ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF LEGISLATURE IN ATTAINMENT OF GENDER EQUALITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND RWANDA

BY

KITETU TITUS

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

MOI UNIVERSITY

2020

DECLARATION

This research thesis is my original work and has not been presented before to any university for academic award.

………………………………. Date………………………………

Kitetu Titus

SASS/PGDF/003/17

Declaration by Supervisors

This research thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

…………………………….. Date ……………………………

Prof. Kenneth K. Oluoch

Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration

School of Arts Social Sciences

MOI UNIVERSITY

…………………………….. Date …………………………

Prof. Peter O Ndege

Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration

School of Arts Social Sciences

MOI UNIVERSITY

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with love and gratitude to my family.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for enabling me to complete my studies. I am particularly grateful and immensely indebted to my supervisors Prof. Ken Olouch and Prof. P. Ndege, who read each sentence in this project report, tirelessly critiqued my work progressively and gave me innovative suggestions to improve my project. If not for their significant guidance, it would have been difficult to complete this project. Thank you Sirs' I'm greatly humbled by your support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

The role and participation of women in sustainable development is very poignant. Literature shows that women participation in development promotes social transformation. This is because, when women are empowered, there is a radical shift that begins from the household level to the national level. Women are the major players in agriculture and in the informal sector as small scale traders. Increasingly, the world appreciates the involvement of women in all sectors of the economy. Gender mainstreaming is about increasing gender consciousness and intentionally putting in place mechanisms that ensure gender equality and equity. The main purpose of the proposed study is to assess the role of the Parliamentary Service in attainment of gender equality in Kenya. Specifically, the study assessed gender equality in the legislation processes, evaluated gender equality in recruitment practices, assessed workplace gender equality, analyzed issue of gendered governance in the representation and participation in the Parliamentary Service and assessed gender equality in legislative processes in the country. To achieve the study objectives, the study adopted a descriptive survey design. The approach allowed for triangulation of methods in order to collect and analyze both quantitative and qualitative data for greater reliability and validity of the findings. Stratified sampling was used in choosing the sample population in order to capture the different categories of stakeholders. Data in this study was collected using a semi structured survey questionnaire as well as through key informant interviews. Collected data was analyzed through use of descriptive statistics such as frequency distributions and measures of central tendency. The study relied on chi square test to measure the strength of relationship between variables in the study. Qualitative data was summarized thematically into narratives.

ABBREVIATIONS

CDF:	-	Constituency Development Fund
CECM:	-	County Executive Committee Member
CPSB:	-	County Public Service Board
DOs:	-	Divisional Officers
ILO:	-	International labor organization
KANU:	-	Kenya African National Union
LATF:	-	Local Authority Transfer Fund
MCAs:	-	Member of County Assembly
SPSS:	-	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UK:	-	United Kingdom
USA:	-	United States of America

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Affirmative action: Is an attempt to reduce or eliminate prejudicial discrimination and historical injustices

Discrimination: Unfavorable treatment of people on irrelevant grounds, or actions against people based on factors that cannot and should not be used to justify those actions.

Empowerment: A process through which men and women, acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes to critically analyze their situation and take action to change the status quo of the underprivileged and other marginalized groups.

Gender: Culturally determined power relations, roles, or responsibilities and entitlement men and women, boys and girls have in a given society.

Gender Discrimination: Unequal or preferential treatment of individuals or groups on the basis of their gender that results in reduced access to or control of resources and opportunities.

Gender roles: Socially assigned roles and responsibilities as opposed to biologically determined functions.

Gender parity: Numerical concept referring to equal number of girls, boys, men and women relative to their respective number in the population.

Patriarchy: Male dominated social relations, ownership and control of power at many levels in society.

Policy: A course of action adopted and pursued by a government or organizations to implement their objectives.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The legislature in Kenya has failed to pass any bill that would implement the two-thirds gender rule. Parliament has passed few other pieces of legislation that specifically address women's inequality in Kenya. To implement the two-thirds gender rule, parliament first drafted the Constitutional Amendment Bill, 2015 (the Duale Bill) with provisions for a gender top-up clause like the one applied to county assemblies. In a move that seemed to contradict the Duale Bill, the Legal Affairs Committee of the National Assembly tabled a separate bill – popularly referred to as the Chepkonga Bill– which provided for more gradual implementation. The Chepkonga Bill lengthened the timeline for the implementation and ensured that parliament would not be dissolved if it failed to meet the Supreme Court's August 2015 deadline. Honorable Senator Judith Sijeny tabled a bill similar to the Duale Bill in the Senate but limiting to two the number of terms one can serve as a county woman representative. Yet another bill, known as the Green Amendment, was developed by an informal parliamentary caucus on human rights, proposing to substantively change the Constitution through a referendum. This bill proposed to create twin constituencies to offer additional competitive seats for women. All these measures failed to garner sufficient votes in parliament, despite receiving endorsements from President Kenyatta and others. On the contrary, Rwanda has put considerable efforts in promoting gender equality. After the end of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, women took actively participated in the reconstruction of the then devastated nation. Their activities were crucial in rebuilding the war-torn society

.

The 2003 Rwandan constitution established government-wide gender quotas reaching all sectors of government and all levels of government administration. The quotas changed how Rwandans perceived women, and started viewing them as political leaders. Unlike in the past, women in leadership positions be it local government officials, MPs, etc. are treated with respect in the same manner as male government leaders. On that note, this study seeks to compare attempts by the Kenyan and Rwandan legislatures to address gender disparity. This chapter covers introduction, background of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study and Literature review.

1.1 Background of the Study

Progress in the area of political participation for women remains slow in almost, all countries, women have the right to vote on paper, to be eligible for election, appointment to public office, and to exercise public functions on equal terms with men at local national and international levels. In most countries, women participate only marginally at the highest levels of decision making. (Steady,1985).

Global research on women's political representation has attributed the significant increase in women's political representation to gender quotas which has led to increase of number of women's in parliament, electoral systems, and democratic status (e.g., *Paxton 1997; Paxton, Hughes, and Painter 2010; Tripp and Kang 2008; Goetz and Hassim 2003, Tamale 1999, Tripp 2000*). The positive impact of gender quotas on women's representation is now widely accepted (*Dahlerup 2006; Krook 2009; Tripp and Kang*

2008). Legislative quotas — either in the form of reserved seats, voluntary party quotas, or compulsory quotas through legislation are shown to have impacted on the gender composition, by increasing women's representation *in* national legislatures worldwide (*Bauer 2004, Britton 2005, Geisler 2004, Goetz and Hassim 2003, Tamale 1999, Tripp 2000*). In this regard, by 2009, the 26 countries with at least 30 per cent representation of women had implemented some type of gender quota for national parliaments and women comprised 21% of MPs in countries that used gender quotas, compared to an average of 13 per cent in countries that did not have such measures. Furthermore, in certain contexts, quotas have transformative effects on women's political representation. It has also been established that quotas work and produce best women's legislative representation results under Proportional Representation (PR) electoral systems than under majoritarian/ First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral systems (*Ballington, 2009*). Political will, especially of key leaders in political parties and the State, is crucial to the implementation of quotas. This may largely explain why, out of the 26 countries that have achieved the 30% minimum through quotas, eleven (11) of them have successfully used *voluntary party* quotas (including South Africa and Mozambique), without being compelled to do so by legislation and/ or constitutional provisions. It has also been established that, although quotas may be the mechanism through which many African countries increase women's numbers in national legislatures, quotas may not in all cases be the root cause of growth in women's political representation in Africa but rather the strengthening of democratization. It has also been noted that post-conflict countries in Africa (e.g. Mozambique, South Africa, Rwanda, Uganda etc.) adopted gender quotas sooner than their counterparts that did not recently have major wars.

Nzomo (2017) argues that Kenya's legal framework lays a firm foundation for the principles of gender equity and equality in the country's, politics and government. The Constitution of Kenya, adopted in 2010, contains a provision that no elective body shall have more than two thirds of its members from the same gender. This key provision is supported by other articles within the Constitution, upheld by legislation regulating elections and political parties, judicial decisions, and complemented by a body of international treaties and conventions. In addition, the scholar observes that this critical legal standard of gender equity and equality has not been completely met. The parliament has yet to pass legislation that would bring its own two houses – the National Assembly and the Senate – in line with the Constitution's "two-thirds rule." Amendments to the Elections Act and the Political Parties Act (PPA) have improved the regulatory environment but remain inadequate, lacking meaningful incentives and enforcement mechanisms. Compliance among political parties and the parliament continues to be problematic, despite Supreme Court rulings mandating implementation of the two-thirds rule. Consequently, although the 2017 elections were the second to be held since the Constitution's passage, women still comprise less than 33 percent of the parliament. Similarly Beatrice (2019) observes that although international law and the Constitution have set a firm foundation for inclusion in government, Kenya's national legislature has persistently failed to translate the principle of equality into a body of binding laws, regulations, and policies. The judiciary has upheld the constitutional principles in various rulings, but enforcement of the Supreme Court's decisions has been lacking. The existing laws that regulate parties and elections often miss the mark in terms of establishing clear

guidelines and enforcement mechanisms, allowing violations to go unpunished and providing little incentive or instruction for compliance.

1.1.1 Gender Equality

Education plays an important role when it comes to life chances or achievement in life. For functionalists, who believe that society is meritocratic, education is an equalizer given that it offers equal opportunities to all individuals in society (Browne, 2011). On the other hand, theorists, especially Marxists and Postmodern theorists, would dispute society's meritocracy (Browne, 2011). This is because academic achievement also favors certain classes of people due to ethnocentric curriculums, engendered curricula, and the hidden curriculum in schools that propagate capitalist ideology. Considering women in Kenya, inhibitions to access to quality education have persisted. As noted by Wainaina (2006), the patriarchal system in Kenya has favored boy child education over the girls. Without proper education, many girls, especially from rural areas, are relegated to being housewives and married at a very early age. Early marriages are one of the biggest hindrances to children's progression in education in rural Kenya.

Due to many years of agitation for gender equality, many fruits have been borne. Despite the debate, gender is a concern that many are seized across the world today (ILO, 2009). This is because, for all practical life's purposes, progress in society is not possible if any gender is left behind or continues to be exploited. Feminists, irrespective of whether they are Marxist, liberal, radical, or ethnocentric, have demonstrated how patriarchal tendencies lead to social problems (Browne, 2011). Economically, studies have shown

that symmetrical households rather than asymmetrical enjoy better economic status (World Bank, 2003). Symmetrical families are those in which roles are shared based on equality and equity rather than based on ascribed gender roles dictated by culture. In asymmetrical families or households, roles in the family or household are rigid and non-negotiable. Families that negotiate roles are more efficient and are more effective in achieving goals.

Ellis et al. (2007) pointed out that women play a very significant role in Kenya's economy, but their contribution is often invisible. This is because 75% of women in Kenya live in rural areas engaged in agricultural production and informal sector engagements (Ellis et al., 2007). Women's role, especially in agriculture; Food production, in the informal sector of the economy; Running stalls and other small businesses and in all other sectors of the economy cannot be gainsaid (The World Bank, 2011). Research has demonstrated that women's empowerment is critical towards ensuring sustainable development, poverty alleviation, and social transformation (The World Bank, 2011).

Despite overwhelming evidence in support of the fact that women empowerment is, in a sense, synonymous with holistic social transformation, gender equality and equity is far from being realized (Achoka et al., 2007). According to the World Bank (2011), the major hurdles to attaining gender equality or equity are low economic opportunities for women, the low capital endowment for women, and the intergenerational reproduction of gender inequalities at the household level.

Rwanda has put considerable efforts in attempt to promote gender equality. The government realizes that men and women have equal abilities and dignities, and that they should enjoy the same opportunities. It is contained in Rwanda's development framework that gender equality and women's empowerment was established to aid both men and women of the country realize their rights, aspirations and potentials and to be full partners and beneficiaries of the country's development.

Gender Equality is about considering gender issues when planning for action in every aspect of planning, implementation, and evaluation of government or organizational processes (World Bank, 2003). Such processes may include projects, policies, legislation, or strategy development avenues (World Bank, 2003). Gender Equality is an endeavor to ensure both gender equity and equality through a gender-conscious approach to organizational or government processes. Gender Equality is crucial because, historically, the world has been gender-biased due to religious and cultural beliefs (Wanjala & Odongo, 2010). Consequently, there is a need for continuous vigilance if historical biases and misconceptions are to be eradicated, and all humans are given equal opportunity to thrive and self-actualize.

1.2 Research Problem

Kenya is lagging way behind regional and global averages in respect to women's political representation, which currently stand at 20.3% and 20.2% women parliamentary representation respectively. Over 26 countries around the world have attained the 1/3 parliamentary representation, including most of Kenya's Eastern African neighbors led

by Rwanda-that also leads in the world with 56.3 %.; South Africa with 42.3%, at position 8 globally; Tanzania at position 18 with 36.0 %; Uganda in position 19 with 35.0 %, and Burundi at position 29 with 30.5 %, while Kenya trails at position 113, with 9.8% (Kaletski and Prakash 2016). The current fierce contestations in respect to the implementation of the "no more than two thirds" gender rule as contained at article 27(8) and 81(b) of the Constitution, are politically inspired and mirror the wider political representational power struggles, that seek to further consolidate and institutionalize patriarchal norms and preserve legal frameworks and policies that constrain and exclude women from political governance. The sequential failure by national assembly to enact the gender bill has raised questions as to why the legislature has not enacted the one third gender bill. It is these sequential failures by national assembly that therefore informs the basis of this research thus giving impetus to the study; "assessment of the role of legislature in attainment of gender equality: a comparative study of Kenya and Rwanda".

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To explain and examine gender disparity in parliamentary representation in Kenya with comparison to Rwanda.

2. To analyze constitutional and political attempts to improve women representation in the parliament of Kenya and Rwanda.

3. To examine the achievements of the attempts to address gender disparity in the Kenyan and Rwandan parliament.

1.4 Research Questions

1. Why is women underrepresentation a constant feature of Kenyan parliament in comparison to Rwandan parliament?

2. How has Kenya and Rwanda attempted to address the problem of women underrepresentation in the Kenyan and Rwandan parliament?

3. What are the achievements of the attempts to address gender disparity in the Kenyan and Rwandan parliament?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study seeks to enhance understanding and knowledge of the role of legislature in attainment of gender equality in Kenya and Rwanda. The findings can enable other arms of government and its agencies and private sector players to identify gaps in their gender programming and improve. Identifying areas of improvement can inform the greater participation and involvement of women in governance and development projects.

The participation of women in development is a crucial aspect of inclusive growth and social transformation. This research can benefit policy, gender, industrial relations, and development practitioners and scholars or researchers interested in inclusive development and parliament's role. The study can also form the basis for further research in women empowerment, Parliamentary Service, and inclusive programming in government.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the literature reviewed. The sections present the theories chosen to inform the study and empirical studies that have been done and are related directly or indirectly to this study. The literature is presented thematically. The various themes captured in this literature review relate to the research objectives of the study. The reviewed literature was obtained from various sources, such as published research reports, books, journals, and report proceedings. The literature review aims to identify established trends and delineate the gaps to be addressed in the proposed study.

2.1 Theoretical Review

This study is anchored on two theories; the liberal feminist theory and the capability approach. These theories helped identify critical issues of concern in gender equality and the approach to analyzing concerns in gender considerations in devolved government units.

2.1.1 Capability Approach

The Capability Approach, as conceptualized by Sen. (1999), focuses on wellbeing and how facilitative freedoms in society enhance individual freedoms; thus, individuals having a life they have reason to value. When assessing capability, Sen. (1999) argued that focus should be on functionings and capabilities. Functionings, as explained by Mitra (2014), refer to the state of being while capabilities refer to enablers for the attainment of

a given state of being. For instance, being well nourished is functioning while having an income that affords such functioning is the capability (Mitra, 2014).

The capability approach puts great emphasis on the essence of individual choice and freedoms. This approach can be applied at two different evaluations; one assessment of an individual's wellbeing or her advantage and two, assessment of the goodness of a social action/arrangement in terms of its attributes (development in the broader sense).

The first level of assessment is at the individual level, while the second entails social level evaluation, although the set of an individual's capabilities forms its building blocks. In the second evaluation level, the elementary data used to make social evaluation entails the set of individuals' capabilities that constitute the society in consideration, hence its description.

An individual's capability set constitutes a set of all possible functioning vectors. To achieve a particular functioning, an individual chooses one specific functioning vector from the capability set based on her preference. At every stage of the functionings acquiring process, the society intervenes. At the first stage of an individual acquiring capabilities and functionings, an individual's endowment set contains her attributes, although there are social capital elements. For example, an individual's raw labor is her attribute.

On the contrary, physical and human capital depends on her social interactions. For instance, the property an individual owns (for example, land) depends on the amount owned by her parents, the established social norms of inheritance, and how much

property she could expand/ retain. The later depends on societal factors, such as the condition of the market, and power relations.

Individual endowments are converted into entitlements through the entitlement map, partly within an individual's control (for instance, how hard she works in utilizing the property). The level of an individual's hard work is directly tied to the size of the amount of entitlements, ceteris Paribas. The commodity bundles in the entitlement set are then converted into functioning vectors. This constitutes the capability set.

The capability approach allows for contextual evaluation of individuals in terms of functionings and capabilities that accord them a life they have reason to value (Mitra, 2014). Sen. (1999) distinguishes between public and private capabilities or freedoms. Individual wellbeing is influenced by public capabilities such as political freedoms, media freedom, and access to education, among others (Sen, 1999). What this implies is that individual empowerment is tied to the broader macroeconomic framework and the contextual freedoms.

Solava and Meera (2014) point out that the capability approach, far from being a robust theoretical framework; it widely informs practice in many contexts. The capability approach emphasizes the idea of freedom that harnesses the capability to do things and freedom to be in a certain manner in society (Solava and Meera, 2014). Thus, capability is about the freedom to choose in terms of different ways of being and doing in society. According to Biggeri and Andrea (2014), the capability approach shifts focus from macrostructures to the people. In people-centered development, each matter, and

development attainments are measured in keeping with the transformation of individual members of society's lives.

