Gender Mainstreaming and Women Empowerment in Political Party Processes in Kenya: Implementing the New Constitution in Earnest.¹

Awuor Ponge^{*} Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR), Kenya & Institute of Education (IoE), University of London.

Abstract

Women have been grossly marginalized in organs of decision-making and governance structures. This study presents statistics and analyses qualitative data to explain the patterns. It explores the nature and extent of women's political participation in Kenya and considers the role of education in increasing participation. The main objective is to determine the status of women within key political parties in Kenya. It is emerging that equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary for more women to become agents of change. Increase of women presence in the key decision-making organs has not resulted into key influence within the party hierarchy and has not been seen to impact on party affairs and activities as this is still under the tight grip of men. It concludes that more gender equality in terms of participation in education has not resulted in more gender equality in the areas of political economy.

Keywords: Gender, Mainstreaming, Women, Empowerment, Politics, Constitution, Kenya

1. Introduction

This paper is based on the understanding that women ought to participate effectively in political party affairs. Women have been grossly marginalized in organs of decision-making and governance structures and the Constitution of Kenya has sought to bridge this gap by providing that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres (Kenya 2010b: 25). Parliament is mandated to enact legislation to promote the representation in Parliament of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities; and marginalized communities (Kenya 2010b: 67). For Kenya to realise its Vision 2030 and to actualise the implementation of the Constitution, gender equity must be top in the agenda.

This paper is a bold attempt to give figures to otherwise vain talk without supporting evidence. It goes beyond female activists complaining that women are under-represented in political party structures, to get into the details of actually how the under-representation takes place. It presents statistics and analyses qualitative data that helps to explain the patterns. It seeks to establish *whether there is a link between representation and achievement for the women.* It explores the nature and extent of women's political participation in Kenya and considers the role of education in increasing participation.

¹ This Paper was presented as part of the Coursework for the Master of Arts Degree course in Gender, Education and International Development at the Institute of Education of the University of London. It therefore has a natural bias as to the role of education in political party processes and empowerment of women. I am grateful to Prof. Jenny Parkes for her invaluable comments that have helped to refine this Paper to its present status.

^{*} Awuor Ponge is an Associate Research Fellow and the Monitoring and Evaluation Officer at the Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR – Kenya). He is also an Associate at the Education Enhancement Centre. He graduated with a Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies from the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi. Presently, he is a Commonwealth Scholarship Fellow, pursuing a second Masters of Arts Degree in Education, Gender and International Development (MA – EGID) at the Institute of Education of the University of London. He is also an Adjunct Faculty in the Department of Development Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA). He has previously taught Development Studies at the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT).

The main objective is to determine the status of women within key political parties in Kenya. The evidence for the anlaysis is drawn from both quantitative and qualitative sources. The quantitative sources are drawn from studies that have been conducted on women participation in politics and also from the government agencies charged with keeping disaggregated data on political participation. The qualitative information is largely drawn from the literature reviews and purposely selected key informants. The key questions that this paper seeks to answer are:

- (a) How is gender mainstreamed into political participation in Kenya within the New Constitution?
- (b) How are women engaged in political participation?
- (c) What is the role of education (in and beyond schools) in *encouraging* political participation for women?

In attempting to answer the above questions, this paper looks at the mainstreaming mechanisms in political party structures, the provisions of the Constitution and the Political Parties Act 2011on gender equity and mechanisms the political parties have put in place towards compliance.

