



THE ROLE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION IN INFLUENCING WOMEN TO VIE FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SEATS: A CASE OF WOMEN ELECTORATE IN NAIROBI COUNTY

CHITERE Emma

Master's student: Rural Sociology and Community Development, University of Nairobi

Abstract: The March 2013 elections in Kenya opened doors to massive political participation by women for the first time ever. Kenya's constitution promulgated in 2010 contains a provision that should radically change political representation for women in this East African country. This study sought to establish the role of the new constitution in influencing women to vie for the National Assembly seats in Nairobi County. The study also sought to establish ways through which the one-third gender rule, gender equality in political parties and equal right of opportunities influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County. The target population for this study was all the registered voters in Nairobi County. There are 996,186 registered women voters in Nairobi County which was the study population. The sample size of this study was 100 respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select five key tribes in Kenya (in terms of numbers): Kikuyus, Luos, Kamba, Luhya and Kalenjin. Additionally, purposive sampling was used to select areas dominated by various ethnic groups. The researcher also used stratified random sampling to select 100 women in Nairobi County. The study used primary data, which was collected by use of questionnaires and Key Informant Interviews guides. Quantitative data collected was analyzed by use descriptive statistics by the help of SPSS (V. 21.0) and presented through frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations. This was done by tallying up responses, computing percentages of variations in response as well as describing and interpreting the data in line with the study objectives and assumptions. Data was then presented in tables, figures and charts. In addition, most of the women felt that the one-third gender rule was being followed though a good number of women felt that it was not being followed. Additionally, the study found that one-third gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in the last general election. It was further established that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men had led to reaping of economic rewards on the basis of merit; improvement of quality of life; and the electoral and political processes to a moderate extent. Lastly, the study found that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Kenya. It was also found that in the last election in Kenya, women were not adequately considered in the manifesto pledges for political parties. The study recommends that the government as well as other law enforcement bodies should ensure that women and men are treated equally in terms fundamental human rights and freedom from discrimination.

Key Words: Gender equality, Women representation, Political parties, Constitution

Introduction

Women have both a right and an obligation to active participation in political leadership. In addition to this human right and obligation, political analysts and researchers from different regions of the world such as Clinton-Rodham (2003), Maathai (2006), Thomas and Wilcox (2005), Wanjohi (2003) have observed that when women get into leadership and management, they bring a different perspective to it. These analysts and researchers have argued that having

more women in politics would help solve problems associated with perpetual poverty, especially as it affects women. Women's leadership not only aids in building nations but also helps to balance up decision making processes (Epstein et al., 2005). Neuman (1998), writing about women legislators in the United States, observed that decisions concerned with issues of education, health, gender violence, women's economic empowerment, peace, rights, dignity, and democracy are usually of great concern to women leaders.

The end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century has seen a steady increase in women's political participation in Africa. In a UN report 'Africa and the Millennium Development Goals (2007)', it is noted that the share of parliamentary seats held by women in Africa increased from 7 per cent in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2007, which is close to the global average. As at 2007, women held 48.8 per cent of seats in the Lower House in Rwanda, the highest percentage world-wide. In January 2006, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became President of Liberia and Africa's first elected woman president. By the end of the 20th century, a few African countries, for example Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and South Africa had set quotas for women in national and local legislative bodies, a sign of a renewed commitment to have more women in political leadership. Allowing of such quotas is also recognition of the historical injustices that women have experienced, and which make it more difficult for them to compete equally with men. By 2009, Kenya had not yet legislated for affirmative action in favor of women; a bill sponsored by Martha Karua in 2007 failed to get enough support.

The March 2013 elections in Kenya will open doors to massive political participation by women for the first time ever. Kenya's constitution promulgated in 2010 contains a provision that should radically change political representation for women in this East African country. Article 81 (b), of the constitution states that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender," effort is also being made to beef-up their representation in key government bodies (Onyango, 2012).

For the first time in Kenya's 48 years of independence, one-third of the members of the Supreme Court, the Commission on Revenue Allocation, the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution and the Salaries and Remuneration Commission are now women. But the real windfall was in March 2013 general elections. In addition, the constitution commits political parties to ensure that for every three party members presented to vie for political office, one must be a woman. And if she fails to be elected, a woman must be nominated by the party. Women currently hold fewer than 10 percent of the seats in parliament, with just 22 women out of 224 members – although that is the largest number ever. And in the cabinet, there are only six women out of a total of 40 ministers (Onyango, 2012).