Comin and Martha (2014) used a capability approach to analyze gender equality issues. They point out that a capability approach shifts the debate on culture and dogma to basic human entitlements. Women empowerment is not about anything but basic human rights and fundamental human entitlements from a capability approach. A capability approach in the study of gender issues requires measurement and analysis of women's freedom to do and be in a society or organization. In the context of the current study, the capability approach helped in analyzing how functionings relate to facilitative freedoms enabled through legislation, workplace practices, and recruitment processes. The study explored the attitudes of the people in charge and employees at the parliament regarding how they view entitlements by women, both the formally recognized entitlements in law and others that may be contextual. Consequently, the theoretical question to guide empirical data analysis is the extent to which gender Equality efforts at county levels are yielding for women's freedoms to do and be what they want to be in society.

2.1.2 Liberal Feminist Theory

The liberal feminist approach is juxtaposed to the radical feminist approach. Radical feminism theory focuses on men and the patriarchal system based on the family (Putnam, 1998). The theory blames women's exploitation by men and the patriarchal family system, i.e., men are the ruling class, and women are the subject, exploited class (Tickner and Laura, 2011). Radical feminism encourages women to liberate themselves by overthrowing patriarchal society to establish equality of sexes or even replace patriarchy

with matriarchy (Tickner and Laura, 2011). Radical feminists' arguments border on incitement to a war of sexes (Putnam, 1998). According to Steans (2013), the radical feminists advocate for radical change that is immediate and revolutionary.

Liberal feminists are more evolutionary in terms of their anticipation for change (Putnam, 1998). The liberal feminist approach focuses on women's capabilities and advocates for women empowerment through capacity building approaches (Steans, 2013). According to Shepherd (2009), liberal feminists argue that gender discrimination is pegged on erroneous beliefs about women's potential and capability as explained by Comin and Martha (2014), the liberal feminist perspective advocates for mechanisms that enhance women's development of capacity while at the same time changing social attitudes. Liberal feminists focus on legal frameworks towards promoting equality and equity in government programming (Comin and Martha, 2014).

As outlined by Tickner (2001), Some of the key issues that liberal feminists seek to address have to do with equal rights legislation, women participation in democratic processes, reproductive rights, affirmative action towards women and workplace issues affecting women. The liberal feminist theorists argue that women require preferential treatment to address historical bias (Putnam, 1998). This can be done through legal and socioeconomic reforms towards practices that promote women.

The liberal feminist approach ties into the capability approach by focusing on women's capabilities and functionings as enabled by the social structure, legal environment, and social practices. The liberal feminist approach advocates for certain affirmative action

practices and consideration of the reproductive rights of women that point to key consideration in gender Equality in Parliamentary Services. Thus, this theory is essential in identifying and highlighting key issues that require attention towards optimal gender Equality in Parliamentary Services.

2.2 Empirical Review

This section reviews literature based on the three objectives of the study.

2.2.1 Gender Disparity in Parliamentary Representation in Kenya with comparison to Rwanda

Masinjila (1997) argues that the political climate in the 1990s made it almost impossible for the women's agenda to penetrate the political public sphere. The writer points out that woman, in predictable crude patriarchal style, are only referred to by male politicians when they either want to prove their manhood or to insult opponents whose behavior is chided as "womanish" meaning cowardly, hysterical, erratic, short-sighted or immature (name it). The writer also argues that other factors like ethnicity and authoritarianism that have characterized Kenyan politics are seen as extreme manifestations of the expressions of patriarchal power.

Kamau (2010) while analyzing gender and political leadership in Kenya notes that gender disparities could be as a result of deep-rooted patriarchal socio-cultural, economic and political structures and ideologies. The writer further propounds that Kenyan women have been excluded from participation in key governance capacities and have been

deprived of their basic human rights and access to and ownership of strategies resources, especially land. Kamau makes reference to the scholarly works of Nzomo (2003) who argues that there have been democratic transitions and legal reforms in Kenya since the 1990s which have resulted in an evident rise, though very small, in the number of women in senior political positions.

Kamau also cites other writers like Omtatah (2008) who point out the fact that the retrogressive cultural and traditional values such as son preference ideology as some of the ills that impede the quest for women's leadership in Kenya. The poor socialization of boys who are prepared for leadership and girls for domestic roles also works against women's ascendancy to leadership.

Kamau in identifying yet another factor that discourages women from running for political office cites the work of Mitullah (2003) who talks of the threat of electoral violence. It is a well-documented fact that Kenyan elections since the advent of multiparty election have been characterized by violence. It is also noteworthy that women lack strong negotiation and bargaining skills that would propel them towards gaining political mileage, which fact then works against their intention to secure public office.

Meredith Preston McGhie and E. Njoki Wamai (2011) in analyzing Kenya's most recent political process being the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Process noted that a member of the Panel of Eminent African Personalities, Mrs. Graca Machel – Mandela requested each of the feuding party during Kenya's post-election crisis to ensure they had a female representative. The writers note that the women were appointed on the basis of party

loyalties, strength of character and negotiating abilities. The writers also noted the competing interests that arose within these female representatives who were expected by civil society organizations to represent women's issues yet they had other representational mandates which may constrain them from doing so.

The challenges within the Kenyan experience can, according to the writers, be attributed to the internal challenges within the women's movement which were largely based on ethnicity, party affiliation and age. The writers also point out that the women's movement lacked the capacity to engage the mediation process on many of the more technical aspects of the process which fact manifested itself through the focus the women had on humanitarian issues as opposed to political advocacy around the root causes of the violence.

The writers also point out that Kenya is an excellent example around the representation of women and women's issues. This according to the writers was evidenced through the fact that at the mediation table there were strong and respected women yet it was the links to women outside the negotiation room that had significant impact on the inclusion of women's issues in the mediation process.

Wanyande (2006) notes that gender did not become significant factor in Kenyan elections until the 1990s. The writer opines that this was largely attributable to the fact that politics was considered an exclusive male domain before then. It is also the writer's opinion that women who ventured into politics in the 1960s and 1970s were considered an aberration. Wanyande propounds in fact there is no evidence that such women engaged in politics on

a gender platform as they simply considered themselves as politicians like their male counterparts. Wanyande continues to chronicle the progress women made over the years in claiming their political space.

Kiamba (2007) notes that despite the progress that has been made in advancing women's rights and women's political participation, equitable democratic participation at the level of gender has yet to be attained. The writer also pointed out that even at the level of local government, there was still a glaring gross underrepresentation of women with about 377 out of 2837 being held by women as at July 2007. Kiamba notes that the reason for women's marginalization has been largely attributable to the fact that men monopolize the decision making structures. The writer quotes the writings of Nzomo (1997) who points out that the key underlying problem women have difficulty in dealing with the inherent patriarchal structures that pervade the lives of people, the processes of state and party.

The place played by culture in determining whether women engage in politics is also not lost to the writer as she recognizes the fact that culture assigns women to a secondary place in society.

Owiti (2015) noted that although women's leadership abilities are largely seen as equal to that of men, their low representation in parliament and other elective bodies is attributed to the challenges they come up against rather than inherent inferiority. In assessing affirmative action has long been classified as a controversial strategy, the writer point out that the opponents of the strategy marginally outnumber its supporters, and

argue that democracy is predicated on the unfettered exercise of open competition and choice based on free will, including electing leaders. On the other hand, the writer points out that supporters of the strategy argue that democracy should promote the equitable participation of all interest groups in the management of a country's affairs, including in decision making structures.

In comparison to the Rwandan scenario, Hughes (2009) contends that crises offer a number of crucial opportunities that can help in increasing the political representation of women and the adoption of gender quotas. Such opportunities present themselves in the form of shifts in the political framework of a state, changes in regime, shifts in cultural norms (e.g. acceptance of women gender roles) or change in demographics of a country such as the sudden influx of qualifies women candidates. Waylen (2007) argues that these shifts offer opportunities for the emergence and likelihood of success of gender advocacy campaigns. International organizations play a major role in supporting women's inclusion in the post conflict reconstruction (Tajali). Al-Ali and Pratt (2009) posit that the UN Resolution 1325 of 2000 stressed the importance of women inclusivity in gender mainstreaming in all aspects of post conflict reconstruction. This resolution is however weakly implemented and women have resorted to active involvement in demanding for gender quotas as a guarantee for their inclusivity in the reconstruction.

Such a scenario was the case of Rwanda, which after the end of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, women took active part in the reconstruction of the then devastated nation and provided critical services for the traumatized population (Burnet, 2008). The activities of the Rwandan women after the genocide were crucial in rebuilding the war-torn society

and providing for women's basic necessities. Burnet (2008) contends that these efforts by the women put them in a crucial position of being the most active of the civil society for the period between 1994 and 2003. The Rwandan women's movement organized itself under Pro-Femmes and demanded for the respect of women's interests and adoption of gender-sensitive provisions by the constitution through the creation of a quota system that would ensure increased women representation in the government (Powley, 2005).

Following these efforts, Rwanda's 2003 constitution established government-wide gender quotas reaching all sectors of government and all levels of government administration. According to Burnet (2011), gender quotas have had many significant impacts. These representation impacts penetrated to the lover levels of the society and changed many social, economic and political aspects of life in the country. The quotas changed how Rwandans perceived women, and started viewing them as political leaders. Unlike in the past, women in leadership positions be it local government officials, MPs, etc. are treated with respect in the same manner as male government leaders.

Burnet (2011) further argues that the increased women representation has increased the social and political agency of women. In public gatherings, women can now speak out and give their opinions which are now respected unlike in the past where they were dismissed entirely on the basis of gender (Burnet, 2011). Women and girls now have a greater access to education, with gender parity now achieved at the primary level and the gender gap at the secondary and tertiary level now closing following the creation of gender quotas.

Economic autonomy among the women in Rwanda has increased and women are now more involved in decision- making concerning domestic resources (Tripp and Kang, 2008). Generally, the status of women in the Rwandan society has changed following women's increased representation.

Wallace et al. (2008) points out that Rwanda has the highest women representation in the world, and that women's representation at other levels of governance is also high. They argue that Rwanda has pursued a strong gender equity political agenda which opened new opportunities for a small number of women to join elite positions. However, they also contend that majority of Rwandan women's situation and affairs remains poor due to patriarchal attitudes that are entrenched in the society.

Cooper-knock (2016) argues that Rwanda is recognized as a world leader in women's political representation, with its chamber of deputies being celebrated as one of the only two chambers in the world where women outnumber men. Rwanda surpasses the global average of 23% with 64%, followed by Bolivia with a 53% women representation in parliament. Cooper-knock further posits that this favorable women representation is not only witnessed in the chamber of deputies but also in other sectors. Of the 14 judges in the Supreme Court, seven are women. Likewise, there are women councils at all the other levels of administration ranging from the cell all through to the provincial level. The Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion is mandated with the responsibility of ensuring that the interests of the women are institutionally represented at a national level.

2.2.2 Challenges and Achievements in addressing gender disparity in Kenya and Rwanda

In his research, Owiti found out that political parties are male dominated and women lack the support they need to ascend to power. He also notes that culture, financial ability, educational attainment, domestic responsibility, lack of interest in politics and electoral insecurity are other key barriers that hinder women's access and participation in leadership. In evaluating women political aspirants, the writer found out in his research that women were not regarded the same way as the male candidates. This he attributes to the fact that women candidates are still operating within a system that assigns men and women different and unequal roles in society. This basically implies that women are expected to take care of the home and family (private sphere) and men are to run the affairs of the society (public society).

The writer's findings point to the fact that Kenyans vigorously contest the value of affirmative action. He states that the opponents have been largely ill informed on the subject while the proponents are mostly emotional. The writer further points out that whereas arguments about the need to uphold meritocracy holds some water, it is also a truism that merit within a dysfunctional system cannot lead to equitable distribution of power and the benefits accruing thereof. More sensitization is therefore necessary in order to highlight the current sorry situation in respect to the allocation of relative social,

economic and political power in gender terms, and how positive affirmative action could ameliorate it.

In analyzing the impact of women's participation in decision-making, the writer looked into the activities of the 9th Parliament which had only 18 women legislators which accounted for about 8.8% of the total number of parliamentarians. The writer opined that the number was not enough to impact debates and decisions in the house. The writer in his research also found that a majority of the respondents disagreed that men in elected offices could adequately speak about women's issues. The writer's cumulative finding in this regard was that though women are increasingly being seen as the real voice of fellow women, a huge portion of men and women still believe that men can adequately address women's problems.

The writer goes further to analyze the barriers that women face when accessing leadership. In the writer's estimation women who have chosen the path to political leadership encounter a myriad of barriers which start from within their families to the vessels of capturing power − political parties − where acceptance and ascendancy of women to decision-making positions depends on the whims of their male counterparts who control the processes and structures. Apart from the cultural biases that women face, the writer notes that finances are also a thorny issue for women aspiring to political offices. He points out that the financial outlays normally needed to facilitate a well-oiled campaign are far beyond the ability of majority of women political aspirants, some of whom depend on their husbands for financing.

The writer also considers education as a major barrier to women in their quest for leadership. The writer noted that national statistics showed that women generally lagged behind men in all levels of education. In this regard, the writer states, women aspiring for political leadership therefore face male candidates who have attained higher academic qualifications. The other issue that the writer considered in his research as affecting women's participation in politics is religion. This he attributes to the fact that religion has been seen to buttress and rationalize male domination of society. The writer also notes that the women have consistently shied away from politics because they have largely been on the receiving end of insecurity and violence associated with elections.

FIDA Kenya (2011) noted that in Kenya the glaring indicator of gender inequality is the small number of women in decision making positions and other national governance structures. Further that in the 10th Parliament some gains have been made as the House is comprised of 16 elected and 6 nominated women Members of Parliament making a total of 22 (10%) women MPs out of a total of 224 members compared to 18 (8%) women MPs in the 9th Parliament. The organization notes that this percentage is way below the recommended threshold of 30%. This under-representation in FIDA Kenya's estimation has major implications on the articulation and implementation of the women's agenda in Parliament.

As a result of this gross underrepresentation of women in parliament, FIDA Kenya notes that women remain largely absent at the levels of policy formulation and decision making and are therefore under-represented in policy decision making positions. Even where present, they are usually not equal participants due to such barriers as cultural practices

and masculinity. The organization argues that therefore, there is an urgent need to address this gender disparity by formulation of appropriate policies to ensure appropriate and adequate representation of women in decision-making positions.

FIDA Kenya is its analysis of the 10th parliament looks through the 2008, 2009 and 2010 budgetary allocations in Kenya to determine how gender responsive they have been. The organization notes that the three budgets saw poverty alleviation, education and health sectors being given priority in the budget with the total allocations awarded to these sectors increasing tremendously. The increased allocation to education has been crucial in bridging the wide gap between male and female with respect to access to education.

Ndambuki and Janks (2010) note that Kenyan political discourse has over the last two decades been characterized by efforts towards gender equality and working towards fairness for both genders especially in making opportunities available for leadership roles, yet women continue to be excluded in the political process. The writers go on to point out that women's participation in political decision-making is mostly peripheral. The writers note that in Kenya, the politics of gender intersect with civic politics such that representation in the political sense and representation in the semiotic sense intertwine.

The writer in their research focused on Makueni District and she discovered that women viewed themselves as being general poor in politics which basically points the feeling of most male politicians and other leaders that women are deficient in politics as a male dominated domain. The respondents forming the subject matter of the writers' research

pointed out the sexualization of scandals involving women is common in politics and often seeks to discredit female politicians and generally portrays them an unfit for public office.

Nzomo (2011) while analyzing the participation of women in the Kenyan political scene notes that within the East African region the country has been overtaken by its neighbors in all measures of gender equality. The writer pointed out that in a bid to expand their negotiating power base within the male-dominated political party framework, a few leading women politicians have diversified their political strategies by seeking and attaining the position of chairperson or "owner/founder" of some smaller political parties.

Nzomo further looked into the key gains for women in the new constitution which included in the bill of rights of a legally binding Affirmative Action (AA) principle, backed by additional protocols guaranteeing the implementation of Affirmative Action through quotas and reserved seats in all appointive and electoral processes. The writer also noted that the Affirmative Action provisions bind the state to ensure access to gender equity, and provide measures to correct historic imbalances suffered by all minorities and disadvantaged groups.

While lauding the advances and gains in the constitution for women, the writer also acknowledges that there are some hurdles that attend the Affirmative Action. The first hurdle in Nzomo's estimation is that, whereas the *principle* of AA is clearly embedded in the bill of rights, a simple political arithmetical calculation reveals a deficiency in the *formula* for attaining this goal in key political institutions. The second hurdle in the

writer's view is the fact that the implementation process so far has not demonstrated adequate political will to translate women's new constitutional rights into reality. Nzomo also analyzes whether the female critical mass in parliament made a significant difference. In this regard the scholar notes that there are legislative changes in favor of women that have been sponsored by female Members of Parliament and enacted.

Kamau (2008) notes that the fact that women bring a different perspective may not be in dispute but rather there lacks quantitative research evidencing the specific issues that women legislators have particularly focused on. She makes note of the fact that some skeptics have argued that once women occupy political positions, they forget the plight of their fellow women. The writer also notes further that some women in political positions say once they are in power, they face a lot of stigma from ruthless men who are out to get them at the slightest mistake they make. This therefore means that the women legislators spend most of their time trying to attain certain standards recognizable by the men folk.

The writer in her research looked into how women are viewed as political leaders and she discovered in a structure where a political leader must hail from that particular territory and be registered as a voter in that territory. This geographical hailing, as the writer points out, has some gender implications for married women as they are said to belong to their husband's constituency. The writer also alludes to the financial burden that attends to funding an election campaign which therefore locks out many women owing to lack of funding. Further Kamau, like the other writers previously cited herein above, also points out the socio-cultural nature of most communities which are heavily patriarchal in nature.

Nzomo (1993) contends that Kenya's claim to be a democratic society especially in the era of multi-party can be contented simply on the issue of marginalization of women in politics and public decision-making. She noted that women had not been actively vocal in fighting against their subordinate status. This failure according to the writer is blamed on the socio-cultural practices, and man-made barriers that have been erected in the political and economic arenas in a manner that excludes and marginalizes women. She is however quick to point out that post 1992, the onset of the multi-party era in Kenya, the same argument cannot be said to hold water. This she attributes to the increased democratic space. The writer winds up her discussion by pointing out that women ought to take advantage of the democratic space to put across their agenda.