This paper is hinged on the premise that lack of literacy is likely to have an impact in decision-making on the part of women and ultimately translating into low participation in political party processes, even though women form the majority of voters in most parties. The electoral behaviour of women continues to be limited and has not resulted in significantly increased numbers of them in political office (Stromquist 1995:3). However, efforts to enhance women's political participation have gained new urgency with the designation of numbers of women in politics as an indicator of women's empowerment in the Millennium Development Goal (MDG). "The correct question to ask when examining the impact of women in politics is not whether women can make a difference in the substance and forms of politics, but under which conditions can women in politics create social change by means of political action." (Haavio-Mannila 1985:166)

This paper gives a general introduction to the need for women participation in political parties. The introduction includes an outline of the study objectives, the guiding questions and the justification for the study. It follows with the theoretical and conceptual framework, the context analysis and finally, the study findings in detail. It concludes with an observation that *gender mainstreaming and women empowerment are the ultimate solution* to having women play an active role in political party processes and ultimately effect the realisation of the provisions of the Constitution and the Political Parties Act 2011.

2. Theoretical Framework and Conceptualisation

The main framework for this study is based on UNESCO's (2009) gender mainstreaming approach which aims to ensure that women and men benefit equally from participation in political party processes. Mainstreaming consists in bringing what can be seen as marginal into the core and main decision making process of an organization (UNESCO, 2003). Kabeer (1999) conceptualises empowerment through choice making in terms of resources, agency and achievements, while Unterhalter (2011) identifies four facets of empowerment namely cognitive, sociological, political and economic. Education is critical because it promotes gender equality and empowers women, and it is the key to addressing gender-based inequalities and exclusion. (UNESCO, 2011)

Women's needs and interests have been marginalised in the development of political policy. It is necessary that clear institutional strategies are put in place to realise gender equality in political parties' participation. This is made even urgent given the provisions of the Constitution on gender equity and the Political Parties Act 2011 on gender representation. The UN outlines gender mainstreaming as "...a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated." (United Nations 1997:28 *as quoted in* Unterhalter & North, 2010: 390) Empowerment is viewed from the standpoint of Kabeer (1999:437) who holds that it is a process by which those who have been denied the ability to make choice acquire such ability. It is thus a choice from disempowerment to empowerment and an expansion in the people's ability to make strategic life choices.

3. Contextual Analysis

A recent study on participation of women in decision-making in Kenya concluded that age and employment status does influence the level of decision-making by the women. It also indicated that those who have no education at all make relatively few household decisions at home as compared to those with secondary education and above (Sivi-Njonjo 2010: 153).

A critical assumption is that participation in decision making at home is a measure of a woman's autonomy and status. Table 1 shows that women have a very active role in the private sphere, with about 78% of women deciding about how to spend money in the home in terms of daily purchases of household needs. However, as Table 5 shows, women have been excluded from the public arena, with women only given 'housekeeping duties' in the House Committees. The study also found that older women and women in employment were more likely to be involved in decision-making, a finding that we might expect to be repeated in political decision-making. Employment anticipated here is critical as it is a function of education. Table 1 shows that 83.9% of the women aged between 30 - 34 make decisions daily in the purchase of household needs.

Omondi (2010) appreciates the fact that institutions of higher learning have acted as 'nursery beds' for national leadership development. Mitullah and Owiti (2007: 155-156) observe that there has been an increase in women participation in politics since the beginning of transition politics in 1992, however, they're still disadvantaged in political participation and decision-making because their numbers are comparatively lower than those of men. "Barriers to equal representation in decision-making bodies remain widespread despite better education and training meaning that more gender equality in terms of participation in education has not resulted in more gender equality in other areas of political economy or socio-cultural relationships." (Unterhalter, North & Parkes (2010:15)

Oduol (2011) decries the lack of institutional structures at the party level to enhance women participation, "... which essentially projects not only their helplessness, but also their lack of key leadership qualities." (Oduol 2011:178). The Beijing Platform for Action affirmed that "equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change." (Unterhalter *et al.*, 2010:15)

According to Kenya (2011), every political party shall respect and promote gender equity and equality, human rights and fundamental freedoms and be tolerant and inclusive in all their political activities. Every political party shall respect, uphold and promote human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness and non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized. It is based on these provisions of the Political Parties Act 2011 that this paper seeks to establish the levels of compliance and the mechanisms that have been put in place for compliance. A study conducted in 2008, established that in most political parties, the increase of women presence in the key decision-making organs has not resulted into key influence within the party hierarchy that has been seen to impact on party affairs and activities (WSP 2008: 3).

