalwarts with the opportunity to manipulate party nomination. National party leaders, who cleared candidates for nomination up to the beginning of the multi party era in 1991, were all men. All the women who contested elections during this time experienced and complained about gross party manipulation of the nomination process because of the need for 'clearance'. For example, Phoebe Asiyo says:

> In 1988, I had to appeal to the national office when the district party leaders failed to send my clearance papers to the national office. I was on the verge of being struck out of the list of candidates because my name had not been cleared from the national office only to find that my papers had not even been sent to the national party headquarters from the district (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.).

In the case of Tabitha Seii for example, when she decided to vie for the Kerio Valley seat that was also to be contested by a powerful male national party leader, her husband was dismissed from his military career in the Kenya army because he

refused to prevail upon Tabitha Seii not to oppose the powerful KANU party official. As Tabitha Seii puts it, "My husband's dismissal from work was calculated to cause maximum punishment to me and my family." When she insisted on seeking nomination, the clearance procedure was used to manipulate and block Tabitha Seii's nomination altogether. Cynically, Tabitha says of her experience in the 1983 elections:

> I was not cleared for party nomination because I failed the Swahili test ... can you imagine that! (Tabitha Seii, O.I.).

Julia Ojiambo, talking of the 1980s, described the party nomination process as the toughest hurdle that women candidates have to go through in their bid for parliamentary seats, characterized by all manner of rigging and intimidation (League Of Kenya Women Voters 1997).

Women candidates also faced smear campaigns, violence against themselves and their supporters during the nomination process, attempts to frustrate their efforts as they sought to meet the growing barriers erected by the party, such as attempts to block women's nomination by the powerful male party leaders. In effect, the 1980s experience indicates that stiffer competition set in much earlier during the process of party nomination to influence the candidate selection process.

By the 1980s, through the system of "clearance" in order to attain party nomination, together with "queue voting", KANU had created a tool for manipulating the candidacy of "wanted candidates" and of denying specific "unwanted" individuals an opportunity for party selection. The Kiswahili expression, "*KANU ndiye mama na KANU ndiye baba*", (translated as, KANU is the mother and KANU is the

Father) largely used in the 1980s depicts the strong hold of KANU over Kenyan politics and politicians including the party candidate selection process. This hold is clearly manifest in attempts to rig[8] women out of party nominations in the 1980s *de jure* single party period in Kenya.

In the 1990s, the newness of many of the parties meant that nomination were unclear and remained subject to manipulation carried over from the *de jure* single party system.[9] The inchoate nature of the new political parties has led to splits in political parties that affect women's choice and association with parties and their success in passing the party specific hurdles in party selection. Women aspirants had to make careful choices among ethnically polarised political parties and faced several difficulties in choosing their party of candidature. A number of parties and party leaders failed to give crucial support to women or failed to nominate women altogether (Mugo 2001, p. 2). For example in the 1997 elections, potential women candidates joined together to lobby parties to use the secret ballot method to nominate candidates. This was due to the fear that the delegates method favoured male incumbents who handpicked those in their camps as the delegates and that while queue voting was subject to abuses, violence and intimidation due to exposure of preference (*The League Newsletter,* July-September 1997, pp. 1, 2). For example, information on nomination dates, times and venues are at times totally inaccessible to women candidates through manipulation by male candidates who change venues and dates at the eleventh hour (Mugo 2001, p. 6). Also, women often fail to receive nomination to areas of strength for the party of their choice as these are subject to stiff competition and manipulation. This encourages women to switch parties in

order to get on a party ticket that seeks election in the constituency of their choice. Martha Karua speaks of her experience of party manipulation in the new parties, and of being rigged out in favour of a male opponent, forcing her to move from FORD-Asili to DP. She says:

> Well...the party ...you know ... first I was rigged out by the party. They [The FORD-Asili Party] supported my male opponent against me and rigged me out, and so I moved to DP. Here the party gave me support, especially in terms of security. I also had support from party leadership in DP (Martha Karua, O.I.).

Thus the barriers faced by women during party nominations in the multi-party era have led to a high switch rate from one party to another among women candidates and elected female MPs as they seek supportive and more accommodating parties.

As was the case in the 1960s, ethnicity became a significant influence in the formation of new parties, their membership and policies in the multi-party era (Jonyo 2002, p. 97). Ethnic communities continued to enjoy recognition as the primary political organisation and as the primary objective of party loyalty (Chweya 2002, p. 23). This placed women in a precarious position, which manifested in seeking non-partisan gender unity aimed at getting women to seek party nomination within the context of ethnic considerations in party politics.

Without clear policies to support gender equity in most parties, women experienced a precarious and continuously changing party support that oscillated between support for and manipulation of women in the nomination process. This made women from the various political parties join forces to demand a standard nomination procedure for all parties in order to ensure justice for women in the nomination process. For example, in 1992 women leaders of various women's

organizations issued a press statement expressing concern about the fluidity of the various modes of party nomination procedures employed by the various parties. Women felt that this created a lot of confusion as, even within parties, the nomination procedures were not clear to party members and contestants. This in turn left room for unscrupulous leaders of political parties to manipulate and exploit the electoral process to serve their own ends (Nzomo & Kibwana 1993 p. 147). A number of women candidates faced annulment of their nomination by male driven and male dominated party hierarchies favouring men as the candidates most likely to win elections (Karuru, Kamau and Kiai 1999, p. 33).

In 2002, the formation of a "super party", the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), out of various opposition parties to oust KANU from power provided further obstacles for women as some NARC officials reportedly felt that women would lose votes and therefore showed preference for male candidates[10] NARC reserved seats for some individuals (mostly males) as a bait for defection, and also reserved some seats for people (often males) viewed as frontrunners (*Daily Nation*, 11 December 2002).

Pioneer Women and Breaking New Ground

Women who pioneered parliamentary careers opened up new ground and new frontiers that were hitherto closed to women. By self-selecting and getting parties to nominate them, they forced parties to view women as possible candidates. By pioneering into arenas previously closed to women, the pioneers were the first to

show a willingness to enter the legislature against society's and often, parties' traditional expectations of them (Hawks and Staton 1993).

In Australia, pioneer women sought and won Federal parliamentary seats from the 1940s. Conditions that provided for the visibility of pioneer women to party selectors and placed them in the direct recruitment paths of party nomination included the family route, via husband or father, [11] and the women's movement.[12] In the 1940s, when Enid Lyons entered parliament, the only chance most women had of getting into politics was to ride on the coat tails of a husband or a father's reputation (Clarke and White 1983, p. 26). To some extent, we may consider women entering Federal parliament up to the 1960s in Australia, particularly the House of Representatives, as "pioneer women" because of the dearth of women in this House up to the late 1970s.[13] The table below indicates the paucity of women in the Federal parliament since the first women were elected in 1943.

Table 5.1: The number of women in Australian Federal parliament up to the 1970s

No of Women	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s
HOR	1	0	1	1
Senate	1	3	3	4

Source: Parliamentary Handbook: Historical information on the Australian parliament. Department of the Parliamentary library. http://www.aph.gov.au/library/handbook/historical/women_parl.htm

Because of the single party system, pioneer women in Kenya did not influence the party to select of women. In Australia, pioneer women contributed to making

women visible in the party nomination process but did not produce any obligations on party selectors to seek and nominate women, or to encourage women to seek party nomination. Hanging on the tailcoats of husbands and fathers was unsustainable as a way of making women visible to any large degree, the non-party women's alternative failed to produce a visibility of women to party selectors while the trade union movement route only allowed entry for a very few exceptional union active women. The women's movement altered this situation beginning from the late 1970s in Australia.

Women's Movement / Women's Organizations and Party Nomination of Women

Women's organizations and women's groups are a powerful force in the struggle to achieve equality of rights and end discrimination against women (Grey 1999). The rise of the women's movement and self-help groups have encouraged women to become active in mainstream politics, and provided social cues about how women should relate to politics (Almond et al 2001, p. 71). There are a number of ways through which the women's movement has facilitated the preselection of potential women candidates. In Australia, women organised to get women preselected, and supported individual women's own efforts in seeking preselection.

Women had been active in parties in Australia from the time of the inception of the various political parties. Two categories of women's organizations were particularly significant in this venture. One category operated outside the party system in a non-partisan orientation, and the other organised among party women within the party, both supporting women to contest elections. Through this, women's organizations

laid the groundwork and locations for planting, cultivating and nurturing women's political ambitions and opportunities, for example the Women's Service Guild and the Australian Federation of Women Voters that campaigned for women candidates, as discussed in chapter three. In the 1940s, the Women for Canberra Movement founded by Ivy Weber put up several women candidates (Clarke and White 1983. p. 25).

From the late 1960s, the second wave women's movement led to women entering government and governmental machinery was set up to address women's issues, both of which produced effects on women's parliamentary recruitment (Ryan 1999; Kaplan 1996) [14]. The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), founded in 1972, recruited and supported female candidates, politicised women, and created a strong constituency around women as an interest group (Millar 1994, pp. 74, 75). This opened avenues for women's active involvement in electoral politics, both as voters and as contestants, in ways that placed pressure on party leadership to consider women's demands for nomination. WEL in particular played a significant role in ensuring women's active participation in electoral politics. WEL provided a political education for large numbers of women whose latent skills and talents emerged in the campaign process of political empowerment, which led to a more fundamental challenge to the male monopoly of public decision-making. WEL also provided women with new support networks for entry into politics and stimulated the emergence of feminist networks within existing parties, most strikingly illustrated by affirmative action campaigns within the ALP and the LP feminist networks (Sawer and Simms 1984, p. 90). The impact of the activities of WEL and

other women's organisations both outside and within the political parties continued into the 1980s and 1990s. Founder members of WEL have gone on to run for parliamentary seats, including Susan Ryan, Pat Giles and Carmen Lawrence in Western Australia (Sawer 1990, p. 7).

At another level in Australia, individual women created feminist networks or mobilised women's support that enabled them to overcome some of the obstacles faced by women. For example, in the 1970s, Susan Ryan got the party to support her bid for the senate seat by creating her own feminist faction within the ALP, which enabled her successfully to compete against powerful groups existing within the ALP. Support from her feminist faction enabled her to bypass the traditional major obstacles for women's preselection that arise from the constraints of a male controlled patronage system (Clark and White 1983). Christine Gallus also indicates the significance and need for women's support. She says:

> I talked to women, went to women's meetings and asked women for their support. I argued with women that the reason we do not get women up is because women will not fight for women. Yet when a man stands up and puts his name [forward], his friends ring up everybody on the [pre-selection electoral] college saying "Look, he is a good bloke and we would like you to vote for him, he is the sort of guy we need, and so on". What is it about women that we don't do that? And that actually rang a chord and women got very much behind me (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Christine Gallus explained how she knew she had won preselection through women's support. She says:

> We saw the people go with the secret ballot back to the room. Through the wall we heard this huge noise, and guys looked at each other and said "What the hell is that noise?" I thought to myself, "I know what it is. I have won! Those are the women cheering". They had all come as spectators (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Through their activities, women's organisations in Australia built a political constituency around women that prompted party leaders to recognize women as

potential candidates and begin to support some women getting into parliament. For example, the ALP in the 1980s was forced to recognise the cost to the party of failing to have a good share of the women's vote. I discuss these issues below.

Support by Party Leadership

In Australia, women who attained party nomination in the 1980s point to the fact that it had become necessary for parties to try to get some women to stand because women were voting in women and could turn the odds against a party. Thus the ALP was forced to preselect some women candidates and to draw attention to these female candidates in order to attract the female vote (Sawer and Simms 1984, pp. 95, 96).

Some of the ALP leaders supported women's endorsement to winnable seats beginning in the 1980s. In particular, the party leaders noted the momentous constituency being built around women at that time and began to see the necessity of complying with women's demands for more women's representation. The ALP in particular became aware of the fact that it lacked significant women's support following the party's disastrous performance in the 1977 elections. With the aim of attaining the women's vote, the party commissioned a study in 1978 that linked the lower support of the party by women to the lack of nomination of women in the party (Sawer 1990, p. 62). In 1981, the ALP National Conference responded to pressure from state branches and from a national women's Labor conference earlier in that year and endorsed an affirmative action program (JSCEM 1994). The ALP noted that the lack of the female vote had cost the party many federal elections and

therefore saw a need to have some women nominated as part of the way to attract the female vote.[15]

Rosemary Crowley states:

> It turned out that when women got to be better candidates, they went and spoke to the community in a totally different way from the men and they were hugely successful. Elaine Darling who was a Labor candidate in Queensland took a marginal seat and turned it into a safe seat for Labor. Another woman, Helen Mayer took a marginal seat; Ros Kelly also won a marginal seat in Canberra. So women turned out to be very good candidates, so the arguments against women candidates had to change (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Respondents also pointed to the importance for potential women candidates of having party leadership support in order to improve their chances of getting preselection. Respondents representing the ALP indicated that party leadership support enabled them to get union support for winnable seats in the days when unions would have supported their male colleagues best known to them. Rosemary Crowley explains:

> Before affirmative action, those men knew it was going to be smart to have some good women in Parliament. While he [one particularly influential party leader] was around, he had a huge influence in the Labor Party branch. He saw the need for some good "sheila"- even the boiler[16] - those men were all supportive of some women getting into parliament. They rang up their union mates and got the numbers for us. So, the blokes through the party structure of that time supported me. When I became a candidate, I then got a different kind of recognition by the people that mattered in the party- powerbrokers. I went to see some of the powerbrokers even though they were not union officials, but, still the people who commanded a lot of support. If they gave you the nod, then three or four other union people with the numbers would be on your side, so I got a lot of support through the party system at that time (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

Within the Liberal Party as well, there was evidence of the significance of gaining the approval of the party hierarchy for preselection. This came through a statement made by Amanda Vanstone suggesting the need to prove unswerving loyalty to the party in order to stand a chance of preselection to a winnable seat. She says:

> By still pursuing this after you've lost a couple of times, you actually demonstrate to a party that you are not there just for the good times. Many people stand and lose and say, "Oh! The Liberal party does not like me" and so they leave. But what does

> that say to the Liberal Party? It says, you were only there to get what you wanted. You were not prepared to hang in there in any event. So by staying in even though I lost, I demonstrated to them that I was genuinely a Liberal and that increased my chances (Amanda Vanstone, O.I.).

In response to the affirmative action demands, the ALP leadership identified and asked a number of women to contest parliamentary seats. Rosemary Crowley, of the ALP, illustrated how women's political progress in the ALP influenced the need for parallel activities to enhance women's participation in the Liberal party. She explains:

> It is best illustrated, one night I was late in parliament, I found this woman who was wandering in the corridors looking lost so I said "Can I help you?' and she said, "Yes". We got talking. She was a Liberal woman from Western Australia up the Liberal Party hierarchy. She said, "You know when the Labor Party introduced a rule change for 35 per cent minimum women in safe seats, that was a huge score to us Liberal women." "Why is that?" Because they could go to the Liberal Party and say,"Hey! The Labor Party has a rule for 35 per cent women we have to do something in the Liberal party too." I also told her that, "When you won so many seats in the last election that was a great help for the Labor Party. We can go to the Labor Party and say look there are all these women Liberals who won those seats over the last election when they shouldn't have ... If those women had lost their seats ... [to the Labour women], Howard's government would have failed in 1998." So there is a way in which we do feed off each other (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

In Kenyan experience, only a few women among those who seek party nomination are actually nominated. For example, in 1992, out of 50 women candidates who sought party nomination 20 women were nominated by various political parties to contest parliamentary seats. In 1997, 150 women stood for party nomination out of which 48 received party nomination (*Africa News Service*, 2002). Furthermore, political parties did not nominate women to seats in which they had a strong base of support. Seeking party nomination still entailed overcoming seemingly insurmountable problems. Only extremely high profile and determined women with exceptional abilities could overcome the multiple hurdles associated with party nomination. This was particularly so in contexts in which the party leadership did

not make much effort to encourage women's nomination to their stronghold, and where there were no party rules or policies to effect women's representation.

