

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**IMPACT OF THE GLOBAL POLICY OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN  
ENGENDERING PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE  
AWARD OF MASTER OF ART DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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**SEPTEMBER 2013**

**DECLARATION**

I assert that this is my original work and has not been submitted for award of either diploma or a degree in any other university.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AU</b>	African Union
<b>BDPfA</b>	Beijing Declaration and Plan for Action
<b>BPA</b>	Beijing Platform for Action
<b>CDF</b>	Constituency Development Fund
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>CSW</b>	Commission on Status on Women
<b>DAW</b>	Division for the Advancement of Women
<b>DAWN</b>	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
<b>EPZs</b>	Export Processing Zones
<b>ERS</b>	Economic Recovery Strategy
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FLSAW</b>	Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women
<b>GAD</b>	Gender and Development
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>INSTRAW</b>	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
<b>IR</b>	International Relations
<b>MDGs</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>MNCs</b>	Multinational Corporations
<b>NARC</b>	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
<b>SAPs</b>	Structural Adjustment Programmes
<b>UDHR</b>	Universal Declaration on Human Rights

<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNDW</b>	United Nations Decade for Women
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>UNIFEM</b>	United Nations Development Fund for Women
<b>UNSCR</b>	United Nations Security Council Resolutions
<b>WAD</b>	Women and Development
<b>WB</b>	World Bank
<b>WID</b>	Women in Development

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my parents, Francis Kuria and Grace Wanyi; who gave *more* than they had for my education – and to my nephew Alpha Muraya, who has brought incredible joy to my life.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this study would not have been possible without the participation and support of numerous individuals and institutions. I wish to acknowledge the assistance they extended to me in the course of the study.

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Margaret Wairimu  
September 2013

## **ABSTRACT**

Gender mainstreaming is a phrase that was coined during the 3<sup>rd</sup> world women conference in 1985 with the aim of broadening interventions to end gender inequalities in a more comprehensive way. Feminist thinking envisioned social transformation where power relations would be altered into more equal relationships between men and women. As a strategy to ending gender inequalities, gender mainstreaming is two-pronged – incorporating interventions that meet practical needs of women and those that are strategic with the goal of achieving gender equality. As a global policy, it was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1996 after the adoption of the BDPfA in 1995 during the 4<sup>th</sup> women world conference in Beijing. Governments, including Kenya committed to the BDPfA and adopted gender mainstreaming, in keeping with international norms. In Kenya, the national assembly adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1996.

The aim of this study was to establish the impact of gender mainstreaming in public institutions with a focus on Kenya in terms of the changes that have occurred since the advent of the gender mainstreaming requirement. Specifically, it was to assess how gender mainstreaming has been applied, how it has transformed public institutions in a gender responsive manner, and determine the challenges of gender mainstreaming in public institutions. In addition to these, was to assess the appropriate measures to be adopted to improve the engendering efforts in public institutions.

The study used the feminist approach in interpretation of the data collected which was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and presented in frequencies and percentages in tabular form as well as in pie-charts and bar graphs. This applied to data collected through the structured questionnaire while data collected through interviews was presented in narrative form. From the study, the findings are that the Affirmative Action is the way through which gender mainstreaming is applied especially in recruiting and promoting women within the public service. The findings also indicate that there is high awareness of gender in public institutions and all cadres of staff are familiar with gender language. Further, there is legislation that is more gender aware and increased number of policies put in place, which are being implemented with varying degrees of effectiveness. The other significant finding is that attitudes towards women and men sharing public space are changing, with women now being more accepted and respected as agents and beneficiaries of the development process in their own right. Pockets of resistance to women being decision makers still persist because at the top level women's numbers are still low compared to their numbers at the middle and lower cadres. Men still dominate the decision making processes in public institutions. Challenges abound in the way to achieving gender equality with lack of political will ranking as the biggest impediment.

The findings led to the conclusion that ground has been covered in relation to ensuring that women and men become beneficiaries and agents of the development process. There are increased numbers of women in public institutions in all cadres, although the senior positions cadre is outdone by lower and middle levels. That women are now more accepted in the workplace and gender aware legislation is being enacted are all positive achievements of gender mainstreaming. However, vigilance is required until gender equality is achieved at all levels where there will be no discrimination propagated on the basis of gender, and men and women will receive equal treatment in public institutions. The study sees the need for research on the experiences of women who have risen through the ranks as public servants in government ministries and state corporations. Considering that they have acquired a wealth of experience in the course of their careers, do they advocate for transformation in public institutions that ensures gender equality or do they become masculinized by the system?

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# CHAPTER 1

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical framework, and hypotheses, methodology of the study, and scope and limitations of the study.

### 1.2 Background of the study

Patriarchal structures and values have dominated the world for long time. Since ancient times society has been structured in such a way that women and men are seen as fundamentally different and these perceived differences are then used to assign them different roles in society; roles that they are required by culture to fit in. Individuals are born into these societal laid-out structures and as they grow they are socialized into what is being masculine and manly, a world in which all persons born male ought to live, and what is being feminine and womanly, a world in which all persons born female should live. Men and women understand their respective worlds in this context. Society also defines the environment within which the men and the women should be confined and thrive. The world has thus been demarcated into public and private or domestic spheres, with the man's place being in public while the woman's private or domestic. These two environments are assigned characteristics just like being man and being woman is. The unwritten rule is that none should cross the line in to the other's perceived territory. Within these environments are roles and duties for the persons within. These roles, defined based on biological differences between men and women are partly what constitute gender.

Steans (2006) writes that ‘gender refers to the ideological and material relations that exist between groups of people called ‘men’ and people called ‘women’.’<sup>1</sup> In advancing this, she says that the terms masculine and feminine do not describe biological characteristics. That sex, which is biological and gender, which is socially constructed do not automatically coincide. It is usually an expectation of society that persons born male or female learn what is appropriate for their gender. Deviation from the society’s prescribed behavior attracts society’s questions and instruction or reminders as to how ‘a man’ or ‘a woman’ ought to behave. These societal expectations attributed to being male or female are extended from the nuclear family to the social institutions and the same expectations imported into offices. This dichotomy of men roles and women roles is critical in many respects, for it is these differentiated roles that are used as determinants of male and female entitlements in society. In addition to that, is ‘the existence of a gender hierarchy in the relationship...through which women are in most cases in a subordinate position.’<sup>2</sup> This gender hierarchy is deeply embedded in society across all cultures. It is this deep seated structure that places one group of society (in most cases women) in a subordinate position effectively disadvantaging them in the development process that strategies such as gender mainstreaming endeavor to address.

Gender mainstreaming can be traced to the Nairobi UN Women’s conference held in 1985 at the end of the UN Decade for Women which ran from 1976 to 1985. From this conference, Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLSAW) – a comprehensive document, introduced the strategy of mainstreaming gender in development seeking to depart from the earlier approach of women-specific projects. The strength of FLSAW is that rather than women’s agenda being on the periphery; it would pervade all areas of UN work. Whatever topic or agenda

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<sup>1</sup> Jill Steans, *Gender And International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (UK: Polity Press, 2006),2

<sup>2</sup> Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol, “Gender, Civil Society and Leadership”. In *Leadership, Civil Society and Democratization: Case studies from Eastern Africa* edited by Abdalla Bujra and Said Adejumobi. (Addis Ababa: DPMF, 2002), 64

the UN would have, women would not be ‘a by-the-way’. They and their interests and concerns would be part of UN’s agenda. But at this conference, differences emerged between developed countries and developing ones, a factor that made FLSAW make concessions that countries set their own priorities in line with their resources. In 1990, the UN Commission on the Status of Women met to review progress. It is from this meeting that the need for a fourth Women’s Conference was identified. And so the Beijing Women Conference was held in 1995. It would evaluate FLSAW. At the end of the conference in Beijing, there was a Beijing Declaration and Plan for Action (BDPfA). More significantly is that the Gender Mainstreaming strategy was adopted explicitly by the United Nations General Assembly. It aims to influence public policy perspectives thereby institutionalize gender, with the ultimate goal being that men and women would equally be involved public policy making and implementation. The ultimate goal of Gender Mainstreaming Policy is achieving gender equality - defined by World Bank (2001) as

*‘Equality under the law, equality of opportunity including equality of rewards for work and equality in access to human capital and other productive resources that enable opportunity, and equality of voice - the ability to influence and contribute to the development process.’<sup>3</sup>*

Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities - policy development, research, advocacy/ dialogue, legislation, resource allocation, and planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects.<sup>4</sup> The centrality of the gender question in all activities is important in the development process because it helps bring on board the different perspectives and the issues that affect men and women.

Gender mainstreaming is about a meticulous inclusion of gender issues in all aspects at all levels of operation – starting at the local development initiatives, to the national and international programmes. The implication of conscious inclusion of gender issues in the development process

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<sup>3</sup>[http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/192862/Module1/Module1b.html#\\_ftn6](http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/192862/Module1/Module1b.html#_ftn6) accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April 2013; 7:00pm

<sup>4</sup><http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gendermainstreaming.htm> accessed 18<sup>th</sup> April 2013, 7:49pm

is a continuous assessment of how policies and initiatives impact on women and men. The situational analysis should make bare the needs of both men and women and guide actions to correct imbalances that exist.

While disparities continue to exist between men and women, with women being more disadvantaged, numerous efforts have been made to alleviate the challenges that are entrenched by gender. Scholars, activists and women movements have walked an arduous journey to make visible the subjugation and subordination of women through time by these structures; with the aim of having women brought on board to take part in deciding on issues and meaningfully participating in the various processes that so affect their lives. And more than participating, address the unequal power and social gender relations that clearly put women at a disadvantage in the development process and also in reaping the rewards of their toil, which , when not remunerated, is unaccounted for.

The fight for women's space in public affairs dates back to the 1900s when most countries granted the right to vote to women between the First World War and Second War. Women in the West started agitating for voting rights which in effect would make them participants in public affairs, in particular politics. After the end of the Second World War, the United Nations which succeeded the League of Nations included in its Charter provisions that protect the rights of both men and women. This was further enhanced and institutionalized by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the enactment of the Convention on Social, Economic and Political Rights. Prior to the 1948 UDHR, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) had been established under United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1946 to report on the rights of women in all the spheres of life. The commission emphasizes that men and women have equal rights.

Through the CSW, different approaches to address the issues of women have been employed over the years. These approaches have largely been in line with the broader development approaches employed within the UN System. As the UN CSW settled down to work in the late forties, focus was on ensuring that women had and enjoyed political rights. Emphasis was also put on provision of basic needs through the Welfare Approach. This approach changed to that of emancipation and anti- poverty with the public policy perspective being that of the state providing social welfare and increased opportunities in the late 60s and early 70s. The approach of Women in Development (WID) was introduced mid 70s as a strategy to empower women and improve their status. WID was succeeded by Gender and Development (GAD) in the mid-80s. In late 80s, the famous Brundtland Commission popularized ‘sustainable development’ as a concept to imply that while the world relentlessly pursued economic development, it had to be conscious of tomorrow’s generation. This influenced policy in the 90s, with the policy perspective shifting to sustainable development.<sup>5</sup> It is around this concept ‘sustainable development’ that Women, Environment and Development (WED) was introduced in to the development discourse.

The UN has been an active participant in making women and their contributions to the development process visible. On its part, the UN organized the first ever World Conference on Women in 1975 in Mexico. Further, the UN declared 1975-1985 the UN Decade for Women. 1979 saw the UN General Assembly adopt the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which defines and outlaws discrimination against women. In addition, it requires that national governments act to end all forms of discrimination. In 1980, the UN organized a second Conference on Women in Copenhagen, Denmark, and five years later the

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<sup>5</sup>Farida Faisal, “Public Policy and Gender Mainstreaming Strategy: Redressing Gender Inequality”. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research in Business* Vol. 1, Issue. 7, July 2011, 08-16. available online at <http://www.idjrb.com/articlepdf/idjrb7n2.pdf>



World Conference on Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya with the aim of reviewing the gains realized during the Decade for Women. Ten years later (1995), the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing China. In this conference the BDPfA was adopted. And gender mainstreaming as a strategy for women participation was made official and adopted by UNGA in 1996. It was agreed that it was important to have full participation of women in every level of public life. Policies and programs at all levels would be gender-sensitive. In order to ensure the BDPfA did not just sit gathering dust in office shelves, the United Nations would consciously promote a policy with a gender perspective. After the Beijing Conference, the UN decided to hold international meetings for appraisal of the BDPfA every five years. The meetings would be dubbed 'Beijing + the number of years post Beijing. So far, three meetings have been held, that is, Beijing + 5 held in 2000, Beijing + 10 in 2005, and Beijing + 15 held in 2010.

Alongside these efforts by the UN, there have always been women organizing themselves in NGOs and movements to articulate their issues. The NGOs have held parallel conferences alongside the UN Conferences, with the numbers of those attending increasing in successive conferences. One of the achievements of the women organizations is that now data is disaggregated by sex<sup>6</sup> which is an important aspect in formulation and implementation of policy.

Kenya is a member of the United Nations and is a signatory to the various international legal instruments that endeavor to achieve gender equality. Since its independence in 1963, Kenya has had many development plans and party manifestoes which are essentially the frameworks from which policy is drawn and implemented. The famous Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, said to be comprehensive in its content tried to provide policy direction in all areas of development including human resource. The government of the day determined to fill the positions previously

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<sup>6</sup> Ann Tickner, "Gender in World Politics". In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens. 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 264

held by colonialists by training and education people. At that time the issues of men and women were not disaggregated. It was taken for granted that the policies catered for all. Though the various policy guiding documents promised equity and fairness in the distribution and allocation of national resources, it is apparent that the women continued to be invisible in the policies formulation and implementation. Nothing much was done to specifically address the inequality propagated by the hierarchical structure, with the patriarchy holding firmly to the reins of power.

Nzomo<sup>7</sup> says that

*‘in formal terms women have had the same rights as men for many decades , but this has not led to radical changes in predominant ideologies and social structures which are necessary in order to give substance and cogency to the right of women to participate.’*

As the world became sensitized about the need to include women in the development process and intergovernmental organizations such as the UN spearheaded the new policy directions, Kenya too made efforts. The government set up a Women’s Bureau in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services with the mandate of chronicling issues that affected women. The Bureau would collect data, monitor and evaluate women’s projects. Kenya’s development plans, after 1979 began to recognize women as agents and beneficiaries of the development process. For instance, the Sessional paper No. 1 of 1986 underlined the importance of women in agricultural development, while the 1984 – 88 development plan revealed existing inequalities in employment. But the progress of closing gaps was slow.

With the explicit adoption of gender mainstreaming as an official policy by the UN General Assembly in 1996, in which Kenya participated, changes in policy formulation and implementation to align with the new international policy direction were expected to kick start in Kenya. Various interventions have been made through legislation and policy formulation to

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<sup>7</sup>Maria Nzomo. Ed., *Perspectives on Gender Discourse, Women in Politics: Challenges of Democratic Transition in Kenya*. (Nairobi, Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2003), 9

mainstream gender in Kenya. Parliament passed a bill in 2003 which led to the establishment of the National Commission on Gender and Development soon after the enactment. Further, government institutions introduced gender desks or focal points in order to give the gender issues specific attention. In 2006, the National Policy on Gender and Development came into being, followed by the presidential decree on affirmative action of 30 percent of either gender to be applied in public appointments. In the Kibaki administration, a ministry for Gender was created whose mandate was to see that gender was mainstreamed in all public institutions. A new constitution was promulgated in 2010, which provides for a Gender and Equality Commission. The constitution also requires that a third of all public appointments be of either gender. In 2011, an act of parliament put in place the constitutional commission with the mandate to root out gender inequality and all other forms of discrimination against Kenyans. Again, the Political Parties Act 2011 holds that parties must uphold gender parity in their organs.

Institutions of higher learning, in tandem with the change of policy direction introduced gender studies.

Kenya has a robust civil society and women organizations but it is yet to achieve the 1/3 gender rule enshrined in the constitution even in elective posts. While the threshold of 1/3 gender requirement has not been realized in elective politics and senior appointments within the public service, past research shows that the numbers of women has increased in the public service. For example, according to the 2009 data provided by ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, 70% of the 42 government ministries had reached the 30% threshold in recruitment and promotion of women in the public service. By June 2012, the percentage of women in public service had reached 38%. The question that this study seeks to investigate is the impact that gender mainstreaming as a strategy on achieving equality has on decision making.

The effect of the inclusion of women in decision making organs of public service brought in Kenya will be the concern of this research.

### **1.3 Statement of the research problem**

Studies have been conducted generally but there is still a knowledge gap on its impact in transforming public institutions in a gender responsive manner. The findings of this study will thus contribute to a better understanding of the impact of gender mainstreaming in public institutions in Kenya. Much effort has been injected towards the realization of gender equality with various approaches and strategies being utilized in different periods of history, but without much positive impact in terms of women's rights welfare. From agitating for women voting rights through to the Women in Development approach, the gains made by these efforts are to be celebrated but it has also been apparent that a change of paradigm was necessary since much ground has yet to be covered in terms of gender equality. The gender mainstreaming strategy seeks to address deeply embedded societal structures that have made the numerous efforts made, prior to the adoption of this strategy, achieve marginal results. There is also increasing concern that under the gender mainstreaming strategy women are being mainstreamed into oblivion.

Bearing in mind the increased awareness of gender issues and the gradual increase of women in public institutions, this study seeks to evaluate how gender mainstreaming and the subsequent numerical increment of women in public service have affected decision making processes in the public service.

The question is 'how has the inclusion of women and men in the decision making processes affected public institutions?'

#### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

The broad objective of the study is to examine the changes that have occurred in public institutions since the advent of gender mainstreaming requirement.

The specific objectives are:

- a) To assess how gender mainstreaming has been applied within the public institutions;
- b) To examine the impact of gender mainstreaming in transforming public institutions in a gender responsive manner;
- c) To determine the challenges of gender mainstreaming in public institutions;
- d) To assess the appropriate measures to be adopted to improve the engendering efforts in public institutions.

#### **1.5 Justification of the study**

Although there is an increased awareness on the question of gender in policy formulation and implementation, gender mainstreaming remains a relatively new concept without much study done to assess its impact in public service. There is therefore need to assess its penetration as an instrument for empowering women in the public service. This will be important for policy makers and implementers as the findings will facilitate a harmonization of strategies and implementation processes. Further, there is need for critical study on the impact of gender mainstreaming so that existing challenges could be identified and redressed. The findings will be important in informing and/or strengthening policy where policy makers and implementers will hopefully adjust or align the policy perspectives with the recommendations, in order to engender public institutions. The study will generate information on the research problem and provide for possible policy ramifications or formulation.

## 1.6 Literature review

The researcher will discuss gender mainstreaming - the global policy designed to institute gender equality and transform institutions in a gender responsive manner. There is an attempt to define what mainstreaming is followed by brief history of its genesis as a global policy. This will be followed by an assessment of some of the existing literature on the implementation of the policy in various contexts. Since the focus of this paper is to assess the impact of gender mainstreaming in the public institutions in Kenya, an assessment of how the question of gender mainstreaming has been implemented and the efforts made by the government to ensure an enabling environment for the implementation of gender mainstreaming will be highlighted.

Gender mainstreaming is a global policy defined by the UN Economic and Social Council (1997)

as

*'The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is 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. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.'*

In elaboration, mainstream is defined by the Oxford Learners Dictionary as dominant trend, or tendency. Recurrent words for mainstream are; main, key or center-stage. Mainstreaming refers to the act of making an issue/concern as equally important as others already regarded as important. It implies bringing an issue to the same level of importance what was previously regarded peripheral/fringed. (Peripheral is an adjective which is formed from periphery, meaning a position away from the center. Peripheral means *of minor or secondary importance*, according to Oxford Learners Dictionary. When one talks of fringe benefits, they are referring to 'extra benefits' in addition to salary or wage. By implication fringe benefits are not an entitlement and cannot be claimed. It is left to the discretion of the employer what should constitute fringe

benefits. The definitions of the two words – mainstream and peripheral are important, to the understanding of the implication of gender mainstreaming and why women feel the need for it.) When the term gender is combined with mainstreaming to form the phrase gender mainstreaming, it points to the desire by women to be moved from the side of the main political dialogues to the center; to have women’s concerns be labeled as important as other matters of local, national and international concern. When international forums such as the United Nations convene to discuss matters such as global trade and security, women issues should not be under ‘Any Other Business’. They should form part of the agenda.