4. Study Findings

Among the factors that hinder the participation of women in political processes is their limited participation in political parties and the lack of political goodwill by their male counterparts to include them in structures of political governance (Mitullah & Owiti 2007; Oduol 2011). The marginalization of women in the political arena is evident since (*independence*) and has witnessed limited presence of women in parliament and also within political parties (WSP 2008: 1). However, some scholars feel that if the concern is to bring gender equality perspectives into politics and public policy, "a focus on packing public space with female bodies is misplaced unless supported by efforts to bring gender issues into the many other spaces where political interests are formed." (Cornwall & Goetz 2005: 787)

4.1 Party Candidate Nominations and Parliamentary Representation

Table 2 shows the proportion of women who became parliamentary candidates and MPs for the major political parties in the 2007 general election. It shows how women are grossly underrepresented, with only 10.7% of candidates being women. The total number of women elected in the 10^{th} Parliament is 16 with 6 nominated, bringing to total 22, the number of women MPs. Nomination is a constitutional provision where a fixed number of 12 is to be shared proportionately according to Parliamentary strength of each political party.

4.2 Education, Gender and Political Participation

There is a school of thought that education of the women does not necessarily translate into political participation. U.S. experience indicates that:

"...this country registered an increase in the number of women in higher education from 30% in 1960 to 43% of all students in 1981. However, this remarkable expansion has not been reflected in a concomitant increase in political participation." (Norris 1987: 85)

In Mozambique, almost 40% of parliamentarians are women, but as is well documented, this does not necessarily translate into increased status for women (Parkes & Heslop 2011:29). In Rwanda, from 1994 to 2003, women's representation in Parliament reached 25.7% during which a new gender-sensitive constitution was adopted. "The dramatic gains for women are a result of specific mechanisms used to increase women's political participation, among them a constitutional guarantee, a quota system, and innovative electoral structures." (Powley 2004:154-155). The substantial progress toward gender empowerment achieved by Rwanda is supported by strong institutional measures, including policy and budgetary commitments, which seek to mainstream gender equality within government policy-making (Huggins & Randell 2007).

In Kenya, women continue to be marginalized in many areas of society, especially in the sphere of leadership and decision making. "Only 30.9% of those employed in Kenya's public service are women, 72% of who are in the lower cadres. This inequity exists also in the judiciary and in the leadership of political parties. Women hold only about 10% of the seats in the 10th Parliament." (Kamau 2008: *iii*). Despite the fact that females constitute over 50% of the population, they constituted 8% of MPs in the 9th Parliament; 6% of Ministers; 13% of Assistant Ministers; 3% of District Commissioners; 20% of District Officers; 13% of Councilors and 21% of Deputy Secretaries (IEA 2008: 35).

According to the Women's Shadow Parliament, a Non-Governmental Organisation established to monitor the performance of women MPs in Parliament and to build capacity for aspiring women politicians, Kenya has got a political government and 52% of the population is women. "Therefore enhanced women representation in party structures is essential if women are to have an impact in the decision-making process of political parties." (WSP 2006:12).

Education plays a major role in determining political participation for women in Kenya. During the nominations, it is the educated or enlightened women who are given first preferences. Since the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya, it is the educated women who had been active in the civil society that have risen tremendously in political office. They are equally very active in sensitizing the other women to ensure their effective participation in political parties, but the reality is that those who are relatively less educated are detached from political participation.

Table 3 shows the representation of women in key political and major institutions. However, it is emerging that reaching the 30% threshold is still a tall order unless a quota system is adopted to mainstream women's participation. The nearest that the women are to the threshold is in the Deputy Secretaries and the District Officers at 21.4% and 22.3% respectively.