In Kenya, most party leaders as I discussed earlier, have not supported women candidates but have seen them as competitors. In the 1990s, within the multi-party context, some party leaders began to support women's candidacy. Oginga Odinga, the then party leader of FORD-Kenya is the only one on record as having publicly supported the candidacy of a woman. IED (1998, pp. 35, 36) records that Oginga Odinga went to Kendu Bay (the district headquarters of Phoebe Asiyo's constituency) before the 1992 nominations and publicly urged people to "give" him Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo, hence he campaigned for her in her constituency. Phoebe says:

> The party knew I had what it takes to win. I had been very active in the party for five years before I contested the seat. You see, you must show that you have what it takes to win. The party is looking for winning candidates, and they are not going to accept you if you are not going to win votes for the party. You must be active in the party, and you must make the party see that they need you to bring them the votes. In this way, the party cannot do without you (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.).

We may also infer that the DP leader Mwai Kibaki supported women's candidacy because his party had an affirmative action policy, although, he did not come out publicly to declare his actual support for women candidates. This is discussed in the following sub-section.

However, the inconsistencies in party leadership support for women's nomination became manifest in the 2002 elections as a number of women sought but did not receive the "super party's" nomination.[17] NARC fielded the most number of women, followed by SDP and then KANU.

From my findings, it is evident that even with the support of the party leadership, as was the case in Australia, there still needed to be facilitative institutional mechanisms and party rule changes to ensure a continued and sustained increase of women preselected or nominated to contest parliamentary seats. Steininger (2002, p. 102) concluded in her study on the representation of women in the Austrian political system that party rules carry stronger weight than the cheap talk of party leaders both inside the party and among the general public. In spite of the milestones reached by women in getting party selectors to consider women candidates, the data shows that, in the ALP, women continued to face electoral disadvantages at the preselection level. Only additional pedestals for women's party nomination could remove the continuing disadvantages for the preselection of the ALP women. The ever increasing number of women preselected by various parties in Australia in the 1980s and beyond was the result of the presence of the fourth pedestal – party policies/party rule changes towards increasing women's representation.

Party Policies Supportive of Gender Equity in Representation

The Australian Democrats, as we saw earlier, were founded on equity principles and took measures to select women candidates. The LP only began to institute specific policy measures to encourage women to contest in the 1990s, following a parliamentary report on women's standing in electoral politics and the support of the party leader Dr. Hewson. For example in the 1990s the HOR Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs completed a report, "Half Way to Equal", which, pointed out that "it is incumbent upon political parties to redress the gender imbalance where it currently exists" (JSCEM 1994). In 1993 the leader of

the opposition, Dr. Hewson, announced the establishment of a National Liberal Women's Candidates Forum to attract female candidates for parliament. Also within the Liberal Party, the Federal Women's Committee promoted the targeting and training of potential women (JSCEM 1994).

We earlier discussed affirmative action adopted by the ALP in 1981. Yet by the early 1990s, women were still not getting endorsed to stand for parliament in any significant numbers. Haines (1995, p. 17) observes that in the 1990 and the 1993 federal elections, both the LP and the ALP ran female candidates for seats that the other side were assured of winning while the second largest group of female candidates were nominated to marginal seats. Consequently in 1994, the National Conference of the LP adopted new affirmative action rules that guaranteed women thirty five per cent of federal parliamentary winnable seats (ALP 2003).

In Kenya, the political parties formed since the multi-party era have varied party policies on women's issues, but with limited translation into major gains for women's nomination to seats which they are likely to win. The DP, for example, introduced Affirmative Action when it was formed in 1992. Subsequently, women, in spite of party policies, still seek nomination from positions of several disadvantages. For example, the constitution of the DP provides for a women's congress and full participation of women at all levels of the party hierarchy, with at least, one third of the total national positions held by women (IED 1998, p. 39). Because of the affirmative action policy of the party, some women gained nomination in this party during the 1992 elections. Beth Mugo became an active

founder member of DP in 1992. This is what she says about her participation in the party and the party's policies on women:

> I was a founder Member of DP. We needed multi parties so people can take care of their own destiny. Before this there were no other voices, no democratic space. I gave a lot of time to the party, writing the constitution, gave views from a women's perspective, and articulated how women were to be included. As a result, DP adopted affirmative action and the National Executive Committee (NEC) of DP has one third of all its positions filled by women. I was the national coordinator for women's affairs (Beth Mugo, O.I.).

The DP's progressive gender policies, however, have been offset by the fact that the party does very little to make this a reality on the ground. In spite of its affirmative action policies, the DP nominated most of the women candidates in seats where the party had very limited support. For example, of the 34 women aspirants in the party, only 16 were nominated in the 1997 elections (IED 1998, p. 59). Other parties such as FORD- Kenya and the SDP also provide for women's congresses and identify gender issues as pertinent to the party. However, they do not have concrete plans such as nominating women to winnable seats (IED 1998, p. 33).

Because party policies do not translate into effective party nomination of women, Kenyan women from different political parties have joined forces to influence the constitutional review processes and take initiatives to ensure that the constitution provides for policies that would guide party nomination processes and facilitate an increase in women's representation in parliament. As I conclude this study, this constitutional review process is still underway and its results remain to be seen. The increase in women's nomination in Kenya remains supported by the first two pedestals - personal efficacy and the women's movement. There has been limited changes in the percentage of female nominations, and less still their election, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

In conclusion, party selection remains a significant avenue for the increase of women's representation in parliament in both Kenya and Australia. It is important that the four pedestals be present in order to help break down barriers and provide facilitative propellants to urge women into seeking nomination and preselection in winnable seats. The current increase in women's representation in Australia has been largely facilitated by the presence of these four pedestals. On the other hand the decrease in the 1980s in Kenya of women's nomination, the variable trends in the 1990s and the manipulations of NARC and other parties in the 2002 elections, has resulted from the absence of two pedestals, namely party leadership support and, more significantly, absence of party policies to increase female representation.

Endnotes

[1] See Gituto and Kabira (1998).

[2] Audrey Oldfield describes Rose Scott, one of the suffragists, an apostle of the non-party creed who argued that women's place was not one of camp followers to a corrupt system of party politics, but to stand aloof from political parties in order to put pressure for reform on all parties (Oldfield 1992, p. 220).

[3] There were brief periods of multi-party politics at independence in 1963. The only opposition party, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) merged with the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU) in 1964. In 1966 the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) an opposition party was formed. The government banned the party in 1968.

[4] From 1966 to 1982, KANU excluded alternative political parties from participating in Kenyan politics by proscribing the only opposition party KPU in 1968, and placing obstacles in the way of the emergence of any other political party, but did not make political competition officially illegal. From 1982, a constitutional change made KANU the only legal party in Kenya. See (IED 1998, p. 24).

[5] In October 1982, Section 2A amended the Kenya Constitution and made Kenya a *de jure* one party state by declaring that there shall be in Kenya only one political party KANU (IED 1998 p. 27).

[6] In queue voting, supporters of a candidate had to literally line up behind the candidate of choice and be counted. Queuing as part of the electoral process was used in the 1985 KANU grassroots party elections. In 1988, it was used as a process preparatory to the secret ballot applying the 70 per cent rule at the nomination stage. Any candidate with 70 per cent of voters lining up behind her or his

queue would be declared the winner (Weekly Review, 14 October 1988, also see Wanjohi 1997, pp. 88, 9).

[7] Clearance of candidates involved an application letter to the party president and a separate document pledging loyalty to the party president before the party could sponsor a candidate to seek election on the party's ticket. There were also interviews with the party branches to "gauge" the level of a candidate's support for the party and the president but which was often used to bar certain candidates from contesting seats (Weekly Review, 14 October 1988).

[8] The terms rigged out or rigged in have been widely used in Kenya to describe situations where election results are falsified so that a candidate wins when, according to popular observation, he or she lost (rigged in), or loses when according to popular observation, she or he won the elections (rigged out). Hence, in queue voting, for example, some of the shorter queues were declared winners (rigged in) while some candidates with longer queues were declared losers (rigged out).

[9] The period following the re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 saw the formation of a number of new political parties such as Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) that finally split into FORD-Kenya, FORD- Asili and FORD-People Democratic Party (DP) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) among others (Wanjohi 1997).

[10] For a discussion on NARC see the chapter by Odhiambo-Mbai in (Oyugi, Wanyande and Mbai 2003, pp. 51, 96).

[11] Among Australian pioneer women who entered parliament via the family route were Enid Lyons who was the first woman HOR in 1943. She was the wife of the late Joe Lyons who was the UAP Prime Minister in the 1930s. After her husband's death, the UAP persuaded Enid Lyons to stand for the seat of Darwin. Doris Blackburn succeeded her late husband as Labour member for the Victorian Federal seat of Bourke in 1946. Senator Annabel Rankin's father had been a minister in the Queensland state parliament (Millar 1994; Clark and White1983).

[12] Australian pioneer women who entered Federal parliament via the women's movement include Senator Marie Breen who entered parliament via the Victorian Liberal women's movement.

[13] Anne Millar points out that, because the women who entered the Federal Parliament between 1943 and 1966 were so few in number, they must all be regarded as pathfinders (Millar 1994, p. 69).

[14] The strategy to increase female representation in parliament has been a significant part of the objectives of women's organizations in Australia as part of an ongoing quest to achieve equality in the political arena, a strategy adopted by the Women's Electoral Lobby, feminists in the bureaucracy and women in the major political parties (Grey 1999). In the more recent periods, the ALP women's EMILY's List and feminist networks in the LP have been active in this regard.

[15] For example the ALP drew attention to its female candidates as way of attracting the female vote See (Sawer and Simms 1993, pp. 95, 96).

[16] In the ALP politics, a 'boiler' means woman (usually old), See Ryan (1999).

[17] According to the NARC memorandum of understanding, NARC would only support one candidate per constituency. This made party nomination a lot more competitive as NARC enjoyed wide support in many of the constituencies that supported the opposition parties.

Chapter 6

The Final Pursuit: Voter Selection in Kenya and Australia

Introduction.

Voter selection describes the phase following the end of nominations/preselections, when candidates begin their campaigns, up to the time that they win the parliamentary seat. The process, referred to as elections[1] is one in which voters interact with the electoral system, political parties and individual candidates in order to choose from among competing candidates, or competing parties. Voters make decisions related to party and candidate (O'Cass, 2002) and cast their ballot for a candidate, or for a political party in such a way that votes accrue to a specific candidate as personal votes, as party votes or as both personal and party votes. In both Kenya and Australia, party votes and personal votes are interdependent. In Australia, women have won seats on either party or personal and party votes. In Kenya, women have won seats on either personal or party votes or both. Evidence indicates that ability to get party votes broadens the avenues through which votes accrue to women and significantly increases women's chances of winning elections. This chapter determines the comparative factors that enable women in Kenya and Australia to campaign effectively and to attain the necessary votes that enable them to win elections. I also determine the comparative enabling and disabling contexts in women's reliance on personal or party votes to overcome gender impediments during their campaigns.

As in the case of self-selection and party selection, women face gender impediments in the voter selection phase of parliamentary recruitment. These are at times

associated with chauvinism in society, voters not taking women seriously, or thinking that women are not smart enough to understand issues, or that women are too emotional, or too weak (Mezey 1978, p. 498). More recently, studies have shown a lessening of voter bias against women (Inglehart and Norris 2003).

There are three levels of campaign activities during elections, i.e., candidates campaign to ensure as far as possible that existing supporters cast their votes, win over uncommitted voters and discourage voters from voting for political opponents (Clavert 2002, p. 207). Where Australian women point to party votes as the majority of the votes by which they win elections, Kenyan women point to their individual ability and winning elections through personal votes. Evidence from Australian respondents indicates that, in the main, women have won parliamentary seats due to the party's strength and through party votes, although personal votes were also significant in ensuring a final victory.[2] This occurs much more strongly in safe seats. The more marginal or hard to win the seat is, the more it will be necessary for candidates to rely on personal initiatives and personal votes. However, evidence points to the fact that, in all campaigns, personal image is significant and, in order to win, women often have to garner personal votes that at times provide the critical addition to party votes in order to tip the balance in their favour.

Major factors that influence the party votes include party leader image, attitudes towards the economy and party identification (Hayes and McAllister 1997, p. 19). In Kenya, women for long relied solely on personal votes in order to win elections. A significant number of respondents in Kenya pointed out that they won elections

on personal votes, particularly during the single party era. In the multi-party era, incipient parties and comparatively weaker party ties to voters continued to force women to rely on personal votes. Some of the respondents interviewed for this period pointed out that they won elections on both personal votes and party votes. Others pointed out that they lost elections, even though they were incumbents, because they stood for elections with parties that did not enjoy much support in their constituencies. Some others maintained that they won elections only through personal votes.

The individual woman's ability and potential formed the personal avenues through which votes could accrue to women candidates in Kenya. These include her individual ability to mobilise campaign resources and campaign effectively, her potential as a parliamentary representative based on her past record in community work or development projects or other achievements, and her ability to identify a range of issues around which to build a constituency of supporters. The reliance on personal achievements and capabilities left women exposed to the full range of gender impediments during campaigns and consequently broadened the arena of campaign activities for women candidates and fragmented their skills and attributes across multiple fronts.

For Australian women, access to party votes, particularly once selected to a winnable slot in the Senate or to a winnable seat in the HOR, reduced some of the gender impediments for women's campaigns, expanded the avenues through which votes accrue to women candidates and reduced some of the campaign load for

women. However, for Australian women, reliance on party votes also meant a greater control by the party of their electoral activities and more intensified demands on women during preselection in order to gain a winnable seat in the HOR or a winnable slot in the senate.

Links to Party Votes for Australian Women

A number of factors in Australia link women's candidacy to party votes and orient women to campaign on both party strength and for personal votes. First, strong party ties lead to situations where parliamentary candidates have a strong visibility as party representatives.[3] This is linked to the fact that the Australian senate is now almost a party list system of proportional representation. The list system emphasises the political party and parliamentary candidates run as a team (Rule 1987, p. 479). Furthermore, Australian elections are almost exclusively a competition between parties as the overwhelming majority vote for the major parties and not independent candidates (Jaensch 1983, p. 74)[4]. When a candidate plugs into these party votes, the candidate has a higher chance of winning. In this regard, Australian respondents pointed to the significance of the party and party votes in their electoral victory. Joan Child, standing in the 1974 election in Australia, points to the significance of majority party votes in her winning the seat of Henty. To the question, "How far was your election a result of party votes and how far personal votes?" she responded:

> Oh! Very much the party, I couldn't have, and, no one can do that without the party. You are not worth a great deal without the Labor party or without the Liberal Party because most people vote for the party. The extra bit that might tip you over could be personal. But if you don't have that party vote behind you, then you have very little chance – I'd say no chance. If I had sort of decided in 1975 to stand in Henty as Joan Child, Independent Labor, and I was really popular, I might have

> taken 1 ½ per cent of the vote, and they [Labor] could have put up anybody against me who would have beaten me (Joan Child, O.I.).