Jahan (1995) highlights two approaches of tackling women’s concerns. One is the integrationist approach, which seeks to have gender issues incorporated into existing structures without transforming the development agenda. In other words, priorities do not change because gender concerns are there.

The second approach is agenda-setting which implies transformation of the existing development agenda with a gender perspective. Women participate in decision making in order to bring structural changes into the existing development paradigms. This in effect brings a re-orientation of the mainstream<sup>8</sup>.

In the 1960s and 70s women rose in feminist activism to demand for equality and inclusion in the various institutions of government and development. In 1970, Ester Boserup published what has since been recognized as a groundbreaking work, *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, a book that demonstrated the importance and contributions of women’s work to the socio-economic wellbeing of societies.<sup>9</sup> This book added weight to the need expressed by women through activism, prompting the UN to undertake surveys that endeavored to understand the

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<sup>8</sup>Rounaq Jahan. *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women In Development*, (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1995), 13-14

<sup>9</sup>Jill Steans, *Gender and International Relations*, (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 95

status of women in development. The increased awareness in the UN on the status of women culminated in the First UN Women Conference held in Mexico in 1975. This conference outlined three themes – equality, development and peace – a reflection of the priority areas of the three political and ideological blocs of the globe at the time. Women from the industrialized West had equality as their primary concern; the communist East bloc had peace as their concern while women from the countries emerging from the shackles of colonialism had development as their priority area. In 1980, a second conference was organized in Copenhagen in which global political events became central to the conference. However, according to Fraser and Tinker (2004) the conference ‘produced the best researched documents of the decade’ because the secretary to the conference requested women from the Global South to write on women’s work and development and these papers formed paragraphs in the Programme of Action. Issues that were of concern to women such as women’s health and domestic violence were brought on board too. In 1985, Nairobi, Kenya hosted the 3<sup>rd</sup> conference to evaluate the gains of the UN Decade for Women. Different from the Copenhagen Conference, consensus was reached and FLSAW was produced. The report at the end of the UN Decade for Women indicated that status of women had declined within the decade. For this reason, a rethinking of strategy was deemed fit and Mainstreaming Gender in Development was coined. Four World conferences happened between 1985 and 1995 in which various issues of importance to women were discussed. In 1992, environment was discussed followed by human rights in 1993; population and social issues were discussed in 1994 and 1995 respectively.

In 1995, the Fourth Conference on Women was held in Beijing. 189 states, by consensus, adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) which contains the Gender Mainstreaming strategy. Gender mainstreaming as an international policy affirmed the freedoms



of women and conferred on governments the duty to promote and protect women's rights as human rights.

The BDPfA called for the mainstreaming of gender issues into national and international policy making bodies and processes.<sup>10</sup> Following the BDPfA and the subsequent explicit adoption of the gender mainstreaming policy in 1996, women hoped that action as outlined in the document would commence and that governments, international organizations and all other actors would genuinely commit to ensuring that gender was mainstreamed in all levels of development.

Studies on the general question of women and development continue with the United Nations conducting surveys to gauge progress of their efforts and policies. The UNDP, in charge of development, has many projects running in the global South with the aim of alleviating poverty, which remains the primary concern of development programmes. Eradication of poverty is number one of eight MDGs, as outlined by the UN.

At the global level much has been done in terms of policy initiatives to see to it that women are equal to men. For example, the UNDP established a broader approach to development to include the betterment of an individual's life holistically as opposed to the purely economic angle held by World Bank of how many dollars one spends per day. The new approach is human development which focuses on attainment of knowledge and access to resources for respectable living. Although UNDP did not allow gender issues to spill over to other development issues in its annual reports, it nevertheless allowed the reporting on gender issues in 1987.<sup>11</sup>

The key treaties and resolutions for that touch on women and their issues include Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which sets out fundamental principles that all persons are equal; the International Covenant Civil and Political Rights (1976); International Covenant on

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<sup>10</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations.* (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 109

<sup>11</sup>Rounaq, Jahan. *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development.* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1995), 93

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976); Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1981) ; Convention on the Rights of the Child(1990) – which is inclusive of girls’ protection from harmful practices; the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women , peace and security, and the MDGs which are eight in Number with the third (3rd) and fifth(5th) being specifically for women’s advancement.

In line with international norms, national governments, as required by BDPfA, have made effort through legislation, domesticating various international instruments to see to it that they fulfill their international obligations to women and men without discrimination. When governments sign these international conventions, they commit to abide by them.

In Africa governments set

*‘gender ministries, while other governments created focal desks in existing ministries. Women’s caucuses in some parliaments increased the representation of women’s voices, and women’s concerns were also raised by lobbyists and individuals, in committees focusing on legal affairs, governance, and human rights. Many dedicated men and women were involved in the development of government gender policies, and planning consequent action. Everything looked set to improve for the empowerment of women and the achievement of gender equality.’<sup>12</sup>*

Africa through the African Union (AU) in 2003 committed itself to protect and uphold all people’s rights through the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. In 2004, the AU had the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa.

In terms of policy and instituting frameworks that are gender conscious and aim to mainstream gender in all the facets of the state, Kenya has made progress. The government established a Women’s Bureau in the department of social services as required by the 1975 Mexico Women Conference. Kenya ratified CEDAW without reservations; BDPfA; the MDGs; and the AU Charter on Human and Peoples Rights. In addition, a National Policy on Gender and

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<sup>12</sup>Wendoh, S and Wallace, T: “Re-thinking gender mainstreaming in African NGOs and communities”. In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review*. Caroline Sweetman and Porter. eds. (Oxfam GB, 2005), 71-72

Development was put in place. The president also directed that all appointments and promotions must be 30 % female in public and state corporations.

Studies on gender mainstreaming relay a mixture of successes and failures due to various reasons. Success is registered mainly in regard to institutional frameworks and legislation while slow progress is seen in the areas of operationalizing the frameworks on the ground. Jahan (1995) points to the successes of efforts made by the UN together with some international development agencies. She enumerates raised awareness, growing expertise on gender issues based on research and practice, laws and policies such as affirmative action that have promoted the participation of women in development, and an audible women's voice because WID and GAD policies demanded that women be consulted so that their perspectives could inform policy. These achievements have re-oriented the direction of development. The ultimate goal for gender mainstreaming is to remove gender disparities in all aspects. On the other hand, there is a long way to go due to initial resistance to these changes which is based on the fear of the unknown. Custodians of patriarchy were concerned that women would take what they had all along *known* to be theirs. Setbacks still abound. There is a need to clarify objectives and strengthen institutions.

In the study carried out by Caroline and Annalise<sup>13</sup> ten years after the Fourth World Women Conference, in which they divide progress into 3(adoption of terminology; developing a policy; and implementation of the policy), they found that all the international organizations they studied had adopted the terminology and put in place policy for gender mainstreaming. The UN had made considerable effort in using its networks and online data bases to disseminate information.

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<sup>13</sup>Moser C and Annalise Moser, "Gender mainstreaming since Beijing: a review of success and limitations in International Institutions". In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 11-22

It also has several agencies dedicated to the work of gender equality. In some organizations, there was some inconsistency between the gender policy and the organizational mandate.

The challenge for the international organizations seemed to remain at the level of implementation. It was noted that the commitment diminished when it came to drawing specific objectives. In other words, there is a general policy on gender but it has not been integrated into the mainstream. It was treated as a separate policy, not one to be followed in the daily routine of work. The effect was seen as that of marginalizing gender rather than mainstreaming it.

In another case study, Suzanne Clisby<sup>14</sup> studied the Law of Popular Participation<sup>15</sup> in Bolivia with the gender lens. According to her findings, although the law seeks to give voice to women in politics and development, and it actually brought tangible results to the Bolivian public in general, the devolved power and resources seem to have been hijacked by men. This turn of events makes the goal of mainstreaming gender unrealizable. While the law is there, it does not provide mechanisms for undoing the barriers that stop women participation. In effect the law reverses the gains for women. The Bolivian law of popular participation illustrates that good intention is not enough. Legislation and policy formulation must be followed by practical activities that echo commitment of the state to mainstreaming gender. Otherwise the gains will be reversed.

In the case of South Africa, Shamim Meer, in her article *Freedom for Women: Mainstreaming gender in the South African Liberation struggle and beyond*,<sup>16</sup> found out that while women had gained much during the struggle alongside men, the post-apartheid experience is that women

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<sup>14</sup>Suzanne Clisby. "Gender mainstreaming or just more male-streaming? Experiences of popular participation in Bolivia" In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 23-35

<sup>15</sup> This is a law passed in Bolivia taking effect in 1994, prior to the Beijing Platform whose aim was to increase public participation by devolving power and resources to the community.

<sup>16</sup> Meer Shamim, *Freedom for Women: Mainstreaming gender in the South African Liberation struggle and beyond* In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005),36 -45

movements were demobilized and could no longer be counted upon to push for gender mainstreaming. Further, while many women held public offices, the offices were devoid of political voice. The women in the offices became technical and professional people who got disconnected with the grass root constituency.

An interesting case study on '*gender mainstreaming in government offices*' in three countries namely Thailand, Cambodia and Lao conducted at the lower levels<sup>17</sup>. The findings are that there exists policies at the national level. The writer argues that the policies fail to trickle down to the regional and local levels due to a lack of political will. The concept of gender mainstreaming remains vague at the lower levels. The conclusion is that much of gender mainstreaming remains philosophical without much translated into activity.

Closer home, SenorinaWendoh and Tina Wallace conducted a study in four countries in Africa, namely Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia, and The Gambia through a network of NGOs called Transform Africa<sup>18</sup>. There was resistance to the ideology of gender mainstreaming for various reasons. It cut across the board that it was felt as a foreign concept, hurriedly imposed on a culture that the foreigners did not understand or attempt to understand.

Some local NGOs did not believe in the idea but since donor conditions required a gender component, they were happy to include it if only to secure funding for their projects, funding that they would not use for gender mainstreaming activities. The concepts of gender are new to the communities. The NGO staff too, it was found did not understand them and only regurgitated what they heard in short training seminars. It is worth noting that these terms do not have local languages translations. The conclusion is that for this strategy to be more successful, it must bear

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<sup>17</sup>Kyoko Kusakabe, "Gender mainstreaming in government offices in Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos: perspectives from below". In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 46-56

<sup>18</sup>SenorinaWendoh and Tina Wallace, "Re-thinking Gender Mainstreaming in African NGOs and Communities" In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 70-79

in mind local cultures, so that changing of attitudes proceeds from the communities, from the known to the unknown. The study findings probably reveal the attitudes in our own country, Kenya.

Rao and Keheller<sup>19</sup> observe that ‘while women have made gains post-Beijing, policies that successfully promote women’s empowerment and gender equality are not institutionalized in the day- to- day routines of states or international development agencies’.

In 2000, the first international evaluation happened in New York. Popularly known as Beijing +5, reports were expected on the progress of implementation of the gender mainstreaming policy. It was noted that gender mainstreaming had generally been accepted. And that there was progress to the extent of having gender focal points in various government departments. Challenges against implementation were cited too.<sup>20</sup>

In 2005, another Beijing appraisal meeting was held in New York at the 60th session of UNGA. Agreeing with the observation of two scholars, Molyneux and Razavi(2006), Farida Faisal<sup>21</sup> says that the world attention had been distracted by the September 2001 USA terrorist attack, and instead of the world renewing its commitment to advancing women’s status, focus shifted to security.

By the 3<sup>rd</sup> international meeting – Beijing +15 - the opinions on the success or failure of the gender mainstreaming as a strategy to achieving gender equality were divided. In response to criticism, UNIFEM (now UN Women) said that gender mainstreaming is a process rather than a goal<sup>22</sup>. It therefore cannot be said to have failed. The important thing is to identify the

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<sup>19</sup>Rao A and Keheller D. “Is There Life after Mainstreaming?”. In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 57-69

<sup>20</sup>Farida, Faisal. “Public Policy and Gender Mainstreaming Strategy: Redressing Gender Inequality”. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research in Business Vol. 1, Issue. 7, July 2011*,08-16

<sup>21</sup> ibid

<sup>22</sup> Moser C and Moser A, Gender Mainstreaming since Beijing: a review of success and limitations in international In *Mainstreaming Gender in Development: A Critical Review* edited by Sweetman and Fenella (Oxfam GB, 2005), 11-22

progressive aspects and the constraints of implementation and employ corrective measures. Most of the studies that have been conducted have tended to look at the progress of institutionalization of gender mainstreaming and hardly at the impact. Outcomes of such policy remain unknown.<sup>23</sup>

Kenya has come a long way in relation to empowering women within public institutions. As a country, it has moved from what Gachukia, reveals in her memoir<sup>24</sup> of her experience in Kenya as a Parliamentarian in 1982. Upon entry to the august house as legislator through nomination, she describes her experience with patronizing male legislators. She tells of her challenge when an all-male commission was appointed to look in to terms and conditions of civil servants. It is the blunt response that there was ‘*no qualified woman to sit on the committee*’ that shows how patriarchy resisted change. Nzomo (1997)<sup>25</sup> found the attitude of men politicians condescending as one minister scolds women for being ‘lazy in her mind’. These two scholars reveal the attitudes that men have had in regard to women crossing in to what they regard as their (men’s) domain. However, with more and more women getting an education, and learning to assert themselves, women have increased in the public institutions not just in Kenya, but globally.<sup>26</sup> Although there are not many women who have penetrated the senior positions of public service, the number has increased, nevertheless. Muteshi (2006) offers that the successive governments of Kenya have been encouraged by a women’s movement agreeing with Nzomo (1997)<sup>27</sup> that Kenyan women are highly mobilized. Women’s hard work has pressed the government to pass

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> Fraser A and Tinker I; eds. *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*. (New York: The Feminist press, 2004)

<sup>25</sup> Maria, Nzomo. “Kenyan Women in Politics and Public Decision Making”. In *African Feminism : the Politics of survival in Sub-Saharan Africa* by Mikell, Gwendolyn, ed. (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 234-254

<sup>26</sup> Collette Suda, “The Political Economy of Women’s Work in Kenya: Chronic Constraints and Broken Barriers in Women, Work and Gender Relations”. In *Developing Countries: A Global Perspective* edited by Ghorayshi, P and Belanger, C (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 75 -90

<sup>27</sup> Nzomo M, “Kenyan Women in Politics and Public Decision Making” in Mikell, G (ed.) *African Feminism : the Politics of survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*.( Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 234 -254

legislation that promotes women's human rights and raises their standing in society. For example, a taskforce was set up in 1993 to review laws related to women, though it is only in 2005 that the government re-established gender responsive law reform.<sup>28</sup>

In the study that was conducted in June 2008 by Institute of Economic Affairs- Kenya titled *Profile of Women's Socio-economic Status* gender disparities still exist in Kenya. Throughout history, governments have been dominated by men, who have shaped the world around their identity, according to feminists. This means that the knowledge that has been produced, and termed as truth, is actually wanting because it only reflects the masculine identity, excluding feminine experiences.<sup>29</sup> It is this exclusion that feminists have worked hard against. Philips (1991) says that 'every person who engages in a common activity with others has an equal right to participate in making decisions concerning such activity'. This, she says, in relation to representation of women in politics.

The Kenyan experience in regard to mainstreaming gender has not differed in effect from the experiences of the cases studied. Resistance is rife and women have not achieved parity with men in practice through the various mechanisms put in place by the national government. In the East African region, Kenya lags behind Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Burundi in the inclusion of women in senior positions of public offices. For example, Rwanda's women percentage in parliament has surpassed the critical mass of 30%, standing at 56.3% in the latest election<sup>30</sup>. Tanzania is ranked number 20 globally with 36% women parliamentarians. In Uganda the President kept his word to include women in governance, ranking number 21 worldwide with women in parliament at 35 %. Burundi follows at number 30 globally with 30.5 % while Kenya

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<sup>28</sup>Muteshi J, *Mapping Best Practices: Promoting Gender Equality and the Advancement of Kenyan Women*. (Nairobi: Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2006)

<sup>29</sup> Ann Tickner, "Gender in World Politics". In *The Globalization of World Politics; An Introduction to International Relations* by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, eds.,(Oxford; Oxford University Press, 5<sup>th</sup> edition), 262 - 275

<sup>30</sup> Inter-parliamentary Union, Women In National Parliaments [www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm](http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm) accessed July 2013



distances at number 74 worldwide with 18.6% women in parliament<sup>31</sup>. The Kenyan situation is puzzling because Kenya boasts ahead of the other East African states economically and in development. It has many educated women with capacity for any public position. However, it is hoped that with institutional frameworks in place and a gender and equality commission, gender mainstreaming will pervade the spheres of life in Kenya. Integrating gender perspectives into work of public institutions would ensure that women and men have access to services without discrimination or exploitation.

The data compiled by Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development in 2009 on recruitment and promotion of women in the public service indicates that though implementation of gender mainstreaming strategy has been slow, it has borne fruit with about 70% of government ministries surveyed exceeding 30% women. What remains to be examined is the impact of these efforts of having men and women in public institutions. Looking at the studies done by various scholars in other contexts, outside Kenya, the researcher sees the need to carry out such studies. This is important for re-evaluation of activities that go into the efforts of gender mainstreaming.

### **1.7 Theoretical framework**

International Relations (IR) as an academic discipline came into being post World War one. The devastating effects of the war necessitated scholars to look into the question of war between states and what practices would be appropriate to avert future wars. The period between 1919 and 1939 had scholars focus on what the international arena ought to be – through the prism of what realists called Idealism. Idealism is a theory in the analysis and interpretation of IR phenomena that centers on the principle of reciprocity and cooperation of states. Thus it elevates

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid

and advocates for international organizations to coordinate international activities, adherence to international law, and emphasize on morality and the good naturedness of man as key to influencing international behavior.

With the explosion of the Second World War, scholars such as Hans Morgenthau disagreed with idealism and introduced realism to the study of IR. Realism therefore developed in reaction to idealism – a theory which was cast as utopian by the advocates of realism. Realists argue that ‘idealism is a utopian fantasy that contains dangerous illusions.’<sup>32</sup>

Realist thought contests that the international relations should be analyzed as it is rather than the ideal of what it should be. Realism is based on the principle of dominance and explains IR in terms of power<sup>33</sup>. According to Rourke (1993) realism still remains the road most travelled in contrast to idealism. Dunne and Schmidt in Baylis, *et al* (2010) agree with Rourke when they regard it as a timeless theory in international relations, pointing out that ‘from 1939 to the present leading theorists and policy makers have continued to see the world through realist lenses.’<sup>34</sup>

While realism has remained dominant in the study of IR through the years, it has attracted contestations - and this for good reason. The fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Cold War, the failure of the Communist ideology in the late 1980s, the collapse of the Soviet Union, rise of identity politics, religious fundamentalism, and decolonization are phenomena in international relations that realism could not sufficiently explain. This opened an intellectual window for scholars of IR to develop and refine other theories in international relations.