On the other hand, various political parties in their manifestos had promised to deal with gender issues. According to the manifesto of The Party of National Alliance, the Jubilee Government will committed to promoting and protecting the role of women in society and we will fully implement the one-third rule. The party promises to achieve this by doubling the number of women elected to Parliament by amending the Constitution to replace the 12 nominated MPs, with 60 MPs elected by Proportional Representation, with 48 of these seats reserved for women. The party also promises to fully implement the 'one-third rule' to ensure at least 33% of all government and parastatal appointments are women, increase civic education to help eradicate Female Genital Mutilation and promote education for girls and increase the number of boarding school places. In addition, the party promises to make discrimination on the grounds of gender and ethnicity a criminal offence and give the Gender & Equalities Commission prosecuting

powers and encourage the growth of micro-finance institutions the majority of whose customers are women. Lastly, the party promises to promote Jobs for women by outlawing workplace discrimination and providing grants and loans for women business people as well as providing opportunities in county enterprise parks (TNA, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

By itself, the new constitution guarantees only 47 women out of 349 members (excluding the speaker) or 13.5 per cent of the House. The guaranteed 47 seats in the National Assembly - one per county is similar to provisions in Rwanda. The position of these 47 women will not be easy. They will have larger constituencies – a bigger area in which to campaign - and a bigger area to represent as constituency members (Muiru, 2012).

In the senate there shall be at least 18 women out of a total of 67 (26.7 per cent). Again this is less than one-third, but women could win more senate seats. The 18 seats guaranteed women in the senate were more difficult to campaign for than the 47 seats guaranteed women in the National Assembly. The women senators sat in a body that has power only over matters related to counties. They cannot force any position on their county representatives. The senators will be consulted only on how to cast the county vote. However, the appropriate legislation on the senate which should be passed within 5 years also covers representation in the senate, and this may provide an opportunity for enhancing women representation at the Senate (Sihanya, 2012).

The new constitution indicates that not more than two-thirds of the members of any county assembly shall be of the same gender. However, despite the developments in Kenya's constitution to support women to vie for political posts, various factors affect their participation politics: the personal, financial and cultural factors. Pertaining to personal factors, the paucity of women is attributed to psycho-social attributes which entail their personality, attitudes and behavioral skills, low self esteem and self confidence, lack of motivation and ambition to accept challenges, low morale for leadership, being less assertive, less emotionally stable, and lacking ability to handle crises. According to Adhiambo (2003), cultural factors are linked to stereotypical views about women's abilities within the cultural context. Also connected to cultural factors is the patriarchal ideology which provides the context upon which women play and accept a subordinate role. In Kenya, traditional perceptions of women as inferior to men prevail as many people uphold cultural practices which enhance the subordination of women (Kasomo, 2012). Further, women face challenges to carry out campaigns due to lack of funds. Due to the feminization of poverty, many women interested in politics are faced with financial constraints which bar them from contesting, compared to their male counterparts; hence their political potentials go unnoticed (Muiru, 2012).

While a few researchers have in recent past began to document on women's participation in management positions in Kenya (Chelang'a, (2012); Mbugua, (2011)), such documentation has not focused on the role of the new constitution in influencing women to vie for electoral politics. The purpose of this study was therefore to investigate into the role of the new constitution in influencing women to vie for Senate seats by focusing on Nairobi County.

The study sought to answer the following research questions;

- (i) How does the one-third gender rule influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County?
- (ii) How does gender equality in political parties influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County?

- (iii) How does equal right of opportunities influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County?

Gender equality, Women representation, Political parties, Constitution:

National Assembly: An elected legislature in a country

Literature Review

One-third Gender Rule

Today women constitute 20.4% of the members of parliaments around the world. Recently, Rwanda superseded Sweden as the number one in the world in terms of women's parliamentary representation — 56.3% women against Sweden's 47.3%. Rwanda is an example of the new trend to use electoral gender quotas as a fast track to gender balance in politics. Other parliaments, however, still have very few women elected (Tremblay & Pelletier, 2000). The 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women recommended many programs for this purpose, but recent data indicate that the process has been slow and has achieved uneven results worldwide. The Beijing Conference recommended that the international community and civil society (including non-governmental organizations and the private sector) take strategic action in order to reduce inequality between men and women in power-sharing and decision-making (Reynolds, 2005).

Many international conferences have agreed to the target of reaching 30 percent representation of women in government (Reingold, 2000). Twenty-six countries have reached the 30 percent mark in 2010 (for one or both houses) including: Rwanda, Sweden, Cuba, Finland, Argentina, the Netherlands, Denmark, Costa Rica, Spain, Norway, Belgium, Mozambique, Nepal, Iceland, New Zealand, South Africa, Angola, Germany, Uganda, Burundi, Belarus, Tanzania, Guyana, Andorra, Ecuador, and Macedonia.