Carmen Lawrence also describes the significance of party votes, and, like Joan Child, also points to personal votes as part of the component of the winning votes. She says:

> I think it is safe to say, and this is my experience too, that no matter how well known, or even popular, you are the vote reflects the standing of the national party. So the personal vote is a very small component of that. Critically, it is the way the party travels, how well it is doing, how your leadership is doing will determine your vote outcome. As a local member, all you can try to do is add an extra one or two per cent (Carmen Lawrence, O.I.).

Christine Gallus holds a similar view. She says:

> Of course without the party support, I wouldn't be here. Let's face it, it just does not happen that way. You have a quorum of people who vote Liberal, a quorum of people who vote Labor and some of the swingers who will be persuaded by the member themselves and others will be persuaded by other things (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

These responses point to the utter significance of the party and party votes for women's elections but also indicate that personal votes are important and women campaign to maximise both personal and party votes. In this regard, Christine Gallus' campaign depicts forms of appeal for personal votes within the context of a party representative. Her campaign activities show the significance of both party votes in marginal seats and the significance of maximising the personal image to win personal votes as well. She narrates:

> Obviously if you are in a marginal seat, when there is only a Liberal swing that is needed in the electorate, then it depends on who works harder, is it you or your opponent, and depends, who is smartest – you or you opponent. 1993 was the hardest campaign and certainly the one I worked hardest at. I did very innovative things. For example, it was a depression time and I noticed all the billboards around the electorate were empty. I approached all the billboard companies and said, "Look, they look terribly empty! How about giving them to me free for six weeks?" Two or three companies agreed, so I had big billboards made in black and white that just said "You Matter to Chris Gallus" with my photo, in six very prominent locations round the electorate so no one could miss it (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Margaret Reid, also in a marginal Senate slot, alludes to cases where women balance personal appeals and party appeals. She explicates it thus:

> In a state like mine, it is being in the community that counts. Here a lot of people will vote below the line [explained below]. So in my state, a lot of people would vote one for the Labor candidate, two for me, and so on. So my role in terms of getting votes is more like that of a member of the HOR of being out there, at the schools, at the churches, at the senior club, at sporting events and that's what I like doing so that is fine (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

In Australia, the ballot structure further reinforces the strong coupling of women candidates and party votes. Margaret Reid explains:

> Our ballot paper has two parts to it. There are boxes above a line that say: Labor, Liberal, Democrats, Greens. You can tick a box and your vote is counted in accordance with a registered 'How to vote card' of that political party. Below the line are all the candidates' names. If you vote down there, you have to fill in a number by every box. Where there are many candidates, very few fill in below the line because there are just too many numbers to write, so they will tick a box. So a senator in that state has to work to get a Liberal vote you know, not a personal vote, "Tick the Liberal box if you want me as a senator". They seek to maximise the number of people who tick the Liberal box. It is a different type of campaigning (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

While Australian women candidates who win elections have done so primarily through party votes, in some instances, through personal votes women have won marginal or hard to win seats and turned them into safe seats for their party. Joan Child, for example, explains how the seat of Henty had always been a Liberal seat. She won it through her personal initiatives and her links with the labour movement: She explicates:

> At that stage political parties were looking around for a woman to stand for a seat, not a winnable seat, but to ensure that the public could see that the parties were a bit interested in having women into parliament. It was becoming a bit popular about 1963, '65 and so they endorsed me for the seat of Henty, which needed a swing of 9.4 per cent. I stood first in 1972 and we reduced this, and so I stood again in '74 and I won it ... I represented them [workers] on the dairy board and I helped with various sorts of trade union issues and so I got their support (Joan Child, O.I.).

However, Joan Child used the Labor platform to campaign and win the seat for Labor in addition to her innovative' ways of campaigning and reaching out to

voters. Subsequently she had both personal and party votes, with party votes being the decisive votes in turning the seat into a safe Labor seat.

In cases where the party is strong, personal votes have three distinct but related meanings. First, personal votes can be seen as the votes that a woman candidate wins because of her ability to campaign effectively and win personal admiration and support. Secondly, she personally wins votes for the party through her innovative campaign strategies. Thirdly, she wins personal votes as a woman candidate, regardless of party. Personal votes seen through this vantage point, reflect the identity categories through which Australian women have been able to campaign and capture votes both as party women and as women candidates.

Factors Orienting Women to seek Personal Votes in Kenya

The Kenyan electoral system is a single member district system of first past the post. The SMD system tends to focus on the general appeal of the individuals so that the voters' choice is among candidates (Rule 1987, p. 479). Compared to Australia, women candidates in Kenya seeking elections within a one party system for long won elections through their personal image and on their own merit. Beginning with the period immediately after independence, the single party system deflected candidates away from pursuing party votes because everyone belonged to the same party. During the *de jure* single party system period (1982 to1991), candidates had to be registered party members, but voters did not have to be registered party members (Ojwang 1990). In this regard, there were no party votes as such, as voters chose among candidates of the same party.

The voters' perception of legislators as the links between the core and the periphery, and legislative work as the ability of the representative to extract resources from the core to the periphery (Barkan 1984), combined with the president designating constituency service as the marker of effective parliamentary service to attune candidates to depend on personal achievements to win votes. Candidates campaigned on their past personal achievements, their contribution to development projects and community efforts, and on their personal potential to represent constituents.

The first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, fostered a form of patron/client relationships between legislators and the electors that oriented candidates to seek personal rather than party votes. For example, JD Barkan (1984, pp. 79, 81) explains how Jomo Kenyatta developed a concept of constituency service for members of parliament that defined their roles as one of assisting rural self-help projects.[5] This role oriented candidates towards expressing what they have done and what they can do, or what they are capable of doing that qualify them for the constituents' votes. For Kenyan women, this made campaigning to get votes and winning parliamentary seats crucially anchored to articulating their personal contribution to development efforts in the constituency and their representative qualifications. Women's campaign messages indicate that they appealed to the personal image as opposed to party image. Grace Onyango, who stood for elections in 1969 and 1974, had these word on her campaign posters: "She has done a lot"

(*The Nairobi Times*, 4 November 1979), which clearly depicted a call to vote for her based on her personal ability and achievement.

In a single party context, candidates may campaign by identifying their ability to implement party policies better than their opponents. In this case, they would at least be seeking some form of party votes, or campaigning on party strength. However, no respondent referred to having campaigned along these lines. We can therefore assume that women did not campaign along party lines, or, if they did, it was in a manner that did not deserve any mention during the interviews. This meant that the option of campaigning and winning votes due to the popularity of a party leader was not available to Kenyan women candidates. On the contrary, male party officials often used the image of the president against women candidates during campaigns. Phoebe Asiyo complained that a powerful KANU national official created negative stories about her, claiming, for example, that she was not popular with the government (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.; *Daily Nation,* 16 April 1987).

Campaign posters and the design of the ballot paper reinforce the orientation of Kenyan women candidates to pursue personal votes rather than party votes. Candidates adopt specific symbols (identified by the electoral commission) that they use in their campaign posters to depict their campaign message to the electorate. Their personal symbol supplements the party symbol. Personal symbols make for personalised posters and a personal campaign image. For example, Grace Onyango had a house as her campaign symbol, Julia Ojiambo had a pot, and others may have

a lamp and so on. Candidates often constructed the symbols to highlight their achievements and visions for the constituents rather than party policies.

The single party system also meant that voters did not have alternative choices if they did not support the ruling and only party KANU, the leader of that party, or the party's policies and party candidates. Some candidates were elected because they were not really of the party, and so were elected as protest candidates. These were candidates who due to their opposing some government policies or actions had a falling out with the government.

For example, when Grace Onyango won elections in 1969, she was most likely voted in as a 'protest' candidate against the then president Kenyatta and KANU. The exchanges between the KPU publicity secretary and the KANU Secretary General in the lead up to the elections is informative in this regard. As KPU gained ground in Kisumu, where Grace Onyango was serving as the Mayor, she increasingly came under attack over her loyalty to the President, with demands by the then KANU Secretary General that Grace should declare her stand as to whether she was a KPU supporter or a KANU supporter. Responding to these pressures, in defence of Grace Onyango, Ramogi Achieng Oneko, the KPU publicity secretary, wrote in one of the Kenyan dailies:

> The Mayor of Kisumu Mrs Grace Onyango should not be coerced into supporting KANU against her wishes and those of Kisumu people. Grace rejected KANU, but as a loyal citizen and civic leader, she is loyal to the constitution of Kenya, this does not necessarily mean she is KANU. She had assured President Kenyatta of her support for him as head of state, not as leader of KANU (*Daily Nation*, 15 July 1968).

Under these circumstances, and before KPU was finally banned, newspapers were filled with speculations (later confirmed by the same newspapers) that Grace "who had been disregarded by KANU may stand in the local government election on a KPU ticket" (*Daily Nation*, 13 July 1968). Three days later, the same newspaper under a banner headline, "Mayor on KPU ticket for the Kaloleni Ward", confirmed that Grace Onyango would contest a council seat as a KPU (*Daily Nation*, 16 July 1968). When KPU was banned a few months later, and all the party's sitting MPs detained, Grace Onyango decided to contest the parliamentary seat left vacant following the detention of the incumbent. However, she could only contest through KANU because this was now the only party. Under the circumstances, she could not campaign on KANU policies or image because of her previous support for KPU. Furthermore, the previous overwhelming support for KPU in Kisumu made the predominantly Luo population of Kisumu vote her in as a "*de facto*" non-KANU, against her opponents who were more sympathetic to KANU. Indeed, newspapers reported Grace Onyango as claiming that it is the electorate who decide her platform by the questions they ask. Consequently, Grace Onyango could only campaign to win personal rather than party votes. Both Phoebe Asiyo and Julia Ojiambo also portrayed their efforts to appeal to personal votes by pointing to their achievements and capabilities during campaigns in the *de facto* single party era.

De Jure Single Party System and Personal Votes in Kenya

During the *de jure* single party state, women continued to rely heavily on personal image and personal votes to win elections. Grace Ogot's explanation reflects the

general emphasis placed by women candidates on their personal image based on their development record during campaigns. She says:

> Within a year as a nominated MP, I focused on development projects, education, health, girls' education, and women's emancipation, especially financial. I saw to it that the progress Ongili [deceased member] had begun was completed. Within the year as a nominated MP I could count on a number of projects and successes I had achieved in all these areas. This boosted my campaign as I could show what I have done within a short period, but only as a nominated MP, and argue that I could do more as an elected MP (Grace Ogot, O.I.).

Contextual factors associated with the *de jure* single party system continued in many instances to be dysfunctional to women forced to campaign for personal rather than party votes.

First, women were not members of the strong party insider groups. There was a strong party fusion with the personality of the president and the male clique around the presidency. Many of the male national party leaders who contested elections used the party to frustrate rather than support women's campaign efforts. For example, in the lead up to the 1979 elections, under the heading "MP denied chance to build KANU", Grace Onyango is reported to have written a letter of complaint stating her frustrations with the provincial administration allegedly under the influence of powerful KANU officials interested in vying for the Kisumu seat in which Grace Onyango was the incumbent.[6] She reportedly warned:

> People with political aspirations should not use the recruitment drive to frustrate their opponents (*Daily Nation,* 22 March 1979).

Phoebe Asiyo and Julia Ojiambo also faced similar experiences of party frustration of their efforts. Manipulation by powerful party leaders alienated these women incumbents from the party and party circles and reinforced their dependence on personal votes to win elections. For example, Phoebe Asiyo, as the incumbent in the

Karachuonyo seat, complained about the then powerful Secretary General of KANU who was aiming to unseat her and who had engaged in a smear campaign against her. The opponent allegedly told voters not to make the mistake of electing Phoebe Asiyo because, if they did, there would be no government funds for the constituency because Phoebe was not close to the Presidency (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I; see also *Sunday Nation*, 28 September 1980). In the lead up to the 1988 elections, Phoebe Asiyo still complained in parliament that the powerful KANU opponent had continually intimidated her and those who voted for her in the 1983 elections (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I. see also *Daily Nation*, 16 April 1987). Effectively, therefore, under the one party system, there was a masculine clique that dominated the political life.

In the end, all these women incumbents lost their seats during the *de jure* single party system period in Kenya. Grace Onyango, an incumbent in the Kisumu seat since 1969, lost her seat to a powerful KANU national leader. In an interview, Grace Onyango maintained, "I did not lose in 1983, I was robbed" (*Sunday Nation*, 21 October 1990). Julia Ojiambo, the incumbent in the Busia Central seat since 1974 lost her seat to a party stalwart in 1983. She also complained of being rigged out, and of party intimidation (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.) Phoebe Asiyo, the Karachuonyo incumbent since 1979, lost her seat to a powerful KANU stalwart in 1988. She too maintains that she was rigged out in the 1988 elections.

The women who won elections under both the *de facto* and *de jure* multi-party system did so because of their exceptionally high profile status, and an outstanding

ability to turn any available opportunity to their favour in order to obtain personal votes that enabled them to win elections. Grace Onyango was a prominent woman, starting as a teacher (the pool from which most politicians were drawn in the 1950s and 1960s), and becoming a councillor with a four-year mayoral term in the Kisumu Municipality from 1965 to1968 (*Sunday Nation*, 21 October 1990). She therefore entered parliament as "an experienced and tough woman who knows how to handle her public" (*Daily Nation*, 8 December 1969), and with an iron will to excel (*Sunday Nation,* 21 October 1990). She responded to the fears that she might find herself lost in a man's world thus: "I have always fought alongside men. How do you expect me to feel afraid working with them this time?" (*Daily Nation*, 8 December 1969).

The Multi Party System and the Increasing Need for Both Party and Personal Votes in Kenya

During the multi-party era, a number of contextual factors associated with incipient political parties with weak voter ties and the ballot structure continued to orient women to seek personal votes. However, party votes increasingly took on greater significance, culminating in their most decisive role in the 2002 elections. With the re-introduction of multi party politics in late 1991, there were increasingly strong links between women's elections and party votes, peaking in the third multi-party elections in 2002.

Under multi party competitions, candidates are clearly party representatives. They campaign on party policies, enjoy the strength of the party, and use the party

platform to provide voters with alternative programs and vision. However, even during the multi-party era, incipient parties with weak links to the grassroots and voters continued to orient some women to seek personal votes and to draw from their own strengths and achievements in order to win votes.

In her 1992 campaigns, Martha Karua, a lawyer by profession, sought personal votes as she compared her training to the political career she sought to enter. She says:

> Representing people in parliament is also listening to them. It is like taking instructions to prepare your brief for court, so I prepare my brief for parliament. I actually was telling my constituents that I'm trained to do the job I am asking for. Also, that I had been agitating for them without their mandate. I was telling them "Look, I've been effective without your mandate so I'm going to be even better". I presented myself so the people would appreciate and say, "Yes, she can articulate her views". But, hearing about you when you are a woman is not enough. They want to see you, hear you talk – for them to believe that yes you can do it (Martha Karua O.I.).

Even in the second multi-party elections in 1997, personal votes remained critical to women's election to parliament. This is what Beth Mugo says of her 1997 election. She had earlier lost in the 1992 elections because, as she points out:

> In 1992, I lost because Nairobi was predominantly DP. It was impossible to win on another party's ticket (Beth Mugo, O.I.).

Explaining her electoral victory in the 1997 elections Beth Mugo says:

> In 1997, I was elected on an SDP ticket. After losing in 1992 on a FORD-Asili ticket, I remained in the same constituency. I had started a bursary fund in 1992; as a result, the people got to trust me and began to think of me as a leader of the area. In fact, they saw me as a *de facto* MP as I was involved in development projects in all parts of the area ... The constituents asked me to select any party I wanted and they would elect me on that party's ticket. I joined SDP to support Charity [Ngilu, who was then running as a presidential candidate]. The 1997 votes to me were personal votes for my involvement with the constituents (Beth Mugo, O.I.).