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<sup>32</sup>John, Rourke. *International Politics on the World Stage* 4<sup>th</sup> Edition (USA: The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1993), 137 -149

<sup>33</sup> Joshua, Goldstein and Pevehouse. eds., *Introduction to International Relations*. 9<sup>th</sup>edition (New York: Longman 2010),43

<sup>34</sup> Dunne Tim and Schmidt B.C. “Realism”. In *The Globalization Of World Politics : An Introduction To International Relations* edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith And Patricia Owens. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (Oxford University Press ), 84 -96

Arnold Brecht (1959) as quoted by Nachmias (1996) says we learn best through trial and error. Trial is practice, error refers to theory. When theory miscarries in practical trial it needs correction.<sup>35</sup> Following Arnold's argument, a change of paradigm from realism was thus needed as it became increasingly clear that international relations involved more than states as actors on the world stage. There were also other issues of international concern such as ethnic conflicts, globalization and liberal markets that would not be sufficiently explained by realism. Other theories such as Marxism, Liberalism and Post-structuralism found space in explaining the concerns of international relations. Along with these was the rise and acceptance of feminist theory into international relations. Steans (2006) observes that in late 1980s and early 90s there was increased acceptance of feminist theory in IR.<sup>36</sup>

This study is concerned with the question of the global policy sanctioned by the United Nations of gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for social transformation that seeks to ensure gender equality finds its place in development planning, programming and implementation. This strategy is largely informed by feminist perspective. Feminist scholarship in various academic disciplines sprung from feminist activism 'of the 1960s and 70s – a movement dedicated to achieving political, social and economic equality for women'<sup>37</sup> and therefore transform the lives of women. Lloyd (2007) says that the primary aim of feminist scholarship was to contest male-stream definitions of women circulating in culture and society<sup>38</sup>. As Tickner in Baylis, *et al* (2010) explains, the aim of feminist theory is to explain women's subordination present in all societies though in varied ways. Throughout history, different patriarchy has dominated all facets of society making the subjugation of women a deeply

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<sup>35</sup>Nachmias F.C and Nachmias D. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. (New York: St, Martin's Press Inc., 1996), 36

<sup>36</sup>Jill Steans. *Gender and International Relations* (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 10

<sup>37</sup>Ann, Tickner. "Gender in World Politics". In *The Globalization of World Politics; An Introduction to International Relations*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. edited by John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens. (Oxford: Oxford University Press),264

<sup>38</sup> Lloyd, M. *Judith Butler: From Norms To Politics*. (UK: Polity Press, 2007),4

entrenched phenomenon across all cultures. What scholars traditionally claim to be universal often turns out to be true only of males.<sup>39</sup> Feminists' quest is to see that as scholars make their contribution to development of knowledge, they should take cognizance of gender and not just assume all actors are male. This would help see how males/females influence decision processes. Feminists Kober (1990) and Falk (1992) as quoted by Rourke (1993) are of the opinion that 'fuller inclusion of women in the policy making process would significantly change policy'.<sup>40</sup> Scholars such as Rourke (1993); Sylvester(1994); Steans(2006); Goldstein and Pevenhouse (2010), agree that while there is no one particular feminist school of thought, there is universal agreement that the feminist theory focuses on gender and status of women. Goldstein and Pevehouse (2010) quoting various feminist IR scholars such as V.Spike, Runyan, among others concur that 'gender scholarship has made inroads in international relations, a field considered most resistant to gendered arguments.'<sup>41</sup>

All feminisms agree that patriarchy is responsible for gender inequalities. Feminists also agree that gender is crucial in the conduct and understanding of how international relations work. Beyond highlighting the inequalities that exist between men and women, feminism explains the reasons for their existence and proposes appropriate ways to end them. Feminists challenge the traditional theories of realism and the knowledge based only on realism which is presented as the only truth. For example the realism concepts of anarchy and sovereignty are said to emanate from the way men interact and see the world<sup>42</sup>. It is therefore not the whole truth as it presents only the experiences of one gender.

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<sup>39</sup>Joshua Goldstein and Pevenhouse, eds. *Introduction to International Relations*. 9<sup>th</sup> edition. ( New York: Longman, 2010),136-148

<sup>40</sup>John, Rourke. *International Politics on the World Stage*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition (USA: The Dushkin Publishing Group, 1993),151

<sup>41</sup>Joshua, Goldstein and Pevehouse. eds., *Introduction to International Relations*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition. (New York: Longman 2010), 134

<sup>42</sup>ibid

Feminism does not seek to replace the male by female, rather it seeks to build a nonhierarchical social structure where no gender exploits or subordinates the other.

Feminists assume international relations is not all-encompassing but gendered. They argue that inclusion of women's perspectives and experiences into decision making processes and knowledge creation would expand knowledge and generate new data which will transform policy formulation and implementation and therefore transform the world.

**Liberal feminism** is one of feminist theories whose advocacy revolves around individualism, freedom of choice, equality of rights and equal opportunities for men and women, its primary goal being gender equality. The liberal feminists advocate removal of legal obstacles so that women can have the same rights and opportunities as men because they argue that women can be as powerful as men; that they can take up men's roles and act like them. They reject that women are different from men, and for them the so-called sex differences are trivial or non-existent. Men and women are equal. What men do women can do. Tickner in Baylis, *et al* (2010) puts it that liberal feminists abhor the exclusion of women from positions of power in IR because, for liberal feminists 'gender equality would bring additional capable individuals in traditional male roles.'<sup>43</sup> Tickner states that liberal feminists are keen to see women in the institutions and practices of global politics. They also and observe how their presence or absence affects or is affected by international policy making. The efforts of liberal feminists have borne fruit for women because there are many legal instruments based of this theory that champion for the rights of women. Much of UN work is informed by this theory. Examples are the UN Decade for Women, CEDAW, and the Women in Development approach<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup>Ann, Tickner. "Gender in World Politics". *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. edited by John Baylis, et al. 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 264

<sup>44</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations*. (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 93-118

Liberal feminism has been faulted for not challenging traditional social structures that are seen to account for hierarchical power structures and perpetuate inequalities and the invisibility of women. Critics such as Sylvester (1994); Steans (2006) agree that it is fundamentally flawed because it fits into pre-existing structures which are in themselves a hindrance to women emancipation. Sylvester (1994) points out that feminist empiricists and liberal feminists sought to fit within the traditional structures already established in social scientific research.<sup>45</sup> They did not want to ruffle feathers of established paradigms but assimilated into them. Steans (2006) agrees with Sylvester (1994) when she says that liberal feminism is an ‘add women and stir’ approach because liberalists assume that the issue of male bias can be addressed by including more women in institutions.<sup>46</sup> Scholars argue that liberal feminism is politically acceptable because it does not seek to upset underlying structural causes of gender inequality.

In defence of liberal feminism Sandra Harding has pointed out that more feminist research is crucial in exposing false beliefs and prejudices that distort the findings of research. Bringing in more women as researchers will result in less biased, partial, distorted view of the world<sup>47</sup>. According to Steans (2006) liberal feminism is important because its argument on more resources for women in research ‘can push women’s concerns higher up the foreign policy agendas of states while in study of IR it can work against the usual tendency to view women and their lives as insignificant or irrelevant’<sup>48</sup>.

Following the weaknesses inherent in liberal feminism, other approaches have claimed space in explaining international relations. Feminist scholars have drawn from critical theory, post

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<sup>45</sup> Christine, Sylvester. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994),10

<sup>46</sup> Jill Steans. *Gender And International Relations*.(UK: Polity Press, 2006), 12

<sup>47</sup> ibid

<sup>48</sup> ibid

structuralism, standpoint feminism, and post colonialism in an attempt to fill gaps of liberal feminism.

**Standpoint feminism**, variously referred to difference feminism, is a theory which accentuates the difference between men and women, seeing that the differences create experiences which are unique to both genders. These differences are important in contributing to IR. Sylvester (1994) argues for feminist standpoint when she says that the traditional roles and traits associated with women are crucial because they can ‘develop into knowledge which would transform International Relations.’<sup>49</sup> In other words, the women as women can, when put in positions of power, use their unique attributes to transform (rather than fit in) international relations. Standpoint feminism glorifies the unique contributions of women as women. It is not focused on the women versus men debate but on women as women. The experiences of women as mothers for example are seen as ‘potentially more effective in conflict resolution and group decision making’<sup>50</sup>. The standpoint feminists emphasize that the differences are important and should not be interpreted to mean inferiority of women to men. By centering their work on gender specific experiences, standpoint feminists attempt to move women to the centre as the subjects of knowledge in IR<sup>51</sup>. Standpoint feminists have influenced writing in peace and security, war and conflict. Standpoint feminism has been criticized for glorifying traditional feminine roles. In addition, the experiences of women are also not universal and will differ as class, religion and culture intersect.

**Feminist critical** borrows from Marxism and sees society as being divided into social classes. It focuses on gender as a social relationship of inequality. Gender inequality is understood in terms

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<sup>49</sup>Christine, Sylvester. *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 11

<sup>50</sup> Ann Tickner. “Gender in World Politics”. In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. edited by John Baylis, et al. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (Oxford:Oxford University Press), 264

<sup>51</sup> Jill Steans. *Gender And International Relations*.(UK: Polity Press, 2006), 13

of intersection of two sets of forces – capitalism and patriarchy. Critical feminists go further and emphasize on the power of ideas and ideologies in reproducing gender relations.<sup>52</sup> Steans(2006) uses Sandra Whitworth’s contribution to illustrate how ideas and ideologies shape policy.

The argument is that ‘social forces and material conditions combine to reproduce social practice, institutions and international organizations. These then combine to sustain gender relations of inequality<sup>53</sup>. Critical feminists view knowledge as a moment of emancipation because theorizing involves constructing knowledge about the world...in the service of emancipatory politics<sup>54</sup>. This approach explains the role played by ideologies and social structures in construction and reproduction of gender identities and gendered relationships. It also suggests ways that such hierarchies can be changed to better the lot of women.

**Post-structuralism** feminism is a theory that essentially rests on language as a way of communicating our thoughts so that we can be understood by our audience. Lene Hansen in Baylis *et al* (2010) discusses post-structuralism and points out that language is important to how we make sense of the world. Language is social – we use it in the context of society to make our thoughts understandable to others.<sup>55</sup> For poststructuralists analysis entails changing language and meaning.<sup>56</sup> Ann Tickner reinforces this assertion when she says that we understand reality based on our use of language. Poststructuralists do not rubbish the question of differences, neither do they elevate them. Rather they hold the view that these differences are arbitrary and therefore flexible. The implication of this view is that a feminist analyst must question the genesis of the differences to understand the meanings in different contexts. The contribution of

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid, 15

<sup>53</sup> ibid

<sup>54</sup> Ibid,16

<sup>55</sup> Lene Hansen, “Post Structuralism” . In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. edited by John Baylis, et al. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (Oxford:Oxford University Press), 170

<sup>56</sup> Christine, Sylvester. *Feminist Theory and International Relations In A Postmodern Era*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994),4



poststructuralist feminism is the claim that those who construct meaning and create knowledge gain a great deal of power. In the context of gender relations men have generally been the producers of knowledge and therefore what 'has been accepted as knowledge has generally been based on men's lives in the public sphere. Women have generally not been seen as knowers or as subjects of knowledge.'<sup>57</sup> This is important because according to Hooper (2001) as quoted by Tickner 'we cannot understand IR unless we understand the implications of the fact that IR is conducted mostly by men. IR shapes men and men shape IR'.<sup>58</sup> Steans (2006) quotes Tong (1989) who states that 'poststructuralists concentrate on exposing the hidden presumptions and assumptions that underlie all attempts to theorize or tell 'one true story' about the human condition'.<sup>59</sup> Its aim is to expose hidden constructions, deconstruct realism and confirm that gender roles are not fixed.

**Postcolonial** feminism is seen as a late entrant in IR study by Sylvester<sup>60</sup>. Postcolonial feminism offers a view of IR from the colonized rather than the colonizers. Colonizers dominated the peoples they ruled. Postcolonial feminism claims that these hierarchical relations continue with the West subordinating the Third World. The reason is because the West portrays the developing world as backward. Feminism knowledge, largely based on the experiences of relatively privileged western women, has been portrayed as if it were universal. Mohanty (1988), quoted by Sylvester in Baylis, *et al* (2010) and Steans (2006) suggests that women's subordination must be addressed within their cultural context rather than through a universal understanding of women's needs. She criticizes western feminists for portrayal of Third World women as poor,

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<sup>57</sup> Ann, Tickner. "Gender in World Politics". In *The Globalization of World Politics; An Introduction to International Relations*, edited by John Baylis, et al. 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 267

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*

<sup>59</sup> Jill, Steans. *Gender And International Relations*. (UK: Polity Press, 2006) , 17

<sup>60</sup> Christine, Sylvester. "Post-colonialism". In *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, edited by John Baylis, et al., 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 182 -193

under-educated, victimized, and lacking in agency.<sup>61</sup> This theory points to ‘othering’ embedded in colonialism where the colonizers and imperialists saw themselves as modern and civilized to the exclusion of others. They therefore scrambled for the Third World in a bid to modernize it and its people. Steans (2006) explains postcolonial feminism is concerned with the experiences of women in countries that underwent colonialism and later neocolonialism. Post-colonial feminists are against development policies that seem imposed on Third world countries. They want their experiences which differ with those of the Western women put into account when developing international policies.

In view of the theories highlighted, none of the theories explains exhaustively the questions of gender and the status of women. Each of the theories clearly has a contribution towards the understanding of the concerns of International relations. When each theory contributes to the production of knowledge, they together produce an insight to our understanding of concerns of IR. As research continues, the existing paradigms are refined and sometimes concepts and ideas are rethought. It is for this reason that the researcher will adopt an eclectic approach in analysis and interpretation of data. The question of gender equality and having access to opportunities by both men and women is the underlying principle to gender mainstreaming. Liberal feminism fights for institutionalization of gender and seeks to see women in institutions of power. The dominant theory that explains issues of gender equality is liberal feminism. Poststructuralist feminism is important in the explaining the creation of meanings in the context of society, while critical feminism is important in analyzing the changes that have occurred in the institutions over time as ideas about men and women have changed. Postcolonial feminism explains the experiences of women in the third world, of which Kenya is a part. The question of dominance in the context of post-colonial Kenya and its impact on gender mainstreaming is important.

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<sup>61</sup> Ann, Tickner. “Gender in World Politics” *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. edited by John Baylis, et al. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 267

Standpoint feminism seeks to explain the contributions of women to development and the decision making processes. The question of whether being women in the public institutions influences decisions positively will be answered through this theory.

## **1.8 Hypotheses**

In seeking to meet the research objectives the following hypotheses have been formulated;

- a) Gender mainstreaming policy has significantly impacted decision making processes in public institutions;
- b) Gender mainstreaming policy has not affected the decision making processes in public institutions;
- c) The impact of gender mainstreaming policy is yet to be felt in public institutions.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

### **1.9.1 Types of data**

The study will adopt a descriptive research design which uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to provide adequate information about the problem under study. The combination of the two approaches will ensure that the various variables that come into play in the implementation of gender mainstreaming are captured. Quantitative method adopted will be use of a structured questionnaire which will be used to collect primary data. Qualitative method will take face to face interviews which will explain in depth some of the matters raised in the questionnaire. Secondary sources will be the library, past theses, academic papers, academic journals, relevant government documents, newspapers and internet searches. This data is important as it enables comparison of data and issues with other studies. It will also enhance the

researcher's understanding of concepts, further giving insights to the researcher and clarity of thought in to the research problem. Accessing secondary data is also less costly than primary data collection. In order to have credible secondary data, the researcher will work towards utilizing as many of the sources aforementioned as possible.

### **1.9.2 Method of data collection**

Questionnaires and interviews will be used to collect data. The researcher will administer the questionnaires and collect them. The questionnaires contained both closed and open ended questions. Open ended provide qualitative data, closed – quantitative data. Interviews will also be used to strengthen and clarify responses provided in the questionnaires. They will be conducted on a face to face basis.

### **1.9.3 Sampling technique**

Random Sampling will be used to get respondents who will complete the structured questionnaire. Purposive sampling will be used to identify interviewees. Gender officers in the ministries and corporations will be targeted for interviews as they are assumed to be knowledgeable on the research topic. The sample size will draw from the high cadre and the low cadre of men and women in order to have objective representation.

### **1.9.4 Target population**

The target population will be Kenyan holders of public offices in government departments namely government ministries and state corporations. Non-governmental Organizations that have been involved in the quest for gender mainstreaming will be sampled in order to give an 'outsider' contribution/experience to the study.

### **1.9.5 Method of data analysis and presentation**

Once the raw data is collected descriptive statistics were used to summarize, organize and simplify the findings in a systematic way. This data was then entered in the computer system then analyzed using SPSS. The information is presented in percentages and frequencies in tabular form and charts.

### **1.10 Scope, assumptions and limitations of the study**

The geographical scope of the study will be in institutions in both Thika and Nairobi, both in Kenya. The reason for identifying Nairobi is because, it being is the capital of Kenya and the seat of the National Government, it houses all government ministries and corporations, and many NGOs have their offices there. Choosing the town of Thika is done on the basis of its accessibility to the researcher and also because it houses regional offices of various government departments. Further the Nairobi and Thika share a boundary making access to both relatively easy. These two towns will be representative of Kenya because the departmental headquarters are usually responsible for policy formulation which then trickles down to the implementers. The study assumption is that the selected respondents will be willing to participate in the study. The limitations of the study will be time and finances and manpower as the researcher will carry out the research by herself.

### **1.11 Chapter Outline**

This study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which has background to the study, objectives and literature review among others. Chapter 2 looks at the question of gender mainstreaming from a historical point view and places it within the international context. Chapter 3 presents the findings of the study while chapter 4 is an analysis of the findings. Chapter 5 forms the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING

#### 2.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is a synthesis of the literature that relates to the global policy of gender mainstreaming from a historical point of view. It places the question of women and development in the international context and how different development phases, as outlined by the United Nations (UN) have affected, influenced and informed strategies employed to advance the status of women and their participation in the development process. The chapter will first focus on international context followed by the UN CSW. Secondly, it will focus on the world women conferences which form part of background to gender mainstreaming. This will be followed by main development frameworks which inform 'women and development' discourse. Finally is a brief discussion on the policy of gender mainstreaming and the efforts made by Kenya towards engendering public institutions.

#### 2.2 International Development Context

All issues of international concern including women and development

*'can only be viewed within the global ideological and political contexts in which it operates...because they are often tied to existing political and ideological conflicts between the political blocs of the North/South, between liberalism and command economies, between democracy and dictatorship.'*<sup>62</sup>

The United Nations (UN), created after Second World War by USA, Britain, China, Russia and France, is central to shaping policies that influence how the states the world over operate. The UN plays a significant role in advancing the status of women. Historically, this has happened in light of the existing wider frameworks and schools of thought dominating the development process at different periods. Within this context, women as a constituency have become

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<sup>62</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations*. (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 93

galvanized and united for the cause of achieving equality with men; they have pushed to be included as equal partners in setting the international agenda with the hope of having structural transformation in society where hierarchical power structures still exist to disadvantage one gender –namely the woman.

UN legal instruments such as the UN Charter and UDHR recognize men and women as equal. For example, the UN Charter in its preamble solemnly determines to, among others, promote social progress and better standards of life; reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights and the equal rights of women and men, and for these ends, among other practices, employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples<sup>63</sup>.

The destruction that resulted from the Second World War reduced the warring nation-states to rubble. For this reason, the USA, emerging from the war as the most powerful, formulated the Marshal Plan to help rebuild Europe and Japan. The plan was structured in the capitalist economy framework. An International Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, now World Bank) was set up to loan finances for rebuilding the infrastructure and aiding in development. The International Monetary Fund was formed too at this time to hold steady the currencies of the world.<sup>64</sup>

The Marshal plan was drawn by economists who gave prominence to development of infrastructure and industries based on the assumption that the effects/benefits would trickle down. And this plan worked well for Europe. Based on this model, the industrialized countries in

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<sup>63</sup> United Nations, The UN Charter available <http://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/CTC/uncharter.pdf> accessed July 2013

<sup>64</sup> Joshua, Goldstein and Pevenhouse. eds. *Introduction to International Relations*. 9<sup>th</sup> edition. (New York: Longman 2010), 309



the period up to the 1960s sought to assist the countries coming out of colonialism based on the same assumption, channeling their technical and financial aid through the various UN agencies<sup>65</sup>.

The enthusiasm of seeking to close the gap between the developed/industrialized countries cut across the political and ideological divides present in the 50s. (These differences would last through to the 80s principally between communism and capitalism). However, by the end of the UN First Development Decade (1961-1970), it was clear that the gap was not narrowing. The role of global governmental and non-governmental actors in providing aid to developing countries was not achieving what had been hoped for. It was realized that ‘market mechanisms alone would not propel development...it required state intervention in the economy’.<sup>66</sup> Studies conducted with time produced evidence that economic growth alone was not enough to improve the lives of people. The gains of the economy had to be distributed widely if common people were to benefit.