The writer then goes on to explore the short term and long term strategies she sees as a viable approach for women to pursue in pursuit of their increased participation in politics in Kenya. The short term strategies she notes include women taking advantage of their numerical advantage voters in electoral politics and putting their special organizational and mobilization skills. With respect to the long term strategies, the writer puts forth several strategies key among them being, training programmes to increase the society's understanding of gender equity, development and democracy.

This analysis of writings of various scholars on women's participation in political space in Kenya discussed herein has brought to the fore the challenges that women face while breaking into the political field. The issue of access to political positions has curtailed the journey of many women owing to a myriad of issues ranging from the existing patriarchal structures to poverty and lack of education among others. The writers cited herein above

have also examined affirmative action which has shade light on the fact that it is not a foolproof answer to all concerns women may have on political participation. The writers have lauded the affirmative action strategy as a first step in the right direction but also caution that it is indeed not the only strategy that can successfully remove all ills that bedevil women political aspirants.

The scholarly works examined herein have also shade light on the fact that simply electing women to political positions does not necessarily mean that the women's agenda will be advanced but rather that the elected women more often than not find themselves assimilated into the patriarchal structures. This may according to some of the authors be due to the fact that the political space is not yet engendered and is in fact quite patriarchal thus forcing most women to strive to fit in rather than push forth the agenda on the basis of which they were elected.

There have been remarkable achievements in Rwanda over the last two decades regarding gender equality. The regime over those decades has taken critical efforts to promote gender equality. The constitution has succeeded in integrating gender equality in the national policy (Government of Rwanda 2009). Since the inception of the new government, approximately two thirds of the cabinet has been occupied by women, showing the strong commitment by the government to place issues in the top of the political arena. Extensive mobilization by women organizations gave birth to the 2003 constitution which provides a guarantee for at least 30% women representation in all key decision making organs. In the entire parliament, women representation now stands at 45% (Inter-Parliamentary union 2011).

The achievement of increased gender representation in Rwanda did not come without challenges. Prior to the Rwandan genocide, women were forbidden from engaging in commercial activities or ownership of property (Longman 2006). Men used to dominate most of the social, economic and political aspects of life, with limited opportunities for the women empowerment. It was considered a taboo for women to voice their opinions and were expected to defer to men. The post-colonial government was also ignorant of gender issues affecting the women, and this situation changed only after the Rwanda genocide which made gender equality an issue of political concern at the highest level of society. The genocide offered significant opportunities for transformation when the gender roles where disrupted (Bauer and Britton 2006). These challenges should, however, not be underestimated as led to a long-lasting and profound impact in Rwanda gender relations.

Although Rwanda ranks high internationally in terms of gender parity, the country is lowly ranked in democracy. Practically, the country operates as a single party state under the RPF despite it being a multiparty state. The increased women representation in the parliament may not necessarily reflect gender equality as majority of those women are just card-carrying members of the party or its coalition partners. Those elected to the seats reserved for women are nominated by the RPF party through the Forum of Political Parties, thus being forced to owe allegiance to the party that nominated them rather than to the members of the constituency who elected them. Burnet 2008 contends that numerous analysts have concluded that the women friendly policies by the RPF have

been manipulated as a tool to sustain their power and to attract a positive reception by the international community.

2.2.3 Gender Disparities

Almost half of the women are not engaged in the formal economy across the globe due to cultural factors, economic endowments, and economic opportunities available to them. Most women are not employed and thus are not actively involved in the labor markets (Aguirre et al., 2012). Where women are employed, there are still many gender biases against women in the workplace. Such biases manifest in lack of pay parity between men and women, women being offered menial or low-quality jobs, and general bias in work practices like promotion, salary increment, and workers' treatment.

An analysis done by ILO (2010) in the Middle East, North Africa and OECD countries revealed that more women than men are engaged in temporary or part-time jobs. Women are fully employed; the women were less likely to get promoted compared to their male counterparts (ILO, 2010). Additionally, the female workforce in many countries across the globe was concentrated in occupations and economic sectors that were not very attractive in terms of pay or terms of prestige associated with the work done (ILO, 2010).

In the Middle East countries, ILO (2010) established that women in a given job cadre earned between 10 and 30% lower salaries than their male counterparts. According to the World Bank (2013), women are excluded from many economic fronts than men. In the Middle East and Arab countries, only 25% of the women actively participate in the labor market to have full-time jobs. In South Asia, men have a three times higher likelihood

than women of being offered a job whenever a vacancy arises informal sectors of the economy. The gendered economic disparities are not only in terms of employment but also in farming and entrepreneurial activity.

World Bank (2013) reported that female-headed households in Ethiopia's central highlands tend to produce lower output per acre of land held when compared to male-headed households. The low output on farms by female-headed households is attributed to unequal access to farm inputs. A study done on entrepreneurs in Latin America and the Caribbean revealed that most businesses owned by women were small and did not have employees compared to most businesses by men that were relatively larger and tended to have employees. The study attributed this to the fact that women entrepreneurs tend to start small businesses due to lack of capital and tended to operate in the less profitable sectors of the economy that are not male-dominated.

The major cultural factors leading to gender disparities across the globe relate to women's roles in society. In many societies, women spend their time doing housework, rearing children, and performing nurture roles, which then curtail their potential to be optimally engaged as players in the economy (Aguirre et al., 2012). Typically, in areas like Africa, men still hold on to a bonafide breadwinner's traditional roles in the home. Consequently, when deciding who should work and who should stay at home, women are most likely to be denied opportunities to work and be breadwinners (Aguirre et al., 2012). When jobs are scarce, there is a 60% chance of male applicants being offered the job because they are more associated with providing for family than women.

In terms of endowments, women across the globe are less endowed when compared to men. Considering skill and knowledge endowment, especially in Africa, the male to female school enrolment ratio is still highly in favor of men. By 2012, the World Bank (2013) estimated that close to 57 million schools going female age children were not enrolled in schools across Africa.

Lack of access to education means fewer women than many acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively compete in the economy or labor market (Grant, 2013). In many countries, culturally, girls do not inherit their parents' properties. Lack of inheritance often means women have less access to financial capital, land, and credit facilities that require collateral. This means that women are less endowed in terms of capital access, education, skills, and even networks necessary for business success, unlike boys who get all that through inheritance and access to the education system.

In Kenyan society, women have carried a heavy burden due to male dominance. Gender inequality manifests in terms of the distribution of roles and attitudes towards girls or women's capability in society. Wanjala and Odongo (2010) point out that boys and girls have had unequal opportunities in Kenyan society. Gender equality thus calls for measures that would give girls opportunities to have equal footing. Such efforts have to be aligned to equipping girls to have capabilities to compete fairly for available opportunities in society (Ibid, 2010).

Gender roles have changed dramatically in Rwanda following the 1994 genocide which resulted into a swift change within the society, mostly in relation to gender roles. The

genocide destroyed the existing physical and economic infrastructure, placing women at top of their households following the absence of their husbands.

2.3 Constitutional and political attempts to improve women representation in the parliament of Kenya and Rwanda

2.3.1 Gender Equality in Programmes

Programmatic Gender Equality as a strategy for ensuring gender parity was adopted in the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (World Bank, 2003). Since the 1995 Beijing conference, governments have ratified measures to entrench gender perspectives in planning, budgeting, and program implementation (World Bank, 2003).

Training programs have been organized by global institutions as well as governments to enlighten people on gender issues. The UN and its agencies have been promoting programs to provide strategic interventions that reduce gender gaps globally. Such interventions include research, training, trade, support networks, media sensitization, judicial reviews, and empowering women to participate in politics. One of the key programmatic areas in gender Equality is education. It is now 24 years since the 1990 Jomtien World conference on education for all (Achoka et al., 2007). Some of the conference's significant resolutions were to enhance access and quality education while narrowing down gender disparities in enrolment into the education system (Achoka et al., 2007). Following the conference, governments worldwide have been keen to ensure increased access to basic education, and primary education is a central government priority. In Kenya, Achoka et al. (2007) argued that universal education had not been

attained despite many efforts, and challenges remain in plugging the gender gap in education access.

Bendera (1999) demonstrated that gender equality in Tanzania's education had largely failed due to women being treated as objects (only recipients) rather than actors or drivers of the required change. According to Bendera (1999), other factors affecting the realization of universal education in Tanzania were the cost of education, leading to a trade-off between a boy and girl education. Brock and Cammish (1998) did a study highlighting how socioeconomic and religious factors influence girl-child access to education. Considering economic against cultural factors, many researchers show that cultural factors have more influence on access to education by girls (Bendera, 1999; Brock and Cammish, 1998; Colclough et al., 2000; Logan and Beouku Betts, 1996).

Gender Equality efforts in Kenya have been donor-driven (World Bank, 2003). The problem with donor-driven projects is that they lack sustainability due to slow or limited grassroots buy-in. There are strongly religious, cultural, economic, and political hurdles that make gender equality a long and challenging undertaking. The government of Kenya has put in measures to facilitate gender equality, but the political will of implementing such measures against the cultural current is lacking.

Kenya subscribes to various international protocols on equal opportunity for both men and women. According to Wanjala and Odongo (2010), some of the key protocols signed by Kenya are the universal declaration of human rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Right (1966) and the International Covenant on

Economic and Social Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1985), the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategy, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Rights of Women in Africa (2003). All these protocols promote human dignity and are required for equal and equitable treatment of men and women.

In Kenya, many organizations are working towards realizing gender equality (World Bank, 2003). The new constitution establishes a gender commission working hand in hand with many gender activism organizations to advance gender equity and equality concerns at the national level (Wanjala and Odongo, 2010). While strides continue to be made at the national level, the Parliamentary Services or devolved units of government offer a unique opportunity to take the gender debate to the grassroots (Wanjala and Odongo, 2010). Women's participation is an essential element in rural development.

In Rwanda, its constitution outlaws any form of discrimination based on gender, disability, language or social status (Precious, 2008). Rwandan government has committed significant efforts in ensuring gender equality by signing the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In Rwanda's political arena, the issue of gender has been given a very high profile.

Precious (2008) argues that there is a plethora of institutions and development programmes established under the Rwandan government to promote and enhance the status and welfare of women in all aspects of life. Under these institutions, the

government has created the Ministry of Gender and Development which has the responsibility of implementing the Beijing Accords. The Ministry is mandated with the responsibility to coordinate policy implementation in promoting gender equality issues.

2.3.2 Gender Equality at the Workplace

Baird and Williamson (2010) researched the role of women in industrial relations in Australia. The study established that there were very few women as compared to men in senior management positions. An analysis of the work environment and work-related women's rights shows that women are still disadvantaged due to biological and social roles (Baird and Williamson, 2010). Gender Equality at the workplace has to address work-family balance issues, women's participation in decision-making, inequalities in pay between men and women, and addressing the social roles ascribed to either gender (ILO, 2009). The ILO (2009) report highlights the need for tripartite engagement in gender equality at the workplace. This means that employer or employer association, employees, or their association and government have to participate to ensure successful gender Equality at the workplace. Additionally, the ILO (2009) report advocates for greater involvement of gender activists and national gender commissions in sensitizing the public about work-related gender issues.

Women's involvement in tripartite or bipartite collective agreement negotiations is very low (ILO, 2009). This then contributes to the low representation of women issues in labor relations. According to Heery (2006), in the UK experience, raising gender issues such as gender pay gap was dependent on women's participation in trade unions, the public

policy environment, and personal concerns of the officers involved in the negotiations. Selwyn (2009) studied rural organizations in Northeast Brazil and found that more women participated in rural organizations. This is because many agricultural sector firms employ women, and thus trade unions in such cases have more women participation. Due to women's participation in the trade unions, Selwyn (2009) established that the trade unions addressed more women's issues leading to women empowerment.

Just like in Kenya, more women are engaged in informal sector activities in India. Meager earnings and dire working conditions characterize the informal sector. Based on her research Dasgupta, (2003) identifies training and formation of workgroups as avenues for empowering women in the informal sector. Women organized into groups have more bargaining power when they engage the market than those operating individually.

Structural barriers to women empowerment and economic freedom exist in Rwanda. There are several institutional, societal, political and legal policies and practices that pose challenges to economic gender equality. Within the paid labor sector, women face disproportionately low representation and disparate treatment. The rates of unemployment for women are higher than men in Rwanda (17.5% compared to 16.1%). Similarly, there is occupational discrimination in Rwanda with a higher proportion of women working in agrarian sector while men concentrate on the industrial and service sector. In cases where women succeed in securing formal employment, they receive less payment than men in the same sector (Gender Equality Strategy 2020). Thus, the gap in gender pay in Rwanda is higher than the global average (27% compared to 23%).

2.3.3 Gender Equality in Recruitment

Cooke (2003) did a study in china that revealed that women were minority employees in government organizations. According to Cooke (2003), it was difficult for women to gain employment in government because of a tokenism culture. Individuals got government jobs based on political patronage and tokenism. Additionally, to get a government job, individuals have to engage in corruption and lobbying.

Women may not have the capacity or connections to engage in political lobbying. Most women who gain employment in political offices benefit from nepotism, patronage, or sexual favors. Unless gender equality concerns drive hiring, the social norms and cultural practices are not in favor of women being hired into senior government positions. Therefore, only gender-sensitive laws ensure women are accorded opportunity; Hence in many government institutions, concerns are merely to meet the legal gender stipulations. An area of concern for hiring women in government and private sector organizations is the composition of the hiring boards and committees (Matsa et al., 2011). An analysis of hiring trends in the USA by Matsa et al. (2015), showed that organizations with more women on the board of directors also tended to have a greater proportion of women employees. Therefore, when more women participate in recruitment and employee management, more women are employed in influential positions.

2.3.4 Gender Equality in Legislation

The legislation is an essential tool for introducing and enforcing social change. For long, pieces of legislation have been used as tools against women empowerment. For instance,

suffrage laws in countries like Britain were traditionally against women's participation in politics. Laws define how individuals in society deal with each other. In Kenya, Ellis et al. (2007) pointed out that many laws have been discriminatory in providing an enabling environment for both men and women alike. Kenya has ratified many international treaties and enacted many pieces of legislation to enhance the welfare of women and protect them from discrimination. Some of the international treaties and conventions that Kenya has ratified as quoted in Ellis et al. (2007) are:-

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966)

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979)

The African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's Rights (African Charter) (1981)

The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003).

Notwithstanding, international treaties, and conventions, the Constitution of Kenya 2010, have clear provisions on equality and non-discrimination. The challenge remains in harmonizing the legislation with customary practices defined by age-long traditions and practices of the people, especially in rural areas in Kenya. In article 82 of the constitution, it states that "Non-discrimination does not apply to a law that deals with adoption, marriage, divorce, burial, inheritance, or other matters of personal law nor to "members of a particular race or tribe" with respect to the application of their customary law." The

matrimonial laws and succession laws still permit cultural considerations, which are largely patriarchal and discriminatory.

Forrest (2004) argued that labor laws and policy had long perpetuated economic exploitation and denial of opportunities to women in industrial relations. According to Forrest (2004), collective bargaining helped address some gender issues like the gender pay gap in Canada. However, the industrial relations policies and laws remained insensitive to gender issues. Legislation and policy documents did not pay attention to women's unique needs and circumstances and thus denied the women equal opportunity to participate in industrial endeavors. While it is vital to have gender-sensitive trade unions that advocate for gender equality at the workplace, legal and policy reforms are necessary to ensure the policy is not male-biased.

Baird et al. (2009) underscored the importance of legislation in gender Equality at the workplace. Having analyzed collective agreements in Australia between 2003 and 2007, Baird et al. (2009) established that legislation, especially regarding paid leave and paternity had influenced agreements. Samantha (2008) explored the gender equality efforts in Italy. According to Samantha (2008), based on Italy's experience, legislation and policy are critical catalysts in gender equality. Parker (2009) studied factors affecting women's participation and workplace engagement. The key factors that affect women's workplace engagement are leadership commitment to promoting women, organizational structure and role division, workplace conditions, equality legislation, and government policy.

Many organizations or managers tend to implement government policy or legislation strictly. They put in place minimal effort to ensure they are legally compliant. Therefore, there is a need for effort to ensure legislation and policies are gender-sensitive and promote gender equality. Sharing the experience of Germany and the wider European Union, Fuchs (2010) underscores the role of legislation in delivering the realization of important outcomes like reducing the gender pay gap and enhancing participation in collective bargaining. According to Fuchs (2010), a robust legislative framework and strategic litigation in Switzerland, France, and Germany have helped enhance gender equity in the workplace. Strategic litigation has helped analyze all collective agreements and statutes to ensure they are free of gender bias. A review of 167-member country national legislations by ILO (2010) revealed that many women who work on a temporal basis or casuals were not legally covered. Consequently, such women did not benefit from maternity leave provisions and other benefits (ILO, 2010).

Precious (2008) points out that Rwanda has reformed the existing laws and designed new ones in compliance with the 2003 constitution and international standards. Numerous legal reforms have recently been established to enhance and promote women status in every area of the society. Such areas include the inheritance law, labor code, and family law. All these have been designed and restructured to solve discrimination against women in socio-economic relations. The authorities in Rwanda have undertaken policy actions to address inequities in areas such as education and formal employment in the economy. In order to promote gender equality and uphold women rights in Rwanda, the Gender Monitoring Office was created under the constitution (Precious, 2008).

The government of Rwanda has created a conducive legal and policy environment that has been of significant help in contributing towards the realization of gender equality and women empowerment in all the sectors of the country. Among these legal and policy frameworks include;

The 2003 republic of Rwanda constitution (revised in 2015): under this, the government has provided for the upholding of gender equality principles and women's rights. The constitution has provided for a minimum 30% gender quota for women in decision-making organs across all sectors.

The Rwanda vision 2020 under which gender equality has been recognized as a critical issue. The government seeks to establish a gender friendly legal and policy framework.

National Gender Policy 2010: This sought to set the Rwandan society free from all forms of gender based discrimination and establish an environment for equal where men and women contribution and benefiting from the national development goals.