In Kenya, the Constitution has created a rule of maximum threshold of two-thirds of either gender to elective and appointive offices. While this rule is attainable in the case of appointive offices, it is not as easy in an elective process. In the event that the gender rule is not achieved at county assemblies, nominations will have to be made to fulfill this constitutional requirement. There is need to ensure that adequate civic education is conducted with a view to ensuring that adequate number of women are elected to meet the minimum 1/3 gender rule (Htun & Jones, 2002). Women need to stand up and demand for what is rightfully theirs, by doing so will give them a higher chance of being elected and fighting for the change they desire. Additionally, women leaders should also contest for other elective positions like governor, members of parliament and not just women representative to fulfill this constitution requirement (Htun, 2001).

In addition the Constitution provides for 47 women representatives from the counties. But even with nominations from the main political parties expected to add to their numbers, the anticipated 68 women in the 349-member Lower House are still far short of the 117 needed to satisfy the one-third gender rule (Dahlerup, 2005). Reserved seats set aside a certain number of seats for women among representatives in a legislature, specified either in the constitution or by legislation. One might argue that reserved seats should not be counted among electoral quotas. However, reserved seats today come in many different types, some excluding, others including, the election of women, rather than appointment, to fill these seats (Caul, 2001). In Uganda 56 seats, one elected in each district by a special electorate, are reserved for women. In Rwanda, 30

percent of the seats, elected by a special procedure, are reserved for women according to the constitution. In Tanzania 20 percent of the seats are reserved for women and allocated to the political parties in proportion to the number of parliamentary seats won in an election (Carroll & Jenkins, 2001). Reserved seats can also be filled by appointment, as in Kenya and some Arab states.

Equal treatment and opportunities

Millions of women and men around the world are denied access to jobs and training, receive low wages, or are restricted to certain occupations simply on the basis of their sex, skin colour, ethnicity or beliefs, without regard to their capabilities and skills (Tinker, 2004). In a number of developed countries, for example, women workers earn up to 25% less than male colleagues performing equal work. Freedom from discrimination is a fundamental human right and is essential for both workers to choose their employment freely, to develop their potential to the full and to reap economic rewards on the basis of merit. Bringing equality to the workplace has significant economic benefits, too. Employers who practice equality have access to a larger and more diverse workforce (Swers, 2001). Workers who enjoy equality have greater access to training, often receive higher wages, and improve the overall quality of the workforce. The profits of a globalized economy are more fairly distributed in a society with equality, leading to greater social stability and broader public support for further economic development (Siaroff, 2011).

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was passed in 1979. It seeks to integrate women at the center of decision—making processes and eradicate impediments women face in the course of effective participation in societal affairs. Of relevance in the present discourse is article 7 of the Convention which provides that state parties shall take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies (Reingold, 2000). Article 7 of the convention in essence avails women the opportunity to participate in the electoral and political processes of their respective countries through voting and being voted for and further calls for the equal treatment of both men and women in the mentioned processes. Gender cannot be the reason for discrimination in involvement in political and electoral undertakings of a country (Moser, 2001). Discrimination on the basis of sex is explicitly prohibited. Sexism is oppressive to women and contributes hugely to women subordination in Kenya today. According to the Kenyan constitution “women and men have the right to equal treatment including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. The State shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, color, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth”. (Article 27(3&4))

Gender equality in political parties

Political parties are important arenas for policy development and for setting political priorities, and are therefore one of key institutions through which gender equality should be promoted. However, far from all political parties that promote gender equality uphold their manifesto pledges in practice, and women are not sufficiently represented in the policymaking bodies of political parties (Norris, 2004). In fact, the constitution prohibits either gender from constituting

more than two-thirds of any elected body; this means women, who are currently severely underrepresented in Kenya's political arena, must make up at least one-third of all elective public bodies. The Political Parties Act of 2011 extends the two-thirds rule to parties' membership lists and governing bodies.

Before the elections UDF affirmed its commitment to the implementation of the gender rule noting that it had been involved in lobbying Parliament for its immediate implementation. In addition, to demonstrate their support for increased participation of women in decision making fora and inclusive governance as a key tenet of democracy, the party had complied with the rule in elections for members to party organs such as the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the National Elections Board. The NEC, UDF's highest decision making organ was constituted by six (6) women and seven (7) men. The party rules also sought to eliminate bottlenecks to women's participation in politics by for instance allowing women to pay a lower nomination fee in order to contest for an elective position.