By this time, many colonized countries had gained independence and joined the United Nations. This changed the course of world affairs significantly because the newly independent countries/developing countries started agitating for a change of international policies especially in regard to trade. This debate continues. The developing countries, realizing the unequal distribution of global resources insisted on a New International Economic Order (NIEO) that

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<sup>65</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan *et al*, eds., *The Women, Gender, and Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books, 2006), 1-6

<sup>66</sup> Sylvia Maxfield, “International Development”. In *Hand Book for International Relations* edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, Beth A Simmons. (London: SAGE publications, 2007), 462 -479

would favour their underdeveloped state and propagate 'economic justice and balanced planetary growth'<sup>67</sup>.

Towards the end of the 60s into early 70s, the UN conceded that the trickle down economic theory did not really work for the developing world. A new way of achieving development was necessary. This fact opened up a window for the increasing numbers of newly independent countries in need of development joining the UN and women to be heard and included in the development process as equal partners.

The purpose of UN Second Development Decade (1971- 1980) was 'to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all' with emphasis on basic needs and elimination of poverty at the grassroots.<sup>68</sup>

In the 70s, the UN began to convene conferences of issues originally not in the UN Charter such as food and population. In these conferences, the UN began to see how women were connected to such issues as food and population, and how integrating the women in development process would enhance lives of their dependents' and the economic well-being of the state.

The oil crisis in 1973 destabilized many developing countries which led to increased financial debts from international financial institutions and bilateral partners. The debts reached levels where these countries could not service and therefore asked for reschedule of the repayment period so that they could afford to pay. But the Bretton Woods institutions had other ideas and in the late 70s into early 80s, they introduced conditions for developing countries that wanted to secure loans and investments from them. They proposed structural adjustments within government/state structures where the government was required to reduce its obligations to the citizenry by cutting back on social welfare programmes and introduce cost sharing in accessing

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<sup>67</sup> Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe, eds., "The Gap between the Rich and the Poor: Reassessing the Meaning and Process of Development". In *Introduction to International Relations: Power And Justice*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. (New Jersey; Prentice Hall, Inc., 1990 ), 333 -356

<sup>68</sup> Mary, Tadesse and Margaret Synder. *African Women and Development: A History*. (London: Zed Books, 1995),55

essential services such as health and education. The Structural Adjustment Programmes(SAPs) further deepened the troubles of the ordinary people in the global South, especially because of the retrenchment programmes that cut employment from breadwinners of families. Complicated by drought, global economic recession, and retarded economic growth, Africans suffered immensely.

Towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Development Decade communism fell and the Cold War between USSR and USA and their allies ended. The USA was stronger because communist USSR had imploded. It therefore pegged its foreign assistance on developing countries' adopting USA ideology of free market principles and democracy.

At the time of signing the BDPfA, the international political context was transforming after the collapse of socialism in Eastern and Central Europe, the Liberal West was promoting democracy – expressed in political pluralism and human rights- an agenda which encompassed women's rights and facilitated women's call to attention of their cause. Donor agencies tied their aid to seeing reformed institutions in the Third World. This had an impact on women's agenda. Women took advantage of the changing political context to agitate for their rights in legislation and public policy. For example women successfully rallied around the issue of sexual rights and reproductive health rights insisting that women had autonomy and choice, violence against women also came to the center of the global debates.

The 90s saw many developing countries struggling with emerging issues of HIV/AIDS, democratizing pressures from donor agencies and donor countries, declining development assistance, identity politics, intrastate wars/civil wars, and climate change. The peddled notion that liberalization of markets would improve people's lives proved to be fallacious. 'By 2000

reviews of the UN doubted that globalization and market liberalization ‘would deliver on its promise’<sup>69</sup>

Within the 21<sup>st</sup> century there have been ‘some significant shifts in international development policy along with the growing appreciation of the need to develop gender-aware policies.’<sup>70</sup>

There is greater concern expressed by actors that social and political issues be apportioned some space alongside economic concerns because the 1980s market-driven- world ideologies happened at very high social costs.

At the turn of the millennium, the world came together to set development targets based on the 1990 data that related to development. The development targets were named Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which would be achieved by the year 2015 to ensure that basic needs were met so as to build a solid society, without which economic progress and development will be elusive.

On the security front, the terrorist attack on the USA in 2001, now dubbed 9/11, refocused international attention to the reality of terrorism and more funds were allocated to security and the war on terror at the expense of development. A lot of resources were allocated to fighting the monster that is terrorism which without doubt affected developing countries such as the Horn of Africa region countries because of the perception that they are a haven for terrorists. The war on terror account for the incursions in Iraq and Afghan led by the USA, sparking hostility and extremism in equal measure as people rise to criticize these incursions. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have captured the world attention together with the persistent crisis of the Middle East –both of which draw mixed reaction from leaders and citizens of the world.

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<sup>69</sup>Maxine, Molynux and Razavi Shahra, “Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record on Gender and Justice”. *Occasional Paper 15* (UNRISD, 2006), 11

<sup>70</sup>Ibid

The perceived decline of the US and the emergence of the BRICS as economic power houses are some of the issues that currently shape the international perceptions.

The reality of globalization and regionalism, characterized by increased interdependence of the world economy, revolutionized communications through internet and general technological advancement, is no doubt shaping world politics as traditional allies ‘venture out’ in search of new political alignments.

It is against such a backdrop that women and their issues are looked into. Because the development process is shaped by international politics, the events and dominating ideologies at different times in the political history of the world have a bearing on women.

### **2.3 The UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW)**

In the preamble of the UN Charter is the provision for equal rights of women and men and a reaffirming of faith in the fundamental human rights, later outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). In 1946, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) created a subcommittee on women to the Human Rights Commission and a year later, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) became separate. It was established to report on the rights of women in all the spheres of life. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights bolstered CSW’s voice on the equality of men and women especially with its second article quite clear: everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language.<sup>71</sup> During its first session the CSW resolved to raise the status of women to equality with men and to eliminate discrimination against women.

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<sup>71</sup>Hilkka, Pietilla and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. (London: Zed Books, 1994), 120

During its early years the CSW took the perspective of legal rights. It contributed to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights document by introducing more inclusive language, which their male counterparts within the UN system at the time were blind to.

The CSW embarked on formulating conventions that would change discriminatory laws. Its efforts made it possible for women to realize gains in regard to citizenship, employment and family law. The conventions that directly concern women adopted in the early years of CSW are; Convention for the Suppression of Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of others (1949), Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value(1951), Convention on the Political Rights of Women(1952), Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (1958), International Convention against Discrimination in Education(1960), Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age of Marriage, and Registration of Marriages (1962).<sup>72</sup> CSW worked closely with other international organizations such as International Labour Organization (ILO) and UNESCO to develop convention on employment and education respectively.

In order to prop up their assertions that women did not get equal treatment with men in law as well as in practice, CSW conducted numerous studies. Member states provided the CSW with statistics and information on the status of women in their respective countries. This information became the basis for drafting human rights instruments.<sup>73</sup> The CSW also focused on cultural practices that discriminated against women and girls and UNGA in 1954 adopted resolutions that compelled members to abolish such practices. The success of this was limited due to the elevation of such practices as early marriages and female circumcision (female genital mutilation) in societies.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>73</sup> The United Nations and the Advancement of Women, (pp 4) available <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/index.html> accessed July 2013

With UN membership increasing exponentially in the 60s due to newly independent countries, the UN listened to the concerns of these countries which were primarily concerned with economic development. While the Communist East considered the problem of poverty among women as more urgent in comparison with legal and political rights, the newly independent countries clamoured for economic development in effect taking the issues of women to the backburner. However, the rights of women were not completely forgotten because the West ensured that they stayed on course. The CSW, in order to accommodate these concerns started to consider the role of women in development.

In collaboration with NGOs and the upsurge of the feminist movement efforts, the CSW focused on economic participation of women in the 70s.

The CSW in 1963 drafted the Declaration on Elimination of Discrimination against Women and in 1967 the Declaration was adopted by the UNGA, providing legal ground for equality of men and women. This was followed by the adoption by UNGA of what has been considered the most critical international legal instrument for women – the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and its coming into force in 1981. It defined what discrimination is and required governments to take responsibility of guaranteeing women's human rights and freedoms.<sup>74</sup> Although governments were slow to ratify CEDAW at the beginning, many governments have now ratified it and improved on their domestic laws in conformity with CEDAW<sup>75</sup>. With the changing times and emerging challenges, the CEDAW has included new themes such as HIV/AIDs and disabled women through its recommendations.

In 1972, CSW recommended that there be an international women's Year, which the UNGA endorsed. 1975 was selected as the year which was intended to remind the world that discrimination against women was still persistent and it was a hindrance to achieving equality. It

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<sup>74</sup> CEDAW articles 1 and 3 available <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW-C-PAN-CO-7.pdf> accessed July 2013

<sup>75</sup> Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations*.(UK: Polity Press, 2006), 109

would also remind governments to make efforts to achieve equality and recognize women's contribution in development.

In addition to CSW, the UN, seeing the importance of women and the need to incorporate them in the development process has expanded institutions that concentrate on women and issues that concern them. The UN Secretariat established a section on the Status of Women which would later (1978) become the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW). In 1975, a new organization – International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) – was formed to undertake studies related to women and development. Again, the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women under the UNDP was in 1984 transformed into an autonomous body – UNIFEM (now UN Women).

CSW continues to work for women and it is responsible for organizing and preparing UN World Women conferences beginning with the 1975 Mexico Conference. The conferences are held routinely every five years. The CSW makes sure that the momentum is not lost because although the world is more aware of women's human rights, equality has yet to be achieved and laxity on this matter could make gains made be rolled back.

The CSW has secured the mandate to play a central role of monitoring the implementation of various action plans that have come out of the various conferences and advise the UN ECOSOC. As Steans (2006) notes CSW provides an institutions through which coordination, monitoring and evaluating of UN programmes is done. Efforts of the CSW have made gender equality a cross cutting theme in development discourses, programmes and projects by developing the mainstreaming approach. Today gender equality issues are central to national and international conferences that focus on policy.



## 2.4 UN WORLD WOMEN CONFERENCES

When the General Assembly reached a decision to have International Women's Year in 1975, it marked the beginning of legitimate articulation of women's issues in international platforms. The 1973 Percy Amendment had required that 'women be involved in the decision making bodies that dealt with aid and development issues'<sup>76</sup>. The amended USA Foreign Assistance Act became a model for UN agencies as it influenced multilateral and bilateral donor agencies to make a requirement for integrating women in development. Thus, the UN and its agencies had to expand institutions that attend to women issues. This requirement, coupled with the increasingly strong feminist movement influenced the first world women conference held in 1975 in Mexico. During this conference the UN declared the next 10 years a Decade for Women. Conferences have since been held every five years to evaluate the gains and persistent impediments to achieving equality and end discrimination against women.

In the 1990s other world development conferences were held by the UN in order that 'an integrated global agenda for development' is established. Those of particular interest to women are the 1992 conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, the 1993 Vienna conference on Human Rights, the 1994 Cairo conference on Population and Development, the 1995 Social Development Summit, the 1996 Habitat II Conference on Human Settlements and the 1996 World Food Summit. They raised awareness and placed gender issues at the centre of international discourse.<sup>77</sup> For example, the 1993 World conference on Human Rights in Vienna is regarded as the 'full safeguard of women's rights' which will affect the

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<sup>76</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations*. (UK: Polity Press, 2006 ),96

<sup>77</sup>Short History of the Commission on the Status of Women available <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/index.html> accessed July 2013

worlds fundamentally.<sup>78</sup> In these conferences women's rights were 'indelibly etched on the world's consciousness.'<sup>79</sup>

The following is a brief discussion of each of the conferences. The first four conferences take the names of the cities in which they were held. The Fourth World Women Conference is lauded to be one of the greatest and significant achievements because it set the stage to entrench women's rights in every facet of life in a most comprehensive way. Thus, from 1995, subsequent gatherings take the name of the fourth conference with an addition of the years that have elapsed since the end of the Beijing Conference because their major objective is to appraise the progress of women based on the BPFA.

#### **2.4.1 Mexico Conference, 1975**

When in 1972, the UN determined to have an International Women's Year in 1975, the period running up to the year was crucial for preparations. The CSW came up with the themes of the year namely peace, equality and development – themes which would go on to be adopted for the UN Decade for Women (1976-1985). 133 governments sent delegations to this conference and after much deliberation, the World Plan of Action of the Objectives of IWY was adopted unanimously with 'set targets and proposed actions ...for the UN Women Decade.'<sup>80</sup> The adoption by consensus was a milestone because other international issues such as the need for a new international economic order and the Palestinian crisis repeatedly diverted the discussion from women's issues.

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<sup>78</sup>Jain, Devaki. "Reflections on Feminist Leadership". In *A Commitment To World's Women: Perspectives On Development For Beijing And Beyond* edited by NoeleenHeyzer, SushmaKapoor and Joanne Sandler, (New York: UNIFEM, 1995), 242

<sup>79</sup>Arvonne, Fraser and Irene Tinker; eds. *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*. (New York: The Feminist Press, 2004), 27

<sup>80</sup>Hilkka, Pietilla and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. (London: Zed Books, 1994),79

The Mexico Conference produced the World Plan of Action, which contained measures that would ensure inclusion of women in the development process, based on the data collected in different countries identifying practices that undermined women's rights. The UN saw the need to integrate women into development – seeing them as a resource that when well trained would enhance development. It was argued that improved education, health, and nutrition of women would better contribute as a resource of labour in the development process.

A parallel NGO forum ran concurrently with the official UN conference.

It is regarded as a success because it was the first ever world meeting that brought women together for women. This enabled women of diverse backgrounds to share their experiences and realize the common denominator in their lives – that, they were discriminated against regardless of their social standing. In addition, as Pietilla and Vickers (1994) note women's problems and issues would no longer be ignored.

#### **2.4.2 Copenhagen Conference, 1980**

This conference had the purpose to 'review and appraise to *what extent* the targets of the World Plan of Action had been attained during the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the Decade' and to 'prepare a more precise plan of Action for the remaining half of the Decade.'<sup>81</sup>The issues of health, employment and education were still central to this conference as in the first conference. The UN 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> committees were now included in paying attention to women's issues indicating the growing attempts to promote the status of women.

Though global issues such as apartheid and trade persisted in Copenhagen to near-confrontation, achievements were recorded, the most significant being the adoption of CEDAW's final text by

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<sup>81</sup>Hilkka, Pietilla and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. (London: Zed Books, 1994), 80

the UNGA in 1979. Further, 50 governments signed it during the conference. The decision to hold Nairobi conference in 1985 was reached here.

The parallel NGO forum, with 7000 participants, provided space for women to articulate their issues. During this conference too, women gleaned an invaluable lesson of influencing the direction of international policy when they realized that they could only lobby their governments prior to the conferences.

### **2.4.3 Nairobi Conference, 1985**

The purpose was to critically review and appraise progress and obstacles encountered in attaining the goals and objectives of the UN Decade and to adopt NFLS. The Nairobi conference is described as the turning point for women. Here, action plans were clear and articulate. The ten years had given women confidence and clarified issues that cut across the world women regardless of class or race. This awareness is what united women. There was adequate preparation for this conference pegged on two major surveys: *The World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* and *the Review and Appraisal of Progress achieved and Obstacles encountered at the National Level in the Realization of the Goals and Objectives of the Decade for Women*<sup>82</sup>. It is in during this period that women were seen as subjects and objects /agents and beneficiaries in the development process. It is also here that the call to mainstream women's issues came to the fore. Women were recognized as equals; seen as intellectuals, policy makers, planners and contributors, and beneficiaries of development and an emphasis on women's perspective was seen as critical for human development.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Hilkka, Pietilla and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. (London: Zed Books, 1994), 8-47

<sup>83</sup> Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies paragraphs 15 and 16

The evaluations showed that the goals of the UNDW had been achieved only in part; a lot remained to be done therefore a need to develop further strategies to overcome obstacles. In spite of this the Decade had made covered substantial ground for the cause of women. First, mapping of the situation of world's women through increased statistics and information through study, with the disaggregated by sex had been achieved and secondly the world was no longer blind to women's perspectives.

The final document of Nairobi – FLSAW - was adopted unanimously. Of significance is that it was able to link the three themes of the decade and admit that economic growth does not automate advancement of women. It called on the world to facilitate and ensure women have increased participation in decision making at all levels and have access to power.<sup>84</sup>

In the parallel NGO forum held at the University of Nairobi, and attended by more than 14000 women from over 150 countries, women actively participated giving the official UN conference tremendous support.

#### **2.4.4 Beijing Conference, 1995**

Between 1985 and 1995, CSW worked hard to ensure that women's agenda formed global agenda. The preparatory stage for this conference was comprehensive with 170 national reports submitted to the CSW. Within the conference the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action (BDPfA) was adopted by 189 countries. This Document consolidated previous efforts towards equality of men and women. The BDPfA emphasizes women rights being human rights. It also placed responsibility on the respective governments to promote the rights of women regardless of their ideologies, economic or cultural systems.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup>Hilkka, Pietilla and Jeanne Vickers. *Making Women Matter: The Role of the United Nations*. (London: Zed Books, 1994), 48 -74

<sup>85</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations* (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 109

In Beijing women

*'strengthened articulation of their rights, including equality in decision making, balance in gender representation, sexual and reproductive rights, freedom from violence. They exacted commitments from governments in such areas as the rights of the girl child, education of women and institutional mechanisms to implement recommendations from the Beijing platform'*<sup>86</sup>.

The world community discussed how to remove obstacles to the full participation of women in all spheres of public and private life including economic and political decision making. BDPFA built on previous work ... moving into the 21<sup>st</sup> century with a gender perspective<sup>87</sup>. It recommended that the international community forges a collective vision to advance women's status and ensure their empowerment.

The BDPfA called upon governments, the international community and civil society to take strategic actions in 12 critical areas of concern.<sup>88</sup>

CEDAW Optional Protocol work got its green light in the Beijing Conference. Its content would be discussed over the next four years followed by adoption in 1999. On 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2000 the convention entered into force allowing the committee responsible to receive complaints from objects of discrimination.

The NGO forum was held in Huairou, sixty miles from Beijing under government surveillance. (China is communist and therefore exercises considerable control over what its people consume). In spite of, this attendance was spectacular.<sup>89</sup>

## 2.4.5 Beijing +5

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<sup>86</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan, *et al.* eds., *The Women, Gender, and Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books 2006), 3-4

<sup>87</sup>Noeleen, Heyzer, *er al.* eds., *A Commitment to World's Women: Perspectives on Development for Beijing and Beyond*. (New York: UNIFEM 1995)

<sup>88</sup>The critical areas of concern as identified in the BDPFA are women and poverty, education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women and the economy, women in power and decision making, institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women, human rights and women, women and the media, women and the environment, and the girl - child

<sup>89</sup>Irene Tinker, "Introduction". In *Developing Power: How Women Transformed International Development*, edited by Arvonne Fraser and Irene Tinker. (New York: The Feminist Press, 2004), 27

After Beijing 1995, the UN changed from organizing world women conferences to having five-year rounds of reporting. The Beijing + 5 gathered in New York was designed to ‘review momentum in the implementation of the BPA’<sup>90</sup> The outcome identified persistent gaps and challenges and provided new recommendations for action to ensure full implementation of the commitments made in Beijing in 1995. During this meeting some groups including the Vatican contested reproductive rights and made an appeal that the traditional family be protected. Some phrases had to be removed from the Outcome Document before it was adopted.<sup>91</sup> Observations at this meeting alluded to the lack of political will by governments to fully embracing and implementing the BPA.