Sector Gender Mainstreaming Strategies: Different sectors including Private Sector, Infrastructure, Agriculture, and Employment have come up with gender mainstreaming strategies to guide their strategic interventions on the promotion of gender equality and women empowerment.

Girls' Education Policy 2008: This policy aims at guiding and promoting sustainable actions for the progressive elimination of gender disparities in education and training and in management structures.

National Policy against Gender Based Violence 2011: This policy was meant to progressively eliminate gender-based violence through the development of a preventive, protective, supportive and transformative environment.

National Decentralization Policy 2012: This policy specifies the Rwandan government's commitment to empower its citizens to determine their destiny. Furthermore, it considers gender equality and social inclusiveness among the policy fundamental principles.

The Health Sector Policy 2015: The policy emphasizes on provision of 'people-centered services' as one of its guiding principles and values, with key focus on "the well-being of individuals and communities", with special attention to women and children.

Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation 2018 - 2024 (PSTA IV): This plan stresses the importance of intensification and commercialization of Rwandan agricultural sector to reduce poverty and spearhead growth. Moreover, strategies to address key gender issues within the sector were outlined by the plan.

Organic Law on State Finances and Property: This is a gender responsive planning and budgeting programme (GRB) adopted by the Government of Rwanda to ensure the realization of gender commitments. The implementation of the programme was further

reinforced by the establishment of a law that catered for accountability on financing for gender equality, providing mandatory gender responsive planning and reporting through Gender Budget Statements (GBS).

Governing Land in Rwanda: Land reform in Rwanda advocated for women and men to have equal rights and enjoyment over their land properties. As a result, both men and women have land titles registered under their names and this has facilitated access of loans by women from financial institutions and to take part in income generating activities.

Governing Matrimonial Regimes, Donations and Successions: This law on matrimonial regimes, donations and successions provides that both boys and girls have the same rights to inherit properties from their parents.

However, cultural and legal barriers exist which reduce women's access to financing from banks and other financial institutions. As a result, women find themselves fixed and confined into traditionally defined roles that lead to a cycle of poverty and overdependence (Gender Equality Strategy, 2020).

2.3.5 The Two-Thirds Gender Rule

The two-thirds gender rule is a form of affirmative action that has been promoted globally. Affirmative action is used to make amends for forms of unjustifiable discrimination in the past. Affirmative action as a formal policy is first traced to the "United States Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Pojman, 2006). This act expressly sought to

address the rights of minorities, especially blacks, in America and provided grounds for redress against discrimination. After many years of women empowerment through universal suffrage and education in Europe and the USA, a certain level of gender parity has been realized. However, it is important to note that even in those countries, a third gender rule has proved difficult to enforce considering scenarios like male dominance in parliaments in the USA and Europe.

According to Bauer and Britton (2006), countries with strong states that are gender-conscious have tended to achieve greater women participation in all public spheres. For instance, in Africa, countries like Burundi, Eritrea, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Angola, which have strong parties dominating politics, have been cited as leading examples where women participation in government and politics is highly enhanced (Bauer and Britton, 2006). For instance, in Rwanda, after the 2013 elections, 64% of the Parliamentary Servants were women; thus, Rwanda became a world leader in terms of women's participation or role in politics. Using quota systems such as the one third gender rule, African countries are increasingly guaranteeing women's participation in politics.

In Kenya, to empower women and enable them to compete favorably with men in the Kenyan society, affirmative action has been embraced (World Bank, 2003). Affirmative action is hailed because it offers a disadvantaged group the opportunity to develop their skills, talent, and acumen to compete at the same level as their more privileged compatriots. Attempts to empower women in Kenya begin with the formation of Maendeleo ya Wanawake in 1952 with the intent of promoting women's rights and

enhancing gender equity in the country. The first gender-based affirmative action in Kenya was in the education sector, where girls are given lower entry-level cut-off points than boys. Through such an action, more girls have been able to join secondary schools and institutions of higher learning (Ellis et al., 2007).

Other forms of affirmative action aimed at empowering women have been lowering of entry points for girls in the education system, establishment of gender advocacy groups such as FIDA and league of Kenya women voters, review of Employment Act 2007 that captured women rights at the workplace and most recently the passing of the two-thirds gender rule. The two-thirds gender rule applies to all spheres of the public sector, including politics. Women's participation in politics in Kenya has been peripheral. Since independence, women have been underrepresented in elective and non-elective public offices (FIDA, 2013). The first election in Kenya was held in 1963, and there was no woman Parliamentary Servant.

Due to agitation, by 1997, women were 4.1% of the parliamentarians (FIDA, 2013). This number increased to 8.1% in 2002 and 2007 due to more women being elected and nominated, and the number increased to 9.8% (FIDA, 2013). One of the most commonly used affirmative action measures is the use of quotas. A quota is a fixed percentage that is prescribed to the disadvantaged group. In Kenya, one such quota is the two-thirds gender rule. The two-thirds gender rule applies to all positions in public service. To ensure gender parity, the new constitution of 2010 introduced the two-thirds gender rule that applies to elective and public services positions. At the national level, there has been heated debate on how to implement the two-third gender rule considering that in the first

post new constitution election; only 5.5% of elected members of parliament were women (FIDA, 2013).

Despite the constitution providing for the two-thirds gender consideration, it has become a widely debated issue because the constitution does not provide a framework for its realization. The first borne of contention is whether article 81 of the constitution is progressive or need to be implemented immediately. In a Supreme Court ruling of December 2012, the article was declared progressive, implying that the two-thirds gender rule did not have to be realized pronto.

Many institutions have been grappling with how to realize the two-third gender principles and within what timelines. Parliament was expected to enact a law by August 2015 that would affect the gender principle in the constitution. While the realization of the two-third gender principle is progressive for the national assembly, the Supreme Court basing on article 177 of the constitution indicated that achieving such a threshold in the county assembly was not progressive.

Rwanda set aside 30% of the parliamentary seats for women in its two-thirds constitution rule. Besides, the government has established a separate procedure for the election of women to the parliament, aimed at preventing and protecting the women from falling prey under the general electoral roll. Under this establishment, all political parties are required to preserve 30 % of their posts for women, as per the law. Rwanda also ensures that women rights are protected and guaranteed through the National Human Rights Commission established under the constitution. As a result, most senior positions under

the Rwandan government are held by women, and almost half (49) of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies are held by women, being the largest in the world.

However, despite the tremendous efforts in reducing gender discrimination in Rwanda, women still experience social discrimination. They are tasked with majority of family and household chores and work in the agrarian sector. Majority of the women were abused sexually during the Rwanda genocide. Major gaps still exist in regard to ownership and control of major resources and vital means of production. In terms of access to social services like education and health, gender based inequalities still exist. Women have not yet been fully integrated into local government processes.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

COUNTY LEGISLATION
- Gender sensitivity Labor laws concern such as paid leave and maternity
- Gender sensitivity of government legislation
- Gender related Legal compliance levels

COUNTY RECRUITMENT PRACTICES
- Ratio of women to men hired
- Positions held by women
- Special recruitment considerations accorded women

COUNTY WORKPLACE PRACTICES
- Participation of women in work place forums
- Reproductive Rights of women
- Work– family balance issues
- Equal pay concerns
- Women representation in Trade Unions
- Attitude towards women at the work place

SUCCESSFUL GENDER MAINSTREAMING
- Gender Equity and Equality
- Gender Sensitivity, Awareness and Appreciation

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework provided in figure 2.1 shows that gender equality in parliament is the independent variable. Gender equality is to be measured in terms of levels of participation of either gender in parliamentary processes. Additionally, gender equality is indicated by levels of appreciation, awareness, and sensitivity to gender issues in programming and execution of Parliamentary Service functions.

The dependent variables in the study are legislation, parliamentary recruitment practices, and parliament workplace practices. Legislation passed by parliament that informs operation both by parliament and the country at large. Such laws have either been formulated by the Kenyan parliament or adopted by the country from the international gender-related legislative agenda. This study investigates the level of gender sensitivity of county laws passed by the county assemblies and compliance with the laws on gender in general.

The second variable is the parliamentary recruitment practices. Key considerations about recruitment practices are the ratio of women to men hired in recruitment activities, special recruitment considerations for women during the recruitment, and men's ratio to women in high positions in the parliamentary hierarchy.

Finally, gender equality at parliament was determined by the workplace practices emerging in the Parliamentary Service. Such practices include the participation of women in key committees and forums, mechanisms for catering for the reproductive rights of women within the workplace, the management of work-family balance, equal pay for equal work concerns, women representation in Trade Unions, and general attitudes towards women workers in the Parliamentary hierarchy.

2.5 Summary of Literature and Research Gaps

Theoretical literature reviewed focuses on how an individual's capabilities are dependent on facilitative freedoms on the broader society. The capability approach emphasizes the

idea that individual functionings are dependent on capability attained depending on existing facilitative freedoms in society. Wellbeing is measured in terms of capability, thus requires to focus on the choices individuals have given the context. The liberal feminist theory points to the understanding that women have potential, and once given an enabling environment, they can achieve and succeed just like the men. These two theories raise issues that need to be considered in analyzing gender issues in government devolution units.

The empirical literature reviewed points to gender equality in organizations being three-pronged. Gender equality is dependent on policies and legislative frameworks that are put in place. Literature shows that most organizations seek to comply with established legal stipulations in effecting gender issues at the workplace. However, compliance itself is not enough; literature shows that the various workplace practices should be streamlined for gender Equality to be effective. Some key workplace issues related to women's reproductive rights, work pay, and freedom from discrimination and harassment. Finally, gender parity in the workplace is highly influenced by the recruitment practices. Empirical literature shows that organizations in which women have been hired into senior positions also tend to become more sensitive to gender concerns.

Considering the aforementioned, there is a need to generate empirical evidence on how gender Equality objectives are being pursued in devolved government levels in Kenya. Parliamentary processes hold the promise of enhancing the participation of women in governance and development. However, the attainment of optimal levels of women's participation in development depends on how given areas of concern in parliamentary

processes are made gender-conscious. For this reason, research in gender equality practices at parliament becomes critical, relevant, and timely.

This literature review has also highlighted that little research has been done to properly analyze the performance the few women who have scaled the political heights in Kenya. The issue of accountability with respect to espousing the women's agenda when elected has also not been interrogated and therefore there is little that has been written on this subject. There is therefore still a lacuna in the analysis of women in politics in Kenya. This may be the key that will unlock the rather stagnant participation of women in politics.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology adopted in the study. Kothari (2004) explains that research methodology refers to the steps that are adopted by a researcher in studying the research problem as informed by logic. The section looks into the research design, variables and location of the study, target population, sampling technique and sample size, the research instrument, validity, reliability, data collection methods, and data analysis procedures.

3.1 Research Design

In this research, a descriptive survey design was adopted, which involved using semi-structured questionnaires to collect data from a sample of respondents. The strategy is considered appropriate for this research since is generates both qualitative and quantitative data that helps in enhancing research reliability and validity (Saunders, Lewis &Thornhill, 2012; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Moreover, a descriptive survey has the advantage of allowing the researcher to study the research problem from several perspectives (Yin, 2009).

3.2 Study site

This study was carried out at the Parliament of Kenya, bicameral houses consisting of both the Senate and the National Assembly. Parliamentary staff and parliamentarians provide a good ground for investigating all legislative issues relating to gender quality.

3.3 Research Population

This study targeted the different stakeholders in the Parliament of Kenya. Such stakeholders included the political leaders (the senators and members of the national assembly), The Parliamentarian Public Service Board (PPSB), and the parliamentary employees.

3.4 Sampling

The research employed stratified random sampling when identifying elements to include in the research sample population. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define strata as a homogenous layers or divisions. Considering the research population, a stratum is a homogenous subgroup or population category in the research population. Stratified sampling is used where the research population can be divided into homogenous subgroups. The Parliament in Kenya is Bicameral, and it also has both parliamentarians (politicians) and the parliamentary staff (civil service). The sampling frame was as presented in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: *Sampling Frame*

Population Category	Population Sub Category	Total Population	Sample Population
Parliamentary Service Commission	Commissioners		
Parliamentary Civil Service	Directors		
	Senior Staff		
	Subordinate Staff		
Parliamentarians	Senators		
	Members of the National Assembly		
Totals			

3.5 Data Collection Methods

This study relied on both primary and secondary data sources. Information from stakeholders at parliament was obtained through a semi-structured questionnaire. According to Neumann (2005), a semi-structured questionnaire (Appendix 1) is a research tool that predominantly has questions with alternative answers or responses provided and open-ended questions i.e., questions without a predetermined set of answers that respondents can answer as they wish. Structured questions tend to be closed questions or rating questions. A 5point Likert scale was used in the questionnaire, where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. This helped reduce response variation and enhance reliability. The semi-structured questionnaires were personally administered by

the researcher or a research assistant to the respondents at their place of work. This method was preferred because it increases the response rate.

Data from key informants was collected through key informant interviews using an interview guide (see appendix II). Secondary data was sourced from county records or any publications, both hard and electronic through content analysis. The research objectives guided the collection of relevant secondary data.

3.6 Data Analysis

After data collection, the questionnaires were edited and coded, and summary tables prepared to facilitate recording and further analysis. Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to facilitate statistical analysis. There was data collected about the general characteristics of the respondents. Such general details included years in the county, department, and job title. Such data was nominal and was analyzed through summarizing using basic frequency distributions like calculating percentages.

All the research objectives of this study seek to assess gender equality levels or practices in Parliamentary Service. Likert scale questions were used to obtain respondents' ratings of various practices. Data obtained through Likert scale ratings was analyzed through generations of mean ratings and standard deviations. The mean (average) is a measure of central tendency, showing the general trend. The standard deviation is a measure of variance, and it was used to determine the variance in the respondents' ratings. The study

endeavored to establish actual gender Equality practices effected, and factors influence success or failure to address the research objectives.

To show whether there is a relationship between variables, chi-square tests were done. The chi-square tests help show the strength of the relationship between variables in cases dealing with a qualitative variable. There were open-ended questions in the semi-structured questionnaire that were answered in story form or through narratives and subjected to content analysis. Additionally, secondary data was collected from documents sourced from the different departments and general library material. Such data was largely qualitative and was summarized and analyzed thematically. Analyzed data was presented through narratives, figures, and tables. The narratives were organized around given themes. Tabulation helped towards a better presentation of numerical data, while charts, graphs, and pictures helped in showing relations between variables or characteristics of variables in a pictorial way.

3.7 Ethical Issues

Ethical considerations are measures or the code of conduct to be followed when undertaking a study and developing the research report. For proper identification, the researcher sought an introductory letter from the university. The researcher also sought permission from relevant Parliamentary Service officials in the sampled counties before collecting data. The researcher exercised full disclosure through proper identification and explaining of research intents. Additionally, any confidential details about or shared by the respondents were not compromised. The researcher applied the anonymity principle

by ensuring the respondents' names were not indicated on research instruments during the collection of data. The researcher ensured a representative sample size and objective analysis of data. The school research format was followed, and all applicable codes of conduct adhered to.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This study was a comparative study of Kenya and Rwanda in assessment of the role of legislature in attainment of gender equality. The study sought to achieve the following specific objectives: To explain and examine gender disparity in parliamentary representation in Kenya with comparison to Rwanda, to analyze constitutional and political attempts to improve women representation in the parliament of Kenya and Rwanda, and to examine the achievements of the attempts to address gender disparity in the Kenyan and Rwandan parliament. This chapter presents the findings from the study as per the objectives.

4.1 General Information

4.1.1 Response Rate

Primary data was successfully collected from employees in the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC). The employees were spread across different departments, and the response rate as per the departments in the PSC is as presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1*: Response Rate*

Department	Sample Size	Response	Response Rate
Research and Information Services	120	105	87.5%
Finance	25	20	80%
HR and administration	20	20	100%
Procurement	16	15	93.8%
ICT	2	2	100%
Security	8	8	100%
Totals	**183**	**162**	**88.5%**

Source: Field Data (2019)

As shown in Table 4.1 above, the study achieved a response rate of 88.5%. Cooper and Schindler (2003) indicated that a response rate of between 30 to 80% of the total sample size is sufficient to represent the entire population's opinion. Therefore, the response rate attained in the study was not only sufficient but satisfactory.

4.1.2 Respondent Category

The employees in the Parliamentary Service can be divided into three categories. The first category is technical employees who are involved in offering technical services in the PSC. The second category comprises administrative staff, while the third category comprises support staff. The distribution of respondents as per the different categories is as provided in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: *Distribution of Category of Respondents*

Category of Respondent	Frequency	Percent
Clerical and Support Staff	27	14.8
Technical Staff	120	69.8
Administrative staff	15	9.3
Total	162	100.0

Source: Field Data (2019)

As shown in table 4.2, the respondents were from three key categories; the support staff, the technical staff and the administrative staff. The majority of the respondents (120 employees or 70% of the respondents) were technical staff. All the directors at the PSC were included in the study but the commissioners of the PSC were left out. The administrative employees were 15 (9% of all respondents) and they include all administrators and secretaries from whom data was collected. The support staff or clerical employees were 27 (15% of total respondents). The study explored the years in service of the respondents. The findings were as presented in figure 4.1 below.
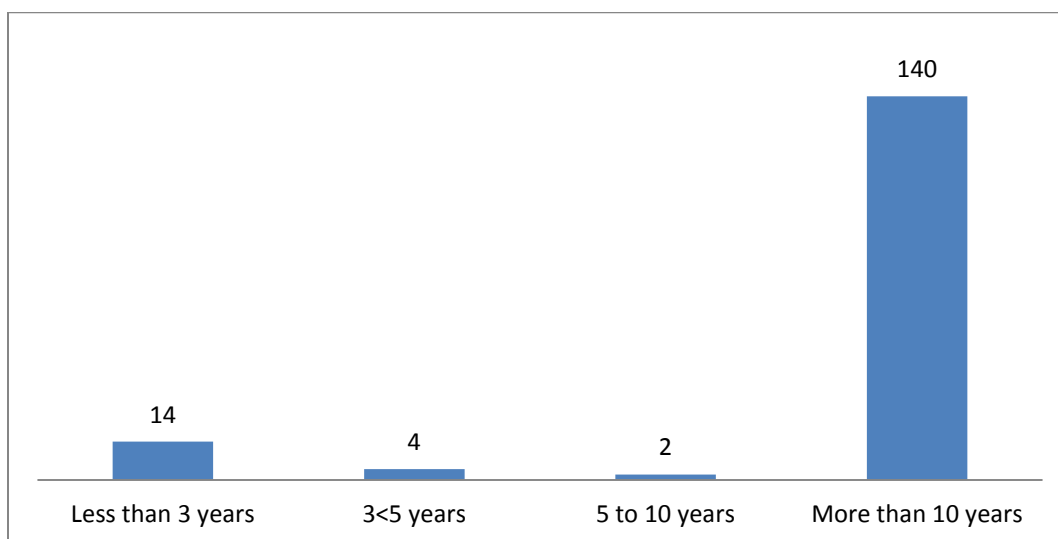
Source: Field Data (2019)

Figure 4.1: Years in Service of the Respondents

Data presented in figure 4.1 shows that out of the 162 respondents drawn from the PSC, 14 had worked for less than 3 years, 4 had been in the service for 3 to less than 5 years, two respondents had been in the services for 5 to 10 years while one hundred and forty respondents had been in the service for more than 10 years. This implies that most of the respondents had enough experience working in the PSC to provide a clear understanding of practices in the PSC.