4.3 Gender Mainstreaming and the Quota system

Kang'ethe (2007: 145) has observed that even though affirmative action is highly rated as the way forward, it should be viewed as only one of the instruments for achieving equity and justice. Admitted that women must learn to exploit their numerical strength in occupying political space, there is need to consider the quota system which has yielded much success in countries like Rwanda (Powley 2004; Huggins & Randell 2007) and Uganda (Cornwall & Goetz 2005).

One indicator of gender inequality in Kenya is the small number of women in decision making positions and other national governance structures. The 10th Parliament has about 10% of women representation which is far below the Constitutional threshold of 30% (FIDA 2010). The new Constitution is a gender responsive document that has led to the following gains for the women, among others: that all forms of discrimination including discrimination against women are expressly outlawed; Women representation is guaranteed; and there is an increased number of women in all decision-making organs including in the devolved government (Kenya 2010b).

Table 4 shows that the number of nominated women for Parliamentary positions has been steadily rising with the highest number being 8 in 2002, although it went down to 6 in 2007, possibly attributable to the high number of elected women to Parliament. However, it should be realised that the nomination trend has concentrated on the educated women, emphasing the role of education in enhancing political participation. The majority of women who have been nominated over the years are those who are educated and have always taken active role in civil society and women empowerment campaigns.

However, with the affirmative action provisions of the new Constitution, the nominations at the political party level has to ensure that women have to be not less than one-third of the MPs. Still, in this, key informants were of the view that the bulk of the nominations will go to the highly educated women from among the party membership.

Table 5 seems to suggest that even when women are in parliament, they are given 'housekeeping jobs' like catering, library and House business, and hardly any are involved in the key departmental committees. Women are missing in the Standing Orders Committee and given that this contains the rules that guide the procedures of the House, this is an important omission as women end up playing no role in designing and amending the rules of the House (WSP 2008: 15).

Tables 6 and 7 show that there is a high level of women participation in political party activities at the local levels. This can be attributed to the rising work of the civil society in mobilising the local communities and sensitizing them on the benefits of active involvement in party affairs. This civic education is critical for developing the capacity of the local community through what Unterhalter (2011) calls the four facets of empowerment namely cognitive, sociological, political and economic.

Table 7 shows that the political parties have seen the need for complying with the legal provisions on gender equity in party responsibilities. This is reflected in the fact that over 85% of the political parties have at least 30% female officials. However, only those which attain the minimum threshold will be registered. By the time of collecting this data, the parties were still struggling to comply with the provisions for full registration.

4.4 Role of Education in Political Participation

Table 8 shows that even as gender parity has been achieved in the net enrolment ratio in primary education, the gross enrolment at the tertiary level is disappointing at 0.70 to the disadvantage of the female. Given that the impact of education on political participation increases with levels of education, it is likely that this widening gap in education may have a corresponding effect in political participation.

Table 9 shows that there has been a relative near parity in gross enrolment at the primary level since 1991; however, the secondary enrolment shows a steady decline in gender parity to the disadvantage of the female and this is likely to be replicated in the political sphere unless an affirmative action is effected. This will affect the women in making choices in terms of resources and their ultimate achievements in line with Kabeer's (1999) conceptualisation of empowerment.

4.5 Challenges of Political Participation

According to Månsson & Färnsveden (2012:19), women tend to have more obstacles in accessing training and skills development due to their multiple roles and responsibilities and gender bias in and outside the home. For this reason, investments in post-primary education are especially critical for women and should cover secondary education as well as job training. Sophia Abdi Noor² indicates that women were not represented in political parties' leadership and it was easy to rig them out during elections. They were also left out in major political decisions.

Other challenges facing women include the fact that political parties prevent women from participation in political processes. There are no affirmative action policies and they have systemic structures that exclude women. Most of the parties have not put in place mechanisms for encouraging women to participate actively in political party activities.