#### **2.4.6 Beijing +10<sup>92</sup>**

A ten year review of the BPA was organized in 2005 at the 49th session of the Commission on the Status of Women. The Secretariat received 134 responses from Member States. Molyneux and Razavi (2006) describe the gathering as low key in comparison with the Fourth World Women Conference a decade earlier. There was, however progress at the policy level in many countries. The CSW welcomed the progress made but stressed need to take further action and ensure implementation of the BDPfA. This meeting noted considerable progress in women’s political participation, especially in the numbers of countries establishing gender quotas. It was also noted that in spite of the increased numbers women continue to be underrepresented in national parliaments, with only 17.3 per cent by 2007, despite the 30 per cent target for 1995 set

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<sup>90</sup>Jill Steans. *Gender and International Relations* (UK: Polity Press, 2006),111

<sup>91</sup> Ibid

<sup>92</sup>Beijing + fifteen available <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing15/index.html> accessed July 2013

by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1990<sup>93</sup>. The challenges that persisted were identified as attitudes and practices that were discriminatory which made progress slow.

#### **2.4.7 Beijing +15<sup>94</sup>**

From 1-12 March 2010, the Commission on the Status of Women undertook a fifteen-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the outcomes of the twenty-third and forty –nine special sessions of the General Assembly. Emphasis was placed on the sharing of experiences and good practices, with a view to overcoming remaining obstacles and new challenges, including those related to the Millennium Development Goals.<sup>95</sup> As a cross-cutting trend, the review noted considerable progress in most areas of concern at the policy level, with numerous examples of improved global, regional or national policies consensus agreements and declarations, human rights conventions and rulings, and national legal frameworks.<sup>96</sup>

## **2.5 FRAMEWORKS OF WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT**

### **2.5.1 Introduction**

While the origin of the discourse of women and development as a subject of inquiry is contested, with feminist scholarship from the Global North placing its birth with Economist Boserup's work and those of the Global South insisting that it predates the 1970s to pre-colonial times,<sup>97</sup> there is little contest to the dominant frameworks guiding the discourse. The frameworks have

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<sup>93</sup>Beijing at fifteen UNFPA and partners charting the way forward available <http://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2010/beijing15.pdf> accessed July 2013

<sup>94</sup>Beijing + fifteen available <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing15/index.html> accessed July 2013

<sup>95</sup>CSW resolution 53/1 - E/2009/27

<sup>96</sup>Beijing at fifteen UNFPA and partners charting the way forward available <http://www.unfpa.org/webdav/site/global/shared/documents/publications/2010/beijing15.pdf>

<sup>97</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan, et al. eds., *The Women, Gender, and Development Reader*, (London: Zed Books, 2006), 25



dominated different periods in history in a near successive manner, a trend prompted by criticisms and weaknesses of a prevailing framework. This is not to mean that any of the frameworks as highlighted below is completely abandoned.

The women and development frameworks largely develop in line with macro trends and strategies.

The oldest framework is referred to as Women in Development (WID) which was followed by Women and Development (WAD). A change of the concept 'women' in discourse which was replaced by a term that now has become common parlance in development circles: 'gender', necessitated another framework - Gender and Development (GAD), in which men are seen as potential agents of change for the betterment of women's advancement. A new framework - Women, Environment and Development (WED), emerged in the 90s which connects women to the environment and argues around the question of sustainable development.

### **2.5.2 Women in Development (WID)**

The 'woman in development' theory is guided by the assumptions of modernization theory which targets individuals to effect social change. It is associated with liberal feminism, a theory emanating from women in the global North who elevate individual freedoms and rights and belief that all human beings are equal. It advocates for the visibility of women by them being included in the development process in their numbers. Essentially, it seeks to fit in the existing structures of society and its call is to see more women integrated in to the development process.

Moser (1989) and Kabeer (1995) as quoted by Nalini et al (2006)<sup>98</sup> identifies five approaches within the WID framework.

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<sup>98</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan et al. eds., *The Women, Gender, and Development Reader*.(London: Zed Books, 2006), 17 -21

### **2.5.2.1 Welfare Approach**

This approach predates Ester Boserup's work of 1970 and is said to be borrowing from the European concept of social welfare, where the state had designated public funds to help the poor by giving them routine handouts in order to meet their immediate needs.

Kabeer (1995) points out that women were not seen as people in their own right but were seen to rely on the men who were regarded 'household heads and productive agents'. The assumption was that if a man benefited, so would the woman. In this approach therefore, development policy and practitioners target women as poor with the aim of enabling them meet their immediate needs as mothers. Most UN assistance programmes in the first development decade used this approach. Tadesse and Synder (1995) also point out that 'UNICEF and UNHCR programmes have consistently and effectively used this approach'. Tadesse and Synder (1995) in critique point out that this approach encourages dependency as opposed to the more desirable self reliance. Again, they fault this approach for treating women as 'passive recipients of development benefits'<sup>99</sup>. Further, it does not recognize women as productive; only see their reproductive and nurturing roles.

### **2.5.2.2 Equity approach**

This is the approach that dominated the UN decade, in consistency with the calls at the onset of the feminist movement. It is rested on the human essence of all people being born equal, therefore destined to enjoy same freedoms and rights. This approach says that women's rights are human rights. It was the approach of UN CSW at its inception. It also informs CEDAW. Through this approach legislations that uphold the rights of women and outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex have been enacted. Feminist activists used this approach to exert pressure on

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<sup>99</sup>Mary, Tadesse and Margaret Synder. *African Women and Development: A History*. (London: Zed Books, 1995), 9

development agencies to integrate women in the development process through employment and equal pay with men for equal work done. In the 70s, gender equality encountered considerable hostility prompting the feminist movement change tact to align with the general development direction in the 70s. Tadesse and Synder (1995) point out that ‘the women of Africa, through ECA declined to adopt equity approach because it lacked development emphasis’ and would be of little help to majority of women in Africa who were rural and illiterate, concerned about putting bread on the table; different from the proponents from the Global North who were seen to have bread and butter.<sup>100</sup> However, the feminist movement went full circle because in the 90s, in the run up to the Beijing Conference, equity approach gained worldwide acceptance. Women organized and lobbied and by 1995, ‘the Beijing conference carried forward the women in development agenda because the BPA stressed the need for women to participate fully in economic and social development’<sup>101</sup>.

### **2.5.2.3 Anti-poverty approach**

The shift to an antipoverty approach to women and development coincided with the shift emphasized by UN agencies in the 70s - ILO and WB. WB targeted women through programmes of population control while ILO insisted on a wage that would meet basic needs. These were aimed at having women overcome the challenges of hunger and malnutrition. Through this approach there was introduction of income generating activities – which is seen as a major contribution towards women in development. It is still popular with nongovernmental organizations in urban areas and refugee camps. It was designed to meet basic needs by

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid, 11

<sup>101</sup>Jill, Steans. *Gender and International Relations*. (UK: Polity Press, 2006), 97-105

generating generation without much regard to strategic/long term needs such as restructuring society.

#### **2.5.2.4 Efficiency approach**

This approach entered the development process in the end 70s to early 80s. Not surprisingly, it coincided with economic depression with IMF introducing SAPS. Women would be employed to contribute to economic growth.<sup>102</sup> It is an approach that sought to enhance productivity in order to achieve economic growth. Because women constitute half of world population it was assumed that their involvement in the development process would impact overall development. Increasing women's productivity would logically lead to economic growth. However, the efficiency approach became exclusively market oriented. This, coupled with the IMF conditionality rolled back much of what women had gained. The approach proposals to cut back in public expenditure resulted in unemployment and sharp decline in health and education systems.<sup>103</sup> At the end of the UN Decade for Women, their status was worse than in the era preceding the Decade.

#### **2.5.2.5 Empowerment approach**

This approach was popularized by DAWN in the mid-80s in reaction to the prevailing school of feminist thought of integrating women into existing societal structures that were oppressive. They rejected the propagated notion that women's experiences were universal; for them, they varied according to race, class, colonial history and position in the economy. This approach seeks to address women's needs by transforming structures and organizing around practical

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<sup>102</sup>Naïla, Kabeer, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. (London: Verso, 1995), 1-7

<sup>103</sup>Mary, Tadesse and Margaret Synder. *African Women and Development: A History*. (London: Zed Books 1995), 13

needs. Women's perspectives must be put into account at every level – local, national and international. DAWN proposed that poor people ought to be empowered at the grassroots by raising their consciousness, accessing productive resources such as land and credit, education and training.

#### **2.5.2.6 WID achievements and limitations**

WID is spread over the period that UN has existed and has a mixed record of progress in social change. The threads that knit WID approaches together are gender equality and economic efficiency. It has promoted women's visibility, sensitized society to disaggregate data by sex, enabled anti-discriminatory laws and introduced institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women. Mainstreaming gender issues is also a contribution of WID.

On the other hand WID is criticized for following the path that is politically convenient; one that overlooks the redistribution concerns and structural transformation of power hierarchies. It is said to have ignored women's perspectives in the decision making processes leading to women being handed projects and programmes in which they made no input. Further, it fails to put in to consideration women's reproductive roles, increasing their working hours and creating a double burden. As such, men and women could not benefit equally from development aid.

#### **2.5.3 Women and Development (WAD)<sup>104</sup>**

This framework, which developed in reaction to WID, stems from arguments of public /private dichotomy as brought forward by Marxism<sup>105</sup>, which asserts that the public domain- regarded as more superior is inhabited by men while the private/domestic – regarded as inferior – is the domain of women. The public is said to carry the productive roles which are profitable while the

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<sup>104</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan et al. eds., *The Women, Gender, and Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books, 2006, ) 21 -23

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 21

private carries the reproductive roles of mothering and nurturing children. The society is therefore structured and these structures are said to determine women's inferior status. Feminists concede that the private/public divide greatly contributes to women's treatment at the workplace, and 'that employment and pay is a source of status and autonomy'. They view inequalities as part of the larger global picture of the economy created by capitalism and patriarchy. The Marxist feminists focus their attention on exploitation of women by MNCs in EPZs. Their concern is that structural transformation of production must happen and exploitation of women as cheap labour should change.

This framework is criticized for its rigidity, and the limitation of not accepting that society is not static. It also assumes that women are victims and men perpetrators of violence. In addition they refuse to work with development agencies which provide funding for women's projects especially for women's practical needs.

#### **2.5.4 Gender and Development (GAD)**

Criticisms of WID and WAD led to the emergence of GAD in the 80s. It shifted from 'women' concept of analysis to 'gender relations' as a concept of analysis. It focuses not just on women, like WID and WAD do, but on social relations between men and women in the work place and other social settings. It views men as potential supporters of women. It brings the issues of power relations into the picture.

Kabeer(1995: 86), Steans (2006: 100), and Nalini et al (2006: 23) point out that GAD adopts a holistic approach because it takes cognizance of the multilayered nature of the development process influenced by political and social economic forces. It departs from the narrow perspective of WID and WAD and sees men as potential supporters of women, therefore advocating that men too be included in the issues of women. This inclusion of both men and

women will ostensibly produce a more balanced and equal human society. The state is also expected to assume responsibility in promoting equality in development. The strategies of GAD in the achievement of its objectives include such as community organizing, transformative action, public education and coalition building.

To quote Kabeer (1995),

*'gender equity based on recognition of difference rather than similarity has implications that go beyond equality of opportunity' ... 'training women in marketable skills will not give them the same degree of agency as men in the public domain as long as institutions do not accommodate the different bodies, needs and values that they bring to the work place. Gender equity therefore requires transformation of the basic rules, hierarchies and practices of public institutions'*<sup>106</sup>

According to Steans (2006) GAD seeks to put into account the triple role of women – as care givers to the community, reproductive role and their productive role. It also seeks to meet both the practical needs of poor women as well as strategic needs of transforming societal gender hierarchies.

This approach has been criticized for giving an excuse to abandon measures of specific benefit to women by those who are uncomfortable with women's advancement.

On the positive side, it includes men as potential supporters of women therefore it does not pit men against women. The concept of gender is said to be more accommodating and applicable at all levels- from the household to the international economy. It also emphasizes women empowerment hence self-reliance and holds states to account to stop propagating the differential treatment through institutions and laws.

### **2.5.5 Women, Environment and Development (WED)**

Ecofeminists have called the world's attention to the destructive effects of economic growth on the environment. This framework emanates from reaction to modernization which uses economic growth as an indicator of progress. The increasing need for markets, infrastructure such as roads

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<sup>106</sup> Naila, Kabeer. *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. (London: Verso, 1995), 87

and settlements, and the ballooning population exert undue pressure on the environment by encroaching on forests, carbon emissions from industries bringing imbalance in the ecosystem. For example, clearing forests to put up industries and settlements reduces forest cover, disrupting patterns of rainfall and destroying catchment areas for water towers. The world therefore neglects the environment at the risk of its own extinction.

This theory calls for ‘greater understanding of the crucial role women play in managing the environment.’ Ecofeminists expose the assault on the environment by scientific and industrial systems.<sup>107</sup> This theory came to the fore in the 90s and encompasses sustainable development. Sustainable development was popularized in 1987 by the World Commission on Environment and Development headed by Brundtland, the PM of Norway then. The report points out that long term economic development depends on how well the ability of environmental resources is maintained and enhanced.<sup>108</sup>

### **2.5.6 GENDER MAINSTREAMING**

The mainstreaming concept was introduced in to women and development discourse during the Nairobi Conference in 1985, where women called on the world to recognize women as equal to men and by so doing transform power hierarchies that pervade society. The gender mainstreaming concept ‘evolved from earlier paradigms of WID and GAD’ and has been endorsed by many governments and international organizations.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Nalini, Visvanathan, et al. eds., *The Women, Gender, And Development Reader*. (London: Zed Books 2006), 24

<sup>108</sup>Jim MacNeill, “Sustainable Development: what is it?”. In *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. edited by Charles, Kegley and Eugene WittKopf (New York: McGraw – Hill Inc.,1992), 379 -387

<sup>109</sup>Sally Theobald, et al., *Engendering the bureaucracy? Challenges and opportunities for mainstreaming gender in Ministries of Health under sector-wide approaches*. (Oxford University Press, 2005), 141-149



In Beijing 1995, women had galvanized their quest to produce the BDPfA which, resting on the principles of equality between sexes and CEDAW, called on governments to ensure that they consciously put the women perspective in to all spheres of public life. Whatever decisions taken, policies formulated or legislation created must be sensitive to women's perspective as much as men's perspectives. It means that the question of equal opportunities must be brought in into all policies and activities.

The governments attending the Beijing conference made a commitment by adopting the BDPFA by consensus. One of the general recommendations of CEDAW(1997) states that it is the responsibility of the government to encourage initiatives that guide public opinion and change attitudes that discriminate against women from involvement in public life.

Article 7 of CEDAW addresses the participation of women in public life. It commits states to ensure equality between women and men in political and public life. Women have the right, as do men, to hold public office, vote, and participate in decision making and in designing policy. The BDPFA also sets two objectives in relation to women's effective participation: take measures that ensure women's access to power structures and decision-making, and increase women's capacity to participate in the same.

UNSCR 1325 of 2000 on women peace and security recommends that member states increase women's participation in institutions dealing with matters of conflict.

Progress has been made since 1995. The 'Plus Five' gatherings reports by world regions indicate that progress has been made in policy change and legislation to domesticate the BDPFA. The EU has developed legal framework that rests on treaties and directives. It has also developed tools

and mechanisms that address the question of gender equality.<sup>110</sup> The Pacific Islands Countries and Territories have an ambivalent record regarding gender mainstreaming, but it is an improvement from the 90s<sup>111</sup>. Africa has also made strides in addressing gender inequality at the policy with the eventual adoption of Gender Policy in 2009.<sup>112</sup>

By 2006, 20 countries had achieved the 30% threshold in electing women to parliament as compared to only 5 in 1995. These include African countries such as Tanzania, Rwanda Burundi, South Africa, and Mozambique. By 2012 the number of countries that had achieved the threshold of 30% women in national parliaments was 30, with 8 from sub Saharan Africa. There were 13 women heads of governments by 2006.<sup>113</sup> By 2012 the number had risen to just below 30.

## **2.6 Kenya's Journey**

Kenya gained her independence from the British colonists in 1963 and just like other African countries, it was eager to move on and claim its space on the world map. Its constitution established it as a democracy. Conflict among the ruling elite soon after independence guided the then president Kenyatta ban other parties, in effect making Kenya a *de facto* one party state. After Kenyatta's in 1978 the then vice president Daniel Moi took over the presidency and promised to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. Kenya remained a *de facto* one party until 1982, when through an act of parliament; Kenya became a *de jure* one party state. The Kenya Airforce at the time had tried to overthrow the government without success. This happening

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<sup>110</sup>Beijing + 10: Progress made within the European Union available [www.mega.public.lu](http://www.mega.public.lu)

<sup>111</sup> Beijing + 15: Review of progress in implementing the Beijing Platform for Action in Pacific Island countries and territories available [http://www.ipp.aut.ac.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0017/161054/beijing\\_15\\_review\\_report.pdf](http://www.ipp.aut.ac.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/161054/beijing_15_review_report.pdf)

<sup>112</sup>Beyond Numbers: Gender, Governance and Development presented by Dr. Grace Ongile, UN Women Director, Nigeria at the 2nd Africa Governance, Leadership and Management Convention 2011 available [www.africaconvention.org](http://www.africaconvention.org)

<sup>113</sup>[www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm](http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm) accessed July 2013

alerted Moi and he tightened his grip on the reins of power, suppressing any dissenting voice. Towards the late 80s, there was a simmering that led to restoration of multiparty democracy in 1991. Multipartism is seen as a tenet of democracy with citizen participation deemed crucial by its proponents. Unfortunately for Kenya, multipartism just removed the lid to the can of worms that is ethnic politics. Leaders in an effort to quench their thirst for power - to remain or ascend to power - mobilized along ethnic lines thereby pitting communities against each other. What would follow was a 5-year cycle of election violence- creating tensions between Kenyans. Kenyan politics has yet to become issue- based as every five-year election cycles prove. In this mix, are women who constitute half the population but yet to convert their numerical strength into an instrument of transforming the political landscape to their favour. Currently, women Members of Parliament stand at 18% of the 350 in the national assembly<sup>114</sup>

Political power would stay with the then president Moi until 2002, when the opposition rode to power through an amalgamation of parties that formed NARC. NARC had successfully campaigned on the platform of reforms but shortly after it ascended to power cracks began to show in the coalition, creating two factions that would later morph into two rivals. A constitution sponsored by one splinter group was rejected in 2005 through a referendum. These two groups maintained hostility, creating palpable ethnic tensions in the country. The split led to a bitter contest for the presidency in 2007, leading to post election violence that took the country to the brink of destruction. International mediators led to a formation of a coalition government that would be at the helm until the next general election in early 2013. One of the greatest achievements of the coalition was a new constitution promulgated in 2010, in which a one-third gender rule is enshrined.

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<sup>114</sup>Inter-parliamentary Union, Women in National Parliaments available [www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm](http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm) accessed July 2013

Despite the political challenges within the ruling coalition after 2002, Kenya began to register economic growth and enjoy greater freedoms.

Some of the greatest obstacles in Kenya have been corruption, and patronage along ethnic lines.

Latest census approximates the population at 39 million with the majority living in rural areas and dependent on subsistence agriculture.

Kenya, like many African countries, has a short history of democracy. Human rights and freedoms were not always a priority in practice, much less women's human rights. Assassinations of dissenting voices and general repression of contrary opinion predate independence. But with the advent of multiparty democracy, the tide slowly turned. The civil society's voice has been strong. It has pushed to have legislation relevant to protecting human rights and the rights of women with considerable success. The clamour for democracy in 1990 contributed to emergence of women's organizations leading to gradual inclusion of women and their perspectives in the political and public spheres. Activists worked hard through lobbying, and support of human rights campaigns in addition to working in partnership with the government for resources - activities which gave Kenyan women considerable recognition.