4.2 Gender Equality Levels in the Parliamentary Service in Kenya

To measure gender equality levels, the researcher focused on exploring the awareness and understanding of gender equality as a concept. Thus, the respondents were asked whether they understood the concept and further asked to explain the concept in their

own words. From the responses, the researcher categorized the respondents, as shown in Figure 4.2.
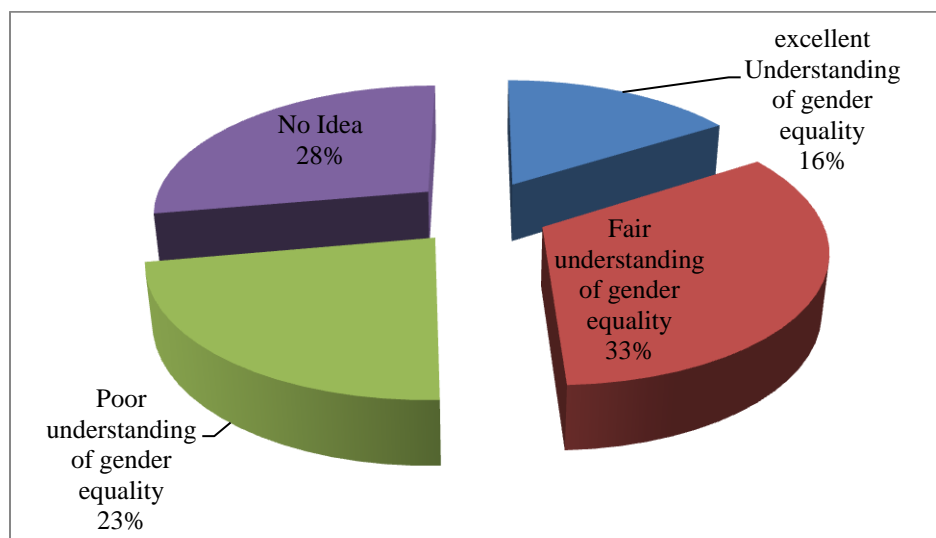
Source: Field Data (2019)

Figure 4.2: Respondents Level of Understanding of Gender Equality

As shown in figure 4.2, the majority (72%) of the respondents had some idea about gender equality, while 28% had no idea about gender equality. Those who had a poor understanding of gender equality reduced it to efforts to make women powerful or stand up to men. Those who had a fair understanding of the concept related it to women empowerment but went beyond acknowledging men as part of the gender equality agenda. Those who had an excellent understanding of gender equality expressed a clear understanding of gender issues especially the need for gender equity and gender equality in policy formulation, programming, implementation of programs and in all aspects of engagement in such a manner that both men and women get opportunities to enjoy their

freedoms, their rights and to pursue their aspirations without any forms of discriminations owing to gender.

To further explore gender equality levels, the respondents were provided with a total of 7 statements relating to the costs of gender equality in PSC. The respondents were asked to rate, in their opinion, the extent to which they agreed to the statements. The ratings were on a scale of 1-5, where (1) =No Extent, (2) = Small Extent, (3) = Medium Extent, (4) = High Extent and 5) = Very High Extent. The frequency distributions for the responses against each of the statements are provided in table 4 below.

Table 4.3: Respondents Rating of Statements on Gender Equality in PSC

Statement on Level of Gender Equality	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
My PSC has successfully mainstreamed gender issues	5.7%	8.6%	37.1%	42.9%	5.7%	3.3429	.93755
All programs in my PSC are gender sensitive	14.3%	28.6%	34.3%	17.1%	5.7%	2.7143	1.10004
The PSC has set clear gender policy, objectives and targets	8.6%	20.0%	8.6%	42.9%	20.0%	3.4571	1.26823
All employees in the PSC know about gender issues	20.0%	20.0%	28.6%	14.3%	17.1%	2.8857	1.36708
All stakeholders in the PSC appreciate the need for gender equality	14.3%	22.9%	11.4%	25.7%	25.7%	3.2571	1.44187
All PSC programs promote gender equity	8.6%	17.1%	37.1%	20.0%	17.1%	3.2000	1.18322
Complaints about involvement of women in governance are minimal in our PSC	28.0%	27.0%	20.6%	14.3%	10.1%	2.9456	1.38073
Valid N (list wise)	162						

Source: Field   Data   (2019)

Data presented in Table 4.3 shows how respondents agreed to statements on the level of gender equality in PSC. Considering the mean rating of 3.3429, the majority of the respondents tended towards agreeing to a medium extent that Parliamentary Service has successfully mainstreamed gender issues. The statement "All programs in my PSC are gender sensitive" had a mean rating of 2.7143. As the percentages show, most of the respondents agreed with the statement to a small extent (28.6%) and a medium extent (34.3%).

The statement "The PSC has set clear gender policy, objectives and targets" received mixed reactions considering the mean rating of 3.4571 and a standard deviation of 1.27. Looking at the frequency distributions, 8.6% agreed to no extent, 20% agreed to a small extent, 8.6% agreed to a medium extent, 42.9% agreed to a great extent, while 20% agreed to a high extent. This is interesting because while 62.9% agreed to a great extent, 28.6% agreed to a small extent or no extent. As explained by respondents, Parliamentary Service is required to meet certain gender targets and adhere to given national instruments on gender. However, as a PSC, little has been done to set PSC customized targets on gender.

The respondents agreed to a medium extent to the statement that "All employees in the PSC know about gender issues". As shown in table 4.3, the mean rating was 2.8857; the respondents who said they agreed to no extent were 20%, those who agreed to a small extent were 20%, medium extent was 28.6%, to a great extent were 14.3% while 17.1% agreed to a very great extent.

The respondents moderately agreed to the statement that "All stakeholders in the PSC appreciate the need for gender equality". The mean rating was 3.2571, but most respondents agreed to the statement to a high or very high extent. Out of 162 respondents, 11.4% agreed to a medium extent, 25.7% agreed to a high extent, and 25.7% agreed to a very high extent. This implies that more than half of the respondents thought that parliamentary service stakeholders appreciate the need for gender equality. The respondents agreed to a moderate extent, mean rating of 3.2000, that "All PSC programs promote gender equity". This means, to a certain extent, they do, but there is huge room for improvement. Considering the standard deviation, the variance was very high across most of the statements. The respondents were asked to name one factor, which they thought was the major cause of gender inequality in PSC. Various factors were mentioned, and the distribution of respondents across the different factors mentioned is presented in Figure 4.3.
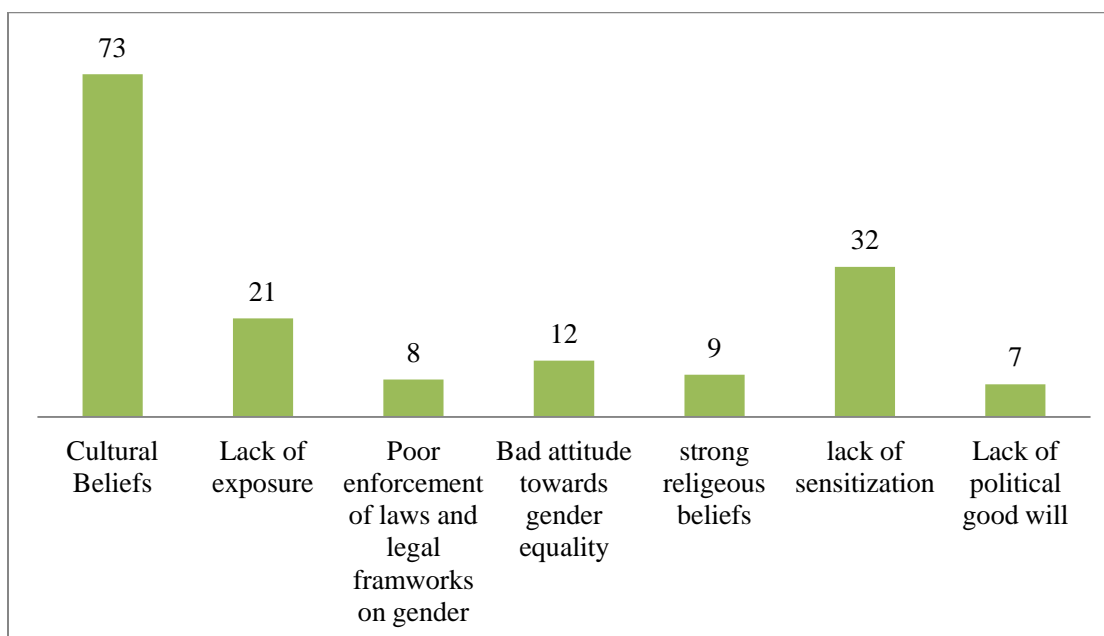
Figure 4.3: Major Cause of Gender inequality in PSC

 Source: Field Data (2019)

As shown in figure 4.3, the major cause of gender inequality in Parliamentary Service is Cultural beliefs (73 mentions), followed by lack of sensitization (32 mentions), lack of exposure (21 mentions), lousy attitude towards gender equality (12 mentions), strong religious beliefs (9), poor enforcement of laws on gender (8) and lack of political good was (7).

4.3 Gender Equality in PSC Legislation

The legislation is an important process of coding the norms of a people and their aspirations in terms of principles and expected courses of action in the face of competing

interests and values. The legislative process is key to gender equality because it leads to laws that, when enforced, guarantee the realization of gender equality outcomes.

To understand the gender equality level in the legislative agenda in PSC, the respondents were asked to rate various statements on legislation and legal instruments applied, developed, or put in place in Parliamentary Service that have gender implications. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to 6 statements on gender equality through legislation. The ratings were on a scale of 1-5, where (1) = Very Small Extent, (2) = Small Extent, (3) = Medium Extent, (4) = High Extent and 5) = Very High Extent. The frequency distributions for the responses against each of the statements are provided in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Respondents' Rating of Statements on Gender Equality through Legislation

Statements on Gender in Legislation	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
PSC has a gender policy in place	18.6%	20.0%	31.4%	17.1%	12.9%	2.2571	1.26823
All legislations in the PSC are gender sensitive	5.7%	2.9%	22.9%	20.0%	48.6%	4.0286	1.17538
No law passed by the parliament has raised gender concerns	11.4%	37.1%	20.0%	20.0%	11.4%	2.8286	1.22440
The one third gender rule is strictly adhered to by PSC	14.3%	14.3%	40%	20%	11.4%	3.0000	1.18818
Women participation in legislative processes is optimal	65.7%	14.3%	14.3%	5.7%	0%	1.6571	1.10992
Women participation in policy formulation processes is optimal	11.4%	2.9%	22.9%	28.6%	34.3%	3.7143	1.29641
Valid N (list wise)	162						

Source: Field   Data   (2019)

The respondents, as shown in table 4.4, agreed to a low extent (mean rating of 2.2571) that Parliamentary Service has a gender policy in place. Majority of the respondents 31.4% agreed to a medium extent followed by 12.9% who agreed to a very high extent, then 20% who agreed to a small extent, 17.1% agreed to a high extent while 18.6% agreed to no extent. This means there was high variance or difference in opinion on the statement. The high variance on opinions stems from differences in understanding of what a policy is and whether policy making processes are participatory.

Other statements that the respondents agreed to, to a medium extent, were "The one third gender rule is strictly adhered to by PSC" (mean rating of 3.000) and "No law passed by the parliament has raised gender concerns" (mean rating of 2.8286). Out of 162 respondents, 35% agreed to the statement that The one third gender rule is strictly adhered to by PSC to a medium extent; 20% agreed to a high extent, 11.4% agreed to a very high extent while 14.3% agreed to a small extent and to no extent a piece.

On laws passed by the parliament raising gender concerns37.1% agreed to a small extent, 20% agreed to a Medium extent, 20% agreed to a high extent, 11.4% agreed to very high and 11.45 agreed to no extent. The respondents agreed to a small extent (mean rating 1.6571) to the statements, "Women participation in legislative processes is optimal". This means a majority of the respondents felt women participation in legislative processes is not optimal. The majority of the respondents (65%) gave the statement a rating of 1 meaning they agreed to a very small extent.

The respondents agreed to a high extent to statements that "All legislations in parliament are gender sensitive" (mean rating of 4.0286), and "Women participation in policy formulation processes is optimal" (mean rating of 3.7143). Out of 162 respondents, 48.6% and 20% agreed to a very high extent and to a high extent respectively that All legislations in the PSC are gender sensitive. On women participation in policy formulation processes, 28.6% and 34.3% agreed to a high extent and very high extent respectively that lengthy tendering processes explain the delays.

As discussed with the director information and research services at the PSC, no process goes on in the PSC without involvement of both genders. The director had this to say

> The PSC has done well with regard to involvement of women in processes such as budgeting, planning and public participation in bills by the parliament. In all meetings, they invite women representatives and in often cases a third gender rule seems to be respected even in terms of number of invitees by gender.

Considering the standard deviations in table 7, the variance was very high across most of the statements. This could have been caused by difference in opinion among the respondents depending on their gender or the category of respondent (technical or support or administrative). To determine which the case is the relationship between the variables was considered by performing a chi square test between ratings by respondents on one hand and category of respondent then gender of respondent on the other hand. The results are as given in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: *Chi Square Test on strength of relationship between statements on Gender in Legislation and Category of Respondent or Gender of Respondent*

Statement on Gender and Legislation in PSC	Sig. (Category)	Sig. (gender)
PSC has a gender policy in place	0.249	0.341
All legislations in the parliament are gender sensitive	0.626	0. 316
No law passed by parliament has raised gender concerns	0.487	0.005
The one third gender rule is strictly adhered to by PSC	0.087	0.028
Women participation in legislative processes is optimal	0.119	0.070
Women participation in policy formulation processes is optimal	0.086	0.000
Gender considerations in governance and programming are limited to legal gender stipulations	0.224	0.132

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 4.5 shows the strength of relationship between ratings given to various statements on gender in legislation in Parliamentary Service and the gender of respondents or category of the respondent. Considering the significance levels provided, there was no relationship between Category of respondents (whether technical, administrative or support) and respondents' ratings on four statements. The statements are "PSC has a gender policy in place" (P = 0.249) "All legislations in the PSC are gender sensitive" (P =

0.626), "No law passed by the parliament has raised gender concerns" (P = 0.487) and Gender considerations in governance and programming are limited to legal gender stipulations (P= 0.224). This implies the sentiments of the respondents on these issues are not dependent on their cadre. When the sentiments are cadre specific, it means the issue affects some employees or categories of employees have markedly different opinions in comparison to employees in other categories. Therefore, the sentiments of the respondents on those statements were cross cutting and were not influenced by caliber, cadre or category.

The relationship between gender and ratings of statements on gender in legislation by respondents, as presented in table 8, shows that the relationship was only not significant in two instances. The P value for statement "PSC has a gender policy in place" is 0.341 while that for statement "All legislations in the parliament are gender sensitive" is 0. 316, which are greater than P=0.05 and P=0.1. This means the relationship is not significant both at a 95% confidence level and at a 90% confidence level; the ratings by respondents on these issues were not dependent on their gender. On the other hand, all the other statements have a significance level lower than 0.05 or 0.1, which implies the relationship between respondent ratings and the gender of the respondent was significant. This means that respondents' views are largely influenced by their gender.

The study found out that Rwanda has taken legislative policy actions to address gender inequalities in education and formal employment. To achieve this, the government has established the Gender Monitoring Office. Several legal and policy frameworks have been set up to create a conducive environment for gender equality mainstreaming. The

study however established that there are cultural and legal barriers that challenge the full realization of gender equality in Rwanda.

4.4 Gender Equality and Recruitment Practices in PSC

To ascertain whether recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service are gender sensitive, the respondents were asked various questions relating to how recruitment is done in PSC. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to 6 statements on recruitment practices in PSC. The ratings were on a scale of 1-5, where (1) =No Extent, (2) = Small Extent, (3) = Medium Extent, (4) = High Extent and 5) = Very High Extent. The frequency distributions for the responses against each of the statements are provided in table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: *Gender Equality in Recruitment Practices in PSC*

Statements on Recruitment Practices	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev.
More men than women are employed in the PSC	5.7%	22.9%	28.6%	25.7%	17.1%	3.2571	1.17180
More men than women are employed in top positions of management in the PSC	42.9%	8.6%	8.6%	8.6%	31.4%	2.7714	1.78368
The recruitment and selection processes in the PSC are transparent and fair	8.6%	40.0%	25.7%	14.3%	11.4%	2.8000	1.15809
To meet a third gender rule, women are given special considerations in recruitment	28.6%	20%	20%	20%	11.4%	2.6571	1.39205
Women compete fairly in the recruitment processes and no affirmative action is needed	5.7%	31.4%	11.4%	28.6%	22.9%	3.3143	1.30094
Some considerations like reproduction roles lead to women losing out on some jobs in the PSC	5.7%	31.4%	11.4%	31.4%	11.4%	3.1143	1.15737
Valid N (list wise)	162						

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 4.6 presents data based on respondents rating of various statements on recruitment processes in PSC. Considering the mean ratings, the respondents agreed to a medium extent (mean rating of between 2.5 to 3.4; when the mean ratings are rounded off) to all the statements on recruitment practices in PSC.