Cornwall and Goetz (2005: 785) observe that women enter into the political spheres through voluntary or imposed quotas which enable them to participate in political parties. It would be ideal if the political parties adopt the quota system as a way of ensuring effective participation of the women in party affairs.

² Noor, Sophia Abdi (n.d). 'Challenges Facing Minority women in political participation and their solutions: The case of Kenya and other neighbouring countries.' A Paper presented at the UN conference on Minorities and Political Participation. Geneva, Switzerland, November 11 - 13.

Other challenges include socio-cultural norms that confine the women to the private spheres and stereotypes that politics is a male domain and therefore the stigma associated with women involved in politics. The education levels of the women is also low compared to that of men and this coupled with lack of training and mentoring opportunities, compounds the challenges for women.

Violence is a tool that has been used repeatedly to undermine the active participation of women in political party processes. They are subjected to very inhuman treatment including rights abuses during the nomination processes, campaigns and even during the election itself. Discrimination is also evident in a majority of the parties in that the few women who make it to the leadership position must in one way or the other be related or associated with the top male leadership in the parties. Some key informants confided that this has even gone to the extremes of some women with political ambitions having to succumb to sexual advances by the men to make it into the political party structures.

5. Conclusion

From this study, it is emerging that equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change. The increase of women presence in the key decision-making organs has not resulted into key influence within the party hierarchy and has not been seen to impact on party affairs and activities as this is still under the tight grip of men. The study concludes that more gender equality in terms of participation in education has not resulted in more gender equality in the areas of political economy. This shows that there are other factors at play beyond education in determining political participation, which must be unearthed and studied in detail if education is to make an impact on women participation in political processes.

It is clear that the number of women has increased in decision-making positions, although women still face a number of challenges in these critical areas of development. Although the situation of women continues to improve in most countries, Kenya inclusive, women are disadvantaged in political participation and decision-making precisely because their numbers are comparatively lower than those of men. Education can play an important role in strengthening political participation. Examples can include early democratic training for girls in leadership positions in schools like being prefects and monitors; role in girls clubs and involvement in School Management Committees. There is also need for a revamped training for women in political participation. There are organisations already doing this in Kenya, but they need to scale up their training rather than only targeting those in the urban areas.

Ultimately, even though it has not resulted in more gender equality, education plays a major role in determining political participation for women in Kenya. Even during the nominations, it is usually the educated and enlightened women who are given first preferences. The new Constitution is a gender responsive document that has led to the outlawing of all forms of discrimination including discrimination against women, guaranteeing women representation and increasing the number of women in all decision-making organs including in the devolved government. If effectively implemented, this Constitution will greatly improve on the participation of women in political party processes.

Appendix – Tables

	Women's partic	cipation in decision	making	Men's approval of wives participation in decision making			
Age (Years)			Visit to her family and relatives	Making major household purchases	Daily purchases of household needs	Visit to her family and relatives	
15 – 19	50.5	68.2	60.7	-	-	-	
20 - 24	61.5	78.0	66.9	54.9	75.8	53.4	
25 – 29	64.8	81.6	70.2	59.9	87.8	63.4	
30 - 34	68.9	83.9	75.7	53.5	84.1	64.3	
Average	61.4	77.9	68.4	42.1	61.9	45.3	

Table 1: Women's Participation in Decision making by age.

Source: Kenya, 2010a; Sivi-Njonjo, 2010: 152.

Political Party	No. of Women Candidates	Total No. of Candidates	% of Women Candidates	Women MPs
ODM	9	190	4.7	6
KENDA	10	170	5.9	1
PNU	13	135	9.6	4
ODM – K	15	133	11.3	-
KADDU	13	97	13.4	-
KANU	8	91	8.8	1
DP	10	86	11.6	-
NARC	17	73	23.3	1
NARC – K	6	59	10.2	1
AGANO	6	55	10.9	-
WCP	15	49	31.0	-
TOTAL	122	1138	10.7	14

 Table 2: Women Parliamentary Candidates per Political Party in the 2007 Elections

Source: Women's Shadow Parliament 2008: 10.