NARC Kenya, on the other hand, affirmed their commitment to the instantaneous implementation of the gender rule and cited lack of political will as the main obstacle to the realization of the right of women to participate in shaping policies that affected their wellbeing and implored the Executive to step up and give directions on a mechanism for the implementation of the rule. The party asserted that the rule was not just a human rights but justice issue and was a test of the Nation's commitment to values enshrined in the Constitution such as non discrimination and equality. It was reported, that since the inception of the party, NARC Kenya had ensured that the gender rule was complied with in the composition of all committees. The party had a Women's League also spear headed the implementation of programmes and mobilization of women to participate in party activities. Further, the party had initiated a mentorship project for women and was carrying out civic education to challenge stereotypes and norms that undermined female participation in leadership. To demonstrate their stand, it was the only party that would be fronting a female presidential candidate in the forthcoming elections.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Mass Theory

Critical mass is an idea that has moved from sociology to political science and into popular usage over the last 30 years (Dahlerup, 2007). Critical mass is based on the belief that the form of a public body will shape the processes and policies of that organization. In political science literature the concept of critical mass infers that the election of an adequate number of female politicians will result in governance more responsive to women. But the existing literature fails to provide specifics on how changing the proportions of men and women will alter power relations within the political arena (Kanter, 2006). Discussions of critical mass involve speculation about what might happen if women won the necessary numbers in legislatures: If the trend continues, quotas will soon produce a quantum leap in women's political power. For the first time, women will form a "critical mass" of legislators in many countries, able to set new agendas and perhaps create new styles of leadership (Randall, 2002). Critical mass is more a theoretical and popular expectation than a demonstrated effect. But there are common figures and expectations identifiable in existing literature.

Norris (2004) looked for changes in political attitudes, policy priorities, and legislative styles and roles. Critical mass is a viable concept, and then any gender differences in the agenda, culture,

and policies of the New Zealand parliament should accelerate once the number of women MPs reaches critical mass. One variable that was identified in the close analysis of parliamentary debates was the impact of political party influence upon Members of Parliament. This was possible because parliament is headed by both of New Zealand's major parties, Labour and National, during the 25 years scrutinized. Most often critical mass expectations have been tested using surveys of politicians (Norris, 2004).

The Developmental Theory

The developmental theory is based on the assumption that traditional societies are characterized by sharply differentiated gender roles that discourage women from jobs outside the home. Virtually all preindustrial societies emphasized childbearing and child-rearing as the central goal for women, and their most important function in life; careers in the paid workforce were predominately male. In postindustrial societies gender roles have increasingly converged due to a structural revolution in the paid labor force, in educational opportunities for women, and in the characteristics of modern families (Bandarage, 2003). These major changes in sex roles can be expected to influence women's and men's political behavior. Studies suggest that female participation in the paid labor has had a significant impact on female voting behavior, for example, in terms of political participation. Women's support for parties of the left may be encouraged by pervasive patterns of horizontal and vertical occupational segregation. Working women are often overrepresented in low-paid jobs and as public sector professionals and since providers in education, health care, and welfare services. Women also experience continued pay disparities and lower socioeconomic status, with considerably higher levels of female poverty. The increased membership and activism of working women in trade unions can also be expected to move women leftwards politically, while increased participation by professional women in higher education may have encouraged more liberal attitudes. Structural accounts have also commonly emphasized the process of secularization (Goldsworthy, 2006).

Feminist theory

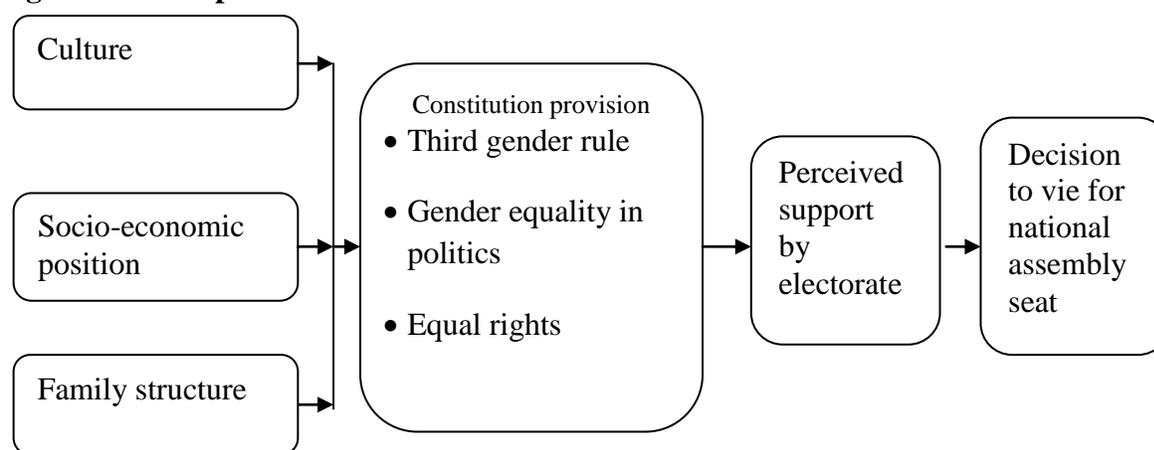
Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into theoretical or philosophical discourse. It aims to understand the nature of gender inequality. It examines women's social roles, experience, interests, and feminist politics in a variety of fields, such as anthropology and sociology, communication, psychoanalysis, economics, literary, education, and philosophy (Barker & Edith, 2003). While generally providing a critique of social relations, much of feminist theory also focuses on analyzing gender inequality and the promotion of women's interests. Feminist researchers embrace two key tenets: their research should focus on the condition of women in society, and their research must be grounded in the assumption, that women generally experience subordination. Thus, feminist research rejects Weber's value-free orientation in favor of being overtly political—doing research in pursuit of gender equality (Ferber & Nelson, 2004). This theory analyses policies and their impact on gender relations, and thereby offers important contributions to the analysis of the state and to political science in general. However in the field there are different perspectives resulting of the different types of analyses - Marxist, socialist, liberal, etc. But what is common for the field is that the previous negligence of the state in the feminist theory is abandoned (Hooks, 2000). This discursive turn within feminist analysis reflects the turn within political science as a whole. Previously viewed as fundamentally patriarchal, now the state is analyzed in its relations of power, class, social and economic groups in feminist perspective, also state's instruments for subordination of women, structuration and influence of gender roles and relations, and in more positive vision - positive economic policies