The statement "More men than women are employed in the PSC" received a mean rating of 3.2571. The majority of the respondents picked small extent (22.9%), medium extent (28.6%) or high extent (25.7%). The statement "More men than women are employed in top positions of management in the PSC" had a moderate mean rating 2.7714. Out of 162 respondents, 42.9% of the respondents did not agree with the statement at all while 31.4% of the respondents agreed to the statement to a very high extent.

The statement "The recruitment and selection processes in the PSC are transparent and fair" had a medium extent mean rating of 2.6571. The majority of the respondents, 28.6% agreed with the statement to no extent, 20% agreed to a small extent, 20% agreed to a medium extent while 20% agreed to a high extent. This shows a high level of divergence in views on the transparency and fairness of the recruitment processes in the PSC.

Despite the mean rating of 3.3143, the statement "Women compete fairly in the recruitment processes and no affirmative action is needed" had ratings more or less evenly spread across various rates. Out of 162 respondents, 5.7% agreed to no extent, 31.4% agreed to a small extent, 11.4% agreed to a medium extent, 28.6% agreed to a high extent while 22.9% agreed to a very high extent. While some respondents think affirmative action is necessary, others feel it is highly abused and does not benefit

deserving women. This issue attracts both positive and negative regard because of the way affirmative action is used in a manner that disadvantages some members of society without necessarily solving the intended problem. This is what one of the key informants had to say on this issue:-

> In recruitment, there have been efforts to encourage both men and women to apply with special emphasis on women. But women are not favored in recruitment because merit is considered above all else. The problem with affirmative action is the increasing cry about the boy child being disadvantaged. Many men do not understand why the same girls with whom they received equal opportunity academically and the girls even had better conditions or come from better positioned families should be given priority or greater opportunity when it comes to employment.

The statement "Some considerations like reproduction roles lead to women losing out on some jobs in the PSC" had a mean rating of 3.1143. The statement drew mixed reactions with 5.7% agreeing to a no extent, 31.4% to a small extent, 20% to a medium extent, 31.4% to a high extent and 11.4% to a very high extent. Key informant interviewees shared that reproduction roles are not a major issue in recruitment in the PSC. However, they shared that some bias towards men exists especially with regard to jobs like security officers. Apart from that, there are no indications that reproduction roles affect the recruitment of women in PSC.

Considering the high standard deviations, chi square tests were done to explore the strength of relationship between respondents' ratings and the category of respondent as well as the gender of the respondent. This is because, when respondent ratings are more correlated to caliber/category or cadre of respondent, it means the responses are in a way influenced the respondents' position in the PSC or nature of work in the PSC. On the

other hand, where there is no strong relationship, it means the responses came from across the categories of employees and the sentiments were not cadre or category specific/dependent. The findings after running chi square tests are as presented in table 8 below.

Table 4.7: Strength of Relationship between Ratings on Recruitment Practices and Gender as well as Category (technical, support, administrative) of Respondents

Statements on Recruitment Practices	Sig. (Category)	Sig. (Gender)
More men than women are employed in the PSC	0.290	0.230
More men than women are employed in top positions of management in the PSC	0.181	0.006
The recruitment and selection processes in the PSC are transparent and fair	0.219	0.026
To meet a third gender rule, women are given special considerations in recruitment	0.403	0.069
Women compete fairly in the recruitment processes and no affirmative action is needed	0.375	0.087
Some considerations like reproduction roles lead to women losing out on some jobs in the PSC	0.654	0.017

Source: Field Data (2019)

As shown in table 4.7, there is no relationship between ratings given by respondents to various statements on recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service and the type of the

type of category or cadre that the respondent came from. This implies that the sentiments on recruitment practices were cross cutting and were not specific to employees in any particular category or cadre.

The relationship between gender and ratings of statements on recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service was only not significant in one instance. The P value for statement "More men than women are employed in the PSC" is 0.230, which is greater than P=0.05 and P=0.1. This means the relationship is not significant both at a 95% confidence level and at a 90% confidence level; the ratings by respondents on this statement were not dependent on gender of the respondents. On the other hand, all the other statements have a significance level lower than 0.05, which implies the relationship between respondent ratings and the gender of the respondent was significant. When the sentiments are gender specific, it means respondents who were of a particular gender tended to have similar sentiments or views on recruitment practices in PSC.

4.5 Gender Equality and Work Place Environment

The study sought to investigate the level of gender equality owing to work place practices or work place environment in PSC. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to number of statements that relate to work place environment and gender equality. They were to rate the statements on a scale of 1-5, where (1) =No Extent, (2) = Small Extent, (3) = Medium Extent, (4) = High Extent and 5) = Very High Extent. The frequency distributions for the responses against each of the statements are provided in table 9 below;

Table 4.8: Respondents Ratings of Statements on Customer Satisfaction

Statements on Customer Satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
The PSC provides a conducive environment for all employees	11.4%	11.4%	28.6%	40%	8.6%	3.2286	1.13981
Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC	0%	22.9%	25.7%	40.0%	11.4%	3.4000	.97619
Women play an active roles in decision making in the PSC	5.7%	5.7%	45.7%	37.1%	5.7%	3.3143	.90005
Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women	5.7%	40.0	45.7%	8.6%	0%	2.5714	.73907
Most casual laborers in the PSC are women	5.7%	22.9	28.6%	14.3%	28.6%	3.3714	1.28534
Work family issues that affect women are catered for in normal work schedules	0%	1.4%	22.9%	51.4%	14.3%	3.6857	.86675
Breast feeding mothers have been provided with space to either express or breast feed children	5.7%	17.1%	34.3%	34.3%	8.6%	3.2286	1.03144
Mothers are given enough breaks to enable them attend to young children	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	22.9%	20%	3.0571	1.39205
Women are well represented in Workers unions	0%	11.4%	31.4%	45.7%	11.4%	3.5714	.85011
There have been no cases of sexual harassment of young women employed in the PSC	0%	17.1%	34.3%	34.3%	14.3%	3.4571	.95001
There are clear grievance handling procedures that all employees in the PSC have been trained on	5.7%	14.3%	31.4%	22.9%	25.7%	3.4857	1.19734
Valid N (list wise)	162						

Source: Field Data (2019).

Considering the mean ratings in table 4.8, the respondents agreed to a medium extent to most statements. The statement "The PSC provides a conducive environment for all employees" had a mean rating of 3.2286. The majority of the respondents (40%) agreed to the statement to a high extent, 28.6% agreed to a medium extent, 11.4% agreed to a no extent, 11.4% agreed to a small extent while 8.6% agreed to a very high extent. That many respondents chose medium or high extent means that most of the employees in Parliamentary Service are satisfied with the work environment. While some employees thought that the environment was conducive, quite a number of the respondents (22.8%) thought the environment is not conducive.

The statement "Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC" had a mean rating of 3.4. Most of the respondents (40%) agreed with the statement to a high extent, 25.7% agreed to the statement to a medium extent while 22.9% agreed to small extent. A medium extent mean rating (3.3143) was also given to the statement "Women play active roles in decision making in the PSC". This implies the respondents were not entirely convinced about the role women play in decision making in the PSC. This was explained by one officer as follows:-

> There are some women in top leadership in the PSC. However, they are very few compared to the men. Those women in leadership participate in decision making but the many women who are ordinary workers do not play as many significant roles in decision making as men do. This is because there are fewer women in high levels of management as compared to men but there are more women in low cadre administrative and support roles as compared to the men. Consequently, a greater percentage of women provide support services while a greater percentage of men provide strategic or top level management/ leadership that is responsible for decision making.

Other statements that attracted a medium extent rating include; Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women (mean rating of 2.5714); Most casual laborers in the PSC are women (mean rating of 3.3714); Breast feeding mothers have been provided with space to either express or breast feed children (mean rating of 3.2286); and Mothers are given enough breaks to enable them attend to young children (mean rating of 3.0571). All these statements have majority of the respondents agreeing to a medium extent or to a high extent. The standard deviation shows a considerable level of variance which implies the rating was varied across the responses. The variance could either result from difference in perspective owing to gender, work station or cadre (category of employee).

Several statements received a mean rating that indicates respondents agreed to them to a high extent. The statement "Work family issues that affect women are catered for in normal work schedules" had a mean rating 3.6857. The respondents that agreed to a high extent were 51.4%, those that agreed to a small extent were 11.4%, 22.9% agreed to a medium extent while 14.3% agreed to a very high extent. The statement "Women are well represented in Workers unions" had a mean rating of 3.5714. The respondents that agreed to it to a high extent were 45.7%, 31.4% agreed to a medium extent, 11.4% agreed to a small extent while 11.4% agreed to a very high extent.

The statement "There have been no cases of sexual harassment of young women employed in the PSC" received a mean rating of 3.4571. The respondents were divided with 34.3% agreeing to the statement to a medium extent while another 34.3% agreed to high extent. The statement "There are clear grievance handling procedures that all employees in the PSC have been trained on" with a mean rating of 3.4857 also had

respondent widely distributed across the 5 ratings. Those that agreed to a very high extent were 25.7%, those that agreed to a high extent were 22.9%, to a medium extent were 31.4% while 14.3% agreed to a small extent and 5.7% agreed to no extent.

To understand whether the variance in ratings resulted from work station, gender or employee category differences, chi square tests were done to determine whether there is a relationship or association between work stations, employee category and employee gender with ratings of the statements. The findings are presented in table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9: *Strength of Relationship between Response on Work Place Environment and Gender, Work Station or Caliber of Respondents*

Statements on Work Place Practices	Sig. (Gender)	Sig. (Work Station)	Sig. (Category)
The PSC provides a conducive environment for all employees	0.241	0.043	0.032
Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC	0.060	0.140	0.132
Women play an active roles in decision making in the PSC	0.094	0.499	0.007
Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women	0.081	0.033	0.034
Most casual laborers in the PSC are women	0.132	0.249	0.339
Work family issues that affect women are catered for in normal work schedules	0.074	0.566	0.005
Breast feeding mothers have been provided with space to either express or breast feed children	0.244	0.572	0.071
Mothers are given enough breaks to enable them attend to young children	0.286	0.481	0.000
Women are well represented in Workers unions	0.342	0.238	0.028
There have been no cases of sexual harassment of young women employed in the PSC	0.125	0.227	0.029
There are clear grievance handling procedures that all employees in the PSC have been trained on	0.422	0.306	0.144
The attitude towards female employees by management staff is superb	0.183	0.044	0.111

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings provided in table 4.9 are results from a chi square test done testing association between the ratings given by respondents to various statements on level of gender equality considering the work place environment in Parliamentary Service and the work station the respondent came from, the gender of the respondent as well as the employee category or caliber (either technical, administrative or support staff). The p-value in a chi-square tests helps to indicate whether the relationship is statistically significant or not. The acceptable levels of confidence are 90-95% thus a p-value of 0.05 or less implies the relationship is very significant while a p-value greater than 0.05 but equal or less than 0.1 implies there is a relationship but not very strong. When the relationship is significant it means the ratings by respondents in the study were gender, work station or employee category specific. When the sentiments are employee category, work station or gender specific, it means respondents sharing the similar characteristic had similar views or gave similar ratings to the statements.

As shown in table 4.9, except in four cases, the relationship between work station and respondents' ratings is not significant. The four cases involve the statement "The PSC provides a conducive environment for all employees" (P = 0.043), the statement "Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC" (P = 0.140), the statement "Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women" (P= 033) and the statement "The attitude towards female employees by management staff is superb" (P= 0.044). For the four statements, the sentiments of the respondents were influenced by the work station from where they operated thus workers from given work stations tended to have similar sentiments. The rest of the statements had cross cutting sentiments and thus

the mean ratings reflect more of the situation across Parliamentary Service irrespective of work station.

The relationship between category or caliber of employee and ratings of statements on work place environment by respondents shows that the relationship was only not significant in one instance. This means that much of the work place issues or work place concerns affect different categories/caliber/ cadre of workers differently. The P value for statement "Most casual laborers in the PSC are women" is 0.339, which is greater than P=0.05 and P=0.1. This means the relationship is not significant both at a 95% confidence level and at a 90% confidence level; the ratings by respondents on these issues were not dependent on the department. On the other hand, all the other statements have a significance level lower than 0.05, which implies the relationship between respondent ratings and the caliber or category of the respondent was significant. When the sentiments cadre, category or caliber specific, it means respondents from different categories had differing views from those from other cadres; for instance, technical staff tended to have sentiments that markedly different from those held by support staff.

The relationship between gender and ratings on statements was significant in six instances. The six instances include the statement "Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC" (P=0.060), the statement "Women play an active roles in decision making in the PSC " (P= 0.094), the statement "Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women" (P= 0.081), the statement "Most casual laborers in the PSC are women"(P=0.132), the statement "Work family issues that affect women are catered for in normal work schedules" (P= 0.074) and the statement "There have been no

cases of sexual harassment of young women employed in the PSC" (P=0.125). In all the six instances, gender seemed to influence the kind of responses or ratings (level of agreement) that the respondents gave to the statements.

The respondents were asked to state in what ways female employees in Parliamentary Service are exploited. Some of the suggestions they provided are as presented in figure 4.4 below.
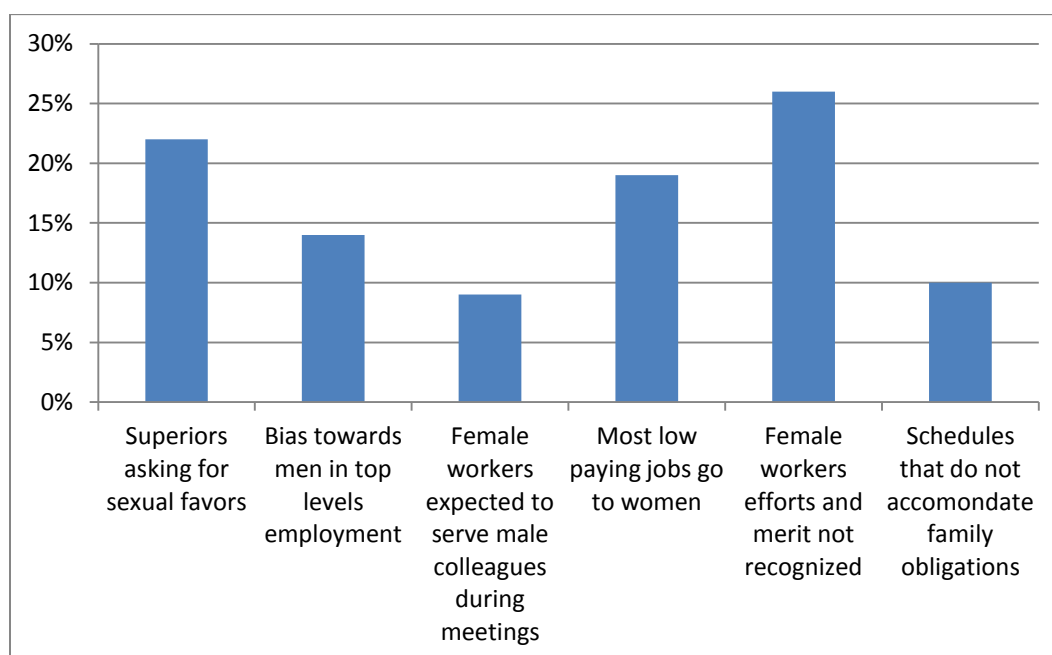
Source: Field Data (2019).

Figure 4.4: Prevalence of Forms of Female Worker Exploitation in PSC

As shown in figure 4.4, various employees believe that given forms of female worker exploitation exist in PSC. Out of 162 employees, 26% believe female workers efforts and merit tend not to be recognized. As some key informants explained, there is a challenge because whenever a woman is seen to be progressing many assume something fishy is going on. In most cases, the woman is assumed to be engaging in amorous activity in order to advance career wise. Interestingly, the view of a woman as a sexual object leads to many women suffering sexual harassment while at the work place.

According to 22% of the respondents, women are exploited in Parliamentary Service because superiors tend to ask for sexual favors especially from young women. Other forms of exploitation include most top level jobs going to men while most low level jobs going to women. At the workplace, due to male chauvinism, male colleagues tend to expect their female counterparts to serve them; for instance in case tea has to be served. Finally, Kenya being highly patriarchal, women are expected to perform the usual nurture roles in the families. Work schedules do not put into consideration the family obligations that women have and thus this becomes a major cause of challenges or problems for the women workers in PSC.

4.6 Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule

The study sought to investigate the level of implementation of the two thirds gender rule in PSC. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to number of statements that relate to implementation of the two thirds gender rule or principle. They were to rate the statements on a scale of 1-5, where (1) =No Extent, (2) =

Small Extent, (3) = Medium Extent, (4) = High Extent and 5) = Very High Extent. The

mean ratings for each of the statements are provided in table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: *Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule*

Statement on Two Thirds Gender Rule	Mean Rating	Std. Dev.
I understand the two thirds gender rule	3.9231	0.17202
I fully support the two thirds gender rule	3.1961	1.87223
The PSC has fully implemented the two thirds gender rule	2.5577	1.95821
Achieving the a third gender threshold in elective posts is impossible	3.6863	2.22458
The two thirds gender principle has led to bloated government	3.0687	2.1492
The two thirds gender rule has led to better representation of women in governance	2.6471	1.55480
The two thirds gender rule should be implemented progressively	2.5882	1.00352

Source: Field Data (2019).

On the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in PSC, the respondents agreed to a

high extent to the statement that; "progressively (Mean Rating of 2.5882). Gender

equality is an important consideration I understand the two thirds gender rule" (mean

rating of 3.9231), and "Achieving a third gender threshold in elective posts is impossible"

(mean rating of 3.6863).