Kenya has not been immune to issues that transcend the national boundaries. Like many of the developing world states, Kenya's foreign policy, designed to guide its interactions with other states, has largely been determined by international issues rather than ideology. At the advent of independence, Kenya leaned towards the capitalist West, heavily influenced by its British colonists. The politicians of young Kenya who were seen to lean towards the socialist East were muzzled. The politics of the cold war thus influenced Kenya's politics. The international market and trade trends also influenced Kenya's economy greatly because Kenya was (and is) dependent

on agricultural exports, especially of tea and coffee. SAPs, no doubt affected Kenya's people immensely as people lost livelihoods due to retrenchment, and became poorer. With the fall of communism and end of the cold war; Kenya would find itself in new and rough terrain as the capitalist West pressed for reforms as a precondition for donor assistance. The terrorist attacks that visited Kenya, targeting the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998 and the 2001 US attacks made Kenya an even closer ally of the US. Kenya had to legislate on terror, an issue that was received with mixed reactions because it was seen as unfairly targeting a section of Kenyan society.

Kenya being a member of the UN is obligated to fulfill its international duties. The government of Kenya is committed to ending gender inequalities in line with international legal instruments. It sent a delegation to Beijing and is therefore party to the BDPfA, which the National Assembly adopted in 1996. Kenya has also ratified international conventions that touch on women including CEDAW which it ratified in 1984, the FLSAW, the BDPfA, and the MDGs<sup>115</sup> where one and three relate to women's integration into the mainstream development process without reservations. Since Beijing, Kenya has made progress especially in laying foundations for women to access space to participate in public offices. Kenya has also ratified the protocol to the African Charter on Human and people's rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa.

The ratification or adoption of the various international legal instruments is important to the extent that these conventions influence national law and practice.

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<sup>115</sup>MDGs – Millennium Development Goals are eight in number and were declared by the UN in 2000, and should be met by 2015. They are itemized as eradicating extreme poverty, achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality rates, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, ensuring environmental sustainability, developing a global partnership for development.

The efforts of the government to fulfill international obligations for women go back to 1976 when it set up a Women's Bureau in the department of social services. The work of the bureau however was limited to chronicling the issues that affected women. Although this effort was important, the constitution of the day did not change – one that Kameri –Mbote describes as severely restricting the rights of women<sup>116</sup>. By 1995, not much had changed with a view to benefit women with reference to the 1985 World Women conference<sup>117</sup>. The fact that the government did not directly address women's issues and the negative attitudes carried by those in power, policies remained insensitive to women's needs. Women were assumed to benefit from development processes somehow. The successive development plans of the 80s and 90s recognized women as important in agriculture and health. In addition, the desks established in key ministries were seen to further distance women's issues from mainstream matters of national importance. Kameri – Mbote notes further that the ministries were keen to 'preserve their tradition which negated the notion of transformation.' Women who wished to see transformed institutions were in for disappointment.

As Kenya continued to practice multiparty politics, a new government came to power in 2002. The NARC government established the Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services in 2003 with the mandate to address issues of socio-economic development. The ministry was charged with initiating actions that would address gender disparities. Later, in the second term of the Kibaki administration, it was named Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development with a mandate to spearhead gender mainstreaming in public policy plans and programmes. In 2004, National Commission on Gender and Development was created to provide guidelines on

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<sup>116</sup> AAWORD. *From Strategies to Action: A Research Perspective* (Nairobi: AAWORD, 1995), 11

<sup>117</sup> *ibid*

policy with the aim of mainstreaming gender issues in the development process. It was to provide technical assistance with regard to gender mainstreaming to other government departments. Also, the NARC government drew the Economic Recovery Strategy (2003), in efforts to address the question of poverty. This ERS had a gender dimension, recognizing that women and men were all affected by poverty. To enable women achieve economic independence, the government introduced Women Enterprise Fund. The government also introduced Constituency Development Fund (CDF) in an attempt to decentralize resources. According to the presidential directive, CDF committees had to constitute both men and women, with at least a third being women. The Gender Equality and Development policy 2006 makes provision for Affirmative Action. This policy provides for the implementation of the National Policy on Gender and Development; acknowledging the fact that development processes affect women and men differently. These differences should not be used as an impediment to either group's disadvantage. Kenya also developed a long term development policy framework called Vision 2030- starting 2008 - 2030, which aims at making Kenya a middle class income state by the year 2030. It endeavours to provide opportunity for men and women so that each citizen will have quality life.

In 2006, head of public service asked all ministries and state corporations to appoint gender officers and establish gender units. In 2009, gender mainstreaming became a requirement in the performance contracts of all permanent secretaries and chief executive officers of state corporations. By 2009, there were clear guidelines for ministries to formulate sector specific policies for gender responsive programmes. The Ministry of Gender would play advisor role.

In addition to the above efforts, there has been legislations that relate to gender mainstreaming that have been enacted including Children's Act 2001, sexual offences act 2006, employment act 2007 - which outlaws termination of employment on the basis of pregnancy and extended

maternity leave from 2 months to three with full pay exclusive of annual and sick leaves. It also introduced a two-week paternity leave. Bills pending are the marriage bill and family protection bill.

The affirmative action bill presented to Parliament in 1997, calling for 30% share of parliamentary positions, was not successful but this did not dampen women's spirit and continued lobbying ensured its inclusion in the constitution 2010, now in force.

These efforts are not without fruit. Women's voice is more palatable in the public domain in sharp contrast to the pre-multiparty period of 1990. Because of free primary education more girls are able to attend school; subsidized secondary education too has increased enrolment while affirmative action for girls to public universities and module 2 programmes have increased women's access to education. Most institutions of higher learning have developed departments that research on women/gender and development. There is also an increased number of women working in the civil service. With regard to critical area 7 of the BDPfA - women in power and decision making, an increase of women in parliament has registered.

The presence of women in public life has grown in all countries which is a step in the right direction because of the potential that this will allow development of women's capabilities to the full.<sup>118</sup> Although the threshold of having at least 30% of women in senior government positions has not been reached, commendable progress has been made especially at the level of legislation and policy which is crucial in strengthening public institutions and the state to address gender inequalities. Enhancing gender equality in the staffing of public institutions is seen to be in progress in Kenya. In a conference held in 2006 in Kenya to commemorate 21 years after Nairobi World Women Conference, most speakers acknowledged that things had changed for women in Kenya. According to December 2009 data on employment within the public service

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<sup>118</sup>Maxine, M and Razavi S, "Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record on Gender and Justice" *Occasional Paper 1: UNRISD* 2006, 4



70% of the 35 out of 44 ministries surveyed had surpassed the 30% critical mass. The state corporations performance was graded as better than the ministries with some having gender parity in recruitment of staff. The question that this research seeks to investigate is what impact the efforts of implementing gender mainstreaming have in engendering public institutions.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.0 FINDINGS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the data collected and the findings of how the situation is in the public institutions. It starts with the numbers in percentages of men and women recruited and promoted within ministries and state corporations in tabular form and pie-charts. First is a presentation of secondary data available from the former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development- which existed up to mid 2013, when the fourth political regime reduced the number of government ministries from 44 to 18. The said Ministry was split, with one part now under the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Services, and the other placed under Ministry of Planning and Devolution. The Gender Mainstreaming component now falls under the ministry of Planning and Devolution. Secondly, is the presentation of primary data in tabular form based on the questionnaire administered during the research while the third part of this chapter presents findings from the interviews conducted.

#### **3.2 Secondary Data**

The study was conducted in government ministries and independent commissions sampled. The ministries and commissions were selected on the basis of the fact that they are key in resource allocation, guiding the direction of the country and socialization of the population. For example, the ministry of planning and devolution, under which gender mainstreaming has been placed by the new government, is key in planning and allocation of resources, and if planning is done right, it is assumed that concerns of gender will be included. The ministry of education was chosen on the strength that it is in charge of where children are socialized. In addition to this, is the fact that data provided by the former ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development shows that

they have surpassed the 30 % threshold which required that men and women be considered in recruitment and promotion in the public service, as directed by the president in 2006. The approach to gender mainstreaming in Kenya is Affirmative Action. It is applied in an effort to close the gender gaps in employment within the public institutions. This is because there is need to correct the yawning imbalances that have consistently been in favour of men throughout Kenya's history.

The first substantial effort made by the government of Kenya towards gender mainstreaming was in 2006 when the then president Mwai Kibaki, decreed that 30% of all appointments in public service be of either gender. The ministry of gender was created and was mandated to coordinate in surveying the process of recruitment and promotion of men and women in public institutions. The ministry consolidated data from the public sector twice a year.

From the biannual reports on implementation of 30% affirmative action for women in recruitment and promotion in the public service, it is clear that more than half of public institutions have adhered to the presidential decree. Many ministries have surpassed the 30% threshold. For example, the June 2012 report indicates that 3 ministries – Medical Services, State Law Office and Nairobi Metropolitan - had not only hit the threshold but exceeded 50:50 parity levels. In addition, some ministries had surpassed 30% threshold of women in decision making positions (Job Group P and above). Examples are State Law Office (52.8%), Ministry of Defence (46.2%), Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Services (45%), Ministry of State for Public Service (42.6%), Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Home Affairs (41.7%), and Ministry of Education (41.6%).

On the other extreme are ministries that had some way to go before reaching the 30% threshold of women placement in employment. Examples of these were Ministry of Special Programmes (11.0%), Public Works (21.9%), Ministry of Roads (22.0%), Water and Irrigation (22.3%), and

Office of the President (25.4%). Some ministries also did poorly on having women at decision making positions. Examples are Roads (5.9%), Environment and Mineral Resources (6.3%), Forestry and Wildlife (8.4%) and Industrialization (8.4%).

**Table 1: Distribution of Civil Service Workforce by Job Categories and Sex, June 2012**

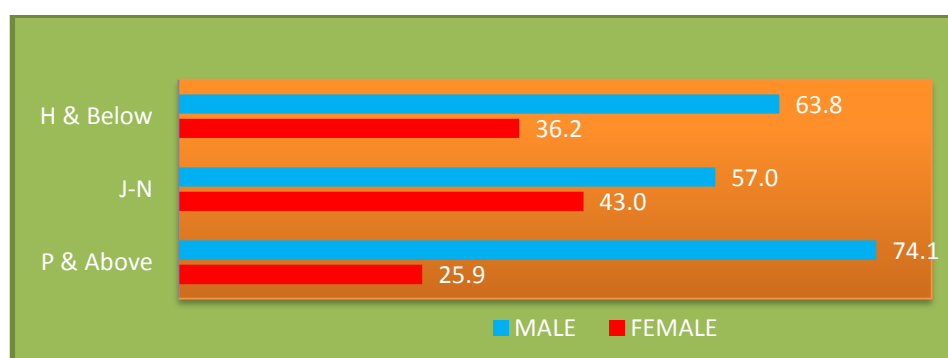
Job Group	Female		Male		Total		%F	%F/Tw	%M/Tw
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%			
<b>P &amp; Above</b>	922	2.3	2644	4.1	3,566	3.4	25.9	0.9	2.5
<b>J-N</b>	18506	45.6	24554	38.0	43,060	41.0	43.0	17.6	23.4
<b>H &amp; Below</b>	21,165	52.1	37,344	57.9	58,509	55.6	36.2	20.1	35.5
<b>Total</b>	40,593	100.0	64,542	100.0	105,135	100	38.6	38.6	61.4

Source: Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development

**TW=total workforce**

Table 1 show that women mainly occupy the lower cadres of public institutions. Of the female workforce in government ministries, 52.5% are in job group H and below, compared to 2.2% of those in decision making at Job Group P and above. Of the total workforce, women on job group P and above constituted only 0.9% compared to 2.4% men.

**Figure 1: Percentage Distribution of Women and Men in Government Ministries by Job Categories, 30th June 2012**



Source: Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development

With regard to **state corporations**, the June 2012 report shows that out of 41 state corporations surveyed, 31 (75.6%) had achieved the equity level of 30% in employment of women. 5 of them had surpassed the gender equality ratio of 50:50 in employment of women and men. These include Public Service Commission (55.8%), Teachers Service Commission (53.6%), the Kenya Re-insurance Corporation (52.5%) and Kenya Investment Authority (50.0%).

Only 4 had not achieved the 30% threshold on affirmative action. These are East African Portland Cement (12.5%), EwasoNgiro South Development Authority (18.6%), Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (23.2%), and National Bureau of Statistics (23.8%).

**Table 2: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKFORCE IN STATE CORPORATIONS BY JOB CATEGORY AND SEX, JUNE 2012**

Job Status	Female		Male		Total		%F	%F/Tw	%M/Tw
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%			
<b>CEO</b>	11	0.1	30	0.2	41	0.04	26.8	0.1	0.1
<b>Top Management</b>	283	3.7	607	4.4	890	0.8	31.8	1.3	2.9
<b>Middle Level</b>	3,239	42.7	5,731	42.0	8,970	8.5	36.1	15.3	27.0
<b>Lower Level</b>	4,061	53.5	7,275	53.3	11,336	10.8	35.8	19.1	34.3
<b>Total</b>	7,594	100	13,643	100	21,237	20.2	35.8	35.8	64.2

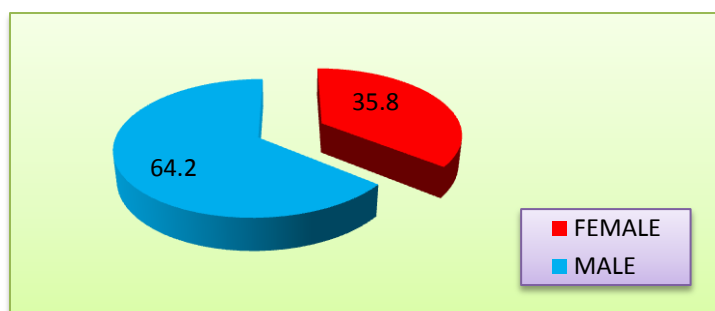
Source: Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development

**TW=total workforce**

Women in senior management positions are 3.5% of the workforce compared to 4.3% men. The proportion of women in top management over the total female workforce is 1.3% compared to 18.9% at the lower level, while men constitute 2.8% and 34.8% respectively. Among Chief

Executive Officers women constitute 28.6% against 71.4% men. Data available from the former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development from 2008 is as follows, showing the numbers of women and men within the public institutions in percentages.

Figure 2: Workforce Distribution in State Corporations by Sex, June 2012



Source: Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development

Figure 2 above shows that women constitute 35.3% of the total workforce in state corporations compared to 64.7% of men.

The data for 2006/2007 was unavailable. By 2008, the recruitment and promotion of men and women in the public institutions stood at 32.4% women and 67.6% men

In December 2009, 32.1% were women compared to 67.9% men with only 0.5% women at the top management compared to 2% men at the top management.

In May 2010, women were at 38% while men were at 62%. Of the public sector institutions surveyed only 0.8% were women in top management compared to 2.4% men

In December 2011, women in government ministries stood at 38.3% while men stood at 61.7% women in decision making positions were only 0.8% compared to 2.6% men.

In June 2012, data shows that women made 38% while men made 62% of the workforce surveyed. Women in top management stood at 0.9% while men stood at 2.5% of the total workforce surveyed.

According to the available data, there is increased presence of women in public institutions, from 32.4% in 2008 to 38% by June 2012. Men in 2008 were 67.6% in 2008 and in 2012 62%.

In top management women made 0.5% in 2009 and increased to make 0.9% of the workforce surveyed. This is against men’s 2% in 2009 to 2.5% of the workforce surveyed.

The data shows a gradual increase of women in the public institutions through the Affirmative Action, now embedded in the constitution.

**Table 3: Distribution of men and women in the public institutions workforce by year**

	%Women	%Men	%top management women	%top management men
<b>2008</b>	32.4	67.6	-	-
<b>2009</b>	32.1	67.9	0.5	2
<b>2010</b>	38	62	0.8	2.4
<b>2011</b>	38.3	61.7	0.8	2.6
<b>2012</b>	38	62	0.9	2.5

Figure 3: distribution of men and women in public institutions by sex and year (2008 -2012)

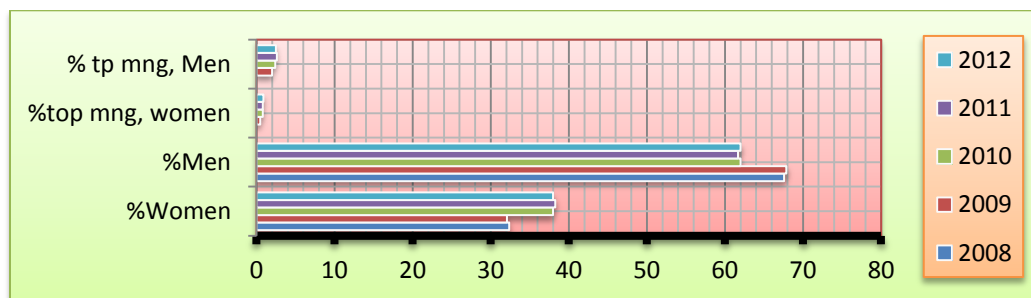


Figure 3 shows that more of public service jobs are held by men than women. The variations from year to year are slight.

### 3.3 Primary Data

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

This research seeks to establish the changes that occur as more women join public institutions in employment. The researcher used a questionnaire and interviews as tools of collecting data. She had envisaged administering 70 questionnaires but only 51 were administered. The target

population for interviews was 10 persons, deemed knowledgeable in matters of gender mainstreaming but only 5 were interviewed.

### 3.3.2 Questionnaire data

The questionnaire was divided into four parts: personal information which included level of education and length of service, which was crucial in assessing the quality of opinions and an indicator of experience; knowledge of gender related issues; human resource management focusing on planning and control because the study focused on the workforce; and opinions on the respondent's experiences of the changes that were occurring in efforts to mainstream gender in public institutions.

**Table 4: sex of respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	23	45.1	45.1	45.1
<b>Valid A</b>	28	54.9	54.9	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

a=male, b=female

Table 4 shows by percentages the number of respondents, disaggregated by sex, who filled the questionnaires and returned them. A total of 51 respondents filled questionnaires, 23 were female 28 were male.

**Table 5: Knowledge of concept**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	17	33.3	33.3	33.3
<b>valid A</b>	34	66.7	66.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

a=yes, b=no



Table 5 shows by percentages the response to the question of whether the respondents were familiar with the concept of gender mainstreaming. Of the 51 respondents 66.7% are familiar with the term gender mainstreaming. 33.3% are not familiar with the term. On the question of familiarity of gender related terms, for example gender equality, gender equity, gender mainstreaming, gender perspective, gender issues, and others to the individual respondents 100% know at least one of the phrases given. 98% are familiar with at least three terms.

**Table 6: training on gender**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	35	68.6	68.6	68.6
<b>Valid A</b>	16	31.4	31.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no**

Table 6 shows the response on whether the respondents have attended any form of training or sensitization workshop on gender related concern or not. Of the 51 respondents 68.6 %had not attended any training on gender mainstreaming or on any other gender related training. 31.4% had attended some form of training.

**Table 7: Upholding policies**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	8	15.7	15.7	15.7
<b>C</b>	22	43.1	43.1	58.8
<b>Valid D</b>	1	2.0	2.0	60.8
<b>A</b>	20	39.2	39.2	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no, c=not sure, d=to a large extent**

Table 7 shows the response by respondents to the question of whether their ministry or department upholds policies that encourage gender mainstreaming. 39.2% say that their institutions uphold while 15.7% say no. a majority – 43.1% - are not sure while only 2% think that their ministry does uphold policies that encourage mainstreaming gender to a large extent.

**Figure 4: upholding policies**

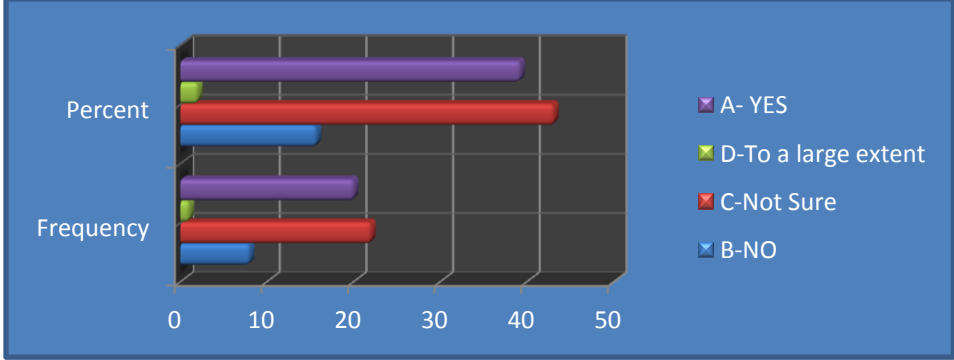


Figure 4 shows that less than half of workers are of the opinion that their ministries and departments put into practice the policies that are gender sensitive. A larger number feel that the policies are not put in to practice though they are present on paper.