for lessening of the financial dependency of women on men, analyses of the promotion - of women's interests within the state, either through the action of 'femocrats' (feminist bureaucrats) working from within the state system to empower women, or when the state itself acts in a way to further women's status. Feminist political theory includes comparative research, it focuses on politics constructing gendered subjects, and the ways in which gender constructs politics, and the ways in which gender issues such as 'women's inequality' are constructed in policy debates and decision-making (Gerber & Linda, 2010).

Conceptual Framework

This study sought to establish the role of the new constitution in influencing women to vie for electoral positions in Nairobi region. The independent variables in this study were culture, socioeconomic position and family structure while the intervening variables was one-third gender rule, gender equality in political parties and equal right of opportunities while the dependent variable was women vying for National Assembly positions in Nairobi County.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



Independent Variable

Intervening Variables

Dependent Variable

Research Methodology

This study used a descriptive design. The target population for this study was all the registered voters in Nairobi County. There are 1,778,903 registered voters in Nairobi County. This is also the accessible population for the purpose of this study. In addition, there are 996,186 registered women voters in Nairobi County which was the target population. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) in a population greater than 5,000, the issues of the population size is almost irrelevant and a sample size of 100 is adequate. Since the population of this study was greater than 5000, the sample size was 100 respondents. Purposive sampling was used to select five key tribes in Kenya (in terms of numbers): Kikuyus, Luos, Kamba, Luhya and Kalenjin. The five tribes represent 76.95 percent of the total registered voters in Nairobi County. Purposive sampling was used to select areas dominated by various ethnic groups: the Kikuyus are mostly found in Thika road, Kasarani area; the Luos are mostly found in Kibira, the Kamba are mostly found in Embakasi; the Luhya are mostly found in Kangemi and the Kalenjin are mostly found in South B. The researcher used stratified random sampling to select 100 women in Nairobi County.

Table 1: Sample Size

Ethnic Listings	Registered Voters			Sample distribution
	No of registered voters	No of women registered voters (56%)	Percentage representation	
Kikuyu	394221	220764	28.8	29
Kamba	314712	176239	23.0	23
Luo	294312	164815	21.5	21
Luhya	123223	69005	9.0	9
Kalenjin	242435	135764	17.7	18
Total	1368903	766586	100.0	100

The study used primary data, which was collected by use of questionnaires and Key Informant Interviews guides. Questionnaires were administered to the respective respondents by the researcher and research assistants. On the other hand, the researcher used Key Informant Interview Guides to interview IEBC officials and individuals who had vied for national assembly positions. Quantitative data collected was analyzed by use descriptive statistics by the help of SPSS (V. 21.0) and presented through frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviations. Data was then presented in tables, figures and charts. Qualitative data was analysed by use of content analysis.

Study Results

The sample size of this study was 100 respondents out of which 78 filled and returned their questionnaires, which represents a response rate of 78%. This correlates with Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) recommendation that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of 70% and over is excellent. This clearly shows that the response rate in this study was excellent. Apart from the 78 questions, 20 more individuals were interviewed.

One-Third Gender Rule

This study sought to establish ways through which the one-third gender rule influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County.

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they were aware of the one-third gender rule in Kenya. From the findings, 97.44% of the respondents reported that they were aware of the one-third gender rule in Kenya while 2.56% indicated that they were not aware of aware of the one-third gender rule in Kenya. From these findings we can infer that most of the women in Nairobi are aware of the one-third gender rule in Kenya. It is expected that since women were aware of the one-third gender rule, more women would vie for political electoral positions. In addition, it is expected that would support their fellow women to get through the electoral process and support them. From the Key Informants Interviews, women indicated that “We have been left in the country’s political deep freezer for too long and this time round we are saying that we are coming out fired up with our determination blazing to contest for these positions as young women of this nation to lead”.