The respondents agreed to a moderate extent to the statements that "I fully support the two thirds gender rule" (Mean Rating of 3.1961), "The PSC has fully implemented the two thirds gender rule" (Mean Rating of 2.5577), "The two thirds gender principle has led to bloated government" (Mean Rating of 3.0687), "The two thirds gender rule has led to better representation of women in governance" (Mean Rating of 2.6471), and "The two thirds gender rule should be implemented of any government. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 seeks to promote gender equity and equality and demands that in public service, the one third gender rule has to be observed. The researcher used staff returns and generated the gender distribution for the PSC. The gender distribution in the PSC is as provided in Figure 4.5.
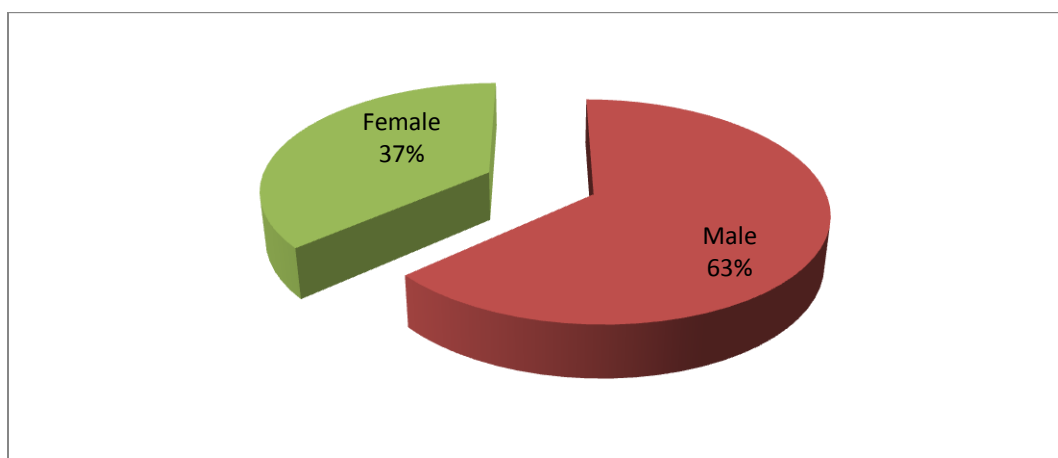
Source: Field Data (2019).

Figure 4.5: Distribution of workers in the PSC by Gender

The gender distribution shows that the PSC is compliant in relations to a third gender demand. This is because 63% (272) of workers at the PSC were male while 37% (155)

were female. However, gender is not just about numbers, it is also about the type of work done by the respondents and their designations.

The study revealed that in Rwanda, the constitution has set up the two-thirds gender rule in which 30% of the seats in the parliament have been reserved for the women. Also, there is a separate procedure established by the government to prevent women exploitation during general elections. Under this, the study found out that all political parties are required by the law to preserve 30% of their posts for women. Also, the government ensures that the rights of women are protected and guaranteed through the National Human Rights Commission. As a result, most senior positions under the Rwandan government are held by women, and almost half (49) of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies are held by women, being the largest in the world.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.0 Introduction

This study was an evaluation of gender equality in PSC in Kenya. The study sought to assess gender equality in the legislation processes in PSC, to evaluate gender equality in recruitment practices in PSC, to assess workplace gender equality in PSC, and to evaluate levels of two third gender rule implementation in PSC. This chapter explores the findings by reflecting on the extent to which the findings relate to the already available literature.

5.1 Gender Equality Levels in the PSC

The study sought to determine levels of awareness of gender equality among the respondents. It was established that majority (72%) of the respondents had some idea about gender equality while 28% had no idea about gender equality. This is encouraging because gender equality as captured by Nyanjom (2011) is a constitutional issue following the promulgation of a new constitution in Kenya in 2010. However, about 30% of a population not being fully seized with the gender equality agenda is alarming. This is because as pointed out by Achoka et al., (2007), gender equality is an agenda that has to be all encompassing. All members of society need to appreciate and embrace it for best results in terms of equality for all. Achoka et al., (2007) demonstrated that gender awareness is critical and determines the levels of gender sensitivity in a population. Thus, the more than average understanding of gender equality, among employees in PSC, points to higher likelihood of gender sensitivity. Gender equity and equality are

dependent on gender sensitivity which is only possible if people have gender awareness or understanding.

To explore levels of gender equality further, the respondents were provided with a total of 7 statements relating to gender equality in PSC. The respondents were asked to rate, in their opinion, the extent to which they agreed to the statements. Based on mean ratings, the respondents agreed to a medium extent to all of the statements. What this implies is that something has been achieved in Parliamentary Service in relations to gender equality but not to wholly satisfactory levels. This situation is not unique to Kenya because as Achoka et al., (2007) pointed out, there is progress in terms of attainment of gender equality across the globe but the situation is far from satisfactory.

Considering the mean ratings, the employees agreed to a medium extent that all programs in Parliamentary Service are gender sensitive, the PSC has set clear gender policy, objectives and targets, all employees in Parliamentary Service know about gender issues, all stakeholders in Parliamentary Service appreciate the need for gender equality and all Parliamentary Service programs promote gender equity. This basically means to a certain extent gender equality has been achieved in PSC; however there is a huge room for improvement. The key informants indicated there is no proper gender policy in place in PSC. What exist are regulations on gender based violence. Lack of a gender policy is a challenge because as explained by the World Bank (2003), gender equality only happens when projects, policies, legislation, or strategy development avenues are harnessed to promote positive regard for all genders and opportunities for development for all. Considering the standard deviation, the variance was very high which implies divided

opinion on the statements. This also goes to show the differences in levels of appreciation of gender issues and gender equality among the employees in PSC.

The respondents were asked to name one factor which they thought was the major cause of gender inequality in PSC. As mentioned by the respondents, the major cause of gender inequality in Parliamentary Service is Cultural beliefs (73 mentions). Cultural beliefs are followed by lack of sensitization (32 mentions), Lack of exposure (21 mentions), bad attitude towards gender equality (12 mentions), strong religious beliefs (9), poor enforcement of laws on gender (8) and lack of political good will (7). In a study done by Wanjala & Odongo (2010), it was established that cultural beliefs and strong religious beliefs and practices explain gender disparities and inequalities in many communities in Kenya. Thus, focus in tackling gender bias has to be on cultural beliefs and religious beliefs. Once those are adequately challenged or embraced but with proper reflection and refining, then gender inequality will be addressed. Change in belief systems is only possible through education or sensitization programs that challenge the way people have been programmed to think.

5.2 Gender Equality in PSC Legislation

This study sought to establish whether legislation processes are being used to advance the gender equality agenda in PSC. To understand the level of gender equality in the legislation agenda in PSC, the respondents were asked to rate various statement on legislation and legal instruments applied, developed or put in place in Parliamentary

Service that have gender implications. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to 6 statements on legislation in PSC.

The respondents agreed to a low extent (mean rating of 2.2571) that Parliamentary Service has a gender policy in place and that women participation in legislative processes is optimal (mean rating 1.6571). This rating confirms the findings of Wanjala and Odongo (2010) and also the findings of Nzuma (2011) who established that women participation in programs tend to be at the level of beneficiary or superficial. While women are enlisted into public forums, their contributions tend to be dominated because ordinary women folk are not prepared enough to submit memoranda on issues that affect them. From a capability approach as explained by Mitra (2014) each individual and each interest group has unique challenges owing to their capability endowment. For meaningful engagement of women in PSC legislation processes, PSCs ought to make more special arrangements in order to capture the reality of ordinary women in the PSC. As explained by Biggeri and Andrea (2014) in order to address capability needs, it is important to shift focus from structures to individuals. Thus rather than just have structural engagements in the name of public participation, it is important to design public participation in a manner that makes it responsive to the individual characteristics and needs of women in the villages.

The respondents agreed to a medium extent that the one third gender rule is strictly adhered to in Parliamentary Service (mean rating of 3.000) and that no law passed by the PSC assembly of PSC has raised gender concerns (mean rating of 2.8286). The respondents agreed to a high extent to statements that all legislations in Parliamentary

Service are gender sensitive (mean rating of 4.0286), and Women participation in policy formulation processes in Parliamentary service is optimal (mean rating of 3.7143). This high ratings are encouraging because from a liberal feminist approach as explained by Comin and Martha (2014), women empowerment is an evolutionary process or incremental progress. Thus, even though holistic results have not been attained, it is encouraging to note that something is happening that is positive.

Chi-square tests on the strength of relationship between respondents rating and gender showed positive significant relationships on most statements. This means that respondents' views are largely influenced by their gender. This is indicative of divergence in opinion on gender issues that is gender based. Such a scenario reinforces that liberal feminist tenet that women empowerment is largely an attitude problem. As explained by Steans (2013), changing social attitudes goes a long way in attainment of gender equality. When social attitudes change, then there is greater congruence in beliefs about gender equality and its importance for social progress.

5.3 Gender Equality and Recruitment Practices in PSC

To ascertain whether recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service are gender-sensitive, the respondents were asked various questions about how recruitment is done in PSC. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to 6 statements on PSC recruitment practices. Considering the mean ratings, the respondents agreed to a medium extent (mean rating of between 2.5-3.4; when the mean ratings are rounded off) to all the statements on PSC statements.

The respondents agreed to a moderate extent that more men than women are employed in the PSC (Mean rating of 3.2571). This rating confirms Aguirre et al. (2012) finding that more women than men play a role in the labor markets. Most organizations tend to employ more men than women. The respondents had a moderate rating for the statements the recruitment and selection processes in the PSC are transparent and fair (Mean rating of 2.6571), women compete fairly in the recruitment processes and no affirmative action is needed (mean rating of 3.3143, and that considerations like reproduction roles lead to women losing out on some jobs in the PSC (mean rating of 3.1143). These ratings show that although it is not large, the recruitment practices in PSC are not favorable to women. As World Bank (2013) and ILO (2010) demonstrated, globally, there are lower chances of women being offered a job than men. And in case they are given a job, often it is more likely to be in lower cadres of employment.

There was a positive significant statistical relationship between gender and ratings of statements on recruitment practices in PSC. This implies respondents' ratings of statements depended on their gender. This still goes to show that there is a divergence in views on recruitment practices based on gender. Men have different opinions on recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service, just as women have their sentiments. Grant (2013) points out that many insidious factors affect women's chances that society may not easily recognize. Thus, unless looked at critically, men might not understand when it is asserted that gender influences employment practices in favor of men. But as Grant (2013) shows, increasing numbers of employed women increasingly affect men's chances of appreciating the challenges women face in pursuit of opportunities.

5.4 Gender Equality and Work Place Environment

Gender Equality involves creating a conducive work environment for both men and women working in an organization. The study sought to investigate the level of gender equality owing to workplace practices or workplace environment in PSC. The PSC workers include those who work at the PSC headquarters, those who work in sub-counties, and those who work at the ward level.

The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to a number of statements that relate to the workplace environment and gender equality.

The respondents agreed to a medium extent to most statements on gender equality through the workplace environment. They agreed to a moderate time that Parliamentary Service provides a conducive environment for all employees (mean rating of 3.2286); Women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in Parliamentary Service(mean rating of 3.4); women play active roles in decision making in the PSC(mean rating of 3.3143); Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women (mean rating of 2.5714); Most casual laborers in the PSC are women (mean rating of 3.3714); Breastfeeding mothers have been provided with space to either express or breastfeed children (mean rating of 3.2286), and Mothers are given enough breaks to enable them to attend to young children (mean rating of 3.0571). As captured in ILO

(2009), Gender equality at the workplace has to address work-family balance issues, women participation in decision-making, inequalities in pay between men and women, and addressing the social roles ascribed to either gender. Moderate ratings of statements on gender equality at the workplace only imply a lot that needs to be done to realize gender equality.

The respondents agreed to a high extent to the statement that works family issues that affect women are catered for in normal work schedules (mean rating 3.6857); Women are well represented in Workers unions (mean rating of 3.5714); there have been no cases of sexual harassment of young women employed in the PSC (mean rating of 3.4571), and there are clear grievance handling procedures that all employees in the PSC have been trained on (mean rating of 3.4857)

Chi-square tests on relationships between the work station and ratings on workplace showed a significant relationship in the case of the statement The PSC provides a conducive environment for all employees ($P = 0.043$), women are adequately represented in all committees and forums in the PSC ($P = 0.140$), Most of the lowly paid employees of the PSC are women ($P = 033$) and the attitude towards female employees by management staff is superb ($P = 0.044$). For the four statements, the respondents' sentiments were influenced by the work station from where they operated; thus, workers from given work stations tended to have similar sentiments. The relationship between category or caliber of employee and ratings of statements on the workplace environment by respondents shows that the relationship was only not significant in one instance. This means that much of the workplace issues or workplace concerns affect different

categories/caliber/ cadre of workers differently. This implies that some gender issues have to be looked at from a context perspective. To mainstream gender, macro-environments must be considered. Still, there is a need to go back and consider the microenvironments, and what they potent, e.g., each workstation has its unique issues, and there are no universal pills or blankets that fit all situations.

The respondents were asked to state in what ways female employees in Parliamentary Service are exploited. Out of 162 employees, 26% believe female workers' efforts and merit tend not to be recognized, 22% believe superiors in Parliamentary Service tend to ask for sexual favors, especially from young women, 12% believe most top-level jobs go to men. In contrast, most low-level jobs go to women, 9% believe male colleagues tend to expect their female counterparts to serve them, and 10% believe work schedules do not put into consideration the family obligations that women have. Matsa et al. (2011) show that all workplaces worldwide have unique issues affecting women. But generally, work relations in many organizations across the globe tend to be influenced by gender. Cooke (2003) pointed out that gender-sensitive organizations have clear guidelines and policies that promote desired attitudes and human resource practices.

5.5 Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule

The study sought to investigate the level of implementation of the two-thirds gender rule in PSC. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed to the number of statements that relate to the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule or principle. The respondents agreed to a high extent to the statement that; "I understand the

two-thirds gender rule" (mean rating of 3.9231), and "Achieving the two-thirds gender threshold in elective posts is impossible" (mean rating of 3.6863).

The respondents agreed to a moderate extent to the statements that "I fully support the two-thirds gender rule" (Mean Rating of 3.1961), "The PSC has fully implemented the two-thirds gender rule" (Mean Rating of 2.5577), "The two-thirds gender principle has led to bloated government" (Mean Rating of 3.0687), "The two-thirds gender rule has led to better representation of women in governance" (Mean Rating of 2.6471), and "The two-thirds gender rule should be implemented progressively (Mean Rating of 2.5882)

The gender distribution based on staff returns shows that Parliamentary Service is compliant concerning a third gender demand; at least one-third of the staff population is of either gender. However, considering the employees' job groups, there are no women in job groups P and R. This situation manifests across the globe as captured by ILO (2010). Matsa et al. (2011) explain that organizations with more females in strategic leadership roles tend to have more women in management roles. It thus follows that when fewer women are in top leadership positions, there are higher chances of few women being in lower management positions.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

6.1.1 Gender Equality Levels in the PSC

Awareness of gender, gender issues, and gender equality are above average among employees in PSC. This also implies that there is high gender sensitivity among employees in PSC. However, there are employees (about 30%) whose awareness and understanding of gender issues are low, and thus these employees are not fully seized with the gender equality agenda.

The respondents agreed to a medium extent to all of the statements on gender equality levels in PSC. This means that something has been achieved in Parliamentary Service concerning gender equality but not wholly satisfactory. There is much to appreciate, but there is also much to be desired regarding gender equality in PSC.

Some of the things around which there is no clarity among employees are the existence of a Parliamentary Service Gender/Gender Equality Policy, Parliamentary Service Gender targets or objectives, training of employees on gender equality and related concepts, all stakeholder's commitment to gender equality.

The main factors contributing to gender inequality in Parliamentary Service are Cultural beliefs, lack of sensitization, lack of exposure, lousy attitude towards gender equality, strong religious beliefs, poor enforcement of laws on gender, and lack of political good will.

6.1.2 Gender Equality in PSC Legislation

Parliamentary Service lacks a gender policy that has been acknowledged and embraced by all stakeholders. Women's participation in legislative processes in Parliamentary Service is not optimal in terms of women legislators' contributions in the PSC assembly and the nature of women participation in the case of public participation sessions organized over bills by committees of the PSC assembly.

Parliamentary Service is compliant with the one third gender rule but not to satisfactory levels. Even though the PSC assembly is lauded for being gender-sensitive and that all laws are gender-sensitive, some laws that have been passed by the PSC assembly of PSC have raised gender concerns in terms of whether they adequately address gender issues.

6.1.3 Gender Equality and Recruitment Practices in PSC

The respondents agreed to a medium extent to all the statements on recruitment practices in PSC. Thus, gender equality has been attained in recruitment practices but not to satisfactory levels. There are some concerns about the number of women employed against the number of men employed in the PSC and the cadres. There are concerns about fairness and transparency in the recruitment processes.

There are contestations on whether affirmative action is required in recruitment processes or not. Views on recruitment practices are dependent on gender. Thus, there still exists a war of sexes, in terms of opinion, over recruitment practices.

6.1.4 Gender Equality and Work Place Environment

Employees from different work stations and employees from other cadres or categories seemed to have varying views on gender equality and the workplace environment. Therefore, gender equality is contextual in terms of demands and requirements. What is needed to achieve gender equality and equity is dependent on the context of the actual work environment.

The respondents agreed to a medium extent to most statements on gender equality through the workplace environment. This implies something has been achieved in terms of women representation in committees and forums in PSC, women playing active roles in decision making in the PSC, equity and equality in wages paid PSC employees, equity and equality in placement and deploying of employees; providing an enabling environment for breastfeeding mothers, and evaluating work schedules for mothers with young children. However, the moderate agreement means there is still much to be desired.

Female employees in Parliamentary Service are exploited or mistreated through their efforts and merits tend not to be recognized, superiors asking for sexual favors especially from young women, most top-level jobs going to men, male colleagues expecting their female counterparts to serve them and work schedules not putting into consideration the family obligations that women have.

6.1.4 Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule

The two-thirds gender rule is well understood among employees in PSC. However, there are high levels of pessimism as to whether it is achievable without affirmative action. Most respondents tended to agree to a high extent that it is not possible to achieve the third gender threshold in most endeavors.