Beth Mugo's election on an SDP ticket, a party she only joined in the lead up to election, points to weak links between party and voters as well as weak links

between the party and candidates. On the other hand it points to a stronger link between the candidate and the voters based on her record of achievements. Ultimately, it points to the significance of personal votes for winning a parliamentary seat even during the multi party era.

However, it was also true that, once nominated to a party stronghold, the seat was in many instances assured in much the same way as is the case for safe seats in Australia. Phoebe Asiyo, for example, contested her seat in Karachuonyo on a FORD-Kenya ticket in 1992, having defected from KANU to join the opposition in 1992. In addition to her personal profile, she easily won the seat because the constituency had become overwhelming supporters of FORD-Kenya. By contrast, Grace Ogot, also from the same ethnic group and contesting a parliamentary seat within the same ethnic group among whom FORD-Kenya enjoyed massive support, lost her seat precisely because she did not defect from KANU to join FORD-Kenya. Explaining why she lost in the multi-party elections in 1992 even though she was the incumbent with a significant development record in her constituency, Grace Ogot says:

> I know the next question you are going to ask me is "With all this development record, why did you not win the 1992 elections?" Well! Let me answer the question and tell you this, in 1992, Luoland became predominantly opposition and everyone joined FORD. [later FORD-Kenya, after a split in the party]. I did not defect in order to join the opposition but remained in KANU. I was asked several times to defect and join the opposition. I said, "Let me remain in KANU" ... By remaining in KANU when everyone had moved to the opposition, I knew I would lose, but I would lose honourably (Grace Ogot, O.I.).

The entrenchment of the party system was more clearly manifested in the 2002 elections. During this time, the major opposition parties in Kenya formed a coalition, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), a kind of "super party" that

brought together sixteen opposition political parties with an aim of providing a united front among them that would enable them jointly to oust the ruling party KANU[7]. NARC as the "opposition party" became extremely popular in many opposition zones represented by the seventeen parties in NARC. As part of the party nomination process, NARC had to endorse all candidates nominated by the various member parties. Once this was done, opposition candidates campaigned as NARC members and on NARC policies and platform, and thereby made the super party a significant factor in seeking and getting votes. The result was a campaign strategy where a NARC parliamentary candidate, a local government candidate and a representative of NARC's presidential candidate campaigned together in each constituency under the banner of the super opposition party NARC. This was popularly known as "the three piece suit" (Catherine Mango, O.I.). NARC, as opposition "super party", played a significant role in shifting the emphasis from personal to party votes, and thereby, in linking women to party votes. For women nominated on a NARC ticket in the NARC strongholds, the link to party votes reduced some of the disadvantages of depending on personal votes at the voter selection level.

Catherine Mango, who won election on a FORD-Kenya/NARC ticket in the 2002 election, says that the party was decisive in her electoral victory. As she narrates:

> FORD-Kenya was the political party in the area. You see when I declared my interest in contesting the people told me, "Don't waste time on KANU. We don't want KANU". That meant that you have to know the party, which is likely to win, and the party in which people are interested. If you just go into any party for the sake of it, you are not going to make it. I joined FORD-Kenya because it was the predominant party in Western Kenya (Catherine Mango, O.I.).

Yet again, the experience of Naomi Shabaan who won on a KANU ticket in the 2002 elections point to the fact that personal votes remained significant. She says:

> The way I see things in this country, it is not the party that really matters. By and by, my people could have easily gone for NARC, but because it is me they wanted as an individual, they really did not care what party I was in, so I think people are looking at an individual. I had used my friendships and influence to help my people and that gave them confidence in me (Naomi Shaaban, O.I.).

Campaign Context and Obstacles to Women

In both countries, women face forms of violence during campaigns, which they must overcome in order to remain focused on the campaign. Kenyan respondents pointed to both physical and psychological violence. Australian respondents pointed to psychological violence that arises from personality attacks, particularly through the media.

In Kenya, violence occurred both in the single party era and in the multi party era, although there was significantly escalated violence in the first multi-party election in 1992 and a notable reduction of violence in the 2002 elections. On the prevalence of electoral violence in Kenya, the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) wrote:

> As the events of 1992 and 1997 elections demonstrated, electoral violence has seriously undermined fundamental human rights in Kenya. Besides violating a wide range of rights, electoral violence has also disenfranchised hundreds of thousands of Kenyans. As Kenya approaches the crucial 2002 elections, Kenya yet again faces the prospect of political violence (KHRC 2001).

Such electoral violence in Kenya mars women's campaign efforts and detours them from focusing on the actual campaign to win votes. For example, Julia Ojiambo says of her debut campaigns in 1974,

> My main setback came from my opponents. He set youth and men to beat my supporters and me. He told his supporters, "If you find her rape her". Because of that, I also had to get my youth wing and others to form a protective wall. They had no guns or "rungus"(traditional clubs) but were strong enough to protect me. At every stage, a woman goes over hurdle of family and community, thereafter, opponents instigate other women in his camp to coin abusive language, employ anti women slogans and plan violence (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

As the 1988 elections drew near Phoebe Asiyo was ambushed and she claimed this was politically motivated. She was subjected to a smear campaign and violence against her and her family. In the 1992 elections, Martha Karua, making her debut in parliament says:

> I was totally unprepared for the verbal and physical violence we encountered. The verbal violence we ignored and we handled it by sticking to issues because it is meant to distract you, to embarrass you and hound you out of the field. The physical violence came for the first time on nomination day when my convoy was attacked and people cut up with "pangas" (machetes). The police were unwilling to help because they were in the employ of my opponent who used to be the chief secretary, so even in the administration no one was willing to interfere. I had to come back to Nairobi and my party provided me with two ex-security people with the responsibility that I pay them. I didn't have a budget for security. So I had to reorganise my finances. I went back with them and they were able to arrange my security in conjunction with local people. We never attacked, but we were able to mount such defences that we would publicly say in meetings that "We are ready, we will not retaliate but no other attack will go unchallenged" (Martha Karua, O.I.).

Naomi Shabaan explains her experience in 2001 when she stood for the Taveta by-election on a FORD-Kenya ticket. She says:

> It was really bad because there was so much violence. KANU was on my case and even DP really misbehaved. I was so tired of it all. Rowdy KANU youth came to my compound threatening to burn my house. They burnt my visitor's car and broke mine to pieces. I went into hiding. My chief campaigners also went into hiding. In the meantime, DP was telling my voters, "If you give your votes to this mama, she will be killed" (Naomi Shaaban, O.I.)

In Australia, women have not had to deal with physical violence, but most women candidates have had to deal with smear campaigns and psychological violence in the process of campaigns that may detour them from their focus on seeking votes. For Australian women, this often comes from media reports on their personalities and reports about their stand on specific issues that may place them at odds with certain factions within their electorate. For example, Susan Ryan describes how she faced criticism in her 1974 campaigns because of her gender. She writes that her electorate was hostile and that she faced unrelenting criticism in spite of her good

performance in public. The cause for this excessive rigour was her gender, as she explains: "even among our most forward-looking comrades, my gender provoked ambivalence" (Ryan 1999, pp. 142, 148).

Joan Child says she was bombarded with calls on her stand on abortion:

> Even at night people rang rang, rang, mainly to annoy me. They would ask, "Mrs Child would you have an abortion yourself?" I'd say, "Look, I am 46, but I do understand why those who want abortion want it". However, it is a bit difficult when it gets to the papers (Joan Child, O.I.).

Natasha Stott-Despoja talks of unrelenting media attention that detoured her even as it also worked in her favour. She says:

> I was getting unprecedented media attention for a range of issues. Mostly for being young, blonde - my clothes had much discussion, my footwear got more discussion on the day that I was signed in. I wore my Doc Martins into parliament because I had always worn the Docs, and that received more coverage than the historic fact that a young woman had made it to parliament. Questions like "Who is your boyfriend, whom are you dating?" Interviewing my mother. I became very quickly almost immortalised as this younger version of a politician. The obvious problems with that are of course stereotypes, do you ever get legitimate recognition for your legislative and policy work? I guess, I can't complain that there wasn't some ... positive ...almost celebrity focused publicity but at the same time, too, it's hard to get out of some of those moulds (Natasah Stott-Despoja, O.I.).

Clearly, during campaigns electoral violence and smear campaigns by opponents fragments the skills and personal attributes of women candidates, work as a counter force to the personal image around which women seek votes. In Kenya, women were distracted by the need to seek personal security: family security, property security, and ballot security as well as fending off smear campaign. Australian women have to fend off personality attacks and smear campaigns.

Attributes and Skills in Seeking Votes

Respondents from both countries pointed to the significance of certain attributes, skills and activities required to succeed in campaigns and to win the election.

Explaining some of her attributes and skills that enabled her to win elections, Martha Karua explains:

> I was convinced I would win. Unless you are convinced of your own ability, nobody else will be convinced. You will not be able to convince anybody else. At no time did I ever lose connection with my roots. I always kept in touch. ... Once there is that connection, then the rest can progress (Martha Karua, O.I.).

Julia Ojiambo makes the same point when she says:

> I kept in touch with my people even though I was studying. I enjoyed power of the tongue from academia and art. I had good committees, working very precisely. They would write points for me for my speeches. I had a good platform ... and a good sense of humour on relevant issues. I enjoyed community support and good support from friends. I had a good knowledge of psychology and I knew how to research. My spiritual life has helped (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

Among the Australian respondents, Amanda Vanstone makes similar points about keeping in touch with voters. She says:

> You keep in touch. Make sure that you are available to be questioned or criticized about what you have done. You go to the various meetings, you go to the functions and you get to know people that are involved so it is a long and slow process unless you already know them (Amanda Vanstone, O.I.).

Meg Lees says:

> I think it takes with Australians firstly a sense that this person has got some ideas and is prepared to do something constructive to actually get in there and to deal with issues that people care about. It is a matter of getting posters on every polling booth so when people walk in they think, "Oh! Yes, I remember that or her or that party" or whatever. ... Also TV, people tend to think that you are not really serious, you are not really part of it [If you don't advertise on the TV] so you have to really do TV advertising ... we also did some radio advertising as well, that is a lot easier, and a lot cheaper (Meg Lees, O.I.).

Christine Gallus points to knowing and understanding exactly what one needs to do in order to win. She sees it as instinctive, but as she points out:

> You have to want to do it and you have to know how to do it. It is nothing out of the ordinary. It is what people logically do. Be determined to do it. People don't do it for you. You have to be prepared to do it for yourself (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Describing her campaign activities, Christine Gallus says:

> After winning the preselection, it was a matter of just winning the seat, which is not just...I put a lot of work into it. God! I door knocked, oh! I don't know how many houses. I must have door knocked about 20,000 houses. I door knocked every

> weekend, I cut my hours of work down to ¾ time so every 4pm everyday I started door knocking. I went to all the groups so that I would be known (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Phoebe Asiyo explains her campaign activities thus:

> I went to every village and went from house to house. I got to know everyone by his or her name. I could call them by their names and they would say, "Mama knows us". Also, I had done a lot of community work and I was very much involved in community development projects. I had made myself known from one village to the next (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.).

Martha Karua says:

> I went about looking for as many people as I could, went to as many forums as I could. I could even go to three or four functions in a day even when I was not invited so long as there was an opportunity to meet voters (Martha Karua, O.I.).

Natasha Stott-Despoja says:

> You have to justify yourself to your voters, so I visited every division.
> (Natasha Stott-Despoja, O.I.)

In Australia, the need to ensure that voters cast their ballot as a campaign activity is eliminated due to the compulsory voting system. For Kenyan women, this is a necessary activity with multiple demands on women candidates. Naomi Shabaan, who contested the 2002 elections, says:

> Because of the violence, people got so scared. Women did not come out to vote. The violence was to scare me off. I could not reach my voters to tell them to come out and vote. To tell them, "You are the ones who asked me to be your MP, so, come out and vote. I can't be your MP without your votes" (Naomi Shabaan, O.I.).

Phoebe Asiyo says:

> There were attempts by my opponent to buy votes from my supporters so that they don't vote on polling day. I went round the villages asking people not to sell their votes. This whole process begins much earlier with registration of voters. You must encourage your voters to register from the day registration is announced otherwise you may find that your supporters have not actually registered to vote. When campaigns begin, you must ensure that they do not sell their voters' cards [That identifies one as an eligible voter and without which one cannot vote] (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.)

Concerning the added campaign activities due to compulsory voting, Catherine Mango says:

> Because of poverty, there is always the risk of buying off of voters. Do not think that all those people who come to your rallies will vote for you. Many of them often do not even have votes but they won't tell you... You can be in for a very rude shock come polling day ... so you have to be very careful (Catherine Mango, O.I.).

Australian women, within the compulsory voting context, may more readily concentrate on the other two aspects of elections, i.e., winning over uncommitted voters, and discouraging voters from voting for political opponents.

Comparing Advantages and Limitations of Party Votes and Personal Votes

Strong party ties in Australia provides opportunities that enable women candidates to overcome some of the unfavourable conditions for women of the Single Member District (SMD) system used in the HOR elections.[8] The party affiliation broadens the identities and capacities around which women can campaign for votes, and provides at least some campaign resources and support for candidates. If people vote for party and if party stands a woman, the woman candidate taps into party votes in addition to her personal votes. The woman candidate will be able to link issues of concern to her and her supporters or her would be supporters to the party campaign platform and draw from the larger party strength. This is because parties take policy positions in order to appeal to as many voters as possible (Kollman, Miller and Page 1998, p. 139).

In Australia, because of the party strength and safe seats, for women preselected to safe seats, preselection is virtually the election (Jaensch 1983, p. 100) and the voter selection phase becomes more of a formality. This is the same case for Senate candidates in the major parties who win first or second positions in the party lists in most electorates. This however, does not mean that women preselected to safe seats

or safe slots do not engage in campaign activities. It means that these women campaign to maximise party votes that will then accrue to them as representatives of that party as, parties both chase and mobilise votes during campaigns (Rohrschnieder 2002).

Access to party votes may enable newcomers to offset the cycle of disadvantages associated with not being incumbents. Furthermore, ability to obtain party votes also means that, in the more marginal seats, swinging votes towards the party might play a major role in some women's electoral victories. Swings can arise due to the image of the party leader and party policies. In particular, the role of the party leader has increased in this regard since the emergence of the television as a major medium of election campaign (Jaensch 1983, p. 103). Christine Gallus, in the Liberal marginal seat of Hawker in South Australia, points to the swing towards the Liberals that helped her in the 1996 elections. She says:

> In 1996, there was a large swing to the Liberal government and I was a Liberal member, I did work the same as I always do, but I really didn't have to do much for that election. Clearly I was gonna get it anyway (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

Similarly, Margaret Reid in a marginal slot in the Senate, as she explains:

> Interestingly enough, I thought 2001 would be very difficult. In the end, it was a strange election. On the night of the election, I knew I had got a quota and that was the first time that had ever happened. I thought 2001, the Liberals' third elections, that I could be very vulnerable and I worked very hard. In the end, the mood swung to the Liberal Party, and I got some benefit of that as well, but it wasn't till it was all over that I was sure that that was happening, by any means (Margaret Reid, O.I.).

The swinging votes enabled the Liberal women to win in the 1996 election, as women became the direct beneficiaries of the anti-Labor landslide that swept the Keating government from office (Whip 2003). If the swing had been in the opposite

direction, a similar number of new Labor women would have entered parliament Sawer (1997).