The respondents were asked to rate the commitment of the government of Kenya. From the findings, 48.7% of the respondent indicated that promotion of power-sharing and decision-

making was good. On the other hand 38.5% indicated that empowering women to vie for political positions was bad. Additionally, 34.6% indicated that the reduction of inequality between men and women was moderate. This shows that the commitment of the government of Kenya in the promotion of power-sharing and decision-making was good. This can further be supported by the indication of the Key informants that the government had ensured one-third gender rule in parliament. Additionally the government had ensured one-third gender rule in the selection of cabinet and principal secretaries. In addition, the findings of this study show that the government of Kenya was not committed to reduction of inequality between men and women and to empowering women to vie for political positions. These findings were also supported by Key informants who indicated that although women were economically empowered, they were still not empowered to vie for political positions and the environment was still not conducive for them to vie.

Table 2: Felt Commitment of the GOK in Relation to Selected Statements

Selected Statements	Response						Std. Deviation
	Excellent	Good	Moderate	Bad	Poor	Mean	
Reduction of inequality between men and women	0	9.0	34.6	34.6	21.8	2.31	.916
Promotion of power-sharing and decision-making	26.9	48.7	12.8	11.5	0	3.91	.928
Empowering women to vie for political positions	1.3	15.4	32.1	38.5	12.8	2.54	.949

The respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which the government of Kenya succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in the following areas. According to the findings, 37.5% of the respondents indicated that the government of Kenya had succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in parliamentary committees to a great extent and 37.2% indicated to a moderate extent. On the other hand, 53.8% of the respondents indicated that the government of Kenya had succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in parliamentary assembly to a great extent. Further, 42.3% indicated that the government of Kenya had succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in government institutions to a moderate extent. Lastly, 39.7% indicated that the government of Kenya had succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in political candidates list to a moderate extent. These findings clearly show that the government of Kenya had succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in committees, parliamentary assembly and government institutions. However the government had not succeeded in implementing one-third gender rule in political candidates list. This is confirmed by the key informants who indicated that the government of Kenya had ensured that the one-third gender rule was observed in government institutions ministries and other independent bodies. However, they indicated that the government had failed in ensuring the one-third gender rule in the political candidates list. This is clearly seen as there were very few women who were vying for senatorial and gubernatorial seats.

Table 3: Extent of Implementation of One-Third Gender Rule by Specified Actors

Actors in implementation of Third gender rule	Extent of Implementation					Mean	Std. Deviation
	Very great extent	Great extent	Moderate extent	Low extent	No extent at all		
Political candidates list	0	1.3	39.7	29.5	29.5	2.13	.858
Parliamentary assembly	6.4	53.8	34.6	5.1	0	3.62	.688
Parliamentary Committees	20.5	37.5	37.2	5.1	0	3.73	.848
Government institutions	0	23.1	42.3	21.8	12.8	2.76	.956

Equal treatment and Opportunities

The study also sought to establish how gender equality in political parties influences women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County. The respondents were asked to indicate whether men and women enjoy equal opportunities to get political positions in Kenya. According to the findings, 74.4% of the respondents indicated that women were not enjoying equal opportunities to get political positions in Kenya as compared to men. From these findings we can deduce that women were not enjoying equal opportunities to get political positions in Kenya as compared to men. The Key informants also indicated that women were sharing the same rights with men to vie for political positions. However, they also indicated that culture was highly affecting the ability of women to enjoy equal opportunities to get political positions with men in Kenya.

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution had led to the following benefits to women. From the findings, 42.3% of the respondents indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to an opportunity to participate in the electoral and political processes through voting and being voted for to a great extent. In addition, 39.7% indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to equal treatment of both men and women in the electoral and political processes to a moderate extent. Further, 56.4% indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to freedom from discrimination to a moderate extent. Additionally, 69.2% indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to the enhancement of fundamental human rights to a moderate extent. In addition, 59% of the respondents indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to reaping of economic rewards on the basis of merit to a great extent. Lastly, 39.7% indicated that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution led to improvement of quality of life to a moderate extent. On the other hand, the Key informants indicated that women had realized benefits in opportunity to participate in the electoral and political processes through voting and being voted for. However, they indicated that women had not yet received benefits in equal treatment of both men and women in the electoral and political processes, freedom from discrimination, enhancing of fundamental human right, reaping of economic rewards on the basis of merit and improvement of quality of life.