**Table 8: Policy implementation**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>D</b>	19	37.3	37.3	37.3
<b>A</b>	2	3.9	3.9	41.2
<b>C</b>	12	23.5	23.5	64.7
<b>B</b>	18	35.3	35.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

a=highly effective, b=moderately effective, c=lowly effective, d=not aware

Table 8 shows the rating by respondents of the effectiveness in implementation of policies that encourage gender mainstreaming. Only 3.9% are of the opinion that the policies are highly

effective. 35.3% rate the implementation as moderately effective while 23.5% rate them as lowly effective. 37.3% are not able to comment on the effectiveness.

A number of policies were provided in a question and respondents asked to tick as appropriate those that they thought their ministries implemented. The policies are equal opportunity, sexual harassment policy, maternity leave, paternity leave, and telecommuting policy. 76.5% 4 of the 5 policies as being implemented in their ministries. Nearly all – 98% indicate that paternity leave and maternity leave are being implemented.

**Table 9: Women increment in top management**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	14	27.4	27.4	27.4
<b>A</b>	37	72.6	72.6	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no**

Table 9 shows the response to the question on increment of women representation in top management in the past few years within ministries or departments. 72.6% of respondents said there has been increase of women into the top management. 27.4% said there were no increments.

Response on the question on how many women had received promotion to senior management positions lately indicates that only 13.7% thought that more than 8 women had received promotion with the same percentage indicating less 5 women had received promotion to senior management. A majority – 49.0%- did not know if any woman had been promoted to top management.

**Table 10: Efforts to promote women to senior positions**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>b</b>	18	35.3	35.3	35.3
<b>a</b>	33	64.7	64.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no**

Table 10 shows response to the question of whether there have been efforts made by the ministry or department to promote women into senior management positions. 64.7% thought that efforts are being made to include women in top management while 35.3% thought that no efforts were being made to include women in decision making levels.

**Table 11: Displayed policies**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>C</b>	8	15.7	15.7	15.7
<b>B</b>	31	60.8	60.8	76.5
<b>A</b>	12	23.5	23.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no, c=do not know**

Table 11 shows responses on whether there are policies displayed in offices within ministries that relate to gender mainstreaming. 23.5% indicated that there are policies displayed while 60.8% said there were no displayed policies.

Asked for examples of these policies, 13.7% cited service charters as being displayed within the institutions, with clear a statement on the equal opportunity policy, that is, the government is an equal opportunity employer.

**Table 12: Gender awareness in appraisal criteria**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>b</b>	27	52.9	52.9	52.9
<b>c</b>	19	37.3	37.3	90.2
<b>a</b>	5	9.8	9.8	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

a=yes, b=no, c=not sure

Table 12 shows the response to whether gender awareness is a requirement in the job performance appraisal criteria. 9.8% indicate that gender awareness is a criterion in their job performance appraisal criteria while 52.9% said no.

**Table 13: Reinforcing gender sensitive behavior**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	16	31.4	31.4	31.4
<b>C</b>	17	33.3	33.3	64.7
<b>A</b>	18	35.3	35.3	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

a=yes, b=no, c=not sure

Table 13 shows the response on whether the ministry or department reinforces gender sensitive behavior and procedures to curb and address gender related vices. 35.3% responded in the

affirmative, 31.4% in the negative while 33.3% were not sure whether their ministry or departments address gender related vices.

**Table 14: Gender fairness in awards and dismissals**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
<b>B</b>	11	21.6	21.6	21.6
<b>C</b>	25	49.0	49.0	70.6
<b>A</b>	15	29.4	29.4	100.0
<b>Total</b>	51	100.0	100.0	

**a=yes, b=no, c=not sure**

Table 14 shows response on the question of whether there is gender fairness while allocating incentives, rewards and executing dismissals. 29.4% felt that there was fairness while a 21.6% felt there was no fairness. A majority – 49.0% were not sure whether there was fairness.

### 3.3.3 Interviews

Interviews were meant to bolster and clarify answers given in the questionnaire and give expert opinion on the question under study.

The researcher conducted interviews with 5 persons drawn from the former ministry of Gender, Children and Social Services and 3 Non-Governmental Organizations. Out of the 5, 2 were from public institutions – both senior employees. Both were male and have risen through the ranks to one being Deputy Director with an experience of 33 years and the other with an experience of 22 years currently in the position of Principal Gender Officer. With regard to NGOs, the researcher chose those whose work revolves around gender equality. FEMNET, established in Kenya 1988,

coordinates efforts to build women organization's capacity in advocacy and communication and collaborates with the Ministry of Gender in policy formulation and evaluation. Interviewee in this organization was Advocacy Associate – Men to Men Program which aims at men as advocates of gender equality. Another organization is *Maendeleo ya Wanawake*, established in 1952 with the mandate of empowering women economically, socially and politically. It has worked with the government and UN to support programs targeting men and women in society. Currently, it is conducting peace programs and gender programs supported by the government and UNDP and UNFPA. Interviewee in this organization was the Communication and Programs officer, Gender Equality Program. The third organization is Heinrich Boll Foundation, East and Horn of Africa which is involved in gender equality programs. It has collaborated with the government especially on enhancing capacity for staff in developing gender indicators for monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming. Interviewee in this organization was the Program Coordinator for Gender and Democracy. A conversational approach was adopted for the interviews. The views of the interviewees in regard to gender mainstreaming in public institutions did not differ significantly. The findings are presented in narrative form below.

The interviews sought to have opinions on a number of issues that would reveal the impact of gender mainstreaming in public institutions. The first question revolved around language and awareness; the second issue was on presence of policies that were gender aware and how effective their implementation was; the third issue was on attitudes and perceptions of men and women as workers within public institutions. A comment on the changes that have occurred within public institutions since the adoption of the BDPfA was sought from each of the interviewees.

The interviews showed that staffs working in public institution were more aware of gender related themes. This awareness was attributed to trainings ranging from one-day workshops to one week trainings. There were also a number of workers who have familiarized with gender language through college education. A few university level workers had covered gender and development as a one-semester course. There had been sensitization workshops conducted within ministries for staff. Those who had not attended any form of training attributed their knowledge to gender related messages in various forms is displayed within offices on the notice boards and within offices. The language of these messages is simple to be understood by all levels of staff. The trainings were conducted by staffs from the ministry of gender, children and social services. The NGOs too collaborated with the government to conduct such sensitization workshops.

The staffs at the headquarters were well acquainted with gender related concepts as opposed to the district level, some of whom had never attended training and were not familiar with many of the gender related terms sampled. The lower cadre staff did not attend any sensitization workshop on gender related concerns. Those who attended the seminars and workshops were mostly middle cadre staffs, who when they returned to the workplace did not share the information with other staffs. Training was done mostly for one man or woman who was designated as gender officer.

The nature of system within public institutions did not allow for the gender officer to effectively disseminate information to the colleagues within the institution. This is because they were mostly middle level in the career ladder and some of them had no specific qualification to warrant the position of gender officer. Also, some of the gender officers themselves did not understand clearly what their work was. Further, they had no access to participating in the top decision making process within the ministry.



On closing the gender gaps in recruitment and promotion of staff in public institutions, the findings from the interviews were that government is making efforts to close the gaps existing in public institutions when recruiting and promoting staff. The ministries and departments were reported to follow the 1/3 rule. This ensured that women, who have previously been disadvantaged got opportunities to enter public service alongside men. Concerning promotions, efforts have been made to increase women alongside men even in senior positions. The interviewees from the ministry of gender indicated that more women had been promoted to the levels of departmental heads, deputy directors and directors. More women were also appointed to ministry committees with some being chairpersons. Promotion was however pegged on other qualifications such as length of service and relevant training. Some of the interviewees however, were quick to qualify these statements with the opinion that though numbers increased, they increased more at the lower and middle levels than they did at the top level. Promotion of women was therefore done more as a government requirement than from an understanding of the policy. It was done because it was part of a job requirement.

On the question of formulation of policies that were gender sensitive and the effectiveness of their implementation, the responses varied slightly. The two interviewees from the public sector cited the increased number of policies that were in place within public institutions such as equal opportunity policy, maternity leave, paternity leave, affirmative action, gender based violence in the workplace policy. The equal opportunity policy which stipulates that all employees or job applicants be treated fairly and be given a level platform for competition was said to be in force. However, one of the interviewees had reservations with regard to how effective it was. Extraneous factors such as ethnicity and connections to powerful people within the system still played a role in the recruitment and promotion process. Maternity leave for women of child

bearing age was in effect and the length of time had been increased from two months to three with pay and excluded annual leave. This policy takes the reproductive role of women into account.

Paternity leave was also being provided by government, and fathers whose wives had delivered children were allowed ten days leave with pay.

Telecommuting, which allows an employee to work away from the office and send their work through internet, was not present within public institutions. It was said to belong to the private sector by interviewees from the public service. Gender based violence at the workplace policy was also in place, where a worker had the right to report any harassment deemed to happen as a result of their being man or woman. This policy was said to have moderated behavior within the workplace and reduced harassment. In the opinion of the two interviewees, the policy implementation was highly effective.

The NGOs interviewees agreed with the fact that there were policies and laws in place to address gender related matters such as the sexual offences act, the act that outlawed FGM and the marriage bill yet to become law. The government was also applauded for ratifying international conventions that address gender related concerns. The government had also formulated national gender and development policy based on the FLSAW and the BDPFA. A national Commission on Gender Equality was also in place. But the interviewees pointed to the weakness of rushed legislation. In explanation, it was felt that passing many laws within a short period of time could create conflict because people would be at a loss as to which one would be implemented. These scattered efforts without much consolidation of efforts that would provide a formidable system was seen as a weakness. There was lack of inter-ministerial coordination in efforts of gender mainstreaming. There was said to be lack of harmonization of policies.

Further findings on the question of effectiveness of policy implementation are lack technical capacity within the public institutions to comprehensively carry out gender mainstreaming. The question of gender mainstreaming is technical and requires trained personnel to be involved in its implementation if success is to be realized. There was need to consistently assess programmes at every level so that needs of both men and women would be seen clearly. This would not be possible without technical staff. There was a limited number of public institutions' staff with training on gender.

Lack of political goodwill on the part of top management to encourage gender mainstreaming was cited as an impediment that greatly hampered efforts of gender mainstreaming. Appointment of gender officers was done to fulfill a requirement but not because the management believed in the gospel of gender mainstreaming. Inclusion or appointment of gender officers within the workforce was to simply quieten their conscience. Inclusion of gender officers would lessen questions from stakeholders. True commitment would translate into actions that would encroach on budgetary allocations – something that was not welcome. The lack of political will was also attributed to limited understanding of gender mainstreaming by government and society at large. Mention of gender themes within top management elicited comments such as '*hayo mambo yawanawake*' (those issues of women), implying that gender was always confused with women and this raised fears as to what would happen to the men if 'all women' came to the workplace. Men felt like they would be the sacrificial lambs in order for women to be accommodated at the work place.

In practice, the human resource management policies such as the Code of Regulation for civil service which provides guidelines on matters of promotions, transfers and appointments, were yet to be gender responsive. Such policies assumed that men and women are homogenous. One of the interviewees pointed to the fact that most government policies were yet to be harmonized

with the constitution (2010) which implied that there were still legal barriers to gender equality. The gender equality act was yet to be enacted.

Another significant finding was that gender is yet to be viewed as a cross-cutting theme within public institutions. It does not form the core mandate of policy making institutions; rather it is seen as a one-off topic. It was explained that gender mainstreaming required hard work and changes in perspective that would probably upset established traditions within ministries and state corporations.

On the question of what changes had occurred in public institutions as a result of gender mainstreaming strategy, the opinions of the interviewees did not differ in principle. Findings are that attitudes have changed to a certain extent. Women were treated with more respect and fairness. There is acknowledgement that women can fit in the public sphere. Women, previously frowned upon, are now more accepted in the public institutions even in senior positions. People now appreciate women and they are not surprised when women are appointed to senior positions of public service. An example was given of the recent appointments to cabinet of 6 women. The defence docket and the foreign affairs and international trade ministry are being headed by women for the first time since Kenya's independence. However, it was noted that resistance still remained and women still had to work harder to prove themselves. It was for example pointed out that, appointing authorities kept appointment of women at the irreducible minimum – the constitutional threshold.

Another finding is that more women leaders were being profiled in the media. They were more often called upon to give expert comments or to generally tell their story. Whatever their stories, it was good enough that they were being aired.

However, the interviewees felt that influence of women leaders was yet to be felt within public institutions – attributable to the masculinized system within public institutions. The traditional

set up was better and less disruptive, according to some opinions within the public service. Some of the respondents to the questionnaires wondered what would become of the boy child/men if all society talked about was women.

One interviewee did not see the lack of palpable influence by women as negative. She pointed out that change did not happen overnight. It would take time. It was good enough that work towards gender equality had begun.

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will make an attempt at analyzing the findings using the feminist approach. The feminist approach to international relations advocates for fairness and equality which is the strategic goal of gender mainstreaming. Feminist scholarship contests male-stream definitions of women circulating in society (Lloyd, 2007). It also strives to explain women's subordination prevalent in all societies. For example, globally women parliamentarians stand at 18%, with some countries having no woman in their parliaments. Further, feminism strives to name that which has no name (Kamau, 2010) so as to erase the fallacy that propagates what males have presented as universal truth. It seeks to tell women stories and contributions in effect giving such stories names and value. Scholarly contributions to knowledge should be aware that actors on the world stage in development are male and female. Feminism exposes long standing hierarchical structures of power in favour of men; effectively placing the women as subordinates. Thus in having gender disaggregated data of recruitment and promotions in the public service, for example, the gender gaps are clear – which in itself is an indication of gender inequalities. More than exposing the gender gaps is to explain them and seek ways to end those gaps (Baylis, *et al* 2010).

Gender mainstreaming requires that policy makers understand it as a cross cutting theme ensuring the needs of both men and women in public institutions. It becomes a prerequisite consideration in all activities and levels of planning and implementation of policy. This calls for a continuous exercise of assessment of needs for the determination of how resources will be allocated. Because needs of men and women are different, it becomes imperative that both men

and women be involved in assessing a situation and deciding who gets what. Involvement of both men and women does not connote sameness but rather ensures that neither is disadvantaged in accessing opportunities and resources. That men and women are treated fairly according to their respective needs. To mainstream gender sometimes necessitates that different measures be employed where some groups need additional support. It is for this reason that measures such as affirmative action and quotas are used in order to ensure equity. Gender mainstreaming removes gender from being a subcomponent and makes it an integral part of policy. It is about good programming, which ensures that men and women benefit from the limited resources. It is about addressing different needs equally without neglecting any.

The reason why gender is confused with women is because women are more often disadvantaged in many cases. Gender mainstreaming brings about social change through a systematic way of looking at the different impacts of development intervention on men and women. The starting point for such assessment is to separate data by gender.

Gender mainstreaming itself is two-pronged- targeting the practical needs of women such as improving their income levels and social progress which includes their improved access to knowledge and healthcare; and strategically envisioning a transformation of society from an unequal one to one that is egalitarian. While it can be said from the findings that we are not there yet, the findings also carry ‘narratives of progress’<sup>119</sup>. The findings indicate that progress in gender mainstreaming in public institutions has been made. Looking at the data provided in chapter 3 by the former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, strides have been made in engendering public institutions especially using the affirmative action in employing staff. Data provided shows that over 70 % of ministries and state corporations have hit the 30%

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<sup>119</sup>Maxine, Molyneux and Shahra Razavi. *Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record On Gender Justice*. (UNRISD, 2006)

threshold in recruitment and promotion of women within the public institutions. This is evidence that the government has renewed its commitment to ensuring that women participate in development and in making decisions that direct the path of development. Through affirmative action there is increased presence of women in public institutions with some state corporations and ministries having achieved gender parity. In addition to increased numbers are public institutions that are more gender aware. The facts obtained substantiate that anticipated effects of gender mainstreaming are being felt albeit gradually.

With regard to legal and institutional mechanisms to mainstream gender, the government of Kenya has ratified international conventions that uphold and encourage gender mainstreaming. It has also drawn its national gender and development policy along the morally persuasive declarations and programmes of action such as the FLSAW of 1985, the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995, the MDGs among others. FLSAW called for the participation of women on an equal basis in the political, social and economic spheres of life and that women's role as intellectuals, policy makers, decision makers and planners of development be promoted.

The BDPfA called on all states to ensure women's equal access to full participation in decision making, guarantee gender balance in government institutions where states are obligated to increase the numbers of women leaders to at least 30%. Further, the states should promote employment policies and measures that ensure parity in ranks<sup>120</sup>. The Beijing plan of action also placed upon government the responsibility to ensure that advancement of women as an agenda was placed at the cabinet level, and develops a well defined national machinery to guide, coordinate and monitor gender mainstreaming. Governments were also required to mainstream gender in legislation, public policies and encourage inter-ministerial coordination of gender<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup>Jacinta Muteshi-Strachan, et al. eds. *Nairobi +21: promises and realities- taking stock of the 3<sup>rd</sup> UN international Women's conference*. (Nairobi: AWCFS & ACTS, 2009), 49 -66

<sup>121</sup>Paragraphs 203, 204 of BDPfA.



The FLSAW and BDPFA reinforce CEDAW's article 7 which requires that discrimination against women be eliminated in political and public life and that women be enabled to hold public office. It is against this background that Kenya drew its policies that relate to gender.

On its part, the government established ministry of gender, children and social development. Gender concerns were previously under a department within the ministry of sports and culture. In addition to the ministry, is a national commission on gender equality whose mandate is to root out discrimination against marginalized groups.(At the time of research the ministry had been split under new political leadership, and the part of gender mainstreaming placed under the ministry of devolution and planning as Gender Directorate. The political leadership promised that gender would be a crosscutting theme in public institutions in response to demands for a stand-alone ministry of gender.)

The presidential decree of 2006 on affirmative action within public institutions and the formation of a national machinery – the gender ministry – to coordinate gender work and prepare reports on the progress of implementation formed a good basis for accountability. The ministries submitted their reports to the ministry of gender which consolidated the report and availed it for scrutiny. It is a step in the right direction that this data is now relatively easily accessible as some of it was posted on the internet. For example, the 2009 report on the implementation of affirmative action in recruiting and promoting women in public service was accessible online. Asking for similar data from staff at the ministry was also not problematic. This is an important milestone in terms of accountability.

In regard to the impact of the global policy of gender mainstreaming within public institutions, there are differing verdicts. Some analysts (World Vision, 2009; Amnesty International, 2010)

feel that little has changed in terms of action. What has persistently remained is empty rhetoric. On the other hand, others feel that the situation has changed. In reviewing the 3<sup>rd</sup> UN world Women Conference, Muteshi-Strachan, *et al*, (2009) say there has been positive movement forward with tremendous ground covered in the recognition of women's rights as human rights. Maxine and Shahra (2006) are of the opinion that there is an ambivalent nature of progress. Women's access to employment and their increased numbers, and the resultant indicators of income they previously didn't have are successes of mainstreaming gender in public institutions. Incomes are essential in enabling women improve their economic status and meet their practical needs and those of their dependants. To that extent, women have been able, through employment, to access economic resources which are indirectly being redistributed. But there is a conscious understanding that the process of social change is complex and does not follow a linear path, neither does it always give anticipated outcomes.

While it is not in doubt that the strategic goal of gender mainstreaming namely gender equality has not been achieved, it would not reflect the true picture to say that not much has been achieved. Gender as a concept has permeated policy discourse, which becomes a constant reminder that the relations between men and women are not equal and something needs to be done to balance the tilted scales. The policies formulated, legislation enacted and remaking of the constitution can be said to be success stories in Kenya for the public institutions.