In Kenya, dependence on personal votes during the single party era meant that women candidates became more susceptible to personal attacks, personality attacks and scrutiny along gender stereotypes (discussed below) because campaign efforts, under these circumstances, are won or lost at the personal level. Reliance on personal votes constricts the identities and available options around which to campaign for votes and subjects women to more intense personality and personal attacks. Such attacks appear to have been more intense and more widespread at the campaign level during the *de jure* single party system than during some of the multi-party elections. This, however, depended on how closely fought a particular constituency was. Where parties enjoyed close to equal support, competition remained much stiffer and women candidates in these constituencies were subjected to personal attacks during campaigns.

In cases where one party had overwhelming support, the gender impediments and stereotypes took less significance at the campaign level, but remained intense at the party nomination stage. In particular, the 2002 elections, which saw a greater competition among political parties, also witnessed a relatively general reduction of focus on personalities and gender stereotypes of women candidates. This subsequently lessened the impact of gender stereotypes on the outcome of women's campaigns once the party nominated them to constituencies where the party enjoyed overwhelming support.

Responses from the Australian sample reveal much more party hindrance or opposition to some initiatives from women candidates. In Kenya, because of the dependence on personal votes, women candidates can utilise more freely any campaign initiative that they may deem fit and their campaign decisions are not under scrutiny or control from party officials.

Reliance on personal votes means that women candidates are more susceptible to gender biases and opponents often evoke gender-biased sentiments that work against women candidates. For example, married women standing for elections in rural areas faced challenges concerning the legitimacy of their candidature in the constituencies in which they are married, as opposed to the constituencies in which they were born. Some voters and opponents would claim that she is a "foreigner" while opponent male candidates used this fact as a form of a smear campaign against her and the legitimacy of her candidature in a particular constituency. This called for additional skills in juggling identity as women sought votes. Catherine Mango narrates:

> On the issue of my being a "foreigner", I dealt with it by telling my constituents that I have been married there [in the constituency] for thirty years. I would tell them, "I have lived with you for 30 years," and pose a "Am I not one of you?" People would say, "Yes". I would tell them, "I was born in Port Victoria, but I am married here. If I died today in Port Victoria, wouldn't you bring me so you bury me here?" They said, "Yes". So that demystified the myth that I am a foreigner (Catherine Mango, O.I.).

Christine Gallus for example says:

> By '96 I'd picked up a considerable portion of the Greek vote because I have a large Greek electorate. In '98 they ran a Greek candidate against me and following that I went back to a very narrow majority because obviously the Greeks wanted to support a Greek. Later I went back to my Greek constituents again, and I think I got some of that

> vote back and stabilized myself [in relation to swinging votes] but it is still a marginal seat (Christine Gallus, O.I.).

In the multi party era, Kenyan party leaders played some role in garnering votes for female candidates in much the same way as in Australia. Party identity became somewhat fused with the personality of the party leader. Consequently, the party might be known by its name FORD Asili, NDP, DP, FORD- Kenya, and so on, but given meaning via the name of the respective leader, and, by extension, identifies the ethnic basis of the party; hence, Matiba's Party, Raila's party, Kibaki's party, Wamalwa's Party respectively. Voters in this instance vote for the party based on the leader and ethnic origin and not necessarily on policy

In the final analysis, the opportunity to seek and attain personal votes for Australian women means that if smear campaigns affect negatively the personal votes, the party votes can compensate for some of the votes lost. In Kenya however, the total reliance on personal votes, particularly during the single party era, meant that women had no alternative avenue through which to seek votes to compensate for any loss of personal votes due to dented personal image. However, party votes are not just a compensation for lost personal votes. Party votes form a major avenue of campaigning and winning votes that significantly widens the base, avenues and approaches through which women can win votes.

The party has partisan votes that it automatically transfers to its representative in each electorate or constituency. In Australia, as discussed, women candidates have clearly been able to draw very directly and distinctly from such party votes and party strength to win elections. Women can also rely on party policies as campaign

platforms and draw from party resources in their campaigns. Through the 'party campaign machine', the party has removed some of the challenges and hurdles involved in seeking and winning votes. Women candidates in Australia have been able to anchor their campaign and vote seeking on party policies that have in turn conferred party votes to them as representatives of the party.

In seeking personal votes, women candidates in Kenya became exposed to the full force of a variety of electoral vagaries associated with campaigning as individuals in order to be elected. Women candidates have to generate polices, ideas, and do everything else that the party would ordinarily take charge of.

In conclusion, women in Kenya have certainly sought personal votes and won election on personal votes. This situation began to change with the multi party system. The residual effects of the single party system, the incipient nature of the newer parties as well as party mergers, coalitions and splits, means that personal votes still play some role in elections, although party votes, whether linked to the personality of party leader or ethnicity, have gained significance for women's election in the multi-party era. Australian women can count on party votes to win elections once elected to safe seats, and even at times in marginal seats. The party provides resource assistance and support to Australian women, while in Kenya women have had to rely almost always solely on personal and family resources. Winning elections makes a lot more demands on Kenyan women than on Australian women, who have a comparatively stronger link to political parties.

Endnotes

[1] An election is a process of choice (Clavert, 2002, p. 182), they are also seen as a competition for office based on a formal expression of preferences by a population, which are then combined into a collective decision about which candidates have won (Clavert 2002, p. 182; Hague, Harrop and Breslin 1998, p. 96).

[2] Party strength refers to the extent to which candidates campaign based on their party's reputation as providers of public policy as opposed to their personal reputation as providers of more narrowly targeted services. See Shugart (2001).

[3] M. Mackerras and I. McAllister explain that Australia has one of the highest levels of party identification in the world (Mackerras and McAllister 1999, p. 218).

[4]Marian Sawer in a more recent study has shown that although strong party identification has been characteristic of Australia, new political identities are contingent and fragmented and social movements have mobilized new identities alongside and cutting across party cleavages (Sawer 2000, p 1).

[5] In Kenyan elections, candidates make efforts to support and organize self-help development projects in the local community all of which they articulate during campaigns as the marker of their ability to represent constituents. This thinking and practice patterned women's thoughts as they consolidated their campaign efforts.

[6] This was about party membership recruitment that was seen by aspiring candidates as, a way of identifying potential voters and building a constituency of supporters, a way of linking potential candidates with voters, and as a way of depicting a potential candidate as an active in the party. See *Daily Nation*, 22 March 1979.

[7] In both the 1992 and 1997 election, the opposition parties failed to remove the ruling party KANU from power, a fact that was attributed to opposition and the opposition disunity during these two elections.

[8] Rule, for example, says that the Single Member District is one of the most disadvantageous systems for women, and produces the least number of women elected to parliament (Rule1987).

Chapter 7

Equality and Development: Comparing the Interface between International Factors and the Local Contexts of Women's Parliamentary Recruitment in Kenya and Australia

Introduction.

What effects do discourses on "equality" and "development" in the international system have on women in Kenya and Australia as they seek parliamentary seats? In this chapter, I return to the theme of chapter three, the international system, to determine its influence on the contextual factors that contributed to the varying trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and in Australia. From the 1970s, through the United Nations, the international agenda for women's advancement was designed around discourses on equality, development and peace. The United Nations became increasingly involved in women's rights that led to an intensification of the activities of world bodies and world models that fashioned national activities and urged nation-states to adopt specific models of women's advancement (Berkovitch 1999, p. 12).

Respondents in both countries focus on local issues as the determinants of their parliamentary recruitment. To understand how the nexus between international forces and domestic factors catalyses favourable conditions for women's parliamentary recruitment, I examine the effects of international forces on the local contexts that respondents identified as significant in their contesting and winning seats.

To compare the capacities of the frameworks of equality and development to catalyse women's parliamentary recruitment, I examine the capacity of each framework to enable women to see themselves as political, an issue associated with the propellants towards self-selection. Secondly, I examine the ability of the equality and development frames to catalyse the contexts that influence party leaders to support women's nomination, associated with party selection. Lastly, I examine the ability of the two frameworks to catalyse situations that provide women with the means to maximise votes that enable them to win elections. I examine these two frameworks within the comparative national trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and in Australia.

In Kenya, the development discourse disables international forces from catalysing women's parliamentary recruitment. On the other hand, the equality paradigm provided specific advantages that catalysed Australian women's parliamentary recruitment. While it is true that the international agenda for women's advancement enshrined both equality and development in conjunction with each other, the two terms were applied disproportionately, the former to western women and the latter to non-western women. It is within this context that we can understand the enabling and disabling features of each concept as Kenyan and Australian women turn international efforts into national leverage for parliamentary recruitment.

Some Comparative Issues on the Discourses on Development and Equality

The experience of Australian women depicts two periods, the 1980s and in the 1990s, that witnessed a numerical increase in women's representation in the federal

parliament. This followed on from a period of a dearth of women in parliament up to the 1970s. The experience of Kenyan women depicts variable trends, with five women in parliament in 1974, after which women's representation began to drop. The 1980s show a marked regression in women's achievement in politics in Kenya, with trends picking up somewhat from the 1990s. Throughout this period, the international agenda for women was deployed in terms of "equality", "development" and "peace."

Equality and development discourses appear as both enabling and disabling in specific contexts in women's parliamentary recruitment. In Australia, the notion of equality as representation alongside men linked with the international understandings of women's participation in politics from the time that the term entered the vocabulary of women's emancipation in the early 1900s. However, the failure of this approach is that it is limited to either sameness with men, in which case women compete as though they are men, or limited to the difference paradigm, in which case, measures are taken to enable women to have equal opportunity with men. In both cases, equality retains men as the "norm" and the male remains the standard measure. The approach for long, failed to address the inhibiting factors to do with party selection, ideologies concerning the place of women in politics or the historical exclusion of women upon which most parties were founded.

In Kenya, the disabling factors associated with development are much longer-lived. Drawing from the legacy of colonialism, the development discourse and practice identified Kenyan women as being in need of economic development, and not as

political actors. This was in spite of the fact that Kenyan women defined themselves as political actors as well as engaged in politics through contesting elections and demanding, through different forums, that women's role and participation be acknowledged and supported. In this regard, as de Groot (1991), notes, the concepts and practices of development impose "outsider" interpretations and evaluations. Apparently, CSW, formed to coordinate issues on women's advancement within the UN, failed to challenge this orientation, but rather, CSW reinforced international development assistance that perceived women as economic producers within the domestic sector, by its activities that focused on the domestic roles of Kenyan women.

This coincided with the local national patriarchy's nation-building project that saw men as the political nation-builders. The empty mythical title of "mothers of the nation" for women did not translate into political power as was the case for the "fathers of the nation", who were rewarded with powerful political offices (Masinjila 1997, pp. 7, 8).

The declaration of 1975 to 1985 as the Women's Decade by the United Nations reinforced the enabling factors associated with the equality paradigm. The activities to mark the Women's Decade combined with the emergence of the second wave women's movement in the late 1960s to catalyse national contexts that addressed the obstacles to women's representation in Australia. However, the disabling factors associated with the discourses on development, continued for Kenyan women, until the post Women's Decade era up to 1990. From the 1990s there was a

shift in the UN discourses on development to include women's empowerment and governance as part of development. With this change, the UN agencies and western funding agencies finally began to see Kenyan women as political agents. In this chapter, I examine the interface between equality and development discourses and approaches, with local factors in Kenya and Australia, and determine the extent to which the contextual factors and trends in women's parliamentary recruitment was a product of the interface between local and international forces. I also examine the changes that alternative conceptions of development such as empowerment, governance and democracy produced in the local contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya.

In some regards, anti-colonial liberation movements and the demands for self-determination by Africans that generated the African women's vision of development on the one hand, and equality, demanded by western women, on the other hand, both drew from the international pool of universal human rights. Young (2001, p. 10) underscores the fact that the notion of the right to self-determination for individual nations and for indigenous peoples that laid the basis for the revolutionary sentiments in France and Britain, laid the groundwork for the political basis of the colonial liberation movements. This however does not mean that ideas of freedom were not present among Africans prior to this, but rather that Africans adopted the terms to express sentiments already present. Mazrui (1967, pp. 3, 4) underscores the fact that borrowing new idioms (such as self-determination) from the west with which to express specific aspirations should not be equated with an absence of those aspirations or phenomena. Equality demanded by western women

also drew from these same universal rights. In effect therefore, both "development" and "equality" in theory should allow for a variety of aspirations around universal rights, including participation in politics.

The historical conditions that culminated in the international understandings of these two concepts rested on forms of inequality between the West and the rest, which was encompassed in the construction of the notion of the international (King 1991, p. 4). The international understanding of "development" was associated with the "Third World", or the South, concepts that are ideologically imbued constructs produced in discourse (King 1991, p. 13). This left the "West", the First World as the "developed", because the "West" is also a historical construct denoting a society that is developed, industrialised, modern and one that provides a standard that is productive (Hall 1992, pp. 277, 278). The logical question that may arise is, if we take it that "development" was a discourse which developed in the "west' to talk about the "rest", can it operate outside power?

In Australia, as I discussed previously in chapter three, the demands of equality for women in the international system were from its conception, tightly coupled to politics as an aspect of women's advancement through women's demands for suffrage. Equality continued as part of the overall demands for women's advancement both nationally and internationally. To this extent, the equality framework proved expansive enough to enable the interface between the international agenda for women's advancement with domestic factors in Australia to

catalyse contexts that produced favourable conditions for women's parliamentary recruitment.

However, the concept of equality as an arena of struggle contained specific limits (Lake 1999; Summers 2003), with specific dilemmas for women (MacKenzie 1962; McIntyre 1985). In politics, equality was for long conceived in ways that limited the international vision of women's political advancement only to matters of formal rights in voting, seeking elections and holding public office. Once these formal rights were achieved in Australia, there was an absence of further international policy rules or models to which women struggling for political representation could couple the national efforts to achieve the actual political representation of women. In this regard, the international facilitative factors recognised equality of representation, but did not deal with the structural hurdles vis-à-vis formal discrimination of women. The lack of international models reflected the national contexts that had also not produced specific models for ensuring women's representation once they attained the vote. However, it was increasingly recognised that the formal right to vote was not translating into actual representation or providing women with the access to male power that underpinned politics (van Acker 1999, p. 72). Indeed, international factors do not appear relevant to individual women seeking parliamentary seats. As Senator Amanda Vanstone points out:

> I don't think there is any international influence at all. In my party, people individually vote on what they know about you and about the other candidates. They are voting very personally, they are not voting because of some international efforts that tell them to vote in a certain way (Amanda Vanstone, Australia, O.I.).

Senator Rosemary Crowley holds the same view saying:

> I don't think that the international stuff made a big difference. It is the local politics through the South Australian Labor Party deciding that I was still okay, that they would keep me (Rosemary Crowley, O.I.).

International Women's Year (IWY) led from the late 1960s, through to the 1970s, to three factors associated with the interaction between the domestic contexts in Australia and the international system. This interaction illustrates the ability of international forces to produce transformative impulses to catalyse favourable contexts for women's parliamentary recruitment. First was the activities and achievements of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) formed in 1972 and the significant role that WEL played in women's parliamentary recruitment. Secondly, the response of the Australian government to the cumulative impacts of IWY produced contexts that catalysed women's parliamentary recruitment. Lastly, the activities around women's international summits, international agreements and reporting on the Australian government's achievements concerning women's advancement also propelled further gains for women in politics.