Table 3: Proportion of Women in Political and Major Institutions, 2012

Rank/Position	Men	Women	Total	% Women
Ministers	34	6	40	15.0%
Assistant Ministers	41	5	46	10.9%
National Assembly	200	22	222	9.9%
Ambassadors / High Commissioners	40	8	48	16.7%
Permanent Secretaries	38	6	44	13.6%
Secretaries	20	2	22	9.1%
Deputy Secretaries	77	21	98	21.4%
Provincial Commissioners	7	1	8	12.5%
Deputy Provincial Commissioners	19	2	21	9.5%
District Commissioners	201	18	219	8.2%
Councillors	2,322	112	2,434	4.6%
District Officers	730	210	940	22.3%

Source: Directorate of Personnel Management, Cabinet Office, Public Service Commission of Kenya, May 2012.

Table 4: Elected and Nominated Women in Kenya's National Assembly, 1963 – 2012

Year of Election	No. of Women Candidates	Elected Women	Nominated Women	Total No. of Women in Parliament	Sum of Men and Women in Parliament	% of Women in Parliament
1963	7	0	0	0	124	0.0
1966	0	0	0	0	28**	0.0
1969	13	1	1	2	170	1.2
1974	11	4	2	6	170	3.5
1979	15	4	1	5	170	2.9
1983	7	2	2	4	170	2.4
1988	6	2	1	3	200	1.5
1992	19	6	1	7	200	3.5
1997	53	4	4	8	222	3.6
2002	44	9	8	17	222	7.7
2007	269	16	6	22	222	9.9

Source: Kamau 2008; Mitullah & Owiti 2007; Oduol 2011; Women's Shadow Parliament 2008.

^{**} There was a mini-Election in 1966 which was necessitated by the defection of some members of Parliament from the ruling party to the opposition. The elections were carried out only in 28 affected Constituencies.

Committee	Male	Female
House Keeping Committees		
House Business	17	3
Standing Orders	12	-
Catering	7	3
Power & Privileges	10	1
Library	8	3
Investigatory Committees		
Public Accounts	11	-
Public Investments	11	-
CDF Committee	11	-
Departmental Committees		
Agriculture, Lands & Natural Resources	10	1
Energy, Communication and Public Works	11	-
Education Research and Technology	11	1
Health, Housing, Labour & Social Welfare	10	1
Administration, National Security & Local Authority	11	-
Finance, Planning & Trade	11	-
Administration of Justice and Legal Affairs	11	1
Fiscal Analysis and Appropriation (Budget)	15	-
Defence & Foreign Relations	11	1
TOTAL	188	15

 Table 5: Composition of Parliamentary Committees (2008).

Source: Women's Shadow Parliament 2008: 10.

Table 6:	Party	Female	Mem	bership
----------	-------	--------	-----	---------

No.	Political Party	Female	Total	% Female
1	National Patriotic Party	23,750	35,811	66
2	NARC – Kenya	18,845	45,495	41
3	Grand National Union	18,554	42,806	43
4	Labour Party of Kenya	14,387	30,522	47
5	MGPK	14,099	32,466	43
6	National Vision Party	12,464	28,311	44
7	Restore and Build Kenya	12,161	25,968	47
8	FORD – Kenya	11,992	35,144	34
9	Progressive Party of Kenya	9,460	19,400	49
10	Chama Cha Mwananchi	9,173	23,795	39
11	Agano Party	9,003	18,758	48
12	NAP – Kenya	8,551	26,048	33
13	Democratic Party of Kenya	7,752	17,693	44
14	UPK	6,837	15,383	44
15	United Democratic Front Party	6,579	15,350	43
16	PICK	5,850	15,630	37
17	Kenya Socialist Congress	5,721	12,119	47
18	Federal Party of Kenya	4,947	10,246	48
19	Peoples Party of Kenya	4,877	10,878	45
20	Wiper Democratic Party	4,727	9,622	49

Source: Registrar of Political Parties, April 2012.