Table 4: Benefits of equal treatment and opportunities

Benefits	Extent of Agreement					Mean	Std. Deviation
	Very great extent	Great extent	Moderate extent	Low extent	No extent at all		
Opportunity to participate in the electoral and political processes through voting and being voted for	29.5	42.3	28.2	0	0	4.01	.764
Equal treatment of both men and women in the electoral and political processes	6.4	39.7	14.1	28.2	11.5	3.01	1.190
Freedom from discrimination	0	16.7	56.4	26.9	0	2.90	.656
Enhancing of fundamental human right	0	11.5	69.2	19.2	0	2.92	.553
Reaping of economic rewards on the basis of merit	14.1	59.0	26.9	0	0	3.87	.632
Improvement of quality of life	9.0	38.5	39.7	12.8	0	3.44	.831

Gender Equality in Political Parties

The study further sought to establish how equal right of opportunities influence women to vie for the National Assembly in Nairobi County. The respondents were asked to indicate whether men and women are treated equally in various political parties in Kenya. According to the findings, 61.5% of the respondents indicated that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Kenya. From these findings we can deduce that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Kenya.

The respondents were further asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statements in relation to gender equality in political parties. From the findings, 61.5% of the respondents agreed to a great extent that even though political parties promote women's political empowerment in their campaign manifestos, these promises are hardly ever met. Further, 41% of the respondents agreed to a great extent that political parties have not yet incorporated gender equality into their policy documents. Additionally, 55.1% agreed to a great extent that there are no rules party rules and regulations for identifying, selecting and nominating women candidates for leadership positions within the party. Lastly, 56.4% of the respondents agreed to a great extent that public funding of political parties needs to be linked to the implementation of gender balance and gender-equality policies in parties. On the other hand, the Key informants indicated that Political Parties in Kenya as elsewhere are the gatekeepers to women's advancement to power and access to political leadership. Thus, with the exception of the few women who may choose to run as independents, women politicians must work through Parties to access political office. Unfortunately, Parties in Kenya have historically been highly gendered institutions that incorporate women into party structures on a different basis from men and in ways that impede their access to leadership positions. Women play important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their Parties but rarely occupy decision-making positions in these structures. Furthermore, although political parties may possess resources for conducting election campaigns,

women rarely benefit from these resources. The selection and nomination processes within political parties also tend to be biased against women, as ‘male traits’ are emphasized and often become the criteria in selecting candidates.

Table 5: Gender equality in political parties

	Very great extent	Great extent	Moderate extent	Low extent	No extent at all	Mean	Std. Deviation
Even though political parties promote women’s political empowerment in their campaign manifestos, these promises are hardly ever met	21.8	61.5	16.7	0	0	4.05	.622
Political parties have not yet incorporated gender equality into their policy documents	25.6	41.0	33.3	0	0	3.92	.769
There are no rules party rules and regulations for identifying, selecting and nominating women candidates for leadership positions within the party	7.7	55.1	37.2	0	0	3.71	.605
Public funding of political parties needs to be linked to the implementation of gender balance and gender-equality policies in parties	20.5	56.4	20.5	0	0	3.97	.664

Conclusion

This study concludes that most of the women in Nairobi were aware of the one-third gender rule in Kenya. In addition most of the women felt that the one-third gender rule was being followed though a good number of women felt that it was not being followed. Additionally, the study found that one-third gender rule influenced women to vie for political positions in the last general election. Further, the government of Kenya was committed in promotion of power-sharing and decision-making. However, it was less committed to empowering women to vie for political positions and in the reduction of inequality between men and women.

The study also concludes that women were not enjoying equal opportunities to get political positions in Kenya as compared to men. However, advocating for equal treatment and opportunities by the constitution had increased the number of women vying for electoral and political positions in Kenya.

It was further established that equal treatment and opportunities between women and men had led to reaping of economic rewards on the basis of merit; improvement of quality of life; and the electoral and political processes to a moderate extent. In addition, the provision helps in ensuring equal opportunity not only ending overt and intentional discrimination, but also rooting out subconscious bias and reforming systems that unintentionally perpetuate exclusion. It requires proactive efforts to remake our institutions in ways that ensure fairness and inclusion.

Lastly, the study concludes that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Kenya. It was also found that in the last election in Kenya, women were not adequately considered in the manifesto pledges for political parties. It was also established that even though political parties promote women's political empowerment in their campaign manifestos, these promises are hardly ever met. Additionally, the study found that political parties have not yet incorporated gender equality into their policy documents and there are no rules party rules and regulations for identifying, selecting and nominating women candidates for leadership positions within the party.

Recommendations

Despite the fact that the government was committed to the implementation of the one-third gender rule in the promotion of power-sharing and decision-making it was less committed to empowering women to vie for political positions and in the reduction of inequality between men and women. This study therefore recommends that the government should be committed to empowering women to vie for political positions. Further, the study should be committed to reduction of inequality between men and women.

This study established that the equal treatment and opportunities between women and men advocated by the constitution had still not led to enhancing of fundamental human right and freedom from discrimination. This study therefore recommends that the government as well as other law enforcement bodies should ensure that women and men are treated equally in terms fundamental human rights and freedom from discrimination.