In the case of Kenya, the development framework, up to the 1990s, was decoupled from politics as part of its general agenda. The development discourse as part of the nation building discourse deployed by the independence leaders, and within the framework of the international development assistance did not conceive of Kenyan women as political actors. This reinforced the emerging perception of women in post-independence Kenya as non-political, and of politics as a male domain. This is because women in politics did not become part of the agenda of Kenya's national development plans or of international development assistance. In the meantime, as noted earlier, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), that coordinated

issues on women's advancement within the UN, and the international women's movement led by western women in general left women in politics outside its scope of activities to 'integrate women into the development process', or to empower women through the development process. On the contrary, development specialists, as Marchand and Parpart (1995, p. 115) have observed, readily adopted colonial representation of Third World women as oppressed victims, as sex objects, or as the most ignorant or backward members of "backward" societies. Up to the 1990s, therefore, the overall focus on the economy as the locus of development decoupled the international development agenda from politics in general. This meant that the nitiatives by women to enter the political arena ran counter to the major forces shaping the direction of development in Kenya.

Julia Ojiambo explains:

> In the early days, the international community was not relevant...perhaps now with international women's conferences ... now the national and international agenda are somehow linked, as the world becomes a global village (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

Grace Ogot also says of the role of international forces in her political career:

> Not much role in my political career. Somehow no. I was a nurse and a community worker for many years and so was linked with the local people. In politics, when your local community accepts you, and they attend your development programme initiatives, that is good enough (Grace Ogot, O.I.).

The problem for Kenyan women in translating international initiatives into leverage in their domestic struggle for parliamentary recruitment was that, through the framework of development, they had to continuously "reinvent" themselves as political within the nexus of the major shaping forces in independent Kenya. This is because, nationalist leaders who took over from the British colonial rulers failed to incorporate women as political actors. The international development assistance projects, which supported nation-building projects also, excluded women, and

finally, the emerging international women's movement that was incorporating Kenyan women into its agenda for women's emancipation also failed to include Kenyan women's political cause. These forces continuously undermined Kenyan women's attempts to couple women's political pursuits with the main national and international understandings of development. This occurred sometimes as a result of not perceiving Kenyan women as political actors, which ensured that development efforts did not invest in women's political advancement. It also resulted from defining women and investing in them solely as producers in the domestic sector, which resulted in development efforts obscuring women's political pursuits and thereby disabling international efforts to catalyse women's parliamentary pursuit.

Women, Politics and the Nexus between Nation-Building and International Development Assistance

The term nation building, a concept in vogue in Kenya in the 1960s and 1970s, engendered the nationalist conception of independence and development. Nation building was seen in terms of transforming the inherited colonial institutions and constructing an economy which satisfied the interest of both global capitalism and the indigenous bourgeois leaders (Ochieng' 1995; Mazrui Alamin1995; Aseka 1995).

The idea of nation building focused on economic growth, socio-cultural issues and politics (Barkan 1984), but continuously constructed women away from politics. In the idea of nation-building, as conceived by the general Kenyan populace, including women, economics and politics interfaced much more intimately with each other

than the international development assistance orientation, with its emphasis on economic growth, acknowledged or reflected.[1] The nationalist agenda became increasingly masculine, but remained unchallenged as the nationalist leaders effectively constructed women away from politics. The nationalist leaders, for example, deflected women's parliamentary pursuits, claiming that there were no qualified women to be nominated to parliament (*Sunday Post*, 23 August 1964). William Ochieng' captures the masculinity of the nationalist project as he explains: "nation-building required that men of vision and men of public affairs be at the helm to define immediate and finite ends and to devise the means to those ends" (Ochieng' 1995, p. 91).

A number of Kenyan women, however, challenged the nationalist agenda by contesting parliamentary seats and indicating their interest in political participation and parliamentary politics. Some women used the media to draw attention to the lack of women's representation in the Kenyan parliament, comparing the Kenyan case to that of Tanzania that had, not only female MPs, but also female ministers. They asked if the nationalist leaders wanted Kenyan women to resort to an Emily Pankhurst-style campaign in order to prove women's capabilities to the Kenyan menfolk (*East African Standard,* 26 July 1964). Pamela Mboya made the case for women's political participation in the newly independent country saying:

> Without women actually participating in politics, not much will be achieved in the way of getting laws passed to safeguard women...Women want so urgently to get into politics; they do not want merely to compete with men. They want to be able to speak their minds and to be heard by the public (Mboya 1964, p. 8).

In the 1970s, the activities of CSW picked up Boserup's (1970) study that pointed to the fact that development had left out women, but paradoxically completed the

process of constructing women away from politics.[2] Ester Boserup's study, and the international response to her findings, did not provide a critique of the nationalist project that was constructing women away from politics by blocking their paths to recruitment. This orientation sealed the public and international perception of "Third World women as non-political actors through the WID discourse that emerged in the 1970s. According to Irene Tinker, CSW members had originally feared that too much attention to economic development would divert the attention of the commission from its primary goal of women's equality. However, once the concept of WID was articulated in economic terms, it was swiftly incorporated into the documents of the UN General Assembly and in the various UN specialised agencies (Tinker 1994, p. 29) but focusing on economic development.

During the 1970s, the role of women in Kenyan public life was confined to their activities in various women's organizations (*The weekly Review*, 21 October 1983). What filtered into the public discourse about women was their productive capacity in the economic sector delinked from politics. The effect of this was to narrow the scope of political pursuits among women to the seemingly private ambition of specific individual women, rather than a reflection of the general desire among women to participate in politics, as had been the case in the immediate post independence era. With these restrictive perceptions of the roles of women in parliament, only very few women with a high national profile could view parliament as a possible option in their career paths. They had to be exceptional to go against the main currents shaping the course of independent Kenya that did not view them as political actors. Lack of the acknowledgement of women as political

actors continued in the GAD discourses and reinforced the conception of politics as a male domain containing but a few exceptional women. This further restricted the pool of women who saw themselves as eligible for political office.

Equality and Women's Parliamentary Recruitment in Australia

Up to the 1960s, there were no international models or activity to catalyse parliamentary recruitment of women in the national contexts. The case for the link between Australian women's political pursuits and the international system at the time can be likened to one of dry taps. Once international activities were initiated, women in politics could turn on the taps through the larger meanings of equality, to provide leverage in their struggle for representation. In Kenya, the case can be likened to a lack of connecting pipes. As long as the development framework did not incorporate politics as part of its agenda, Kenyan women struggling for political representation remained disengaged at several levels from many of the international activities aimed at the advancement of women. I discuss the reasons behind these different outcomes below.

In Australia, from the 1970s the interface between the IWY, the meeting in Mexico and the resultant Plan of Action, the international Decade for Women and the NFLS within the Australian national context shows that this interface permeated wider societal sectors that exhibited inequalities for women, including politics. The interface was characterised by a mobilising of the state, government machinery, leaders and women to advance women's equality in a variety of sectors within Australia including equality in politics. Women's personal initiatives and ambitions

in politics became linked to the wider contextual framework in the search for equality for women, which incorporated women's political pursuits and women's representation in parliament as part of its agenda. The link allowed for progress made by women outside politics to contribute some favourable circumstances to women's parliamentary recruitment, because progress in political power depends, in part, on the degree of progress made outside politics (Kenworthy and Malami 1999).

In Australia, women who attained parliamentary seats in the 1980s did so within the context of contextual factors beginning to produce favourable conditions in women's parliamentary recruitment, especially in the ALP. To a large extent, this is associated with the women's movement that was beginning to make headway in demanding women's representation in parliament. Beginning in the early 1980s, affirmative action resulted in more women getting into the parliament through the ALP. In the 1990s, the Liberal party also introduced programs to increase the percentage of women in parliament.

The so-called second wave women's movement was a product of an interface between domestic contexts in Australia and the international/ transnational women's movement (Oldfield 1992, Sawer and Simms 1993, Sawer 1990). Sawer points to a constant interplay between the domestic and the international in the history of efforts to raise the status of women in Australia, and identifies International Women's Year as the starting point (Sawer 1990, p. 243). The interface produced a momentum for a revamped women's movement whose activities and other effects

flowed on to women and politics. This was particularly so through the formation of, and activities of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL), credited with much of the breakthroughs for women in politics and public decision-making positions in government.

There has been no specific study of the nexus between WEL and the international community and the effects of such a nexus on women's political recruitment in which WEL played such a significant role, especially in the 1980s. However, anecdotal remarks and facts point to a close linkage between the formation and achievements of WEL and international forces, a nexus that produced a significant part of the favourable conditions for some women's parliamentary recruitment in Australia.

Firstly, the emergence of WEL, and its ascendancy as a significant forum for articulating and making demands for women's parliamentary representation, coincided with and became part of a resurgent women's movement with international and transnational roots. Ryan (1999), explains how Australian women read and adopted an article in the American *Ms Magazine*, that sparked off a mobilising influence that led to the formation of WEL in 1972, and, provided ideas that inspired national activities whose ripple effect called for other strategies and targets for getting women into parliament. The article explained American women's experience in surveying candidates' views on women's issues.[3] She writes:

> Early in 1972, many of us burgeoning feminists, convinced of the need for direct action as well as consciousness raising, had responded immediately to the idea of a lobby to impact on the 1972 federal elections... Some of the women's liberationists knew about the campaign conducted by American feminists for the recent presidential elections...[Gloria Steinem] explained the process by which American

> feminists got their demands on the national agenda. I had brought copies of *Ms* from New York and other Australian women subscribed to it (Ryan 1999, p. 122).

Secondly, with its formation, WEL took over the international role of the Australian Federation of Women Voters (AFWV) as the Australian affiliate of the International Alliance of Women (IAW), and its domestic role in promoting women's machinery in government, which was based on transnational models promoted by women's international NGOs (WINGO) (Russell and Sawer 1999, pp. 375, 376). This nexus placed WEL in a mediating role in the interface between national and international forces within Australia.

Thirdly, the ascendancy and achievements of WEL in the 1970s coincided with revamped activities by the government to advance the cause of women in response to the International Women's Year (IWY), and the first International Women's meeting held in Mexico under the auspices of the United Nations in 1975. The Australian government responded to IWY initiative from the UN and provided grants for Australia wide IWY activities and programmes (Lake 1999, p. 259). The activities and effects that emerged from this government response flowed both directly and indirectly into the political arena, laying the groundwork that would later produce favourable conditions for women's parliamentary recruitment. Among the programmes sponsored under the IWY programmes was the Women and Politics conference in 1975 (Lake 1999, p. 259).

While WEL politicised women concerning their vote, it also directly influenced the entry of women into federal parliament. Before the formation of WEL, only one

woman had been elected to the House of Representatives. Susan Ryan, for example, explains how, soon after Labor's 1972 victory;

> [...] it became clear that a feminist lobby was necessary but not sufficient. Why were we outside lobbying rather than inside making laws? We accepted the implied logic[...] the new ACT representatives seat became our goal. Via this seat, we could put a feminist into parliament (Ryan 1999, p.141)

Related to the ALP, (Lake 1999) observes that many women adopted WEL's definition of equality that rested on a disavowal of sex differentiation and the promotion of equality in the work place (a definition that reflected the International Alliance of Women's definition of equality to which WEL was affiliated). According to Marilyn Lake, this definition produced a close identification of women with the Labor Party and a concomitant demand by Labor women for appropriate representation as political candidates and on party structures, subsequently influencing the processes towards advances made by women in the ALP in the 1980s.

The Australian government ratified CEDAW in 1983, and translated its commitment to CEDAW into legislation, passing the Sex Discrimination Act in 1984, and the Affirmative Action Act in 1986 to supplement the Sex Discrimination Act (Sawer 1990, p. 46). Furthermore, the third periodic report of the Australian government to CEDAW points out that, following the 1985 NFLS, the government adopted the First National Agenda for Women in 1988, in response to the objectives of the NFLS, with the agenda reflecting many articles of the Convention. The report also states that there was an inquiry to investigate progress made towards the achievement of equal opportunity and equal status for Australian women as detailed

in the National Agenda, completed in 1992, and which incorporated a review of and recommendations on women in decision-making positions (UN/DAW and Government of Australia 1995).

How did all this affect women? First these efforts were part of the factors that reinforced the earlier gains made by women in parliamentary recruitment. Under the Affirmative Action and Sex Discrimination Acts, women could demand that political parties and party leaders give consideration to equality for women; party leaders could indeed see the necessity of having at least some women's representation in parliament as a smart move and the state could be mobilised to look into the causes of women's under-representation in parliament. The Australian government's report to CEDAW in 1994 pointed out that the Commonwealth/State Ministers Conference commissioned a discussion paper on women and government in Australia and New Zealand to provide an analysis of the reasons why women were not being elected to decision making positions (UN-CEDAW 1995).

While the nexus did not necessarily provide women with votes as individual contestants, we can infer that it was part of the forces generating a growing liberal attitude towards the role of women in politics, an attitude that is significant in rendering the environment more favourable for the election of women to parliament (Kenworthy and Malami: 1999; International- IDEA 2001; Inglehart and Norris: 2003).

In the case of Kenya, the UN Decade for Women, 1975 to 1985 and subsequent activities further illustrates the restrictions on the development framework to produce a favourable contextual framework for women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya, and the comparative available spaces through which Australian women could couple their demands for political representation to the wider context of the objectives of the Decade. The meeting in Mexico City in 1975 produced the World Plan of Action (WPA), and established a process for review and appraisal of progress by governments, regional organizations and international institutions and urged stronger national machinery to enforce women's rights (Galey 1995, pp. 21, 22).

In Kenya, the internationally derived benefits for particular women politicians appear to have occurred only through their actual presence in international as international forces did not influence the larger contextual factors in Kenya in ways that would produce favourable conditions for women's parliamentary recruitment. Activities in Kenya to mark the Women's Decade, the signing of CEDAW, and the NFLS, continued to mobilise the state and women towards economic activities. A number of activities were conducted in the name of women, but along the lines of the pursuit of women's participation in agriculture, the informal sector, education and trade. Leadership training was confined to fields related to family welfare and community development.[4] In WID, there was no "add and stir" women in the political arena, no study of women in politics, and no claim that women had been left out in politics. GAD sought to have development transform gender relations, but not in the political arena.

For example, the meeting in Mexico in 1975 took place during Julia Ojiambo's incumbency and bolstered her political career as the leader of the government delegates to the meeting. She explains:

> In 1975, there was the international women's decade; we discussed many issues of women's advancement. I had also been involved in the East African women's seminars discussing issues on policy. These were mind broadening; they enabled us to share experiences and made us confident. The meetings helped us to see that we are not alone, not in your own cocoon, that there are other women also struggling, that there are also women who have made it (Julia Ojiambo, O.I.).

For Phoebe Asiyo, the Mexico meeting provided further confidence to the political career that she was nurturing, standing for election in the following general elections in 1979. Phoebe Asiyo explains the significance of sharing political ideas and strategies. She says of her international travels, contacts and links at these meetings:

> I was privileged in that I met women in these conventions, a number of women parliamentarians. I communicated a lot with women parliamentarians from several parts of the world. We discussed tactics and strategies to get women elected to parliament; we discussed some of the various approaches (Phoebe Asiyo, O.I.).

Both Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo linked their political careers and the international forums and so made the issue of Kenyan women in politics more visible in forums that perceived women from developing countries as weak, oppressed victims. In addition, they would come back to the Kenyan context of WID and GAD that promoted economic growth as the focus of attention, but contest elections as political agents. This shows how a significant part of their political careers went towards efforts to construct themselves as "political" women within the interface between international forces and local contexts in Kenya, both of which failed to perceive them as political or detoured them from politics. Kenyan

women's political pursuits were thus subjected to an array of contradictions in the national and international development discourses and practices, to which Australian women, within the assumption of "developed", were never subjected. This meant that the onus fell on Kenyan women parliamentarians to personally translate their experience as politicians as a reflection of a general model of women as political, both in Kenyan society, and in international endeavours for women's advancement.