No.	Name of Political Party	Total Officials	Male Officials	Female Officials ^{***}	% of Female Officials
1.	PDP	40	15	25	63
2.	Safina Party	66	25	41	62
3.	New Democrats	14	6	8	57
4.	United Democratic Front Party	13	6	7	54
5.	Chama Cha Umma	22	12	10	45
6.	Kenya National Comgress	16	9	7	44
7.	PNU Alliance	7	4	3	43
8.	People's Party of Kenya	12	7	5	42
9.	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	10	6	4	40
10.	The Independent Party	15	9	6	40
11.	Agano Party	21	13	8	38
12.	Federal Party of Kenya	39	25	14	36
13.	Farmers Party	24	16	8	33
14.	Ford – People	33	22	11	33
15.	NAP – Kenya	30	20	10	33
16.	PICK	9	6	3	33
17.	United Republican Party	18	12	6	33
18.	Democratic Party	27	19	8	30
19.	Social Democratic Party	25	19	6	24
20.	KANU	47	41	6	13

Source: Telephone calls to respective Political Parties.

Table 8: Gender Disaggregated Enrolment Ratios in Kenya

Enrolment Ratios in Kenya	School year ending 1999				2009			
	Total	Male	Female	GPI (F/M)	Total	Male	Female	GPI (F/M)
Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Primary Education ³ (%)	91	92	90	0.97	113	114	111	0.98
Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) in Primary Education (%)	62	62	63	1.01	82	82	83	1.01
Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Tertiary Education (%)	-	-	-	-	4	5	3	0.70

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (UIS, 2011).

Table 9: Gender Parity in Education Levels

Achiev	Achieving EFA GOAL 5 in Kenya										
Primary education					Secondary education						
GROS	GROSS ENROLMENT RATIO (GER)					GROSS ENROLMENT RATIO (GER)					
School	School year ending in				School year ending in						
1991		1999		2009		1991		1999		2009	
Total	GPI	Total	GPI	Total	GPI	Total	GPI	Total	GPI	Total	GPI
(%)	(F/M)	(%)	(F/M)	(%)	(F/M)	(%)	(F/M)	(%)	(F/M)	(%)	(F/M)
98	0.97	91	0.97	113	0.98	•••	•••	38	0.96	59	0.90

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (UIS, 2011).

^{***} Party positions in this case include the top party Executive Officers and the Women's Leaders.

³ Primary education enrolment is for the age category 6 - 11 years old.