Workers in PSC are divided, with many not sure whether they fully support the two-thirds gender rule. Some workers strongly feel the two-thirds gender provisions have a bloated government. Even so, many workers in Parliamentary Service are not sure whether the two-thirds gender provisions have led to better representation of women in governance. There is pessimism about the two-thirds gender principle, whether it is attainable and the timelines for implementation.

While the PSC is gender compliant in terms of the number of employees being of either gender, there are gaps in roles women play in government and the number of women in high ranking technical positions in the PSC.

6.2 Recommendations

6.2.1 Recommendations on Gender Equality Levels in the PSC

There are employees in the PSCs whose awareness and understanding of gender issues are low, and thus these employees are not fully seized with the gender equality agenda. This study recommends that the national gender commission come up with a gender

curriculum adopted by all government units. Further, it is recommended that PSC develop training programs for the entire staff on gender and gender equality.

Considering the major causes of gender inequality as established in this study, it is recommended that the gender directorate in Parliamentary Service profiles and addresses cultural beliefs, lack of sensitization, lack of exposure, bad attitude towards gender equality, strong religious beliefs, poor enforcement of laws on gender and lack of political good was in PSC in its efforts to ensure gender equality and equity is achieved in PSC.

6.2.2 Recommendation on Gender Equality in PSC Legislation

The PSC should come up with one comprehensive gender policy. The gender policy should capture the PSC gender targets or objectives, gender programs, gender equality strategies, employees' training on gender and related concepts and framework for stakeholder engagement, and commitment to gender equality.

It is recommended that Parliamentary Service invests in building capacity for women to participate in legislative processes meaningfully. The capacity building initiatives should focus on both women legislators and ordinary women who are supposed to participate in public forums to analyze or validate policy options, programs, and budgets.

6.2.3 Recommendations on Gender Equality and Recruitment Practices In PSC

The PSCHR department needs to make concerted efforts to increase the number of women recruited to increase female workers in the PSC.

6.2.4 Recommendations on Gender Equality and Work Place Environment

The Parliamentary Service needs to do a gender equality audit seeking to identify contextual issues affecting gender equality and equity in each workstation. This was a help towards coming up with context responsive interventions that promote gender equity and equality.

While something has been achieved in terms of women representation in committees and forums in PSC, women playing active roles in decision making in the PSC, equity and equality in wages paid PSC employees, equity and equality in placement and deploying of employees; providing an enabling environment for breastfeeding mothers, and evaluating work schedules for mothers with young children. The PSC needs to push more and set up more ambitious gender targets for full gender equality in the PSC.

PSC should invest in investigating cases of women being maltreated through their efforts and merit not being recognized, superiors asking for sexual favors especially from young women, most top-level jobs going to men, male colleagues expecting their female counterparts to serve them and work schedules not putting into consideration the family obligations that women have. These are the issues that need to be addressed to make workplaces more conducive for women.

6.2.5 Recommendations on Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule

There are high levels of pessimism as to whether the two-thirds gender principle is achievable without affirmative action. All stakeholders need to invest in sensitization and

awareness creation on the two-thirds gender rule and the benefits of affirmative action. All relevant institutions, such as parliament and gender commission, need to demonstrate to ordinary Kenyans the gains attained due to affirmative action, such as nomination slots for women. Additionally, affirmative action ought to be applied diligently to gain from provisions like nomination slots are seen to merit and add value.

While many have reduced a third gender principle to numbers, stakeholders must move beyond quantities to consider quality. For instance, it is not enough that one-third of the workforce in PSC is female. What is crucial is what positions do women hold? What decisions do the women have the latitude to make? How many women hold positions of power where they determine policy direction, programming, and resource allocation? Thus, it is recommended that PSC work on pushing more women into technical positions of influence.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Research

This study only focused on the PSC. There is room to do a similar study but focusing on private firms. Alternatively, a study can be done that compares gender equality in public Service against gender equality in the private sector.

There are several issues such as participation of women in legislation processes, engagement of women in management, and nominated women legislators' contribution, among others. Researchers can take up these issues and delve into them further by doing studies that explore them with greater depth.

REFERENCES

Achoka, J. S. K., Odebero S. O., Maiyo J. K., &Ndiku J. M. (2007), "Access To Basic Education in Kenya: Inherent Concerns". *Educational Research and Review*, Vol. 2 (10): 275-284.

Aguirre, D., L. Hoteit, et al. 2012. *Empowering the Third Billion: Women and the World of Work in 2012.*New York: Booz & Co.

Al-Ali, Nadje, and Nicola Pratt. 2009. "Introduction: Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives." In Women and War in the Middle East, eds. Nadje Al-Ali and Nicola Pratt. New York: Zed Books, 1–31.

Baird, M. & Williamson, S. (2010).Women, Work, and Industrial Relations in 2009. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 52, (3), 355-369.

Baird, M., Frino, B., &Williamson, S. (2009) Paid Maternity and Paternity Leave and the Emergence of 'Equality Bargaining' in Australia: an Analysis of Enterprise Agreements, 2003–07. *Australian Bulletin of Labor*, 35, (4): 671-691.

Bendera, S., 1999, 'Promoting education for girls in Tanzania', in C. Heward and S. Schooling: the roles of poverty and adverse cultural practice', International *Journal for Educational Development,* 20 (1): 5-28.

Biggeri, Mario & Andrea Ferrannini, (2014).*Sustainable Human Development: A New Territorial and People-centred Perspective.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan Basingstoke

Brock, C. &Cammish, N.K., 1998, 'Factors Affecting Female Participation in Education In

Browne, K. (2011). *Introduction to Sociology*. Malden: Polity Press

Burnet, Jenine E. 2008. "Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda." African Affairs 107(428): 361–386.

Bunwaree (Eds), Gender, *Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment*. London: Zed Books.

Cabral, L. (2011), "Decentralization in Africa: Scope, Motivations and Impact on Service Delivery and Poverty.' Working Paper 20. *Futures Agriculture Consortium*

CEDAW (2011). CEDAW 7th Country Report Kenya. Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Development. Retrieved October 2015 from http://www.gender.go.ke/index.php/downloads1/viewdownload/9---gender---Equality/7---cedaw---7th---country---report---Kenya

Colclough, C., Rose, P. &Tembon, M., 2000, 'Gender inequalities in primary Cooke, F. L. (2003), Equal opportunity?Women's managerial careers in governmental organizations in China.*The international journal of human resource management*, 14 (2):317-333.

CominFlavio& Martha Nussbaum (eds), (2014). *Capabilities, Gender, Equality: Toward Fundamental Entitlements. Cambridge:* Cambridge University Press

Daily Nation, July 2007

Dasgupta, S. (2003). Women organizing For Socioeconomic Security. *Indian Journal of Labor Economics*, 46, (1): 39-68.

DHS (2010). Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2008-09.Kenya National Bureau of Statistics and USAID.

Ellis, A., Cutura, J., Dione, N., Gillson, I., Manuel, C., &Thongori, J. (2007). 'Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya; Unleashing the Power of Women' World Bank Report

Federation of Women Lawyers – Kenya (FIDA Kenya), *A Gender Audit Study of the 10th Parliament*, 2011

FIDA (2013). *Key Gains and Challenges; A Gender Audit of Kenya's 2013 Election Process*. Nairobi: Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) Kenya

Fjeldstad, O.H. (2003). *Decentralization and corruption.A review of the literature.*Bergen: Mimeo Utste in Anti-Corruption Resource Centre

Forrest, A. (2004). Hidden In the Past: How Labour Relations Policy and Law Perpetuate Women's Economic Inequality. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 23(3): 64-71.

Fuchs, G. (2010). Promising Paths to Pay Equity: A Comparison of the Potentials of Strategic Litigation, Collective Bargaining and Antidiscrimination Authorities in Switzerland, Germany and France. *Social Science Research Network*.

Gender Equality Strategy (2020). Retrieved 18 November 2020, from https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rwanda/docs/demgov/Gender%20Equality%20Strategy.pdf

GOK UNICEF (1998). *Situation of Analysis children and* Women *in Kenya,* Nairobi: UNICEFF & GOK

Grant T. 2013. *Women in senior management: Setting the stage for growth.* Washington, DC: Grant Thornton.

Green, E.D. (2008), "Decentralization and conflict in Uganda". Conflict, Security *and Development*, 8 (4): 427-450.

Gretchen, B. & Britton H. E., (ed). (2006). *Women in African Parliaments*. Kumarian Press. Online.

Heery, E. (2006). Equality Bargaining: Where, Who, Why? *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(6):522-542.

Hughes, Melanie M. 2009. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations." Social Problems 56(1): 174–204.

ILO. (2010). maternity *at Work - a Review of National Legislation: Findings from the ILO's Conditions of Work and Employment Database*. 2nd Ed. Geneva: International Labor office.

ILO.(2009). Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work.*Report VI, International Labor Conference 2009, 98th Session.* International Labor Office. Geneva

International Labor Office (ILO). 2010. "Women in labor markets: Measuring progress and identifying challenges." Geneva: ILO.

Jacinta Ndambuki and Hilary Janks, *Political Discourses, Women's Voices: Mismatches in representation*, Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines (CADAAD) – www.cadaad.net/journal, 2010

Jeremiah Owiti, *Gender and Governance Survey*, Final report, Survey Commissioned by Africa Women and Child Features, May 2005

Josephine Kiamba, *Women and Leadership Positions: Social and Cultural Barriers to Success*, published in Wagadu Volume 6 Winter 2007 at p. 1

Kaletski, Elizabeth and Prakash, Nishith (2016): Affirmative action policy in developing countries: Lessons learned and a way forward, WIDER Working Paper, No. 2016/52, ISBN 978-92-9256-095-9, The United Nations Word Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki, http://dx.doi.ogr/10.35188/UNU-WIDER/2016/095-9

Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: Willy Eastern Limited. India. Logan, B.I. &Beoku-Betts, J.A., 1996, 'Women and education in Africa: an analysis of economic and socio-cultural factors influencing observed trends', Journal *of Asian and African Studies*, 31 (3): 217-39

Maria Nzomo, *Engendering democratization in Kenya*, in Democratic Change in Africa: Women's Perspective published by African Centre for Technology Studies, Nairobi, Kenya, 1993, p.5-15

Maria Nzomo, *Women in Kenya's Political Leadership: The struggle for participation in Governance through Affirmative Action*, in Perspectives: Political Analysis and Commentary from Africa, The Power to Participate: Building Feminist Political Influence in Africa by Heinrich Boll Stiftung 2011

Masheti wa Masinjila, *Patriarchy and Women's Participation in Politics in Kenya*, in Towards Gender Responsive Politics published by Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Nairobi in collaborative Centre for Gender and Development, 1997

Matsa, D. A. Miller, Amalia R., (2011). Gender Equality and Employers, Business and Employers' Organizations Chipping Away At the Glass Ceiling: Gender Spillovers in Corporate Leadership. *American Economic Review*, 101(3): 635-639.

Mboga, H. (2009). *Understanding the local government system in Kenya: A citizen's handbook* Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Meredith Preston McGhie and E. Njoki Wamai, *Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation*, published in Beyond the Numbers, March 2011

Mitra, S. (2014). The Capability Approach and the International Classification of Functionings: A Response. *ALTER: The European Journal of Disability Research*. Volume 8, Issue 1, 24-29. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2377333

Mitullah, W. (2003), '*Gender Inclusion in Transition Politics: A Review and Critique of Women's Engagement*', In W. O. Oyugi, P. Wanyande and C. O. Mbai, The Politics of Transition in Kenya: From KANU to NARC, Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Muriithi, F.&Ng'ang'aJ. (eds.), Nairobi: Society for international Development, 156 – 194

Ndegwa S.N. (2002), Decentralization in Africa: A stocktaking survey. Africa Region Working Paper Series No. 40.

Neumann, W. (2005). *Social Research Methods.* London: Pearson

Nyanjom, O. (2011), Devolution in Kenyan's New Constitution. Constitution Working Paper Series No. 4. Nairobi: Society for International Development.

Nyokabi Kamau, The *Value Proposition to Women's Leadership: Perspectives of Kenyan Women Parliamentary and Civic Leaders (2003 to 2007)* in Perspectives on gender discourse published by Heinrich Boll Stiftung, East & Horn of Africa, 2008

Nyokabi Kamau, *Women and Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten Case Studies*, Published by Heinrich Boll Stiftung, East & Horn of Africa, 2010

Nzomo, M. (1997), *Kenyan women in politics and public decision making*, In G. Mikell (Ed.), African feminism: The politics of survival in sub-SaharanAfrica (pp. 232-256). Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press. Google Book retrieved from http://books.google.co.za/

Nzomo, M. (2003b), *Introduction: Perspectives on Gender Discourses*, Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Nzuma, J. M. (2011), Mid-term review of National Taxpayers Association - Kenya: Improving Government Service Delivery and Financial Accountability through Citizen Report Cards Programme (October 2011).

Omtatah, O. O. (2008), *The Affirmative Action Debate: Developing Winning Strategies*, in N. Kamau, Perspectives on Gender Discourse: Enhancing Women's Political Participation, Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Parker, J. (2009), Women's collectivism in context: women's groups in UK trade unions Industrial Relations Journal, 40(1): 78–97.

Peter Wanyande, *Electoral Politics and Election Outcomes in Kenya*, Africa Development, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, 2006, pp. 62–80 Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 2006

Peterson, V. S., & Sisson R. A. (2009). *Global Gender Issues*. 3d ed. Boulder, CO: Westview,

Powley, Elizabeth. 2004. Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition. January 26. Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, United Nations. www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/ meetings/2004/EGMelectoral/EP5-Powley.PDF (March 25, 2008).

Precious, S., 2008. *Compendium Of Key Documents Relating To Human Rights And HIV In Eastern And Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Putnam, R. (1998). *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction.* 2nd Ed. Yorkshire: Tong Westview Press

Samantha, V. (2008). Promotion of Gender Equality at the Workplace: Gender Equalityand Collective Bargaining in Italy. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 16, (2): 195–214.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P., &Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students.*Pearson Educational Limited

Selwyn, B. (2009). Trade Unions and Women's Empowerment in Northeast Brazil. *Gender and Development*, 17, (2): 189-201.

Sen. A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press

Shepherd, L., ed. (2009). *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*. London: Routledge,

Solava I. &Meera T. (2014). *The Capability Approach: From Theory to Practice*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan

Steans, J., (2013). *Gender and International Relations: Theory, Practice, Policy*. 3d ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity,

Tajali, M. (2013). Gender Quota Adoption in Postconflict Contexts: An Analysis of Actors and Factors Involved ISSN: 1554-477X print/1554-4788 online DOI: 10.1080/1554477X.2013.820115

The World Bank, (2011). *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development.* Washington: The World Bank.

Tickner, J. A. (2001). *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post–Cold War Era*. New York: Columbia University Press,

Tickner, J. A., & Laura S. (2011). *Feminism and International Relations: Conversations about the Past, Present and Future*. London: Routledge,

Wainaina, G. (2006). "An Inequality Perspectives of Education Structure and Performance in Kenya". In *Readings on inequality in Kenya: Sectoral Dynamics and perspectives*. London: Department for International Development.

Wallace, C., Haerpfer, C., & Abbott, P. (2008). Women in Rwandan Politics and Society. *International Journal of Sociology,38*(4), 111-125. Retrieved November 14, 2020, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20628350.

Wanjala, B.M. & M.T. Odongo (2010), Gender and Kenya Vision 2030: An Audit of the Economic Pillar. In Society for International Development (2010), p 41-69.

Waylen, Georgina. (2007). Engendering Transitions: Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

World Bank (2003). The Kenya Strategic Country Gender Assessment. PREM and ESSD – Africa Region, World Bank, October 2003.

Yin, R. K. (2009). Case Study Research: Design and Methods. In R. K. Yin, Case *Study Research: Design and Methods.* London: Sage Inc.

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

MOI UNIVERSITY

Dear Respondents,

RE: <u>DATA COLLECTION.</u>

I am masters' student at Moi University. Currently am undertaking research study to fulfill requirement for award of Master of Arts in diplomacy. My project topic is **"An Assessment of the Role of Legislature in Attainment of Gender Equality in Kenya, 1992-2019".**

 You have been selected to participate in this study; however your participation is free and voluntarily. Please I request you to feel the questionnaire honestly.

Special thanks for your cooperation.

Titus Kitetu

OPEN ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly no reference will be made to any person or organization. Confidentiality will be my priority.

PART A: PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your gender?

[ ] Female   [ ] Male

2. How many years do you have?

   ……………………………………………

3. What is your highest level of education?

[ ] Undergraduate   [ ] College   [ ] College Not Completed

[ ] Secondary School [ ] Primary School   [ ] Never Attended.

What is your occupation? _____

SECTION B

Gender Equality Levels

1. Please comment on gender Equality in Parliament?

_____

2. What is the one major factor that leads to gender inequality in parliament?

_____

_____

3. Comment on gender Equality strategies in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

Gender Equality through Parliamentary Service Legislation

4. Has the legal framework in place adequately addressed gender issues in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

5. How can gender Equality be enhanced through legislation at the Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

Gender Equality through Recruitment Practices

6. Comment on how gender inequality is manifested through recruitment practices in Parliamentary Service

_____

_____

_____

7. How can some of the issues mentioned in question 6 above be addressed?

_____

_____

_____

Gender Equality and Work place Practices

8. In what ways are female employees exploited at the work place in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

9. What are the potential avenues for work place gender discrimination in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

10. What can be done to enhance gender equality and equity in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

Implementation of Two Thirds Gender Rule

11.   What are your views on the one third gender rule?

_____

_____

_____

12.   What are some of the barriers to realization of two thirds gender principle in Parliament?

_____

_____

_____

13.   In your opinion what is the role of parliament in addressing gender disparity in Kenya public service sector?

_____

_____

_____

14.   What are some of the challenges experienced by parliament towards implementation of gender bill?

_____

_____

_____

15.   Explain some of the approaches that can be taken to address the impediments experienced in question 14 above?

_____

_____

_____

16.   Why is women underrepresentation a constant feature of Kenya parliament?

_____

_____

17.   How has Kenya attempted to address the issue of gender disparity.