The study also established that men and women were not treated equally in various political parties in Kenya. In the last election in Kenya, women were not adequately considered in the manifesto pledges for political parties. This study therefore recommends that law enforcement bodies should ensure that women are well represented in political parties. In addition public funding of political parties should be linked to the implementation of gender balance and gender-equality policies in parties.

Areas for Further Studies

This study established that political parties were not treating men and women equally in various political parties in Kenya. In addition, women were not adequately considered in the manifesto pledges for political parties. This study therefore recommends further studies in the area of factors affecting gender equality in political parties in Kenya.

References

- Bandarage, A, (2003). Women in Development: Liberalism, Marxism and Marxist Feminism', *Development and Change*, 15,495-515.
- Barker, D. K. Edith, K. (2003). *Toward a Feminist Philosophy of Economics*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Carroll, S. J. and Jenkins, K. (2001). Unrealized opportunity? Term limits and the representation of women in state legislatures, *Women & Politics*, 23(4), pp.1-30.
- Caul, M. (2001). Political parties and the adoption of candidate gender quotas: a cross- national analysis, *The Journal of Politics*, 63(4), 1214-1229.

- Chelang'a, G. C. (2012). *Factors affecting women teachers' participation in leadership positions in Marakwet West District secondary schools, Kenya*. Unpublished Research Project, Kenyatta University
- Clinton-Rodham, H. (2003). *Living History*. London: Headline.
- Dahlerup, D. (2005). *Women, Quotas and Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Dahlerup, D. (2007). From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11(4), 275-6.
- Epstein, M. J., R. G. Niemi Powell, L. W. (2005). 'Do Women and Men State Legislators Differ?' in S. Thomas and C. Wilcox, *Women and Elective Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ferber, M.A. & Nelson, J.A. (2004). *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Gerber, M. & Linda, J. (2010). *Sociology* 7th Canadian Ed. Toronto, Ontario: Pearson Canada Inc
- Goldsworthy, D. (2006). *Analyzing Theories of Development*. Melbourne: Centre of South East Asian Studies, Monash University
- Hooks, B. (2000). *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press
- Htun, M. & Jones, M. (2002). Engendering the Right to Participate in Decision-making: Electoral Quotas and Women's Leadership in Latin America in N. Craske and M. Molyneux (eds.) *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America*, London: Palgrave.
- Kanter, R.M (2006). Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women, *American Journal of Sociology* 82(5), 966.
- Maathai, M. W. (2006), *Unbowed: A Memoir*. London: William Heinemann
- Mbugua, W. W. (2011). *An investigation of factors influencing women progression to leadership positions in Kenya a case study of four selected institutions*. Unpublished Research Project, Kenyatta University
- Moser, R.G. (2001). The effects of electoral systems on women's representation in post-communist states, *Electoral Studies*, 20(3), 353-369.
- Mugenda, O. M., & Mugenda, A. G. (2003). *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: Acts Press.
- Muiru, M. (2012). The Champions for Transformative Leadership Initiative: Kenyan Grassroots Women as Agents for Change. *In Practice* 3(1), 1 -5
- Neuman, W. (1998), *True to Ourselves: A Celebration of Women Making a Difference*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Norris, P. (2004). Women Politicians: Transforming Westminster?, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 49(1), 93-101.
- Onyango, P. (2012). *Constitutional Change Empowers Women in Politics in Kenya*. Retrieved on 31st January 2013 from <http://www.africagoodnews.com>

- Randall, V. (2002). *Women and Politics: An International Perspective*. New York, NY: MacMillan
- Reingold, B. (2000). *Representing Women: Sex, Gender, and Legislative Behavior in Arizona and California*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Reynolds, A. (2005). Reserved seats in national legislatures, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 30(2), 301-310.
- Siaroff, A. (2011). Women's representation in legislatures and cabinets in industrial democracies, *International Political Science Review*, 21(2), 197-215.
- Sihanya, B. (2012). *The presidency and public authority in Kenya's new constitutional order*. Sid's Constitution Working Papers Series
- Swers, M. (2001). Understanding the policy impact of electing women: Evidence from research on congress and state legislatures, *Political Science and Society*, 34(2), pp.217-220.
- Thomas, S. & C. Wilcox (eds) (2005), *Women and Elective Office*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Tinker, I. (2004) Quotas for women in elected legislatures: do they really empower women? *Woman's Studies International Forum*, 27(5/6), 531-546.
- TNA. (2013). *Women's Empowerment: An Equal Share*. Retrieved on 18th March 2013 from <http://tna.co.ke/issue-category/womens-empowerment/>
- Tremblay, M. & Pelletier, R. (2000). More feminists or more women? Descriptive and substantive representations of women in the 1997 Canadian federal elections. *International Political Science Review*, 21(4), 381-405.
- Wanjohi, N. G. (2003). *Women Have to Vie for Role of Leadership*. Nairobi: East African Standard.