References

- Cornwall, Andrea & Goetz, Anne Marie (2005). 'Democratizing Democracy: Feminist perspectives', *Democratization*, 12(5): 783 800.
- FIDA Kenya (2010) Gender Audit Study of the 10th Parliament. Nairobi: FIDA.
- Haavio-Mannila, Elima et al., (eds) (1985). Unfinished Democracy: Women in Nordic Politics, Oxford: Pergamon. p. 166.
- Huggins, Allison & Randell, Shirley K. (2007) 'Gender Equality in Education in Rwanda: What is happening to our Girls?' A Paper presented at the South African Association of Women Graduates Conference on "Drop-outs from School and Tertiary Studies: What is Happening to our Girls?" Capetown, May, 2007.
- IEA (2008) Profile of Women's Socio- Economic Status in Kenya. Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- Kabeer, Naila. (1999). 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment.' Development and Change, 30(3): 435 – 464.
- Kamau, Nyokabi (ed) (2008) 'Enhancing Women's Political Participation.' *Perspectives on Gender Discourse 6/08.* Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Stiftung
- Kang'ethe, Njeri (2007) 'Women and Leadership in Africa: A Case of Deviate or Die', In Kimani Njogu (ed) *Governance* and Development: Towards Quality Leadership in Kenya. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications.
- Kenya, Republic of (2010a). Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2008 2009. Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
- Kenya, Republic of (2010b). The Constitution of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Kenya, Republic of. (2011). The Political Parties Act. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Månsson, Alícia Borges & Färnsveden, Ulf. (2012). 'Gender and Skills Development: A Review Background Paper for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012'. Prepared by Hifab International, Sweden. New York: UNGEI.
- Mitullah, Winnie V & Owiti, Lillian A (2007) 'Women and the Politics of Transition' In Peter Wanyande, Mary Omosa and Chweya Ludeki (Eds), *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press. pp. 155 178.
- Noor, Sophia Abdi (n.d). 'Challenges Facing Minority women in political participation and their solutions: The case of Kenya and other neighbouring countries.' A Paper presented at the UN conference on Minorities and Political Participation. Geneva, Switzerland, November 11 13.
- Norris, Pippa (1987). Politics and Sexual Equality. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers. p. 85.
- Oduol, Jacqueline A. (2011). 'Women in Leadership and Governance' In Okoth Okombo et al., (Eds) Challenging the Rulers: A Leadership Model for Good Governance. Nairobi: EAEP and Community Aid International. pp. 160 – 180.
- Omondi, George (2010) 'The Student Movement and Youth Organisations in Kenya's Political Development: A Recent History' In Okoth Okombo (ed) *Civil Society and Governance in Kenya since 2002: Between Transition and Crisis.* Nairobi: ARRF and Heinrich Böll Stiftung. pp. 113 134.
- Parkes, Jenny & Heslop, Jo (2011). Stop Violence Against Girls in School: A cross-country analysis of baseline research from Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique. London: IoE and ActionAid International.
- Powley, Elizabeth (2004). Rwanda: Women Hold Up Half the Parliament. Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers.
- Sivi-Njonjo, Katindi (2010). Youth Fact Book: Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster? Nairobi: IEA.
- Squires, J. (1999). Gender in political theory. Cambridge: Polity.
- Stromquist, Nelly P. (1995). 'Romancing the State: Gender and Power in Education', Comparative Education Review, 39(4): 423 454.
- Tsikata, Dzodzi (2001). National Machineries for the Advancement of Women in Africa: Are they Transforming Gender Relations? Ghana: Third World Network-Africa.
- UNESCO. (2008). EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009. Available at http://www.unesco.org/en/efareport/reports/2009-governance/ <Accessed January 2012>
- UNESCO. (2009). Priority Gender Equality. Action Plan 2008 2013. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Available online at: http://www.unesco.org/genderequality <Accessed January 2012>
- UNESCO. (2011). Education Counts: Towards the Millennium Development Goals. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
- United Nations. (1997). Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997. A/52/3, 18 September. United Nations.
- United Nations. (1995). Beijing Declaration, Fourth world conference on women. Available at
- http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm <Accessed March 2010>.
- Unterhalter, E., North, A., & Parkes, J. (2010). 'Gender Equality and Women and Girls' Education, 1995-2010: How much is there a space for hope?' Paper for UNESCO 15 year Review of the Beijing Platform of Action. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Unterhalter, Elaine. (2011). 'How far does this go? Reflections on using the capability approach to evaluate gender, poverty, education and empowerment.' A Talk prepared for CIES Gender committee symposium CIES Conference, Montreal, May 2011. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- WSP. (2006). The Participation and Representation of Women in Management of Political Parties: An Unfinished Agenda in Kenya. Rapid Assessment and Gender Audit of Political Parties in Kenya (Raga I). Nairobi: WSP/HIVOS.
- WSP. (2008). The Elusive Quest for Women's Empowerment in Electoral Politics: A Synopsis of the 2007 Electoral Year. Rapid Assessment and Gender Audit of Electoral Processes in Kenya (Raga II). Nairobi: WSP/HIVOS.