The international meetings opened spaces that set in motion the initial processes by which Kenyan women became carriers of Kenyan women's issues to international forums and became part of the creators of international models for women's advancement. Julia Ojiambo and Phoebe Asiyo began to share their political experiences and aspirations as parliamentarians at international forums. Although it is not possible within this study to evaluate and quantify the effects of this presence on the WID myths, we can hypothesise that the presence of strong African women politicians in international forums contributed to a widening of the perceptions in the predominant images about African women in the minds of western women. As Bunch and Carillo (1992, p. 42) have observed, during the decade, convergence of issues led to a greater awareness of both the complexities of the goals of the Decade and the limitations of conventional concepts to capture the reality and needs of women. Kenyan women such as Achola Pala[5], and also, the network of Third World women, the Development Alternatives for Women in a new Era (DAWN), and supporters from the west, increasingly questioned WID discourses concerning just what women were to be integrated into (Ackerly 2000, pp. 17, 18). However, even

the critique that took WID to GAD did not translate Kenyan women into political actors. GAD discourses continued to restrict development to economic growth, only now with a gender focus.

Kenyan women politicians used the economic sector in which international interventions and the government development plans to "distil" political advantages for their candidature. Julia Ojiambo, Phoebe Asiyo and Grace Ogot all explain how they initiated and also took advantage of development projects and self-help activities, and raised funds for various development projects in order to build a constituency of voters and supporters among women. Clearly, the impact of international forces on the contextual factors in Kenya that could facilitate women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya remained very restricted as long as these efforts did not incorporate women in politics as part of their agenda. This continued to restrict the extent to which politics could be seen as a women's domain.

The UN Decade for Women and Women's Political Advancement

By the end of the 1980s, Kenyan women were increasingly, with other women from the developing world, critiquing international discourses that locked women into the economic sector, pointing to the incongruence of this limited approach with the multiplicity of Kenyan women's aspirations.[6] The main signifier that also marked the direction of change for women towards political empowerment and to the need for women in parliament came through Phoebe Asiyo, one of the three women in parliament in 1989. Phoebe stated that her motion in parliament on the Marriage and Divorce Bill was defeated because of the poor representation of women in

parliament. She immediately pointed to the clear need to have more women's representation in parliament (Asiyo 1989, pp. 43, 44).

Before the shift to include governance and democracy within the "development" frame in the 1990s, Kenyan women's pursuit of parliamentary representation reflects an enduring assault on three fronts to gain acceptance and recognition as politicians. They exemplify attempts by Kenyan women to expand the scope of international development assistance to link politics and development, attempts to open up the scope of the Kenyan state to incorporate women in the political sector of development, and attempts to create the space in the international women's movement to perceive Kenyan women as political. The decline of women's political status and women's inability to sustain the momentum of their political aspirations in the immediate aftermath of independence in Kenya was in part a reflection of women's status in development discourse and development practice that did not incorporate politics as an overall part of development. Mari Tripp is right in suggesting that the international women's movement played a significant role in the democratisation trends that shifted donor strategies to support women in politics.

The long battle by Kenyan women in the international forums for recognition as "political" does not vindicate her conclusion that the international women's movement "encouraged women in Africa to think how their struggles related to an emerging globalisation of women's concern for equality" (Tripp 2003, pp. 239, 240). On the contrary, this was the outcome of sustained and long drawn efforts in which women from the South, including Kenyan women, finally opened the space

within the international women's movement to include politics within the terms and vision of development. Kenyan women understood themselves as political actors in the nationalist movements and in the immediate post independence period, but the budding international women's movement had failed to incorporate these experiences.

In the 1990s, Kenyan women's national and international initiatives, in concert with other women from the developing world, met with favourable conditions as the international system began to view issues of governance and democracy as key aspects of development. There was a shift in the development discourse as western governments argued for a correlation between economic performance, human rights and democracy, an argument that African scholars also appropriated (Ajulu 1997, pp.114, 115). This major rethinking of the problem of development noted that economic policy, by itself, is insufficient to induce development, and that the development agenda cannot abstract from politics (Fukuyama 2002, p. 25). The 1990s saw a shift in donor strategies from a sole emphasis on funding activities related to economic development, education, health and welfare concerns to an added interest in advocacy around women's rights and promoting women's political leadership and political organisations. At the same time, the shift gave greater emphasis to NGOs and women's organisations were among the main beneficiaries of the new funding orientations (Tripp 2003, p. 239). For the first time, international development assistance became coupled to politics: a fact that created openings for assistance to women to articulate issues about women in politics and to begin to fund activities aimed at women's parliamentary recruitment.

This interface unleashed forces that catalysed the emergence of factors that predispose women to stand for election, as donors invested in women's contestation, supported women's organizations such as the League of Kenya Women Voters (LKWV), the National Committee on the Status of Women (NCSW), the Women's Political Caucus, as well as a number of seminars and conferences, and civic education, all of which aimed at assisting women to get into parliament, by supporting women candidates and sensitising voters to elect women. This reduced the constraints on the women's movement to pursue women's political cause. All women who stood for election in the 1992 election, as I discussed in chapters four and chapter seven, point to their decision to vie for parliamentary seats as a response to the women's movement (itself a product of the interface between national and international forces) calling upon women to contest elections. (These women were Martha Karua, Beth Mugo and Catherine Nyamato).

ECOSOC, as earlier noted, had incorporated the thirty percent rule as the critical mass for women's representation in decision-making positions. At the Beijing conference in 1995, the outcomes policy document, the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), shifted from the three themes that had divided different nations, particularly equality and development, and instead, identified twelve critical areas of concern, of which one is "Women in Power and Decision Making". The twelve critical areas erased the development equality framework and divide, at least symbolically, for the first time. Politics in effect became linked to development within the new conception of the term, and the thirty per cent rule became a

universal target. The thirty percent rule also became a model that provides space for articulation of an international standard to be pursued in national efforts.

In conclusion, the more the framework for international intervention incorporated politics as part of its agenda, as did the idea of equality, the more able were women to gain leverage from the framework. Consequently, Australian women have gained more political leverage through equality in that it did not restrict women to specific identities. Once the international system began to mobilise state action and other activities to advance the cause of women, Australian women were able to use these opportunities to seek equality in politics as in other sectors. On the contrary, the less the framework incorporated politics as part of its agenda, as the development framework did up to the end of 1980s in relation to Kenya, the more women's political pursuits went against the international activities aimed at the advancement of women. This disabled international effort from catalysing women's parliamentary recruitment because, under the circumstances, women had to go against the grain of international activities. Development conceived solely in economic terms became disabling for women's parliamentary recruitment until donors, in the words of Angelique Haugerud, rediscovered politics, and produced new rhetoric of human rights and political liberalisation as conditions of aid (Haugerud 1995, p. 20), and some of the benefits of these began to accrue to Kenyan women's political pursuit.

Endnotes

[1] The political objective included developing Kenya as a unitary state, and increasing the power of the presidency by weakening party politics and vesting power in the presidency. See Okumu with Holmquist (1984, p. 51) in J.D. Barkan. It also involved cultural and ideological elaborations through music, street naming, theatre Mazrui Alamin (1995) in Ogot and Ochieng eds

[2] CSW was particularly well placed to portray Kenyan women as political actors and were aware of Kenyan women's vision to actively participate in politics from the earlier reports and recommendations that arose from the pre-independence meetings in 1962, as discussed in chapter three. But CSW failed to follow this through.

[3] Subsequent studies showed that Australian women had actually used this strategy much earlier, but this was unknown to the users of the *ms magazine* and earlier conceptions of the origins of this practice in Australia.

[4] Reports by working groups compiled during a conference on assembling and collecting data on the participation of women in Kenya, point to the focus of the decade and the NFLS which included issues on women and the law, rural development, the women's group program, self-help and income generation activities (Pala, Wallis and Reynolds 1978, p. 74).

[5] See Pala, Awori A. and Krystal A. (1978), "The Participation of Women in Kenya Society", Report of a Conference Held in Nairobi, 11 – 15th August 1975, Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi.

[6] See Pala Achola, Awori, A., and Krystal A., (1978) "The Participation of Women in Kenya Society", Report of a Conference Held in Nairobi, 11 – 15th August 1975, Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to determine the comparative influence of international catalysts in the trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and Australia. In analysing the local or national contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment, I find that the national context plays the most significant role. The study also finds that the international system has impacted on the Australian and Kenyan national contexts at several levels and has influenced the trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in the two countries.

The study has established that the international catalysts for women's parliamentary recruitment have had differential impacts on women in Australian and Kenya. The reason for the difference lies in the terms of women's incorporation into the international system. Two distinct frameworks of colonial state and sovereign nation state for Kenya and Australia respectively, up to 1963, produced different effects on the national contexts in Australian and Kenyan women's parliamentary pursuits after 1963. From 1963, Kenya attained her independence from British colonial rule, but as an ex-colony, the country became re-defined as "developing", while Australia became defined as "developed". These two frameworks produced varying impacts of international efforts on the national contexts of women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and in Australia.

From 1902, the international community indirectly recognised Australian white women as political actors and recognised politics as a legitimate pursuit of white Australian women. Such recognition occurred as Australian women's suffrage

achievements took on international exemplar status. It also occurred as Australian women participated in the international women's movement as members of a nation-state around which international relations was built. By participating in the international women's movement, Australian women linked their national demands for sexual equality, which also encompassed women's representation in parliament, to the growing international concern for women's advancement.

By contrast, through colonialism and later through a narrowly conceived definition of development as economic growth in the post independence period, the international community largely deflected Kenyan women away from depiction as political actors, largely silenced women as political actors, and failed to recognise political pursuits as part of women's concerns in Kenya until the 1990s.

In Australia the recognition of women as political actors and politics as an arena of women's pursuit enabled Australian women to take advantage of international efforts that subsequently led to the breakthroughs made by Australian women in parliamentary representation from the 1980s. In Kenya, women locally saw themselves as political actors well before the 1990s but this found no resonance in the development discourses within the international community. As a result, there was a lag in time before Kenyan women began to be recognised as political actors within the international community. Prior to the 1990s, this study finds that the lack of recognition of Kenyan women as political actors by the international community disabled the international activities towards women's advancement, from catalysing

Kenyan women's parliamentary pursuits at the three levels discussed in this thesis, namely, self selection, party selection and voter selection.

The study reveals that, in Australia, women self-select within the party system while those in Kenya have mainly self-selected outside the party system. While the actual decision to vie for a parliamentary seat is triggered by self-recruitment, party recruitment or citizen recruitment, the decision in Kenya is a revolutionary event while in Australia it emerges as an evolutionary trend within the party. The influence of international factors on the national women's movement is relevant to this stage, particularly by re-enforcing national contexts that enable women to see themselves as political actors and thus prompted to seek office.

The study reveals that women's movements have played a significant role in recruiting women to vie for parliamentary seats in both countries. In Australia, this has been a longer trend as a number of pioneer women parliamentarians were recruited through the women's movement both inside and outside the party system from the 1940s. At the party selection level, the study reveals that the women's movement remains a significant force in lobbying parties and party leadership to recruit women and in challenging party policies and practices that produce obstacles to women's parliamentary recruitment. Overall, factors that facilitate party selection of women candidates are the examples of pioneering women, an active women's movement, party leadership support for women's representation, and lastly, party policies/rules that require some form of gender equity in parliamentary representation. The study notes that these are important facilitative forces, given the

patriarchal origins of political parties that excluded women both in the structures and in practice. The ability of national facilitative forces to increase women's likelihood of attaining party nomination is enhanced in cases where national efforts link to international notions of equality, and with international advocacy to establish national machinery for women's advancement, or to enact national regulations on equal opportunity, anti sex discrimination acts and to report on progress made, and measures taken to facilitate women's representation.

In the voter selection phase, I established that party votes are the key votes that enable Australian women to win parliamentary seats. In Kenya, personal votes rather than party votes are decisive. Party votes enable Australian women to reduce or offset the impact of gender biases and gender obstacles during elections, provide women with campaign resources and thereby increase women's chances of winning elections.

International factors are significant here in reinforcing the need for women's representation in national parliaments and providing models and standards to measure progress towards this goal. Subsequently, political parties and the state are influenced to institute measures such as the quota system, affirmative action and so on, to improve women's chances at winning parliamentary seats.

My study has established that the cross-national variation in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and Australia can be explained by both national contexts and the international context. The thesis has established a historical link between the

formative period in international relations beginning from the 1880s, and the subsequent trends in women's parliamentary recruitment in Kenya and Australia. Australian women, by participating in international meetings and forums through transnational women's organizations, were able to incorporate their domestic agenda and concerns into the concepts of equality and status that were being designed to articulate women's demands and concerns at both the international and at the domestic levels. The demands for equality were varied, encompassing diverse aspects of the social, economic and political arenas, which exhibited gaps between men and women in Australia. Subsequently, equality became an expansive concept through which the political pursuits of women could fit both within Australian and in international understandings of the scope of women's advancement. For Australian women, the expansive equality concept allowed for women to aggregate their parliamentary aspirations to the main thrust of the international women's agenda, and to utilise these to bolster the national context by revamping existing machineries and institutions or to initiate others to champion women's political aspirations in society. The study reveals that, as the international community intensified activities around women from the 1970s, Australian women interested in women's parliamentary representation could tap into the international resources to provide domestic leverage for their political pursuits.

For Kenyan women, their status as colonised natives eclipsed their anti-colonial struggles and struggles for various freedoms so that Kenyan women were not incorporated into the discourse of equality. As a result, their specific anti-colonial struggles and issues were neither coupled to the international agenda for women's

advancement, nor built into issues of equality and status around which women were making demands in the international system. On the contrary, the colonial divide at the international level allowed for only those forms of incorporation that left out politics as a site of struggle by colonised women in Kenya.

During the colonial period, women of European origins in Kenya, the League of Nations agenda, and transnational women's organisations when they began to reach out to Africa, preferred to concentrate on aspects of welfare at the expense of African women's political struggles. Women of European origins in Kenya who had contacts with transnational women's organization consistently produced gender models diametrically opposed to the aspirations of women's anti-colonial struggle. Much of these contexts was re-cast into the newly independent Kenya, eclipsing women's political struggles until Kenyan women had a presence in the international system and began to articulate their political concerns in the 1970s. Despite independence, for particular reasons (including the role of the male Kenyan power elite), Kenyan women were still not constituted as political actors in the international system.

The development approach conceived of Kenyan women as producers rather than as political actors until the 1990s. As the international community intensified activities for women's advancement from the 1970s, the welfare orientation continued to provide the main terms of incorporation of Kenyan women in international feminism through WID discourses that portrayed Kenyan women as needing help from western women rather than as equal partners. At that time, Kenyan women

began to have a presence in international meetings that opened spaces for them to articulate concerns and begin to aggregate their issues with the mainstream international agenda for women. Most of these women were politicians, and they began to share their political aspirations at international forums, thereby contributing to the beginning of a shift in international discourses away from an over-emphasis on economic pursuits and opening up international thinking to incorporate women's political pursuits. Thus it is not until Kenyan women become both creators and carriers of the international agenda that their concerns are incorporated into the international agenda for women's empowerment and advancement and that this international agenda has an impact on their domestic scene.

While women in international and transnational forums found their way into colonies, Kenyan women as colonial women did not find a similar presence in transnational women's organizations until after independence. The presence of women of European origins in colonies such as Kenya remained underpinned by the racial inequalities immanent in the international system. In spite of struggling against similar patriarchal manifestations in the colonies and colonial powers, racial segregation prevented an emergence of a common context of struggle along gender lines based on similar concerns over issues of land, labour, maternity and general freedoms for women.

This is the first study that compares women parliamentarians in Kenya and Australia, within an increasingly universalising international system. This

comparison provides for insightful generalisations about the west and the rest concerning the impact of the legacy of differing locations of women in the international system. Comparing Australia and Kenya has also allowed me to address issues from within the vantage point of both "Third World" women represented by Kenya and "developed" world women represented by Australia. In this regard, like Mohanty, I draw attention to what has been left out in feminist theorising and how specifying difference allows us to theorise universal concerns (Mohanty 2002, p. 505). Subsequently in my analysis and presentation, I have treated the difference emerging from the history of Kenyan women (developing world) as another centre, rather than as an extension of the west. Consequently, I have represented issues such as anti-colonialism as another centre of women's international engagement rather than integrate it as an additive to the transnational women's movement particularly in the period from the 1880s to 1963.

Through such an approach, also, we see that Australian and Kenyan women parliamentarians have a uniform class background and, in general, a high status in society; they are on the main very well educated, most have university education. In both countries, a number of them are well travelled, articulate and confident in their approach to issues. This allowed for demystifying differences as givens, arising from their framing as "developed" and "developing" within the international system. The approach also provided me with the space to analyse the contexts that have created the emergence of real and imagined differences among women in the two countries.

Some scholars have drawn the conclusion that part of the equation for western women during both the colonial and the post independence period has been to highlight or make visible the oppression of Third World women so as to make their own oppression invisible (Nair 1992, p. 42). On the contrary, analysis would show the restriction and oppression of European women at the time that European knowledge emphasised "otherness" (De Groot 1991, p. 116). My focus on politics as a case study adds another dimension, revealing that sometimes the privileged status of the west lies in making invisible the progress made by "other" women. Those areas in which "Other" women have made superior achievements are silenced from discourse. For example, the tight coupling of the equality discourse with political equality for women and emptying the development discourse of any ideas about women in politics allowed for the imagining of a privileged position for western women as advanced in politics. This conversely concealed the fact that women in the west were still behind many so-called Third World Women in terms of parliamentary representation in the 1970s. Thus, for example, in the 1970s, women in Kenya had achieved greater representation in national parliament than had women in Australia. Yet the discourse on "development" does not allow this fact to come to the fore. My examination of these two quite different locations, of women in Australia and in Kenya, as two centres within the international system, has allowed such insights to emerge.

Appendices

Tables on Women's Parliamentary Representation in Kenya and Australia

Table A. 1: Historical Chronology of Women's Parliamentary Representation in Kenya, 1963-2002

Year	Number of Women Candidates	Elected	Nominated	Total Number of Women MPs
1963	7	0	0	0
1969	13	1	1	2
1974	11	4	1	5
1979	15	5	1	6
1983	7	2	1	3
1988	6	2	0	2
1992	19	6	0	6
1997	53	4	5	9
*2002	44	9	8	17

Source: National Elections data book, Institute for Education and Democracy (IED), 1997, and Newspaper Election Reports for 2002.

Table A. 2

Nominated Members of the Kenya National Assembly by sex, 1969 - 1998

Election Year	Women	Men	Total	%Women
1969	1	11	12	8.3
1974	2	10	12	16.7
1979	1	11	12	8.3
1983	2	10	12	16.7
1988	1	11	12	8.3
1992	1	11	12	8.3
1997	4	8	12	33.3
1998(Nomination)	5	7	12	41.7

Source: National Elections data book, Institute for Education and Democracy (IED), 1997.

Table A. 3: Size and Representation of Australian Female Senators 1943 – 2002
Source: Adopted from, Parliament of Australia: Parliamentary Library 2003

Size		Number	Percent
Dates	Size of Senate	Female	Female
21.8.43	36	1	2.8
1.7.47	36	2	5.6
22.2/1.7.50	60	4	6.7
28.4.51	60	4	6.7
1.7.53	60	4	6.7
11.10.55	60	5	8.3
10.12.55	60	5	8.3
1.7.56	60	5	8.3
1.7.59	60	5	8.3
1.7.62	60	5	8.3
1.7.65	60	4	6.7
1.7.68	60	3	5
11.6.71	60	2	3.3
1.7.71	60	2	3.3
18.5.74	60	4	6.7
13.12.75	64	6	9.4
14.12.77	64	7	10.9
1.7.78	64	6	9.4
15.10.80	64	7	10.9
12.3.81	64	8	12.5
5.5.81	64	9	14.1
1.7.81	64	10	15.6
5.3.83	64	13	20.3
22.11.84	64	12	18.8
1.12.84	76	14	18.4
1.7.85	76	14	18.4
13.3.86	76	15	19.7
26.8.86	76	16	21.1
11.2.87	76	17	22.4
11.7.87	76	17	22.4
16.2.88	76	16	21.1
21.7.88	76	17	22.4
4.4.90	76	17	22.4
1.7.90	76	18	23.7
29.8.91	76	19	25
12.3.92	76	19	25
31.7.92	76	19	25
1.7.93	76	16	21.1
24.8.93	76	17	22.4
8.3.94	76	17	22.4
3.5.95	76	17	22.4
29.11.95	76	18	23.7
8.3.96	76	19	25
1.7.96	76	23	30.3
9.4.97	76	24	31.6
13.5.97	76	25	32.9
30.10.97	76	24	31.6
16.6.98	76	25	32.9
14.10.98	76	24	31.6
1.7.99	76	22	28.9
2.10.01	76	22	28.9
12.2.02	76	21	27.6
1.7.02	76	23	30.3
26.7.02	76	23	30.3

Table A. 4: Women's representation in the House of Representatives 1943 – 2002. Sources parliament of Australia Parliamentary Library 2003

Election Dates	Total MPs	No. Female	Per cent Female
21.8.43	75	1	1.3
28.9.46	75	2	2.7
10.12.49	123	1	0.8
28.4.51	123		
29.5.54	123		
10.12.55	124		
22.11.58	124		
9.12.61	124		
30.11.63	124		
26.11.66	124	1	0.8
25.10.69	125		
2.12.72	125		
18.5.74	127	1	0.8
13.12.75	127		
10.12.77	124		
18.10.80	125	3	2.4
5.3.83	125	6	4.8
1.12.84	148	8	5.4
11.7.87	148	9	6.1
24.3.90	148	10	6.8
13.3.93	147	13	8.8
12.3.94	147	14	9.5
26.3.94	147	15	10.2
25.3.95	147	14	9.5
2.3.96	148	23	15.5
3.10.98	148	33	22.3
12.8.00	148	34	23.0
17.3.01	148	35	23.6
10.11.01	150	38	25.3

Sample Letter of Introduction to Respondents

RE: REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW

My name is Edith Miguda. I am undertaking a research project on Women Parliamentarians as part of my doctoral study at Adelaide University. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research project. The proposal for this study is acceptable to the Adelaide University Human Research Ethics Committee.

My study aims to determine the comparative success of international efforts to increase the numerical representation of women in national parliaments of Australia and Kenya. To do this, the study, examines factors that have contributed to sampled Senators' and MPs successful bid for national parliamentary seats. I am hoping to speak with you as one of the women in Australia who has served as Senator.

If you agree to participate in the study, I would like to arrange a meeting at a convenient time. The interview will take approximately 45 minutes. Please, find attached some of the questions to which I would wish you to respond.

Confidentiality of information specified, as such in the interview will be respected. You will of course have a chance to check a copy of my notes before I use them in my study should you wish to do so.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you want more information about the study. If you have concerns about which you do not wish to discuss with me directly, please contact my supervisors, Dr. Margaret Allen who is a member of the departmental Ethics Committee, or Prof. Chilla Bulbeck who is the post-graduate coordinator in the department. You may also contact Dr. Maggie Ripper who is head of the department.

I look forward to your participation and the chance to hear your ideas and experiences that made for your successful bid for parliamentary seat and how you see these as linked to international efforts.

Yours truly,

Edith Miguda

Participant Consent Form

International Catalysts and Women's Parliamentary Recruitment: A Comparative Study of Kenya and Australia, 1963 – 1902

Research undertaken by Edith Miguda as part of her PhD study in the Department of Social Inquiry, Adelaide University.

I (print your name) _____, have been provided with a description of the aims and purpose of this research. I give my permission for this interview with Edith Miguda of Adelaide University.

I understand that I can choose for my name not to be connected with all or some of the information that I provide, and that where this is the case, Edith Miguda will create a pseudonym to identify me. Where indicated too, the identity of any person or institution I name will not be revealed in connection with this interview (unless the information I give about the person or the institution is already publicly known).

Please tick as appropriate:

[ ] I agree to have the interview tape-recorded

[ ] I do not wish the interview to be tape-recorded

[ ] My name can be used, but I wish to suggest areas where my identity should not be disclosed

[ ] I wish to have a pseudonym used instead of my real name

[ ] I agree to having edited tape and transcript deposited in a public research library with appropriate restriction on use by other researchers.

[ ] I wish to have the interview material destroyed after use by the researcher.

I am aware that my participation is voluntary and that:

I will be offered opportunity to correct and edit the transcript and identify areas that I do not wish to be linked to my name.

I am free to withdraw the information that I provide up to within six months after receiving transcript of interview.

I am under no obligation to divulge information or to discuss issues if I do not wish to do so.

Please indicate below if you wish to check the transcript before it is used, and whether you would like information about the findings of the study.
YES I DO/NO I DO NOT wish to check the transcript.
YES I DO/NO I DONOT wish to receive information about the results of the study.

If you answered YES to either of the above, please provide a postal address.

.....Street
.....Suburb/Town..... Postcode
.....Phone number(s)
..... E-mail

Signed ..... (Participant)

Signed ..... (Interviewer)

Broad Interview Guidelines

Thesis Topic: International Catalysts and Women's Parliamentary Recruitment: A Comparative Study of Kenya and Australia, 1963 – 1902

BY:

EDITH MIGUDA,

ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY

(These will be mostly open ended questions).

The questions posed will mainly reflect on what you consider to have propelled, facilitated, or directed, your successful vying for parliamentary seat at three critical stages in parliamentary politics, namely, **Self-selection, Party Selection** and **Voter Selection.** I would be hoping to find out how you feel these are linked, or not linked to any form of international efforts aimed at increasing the numerical representation of women in national parliaments worldwide. During the interview, you will be free to tell me anything in your political life history that you feel may be relevant to the study. Your response will not be tied only to the question posed, as these are merely broad guidelines. You will also not be under any obligation to answer any question posed if you do not wish to do so. The questions will cover the broad areas outlined below.

1. Self Selection: CHOICE OF POLITICS AS A CAREER:

2. Party Selection – FACTORS AROUND YOUR SUCCESS IN ATTAINING PARTY SELECTION:

3. Voter selection – FACTORS AROUND YOUR SUCCESS IN ATTAINING VOTER ELECTION.

4. ANY OBSTACLES IN YOUR POLITICAL CAREER PATH AT THESE THREE JUNCTURES AND HOW YOU OVERCAME THEM

5. YOUR LINKS (IF ANY) WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS/MOVEMENTS:

6. WAYS IN WHICH YOU VIEW YOUR SUCCESS IN GAINING PARLIAMENTARY SEAT AS RELATED TO ANY INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS, eg. INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, UN AGREEMENTS, YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN INTERANTIONAL ORGANISATIONS etc

Processes and Additional Guideline Questions During the Interview

STEP 1: Inform respondent about the Objectives and Goals of the study:

- The study aims to compare the role and impact of international factors/efforts and endeavors in enhancing the entry and increase of women into national parliaments of Kenya and Australia.
- This is done through a focus on the political life history of women who have served as MPs in the 2 national parliaments.
- There may already be profiles written about you from where I may get some factual information. I'd be happy if you could direct me to these. If you have a CV, I could also extract some factual information from there.

STEP 2: Other Preliminary information.

- I would like to tape the interview if it is all right with you. If not, I'm happy to just take notes.
- The Interview will take approximately 45minutes – 1 hour.
- Go through consent form.
- Questions are open-ended. Feel free to tell me as much as you wish, especially about international links to any of the questions posed.

STEP 3:

QUESTIONS – PERSONAL SELECTION

1. How did you come to choose politics as a career? You may cover when? Why and how.
2. At what point in your life did you begin to think of a career in politics?
3. Did anyone, any event or incident influence this decision? Help or hinder it?
4. What factors enabled you to carry this decision through?
5. How long did it take you to make the final decision?
6. What considerations did you have to take into account in the process of making this decision?
7. Any particular difficulty you faced in making this decision? Any misgivings?
8. Reflect on (1) Personal (2) local (3) national (4) international factors linked to this decision.
9. Do you see any international factors linked to the process in decision – facilitating or hindering it, or lack of possible role?
10. How prepared were you for this decision?
11. What factors do you think prepared you for this decision?

QUESTIONS – PARTY SELECTION:

1. How did the Party come to nominate you as a candidate?
2. Did the party think you had a strong chance of winning?
3. What were some of your setbacks in this process of getting party nomination as a candidate?
4. What factors enabled you to successfully contest and win party nomination for candidature? Consider

- personal
- party-policies
- local events/factors
- national factors
- international factors

5. Were these factors the same for your subsequent party nominations or were there any differences?
6. Had you been an active party member?
7. How long had you been a member of the party?
8. Did you hold any official position in the party?

QUESTIONS – (S)-ELECTION BY VOTERS:

To What factors do you attribute your winning of a parliamentary seat?

1. Was your election as a result of personal votes or party votes?
2. What were the personal factors that enabled you win the voter election?
3. Any Local factors that enabled you to win?
4. Any national factors that enabled you to win?
5. What were the party factors that enabled you win the elections?
6. Do you see your winning as linked to any international factors at all or are these fairly inconsequential?
7. What were some of your setbacks in the process of winning the elections after party nomination?
8. What other role do you think the international efforts could have played in your winning of parliamentary seat – First time, subsequent time round?

- In the entire process, (self, party, voter selection), has it been easier to win the parliamentary seat second and subsequent time round or is it harder?
- What aspects are easier? Which ones are harder?
- Have international efforts in anyway facilitated your second and subsequent entry into parliament or have they been fairly inconsequential?

QUESTIONS: PERSONAL INTERNATIONAL LINKS – DIRECT AND INDIRECT:

- What role has this played in your winning a parliamentary seat?
- Do you think international efforts made a big difference if at all – Self, party or voter selection areas?

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List of Respondents Interviewed

Kenya:

Asiyo Phoebe	Interviewed, 6 March 2002
Karua, Martha	Interviewed, 18 April 2004
Mango, Catherine	Interviewed, 12 June 2003
Mugo, Beth	Interviewed, 14 April 2002
Nyamato, Catherine	Interviewed, 15 may 2002
Ogot, Grace	Interviewed, 9 May 2002
Ojiambo, Julia	Interviewed, 1 May 2002
Seii, Tabitha	Interviewed, 25 April 2002
Shabaan Naomi	Interviewed, 11 June 2003

Australia

Child, Joan	Interviewed, 4, 10, 18 December 2002
Carmen Lawrence	Interviewed, 2 December 2002
Crowley, Rosemary	Interviewed, 5 November 2002
Gallus, Christine	Interviewed, 7 November 2002
Kirk, Linda	Interviewed, 20 November 2002
Lees, Meg	Interviewed, 15 November 2002
Reid, Margaret	Interviewed, 29 November 2002
Stott-Despoja, Natasha	Interviewed, 25 November 2002
Vanstone, Amanda	Interviewed, 6 November 2002