The findings will be discussed under four categories namely awareness and gender language, policy presence and implementation, attitudes, and the challenges that continue to rear their heads in the way of efforts to mainstream gender in public institutions.

## **4.2 Gender language and awareness of gender mainstreaming**

Post structuralism feminism asserts that language is essential in communicating our thoughts so that we can be understood by our audience. It is an integral part of how we make sense of our world. Again, it is used in the context of society to make our thoughts understandable to others. Language is dynamic to the extent that it is society that ascribes meaning to concepts. The ascribed meanings impact our understanding and perspectives. The meaning constructed/created gain a great deal of power. Language explains issues and therefore shapes societal perspectives. Feminism is therefore keen on naming what is hidden or unnamed so as to bring out the hidden story.

In the introduction of gender related language within public discourse and policy making, the visibility of inequalities in relations between men and women is exposed. This exposure is important because it provides a platform for changing the skewed relations.

Conceptual definitions create a common understanding of social contexts and expectations. The findings of this study present a public service where there is an overall sensitization of workers with regard to language of gender. The fact that 98% of the respondents in the study are aware of gender related terms is an indication that language has changed within public institutions. 66.7% were familiar with the term gender mainstreaming though majority – 68.6% had not attended any form of training on gender related themes. Muteshi-Strachan, *et al* (2009) points out that language is important because it brings out the differences between men and women which define what constitute power and powerlessness. Although familiarity with the terms does not equal comprehension, the high familiarity levels indicate that gender language has permeated public institutions. This is important in shaping workers' expectations as policies are being implemented. The portrayal of gender related messages in public institutions enhances awareness together with trainings and sensitization workshops. The introduction of new concepts such as

gender, engendered budgets, and gender responsiveness, among others at the workplace is a fundamental step in changing culture in public institutions. The explanation of these terms helps in changing attitudes in the workplace. People get to learn that gender is inclusive of men and women and that those women aren't there to replace men. In the course of the collecting data, a few men and women kept wondering why there was so much concentration on the women/girl child issues at the expense of the men/boy child. This erroneous assumption that gender work is women's work is to be removed through appropriate training. Rather the understanding should be that women have been disadvantaged by the dominant patriarchal structures and specific programmes/actions for women may be required to seek to alter the male dominated structures. Interaction with the interviewees confirmed that policy makers have mastered gender language. As such, the discourse of official documents such as medium term plans and Vision 2030 is not gender blind or neutral. Findings also indicate that the staffs within public institutions are more aware of gender related language and while comprehension may be contested, the general awareness is in no doubt. The gender mainstreaming strategy requires knowledge on how to analyze situations and needs of men and women with the understanding of how the findings will impact the men and women. Analysis with a gender perspective will make visible the gaps that exist and then suggest ways of closing those gaps.

Mastery of language is a basic step in the journey towards achieving the goals of gender mainstreaming.

#### **4.3 Policy presence and implementation**

In addition, findings are that there is an increased number of policies at work within public institutions that are sensitive to gender related needs. Although the legislative arm of the government has in the past been hostile towards legislation that was designed to have gains for

women (Kamau, 2010), there is nevertheless an improvement on legislation. The new constitution (2010) differs remarkably from the previous one that had differentiated men and women in, for example succession rights with women put at a disadvantage.

Maternity leave and paternity leave are crucial in supporting women and men for the reproductive role. The employment act (Cap. 226) revised the maternity leave to 3 months with pay exclusive of annual leave for women of child bearing age and ten-day leave for men whose wives bear children.

The adoption of medium term strategies such as affirmative action to address the gender gaps in employment and promotion of public servants is also a policy recognized under gender mainstreaming which allows for supportive or additional measures to be employed for some groups that have been disadvantaged. Although the affirmative action is seen as a piecemeal approach to gender mainstreaming, reinforcing integrationist WID rather than the social transformational GAD, it must be borne in mind that GAD approaches have been difficult to implement due to underfunding and analytical challenges<sup>122</sup>. The implementation of affirmative action in Kenya's public institutions is important in meeting practical needs for women such as having an income, education and training and being involved in making decisions. It also creates a critical mass in terms of numbers which would give women a negotiating advantage. Some of the ministries and state corporations, from the data provided in chapter 3 have achieved gender parity through the affirmative action policy.

The introduction and subsequent implementation of Gender based violence at the workplace policy and sexual harassment policy in public institutions in Kenya is also a timely intervention based on the mainstreaming gender goals, which outlaw any form of violence against women.

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<sup>122</sup>Jacinta Muteshi-Strachan, et al. eds. *Nairobi +21: Promises and Realities- Taking Stock of the 3<sup>rd</sup> UN International Women's Conference*, (Nairobi: AWCFS & ACTS, 2009),19

Women and men have an avenue to seek redress through these policies which is a reprieve. The GAD thinking enables women and men articulate concerns preciously categorized as private such as violence and sexual harassment.

The government also talks about being an equal opportunity employer through the equal opportunity policy, which ensures that all job applicants and employees are treated equally. This has enabled many women access employment within public institutions because they have the academic qualifications required. It emphasizes that women and men are equal and should be treated equally. Due to increased access to education for women, they are now able to compete on an equal platform in order to gain entry into public service. Their increased numbers in middle and lower cadres is attributed to education acquisition, which has been facilitated by the government's commitment to increasing access to education.

The findings show that although the policies are there, not all respondents thought that they are upheld. Their effectiveness also varies depending on the particular policy's implementation. Paternity leave and maternity leave are effectively utilized while telecommuting was not in effect in public institutions.

A significant finding was that affirmative action policy had not propelled many women to the senior positions. Although a few government ministries and state corporations had reached 50% women in the senior positions, overall representation of women at the top was low. Lack of women at the top has its implications. It means that they don't participate in the policy directions of the government or state and therefore states are guided by men and their perspectives. It also means that women wait to be handed down what is decided and they may have no room for questioning government policy because that may mean a loss of livelihood – which is much

needed by the woman and her dependants. Lack of women in influential positions in the public service implies that women's issues do not receive much attention as they would if they were. While one may argue that men care about women, it is clear that they cannot comprehend with precision the issues that affect women as women themselves would. Women's perspective is important at the decision making level. Men, even without intention to, are likely to gloss over issues that affect women more. The small number of women compared to men at the top may not fundamentally change perspectives of leaders and content of policy to reflect and cater for the needs of men and women, it can be safely said that influence of women in changing public institutions is yet to be seen. The few women at the top are likely to concentrate on what their male counterparts do or say rather than bring in their own perspectives which may be frowned upon by the majority men. They will therefore 'fit in' rather than transform by introducing their own perspectives. Liberal feminism is keen on having increased numbers of women within institutions backed by legal provisions. It can thus be said in regard to policy presence and implementation in Kenya's public institutions that success is being realized for mainstreaming gender. The increased numbers of women albeit gradual in decision making levels in public institutions is a fundamental achievement. Despite difficulties in equalizing gender relations, progress is underway.<sup>123</sup>

#### **4.4 Attitudes**

The study, in considering impact sought to see if perceptions and experiences of the work force have changed because of the increased presence of women in the workplace. Attitudes towards women in the workplace have changed with a growing acceptance that women now form an integral part of the workforce. Women have gained respect in the workplace as appointments to

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<sup>123</sup>Maxine, Molyneux and Shahra Razavi. *Beijing Plus 10: An Ambivalent Record On Gender Justice.*(UNRISD, 2006),4

top management may testify. In an interview with the HBF gender equality program officer, she pointed out that change is important. And though Kenya is far behind in gender equality, just like much of the world, perceptions and attitudes are changing. More women leaders are being profiled in the media and people are beginning to accept that women are leaders in their own right.

This is the positive side of the story. Findings show that it is generally accepted for women to occupy positions within public institutions. 72.6% of the respondents said there was an increment of women at the top level management, 64.7% believed that the government was making adequate efforts to promote women within public institutions. Over time, it has been accepted that women will not go away, and that their contribution is important.

But there is a veiled feeling behind these positive sentiments from some of the respondents that although the women are there, it may not be the ideal scenario. An interaction with some civil servants indicated that the traditional set up is preferable. This is in consonance with Kamau (2010) study of women's perspectives in political leadership, where she reveals that one of the interviewees, a lawyer, when contributing to a debate within a meeting was told off because the man in question thought that she was a secretary.

The recent appointments to cabinet may also be a pointer to this attitude. While it is commendable that 6 out of the total 18 cabinet secretaries are women, it is also intriguing that it is exactly at 30%. This may be explained by the lack of belief in gender equality or lack of political will. The question is, why only the irreducible minimum? Why would the appointments not surpass the policy guideline while political leadership reiterates that it is committed to ensuring that men and women benefit equally from state resources?



In comparing this with a study done by Kamau (2010), women in public institutions are not able to shape policy because they are restricted from setting the rules of the game in an inclusive manner. The men therefore continue to define policy. Other studies also indicate that women have not achieved gender equality with men at the workplace. In Kenya, the society is highly patriarchal.

This study also notes that gender mainstreaming with the goal of gender equality is recognized in principle, but attitudes even of senior servants are yet to change, because they feel that this approach is upsetting the 'social set up'. One interviewee (public servant) in one of the departments (formerly ministry of gender, children and social development) sampled cited 'failure of gender mainstreaming policies to considering social dimensions'. In his own explanation, the society is getting ruffled. This points to the fact that, although the persons employed/working in government institutions teach and know how to use the language that is gender sensitive, their attitudes have not fundamentally changed. They still believe in the dichotomy of roles and spaces into public and private. While people interviewed, know in theory that gender means more than women, ordinary staff repeatedly asked the researcher whether she wanted to talk about women.

Another interesting finding on attitudes was that women often declined responsibility. Women were accused of being afraid of the managerial role. This should not be construed as inadequacy or inferiority.

As Muteshi-Strachan, *et al* (2009), Kamau (2010), point out, the reproductive role of women weighs heavy on their shoulders. Women continue to perform most of the tasks of childcare and domestic work. They therefore carry a double workload (unlike men) at the office and at home. This may explain why along the career ladder, women will decline to take up more

responsibilities at the workplace. There are some women who when they climb the ladder, at some point decline to take leadership because of the various other roles that weigh heavily upon them, they prefer to seek a balance, that is, earn a decent income without having to be leaders which is likely to take up their little left time due to additional responsibilities. They spare this time for their families. Institutions are yet to adequately cater for the reproductive role of women. As women go up the ladder there is increased pressure for their other roles. For them, reconciling the work and family roles may mean that they sacrifice career progression.

Kamau (2010; 64) quotes numerous studies done around the world and in Kenya which show that women's social obligations have a negative impact on their career progression. There is therefore need for such attitudes to change so that women are understood from their double load rather than being seen as lazy and without commitment to work.

With regard to maintaining the 30% and no more in top leadership, it may also have to do with the perception of women as leaders. There may be little belief in women as leaders within public institutions because of their gender, even when they have not been tested. Nzomo (2003) as quoted by Kamau (2010) stresses that gender is a significant factor in determining who a good leader is. She adds that being masculine is regarded as a quality of effective leadership which is why the top leadership may have stubbornly refused to deconstruct the concept of leadership. One interviewee was of the opinion that this association of women with being soft and therefore unsuitable for leadership was just an excuse to lock women out of leadership. Many women had demonstrated their ability to lead, whether they were deemed soft or authoritarian. The important issue was that change happens in public institutions and transformed to include men and women as beneficiaries and agents of development.

In addition to the above, attitudes and perception towards women in the public institutions remain ambivalent because of the system within which men and women are socialized. Cultures existing in Kenya continue to socialize men/boys and women/girls differently with the aim of retaining the unequal power relations. As pointed earlier, some respondents wondered why there is a lot of talk on women's empowerment and the girl child while the boy child and men seemed to be neglected. Kenya being strongly in favour of patriarchy implies that people are yet to be socialized differently. There are deeply entrenched attitudes as to what men and women can and cannot do from African traditions. For this reason, although gender inequalities have reduced, at least formally, the top levels of management have remained quite resistant to women. This may be what Molyneux and Razavi(2006:4) describe as 'two steps forward, one step back.'

#### **4.4 Challenges**

Despite the progress made, challenges to comprehensively mainstream gender abound due to a persistent lack of political will within top management/decision makers, and lack of technical expertise, so that even if there was adequate political will, the lack of capacity to entrench gender concerns and achieve an equal society would still be elusive.

The lack of political will as explained by one of the interviewees implies that while the policies and legislation may be present, the leaders of public institutions may not be keen on gender mainstreaming and do not encourage it. They are therefore not committed to it and may only pay lip service to it. There appears to be good intentions especially on issues that are regarded as not threatening the status quo. For example, the recruitment and promotion of women in larger numbers at the low and middle levels as opposed to the top levels. Lack of political will may be explained by an intersection of a number of variables, chief among them patriarchy and

capitalism. Principles of capitalism and ideologies of patriarchy may be blamed for reproducing the practice of doling out positions to women in a checked manner. What results are perpetuated gender inequalities. The ideological leanings on capitalism and patriarchy may not allow for redistribution of power and resources as gender mainstreaming envisions. The top leadership determines who gets what and how. Thus, limiting women's numbers at the top would ensure that power and resources remain with the men. Henrik Ibsen's play '*An Enemy of the People*' confirms that a system or an individual will go any length to ensure that the status quo remains. The main character in this play is an idealist who upholds morality and truth as foundations of a good society. But the powers that be go to great lengths including blackmail and threats to the media to ensure that the truth does not come to the fore. In addition the leaders mislead the common *mwanachi* into believing that the main character is their enemy and should be banished from society.

The point is that a gender equal society would be noble, where nobody is discriminated on any basis, but the reality that confronts us today in public institutions is that more needs to be done. Gender equality is a good ideal but will face strong resistance if it implies that power and resources change hands. Challenging the status quo is an uphill task.

Closely related to political will is the challenge of underfunding. Investing in programmes that ensure gender equality in all sectors has been slow, and commitment seems to have waned, according to the 'Beijing plus' outcome documents. In addition, the matters of gender in Kenya have been placed within different ministries and shifted severally. Within the Kibaki regime, there was a fully-fledged ministry, which has now been scrapped by the new political leadership. When women raised this concern, the political promise was that gender would be considered as a cross cutting theme. This remains to be seen.

The other challenge that is persistent is that gender work is yet to become a core mandate in public institutions. It has mostly been left as a one-off topic. This limits effectiveness in implementation since it is assumed that gender work belongs to a certain department. The lack of taking gender as crosscutting theme has been blamed for further alienating gender concerns. It is therefore not part of routine work in ministries as it has been tucked away within a not-so-active gender office. When gender work happens, it is a one-off thing that ends with a little training workshop. And then staffs go back to their mainstream tasks.

Lack of technical staff is a big impediment to mainstreaming gender in public institutions. The government has few people who are trained in gender related matters. Only a few staff in the research indicated that they had received training on gender at university. Those that had received such training had done one unit in the course of their studies. Other staffs have relied on the knowledge they get from basic trainings and sensitization workshops, majority of them lasting less than a week. This means that although there is general awareness on gender, concrete understanding of it and how to apply actions that are gender sensitive may be limited.

The socialization process also contributes to the challenges of mainstreaming gender. This is because children who later grow to take up jobs within the public sector are socialized to understand hierarchical power structures and the age old stereotypes are repeated at home and in school. What happens is that even the women who get employed or are promoted within the public system carry with them these stereotypes. Essentially, majority of us are products of the systems within which we have grown. The socialization process also makes men and women better fit in with institutional practices/traditions rather than seek to change them. Kamau(2010)

sees the lack of women parliamentarians' courage to strongly defend gender issues publicly as being propped by fear of losing their positions. The public institutions workers may be keener on keeping their jobs too than seeking to change them by bringing in perspectives that are not favoured by their seniors. Besides, public institutions have a structured system which takes time to change, though women have increased numbers in the public institutions, they still work within the old system.

In conclusion, this chapter analyses the findings of the research. The findings are seen in the context of feminist approach. It is step in the right direction that the language of gender is in public institutions and that there is an increased awareness of gender matters in public institutions. Language is basic in changing attitudes about phenomena. Secondly the presence and implementation of various policies that are gender sensitive shows that there are increasing gains in the continuing efforts of engendering public institutions. Women are now more accepted and respected in the public sphere and while challenges concerning attitudes are there, it can be said that strides have been made. Challenges to implementation of gender mainstreaming are many but persistence will make them be overcome.

## CHAPTER 5

### 5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary

The study set out to assess the impact of gender mainstreaming in public institutions in Kenya. Broadly, the study was to examine the changes that have occurred in public institutions since the advent of the gender mainstreaming requirement. The specific objectives were:

1. To assess how gender mainstreaming has been applied within the public institutions;
2. To examine the impact of gender mainstreaming in transforming public institutions in a gender responsive manner;
3. To determine the challenges of gender mainstreaming in public institutions;
4. To assess the appropriate measures to be adopted to improve the engendering efforts in public institutions.

In order to achieve these objectives, there was need to collect data. Primary data was collected through structured questionnaires and interviews. Secondary data was collected from the former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development. It was analyzed and presented in tables and percentages for ease of comprehension. Findings from the interviews were presented in narrative form.

The first hypothesis was that gender mainstreaming has significantly impacted decision making in public institutions. The findings indicate that attitudes are changing in line with the hypothesis. However, this statement needs qualifying. While the end goal of gender mainstreaming which is gender equality has not been achieved in public institutions, gender is an important component in decision making and can no longer be ignored. To that extent, change has happened in public institutions.

The second finding was that gender mainstreaming as an instrument of empowering women was being applied in public institutions using the affirmative action policy, and this has helped increase the numbers of women in the public institutions with some achieving gender parity in employment and promotion of women and men within public institutions.

Thirdly, although numbers of women at senior positions had increased over the last few years resulting from the efforts by the government to mainstream gender, overall the gender parity envisaged by gender mainstreaming strategy was yet to be achieved. Therefore at the top level where decisions were made the situation was yet to change significantly because leadership at the top remained dominated by men. It is still a man's world.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The study objective was to examine the changes that have occurred in public institutions since the advent of the gender mainstreaming requirement. It was noted that awareness on gender related matters/concerns has grown substantially and nearly all workers at all levels were familiar with the gender related language. The level of comprehension of gender related concerns could not be ascertained. In addition, the findings indicate that the government was making efforts to promote gender mainstreaming through the affirmative action and through legislation that was gender sensitive. Policies that are gender sensitive were in place and being implemented. It was also noted that attitudes and perceptions were changing with a growing acceptance of women in the workplace and rising through the ranks to become decision makers.

Kenya continues to use affirmative action as a way of mainstreaming gender within the public service and this has borne fruit, looking at the data provided, where some ministries and state corporations have reached gender parity in recruitment and promotion of men and women.



In addition to the above, challenges to comprehensively mainstream gender in public institutions persist. The question of political will and lack of technical staff rank high in this category. Others are socialization and failure to ensure that gender concerns become part of routine work in ministries and corporations. Today, gender concerns remains tucked away in a gender office and mostly come up when there is training.

Challenges were experienced especially because the study was conducted at a time when government ministries and corporations were undergoing re – organization to align with the new political dispensation that came to power in March 2013.

While there are many challenges in the path of mainstreaming gender, outcomes of the efforts made indicate that gender mainstreaming is beneficial to men and women and needs to be encouraged and supported all the more.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends that

1. It is important that the government increases human and financial resources that will ensure that mainstreaming gender at every level and process becomes possible. The government can liaise with Non-governmental organizations whose work revolves around gender equality and seek technical assistance together with funding of such efforts. The nongovernmental organizations can be involved in assisting key ministries such as planning to mainstream gender into local and national planning. This will ensure that crucial areas such as budgeting are engendered. Planning processes such as Medium Term Plans should mainstream gender.
2. There is need for the government to move beyond promises and act to ensure gender equality. It is to start at the point of recognizing that gender mainstreaming will be

positive for holistic development. Excluding one part of the population does not constitute progress. Men and women will have to work together for a more equal society.

3. Education system as a socialization process needs to take cognizant of gender equality and help in re-socializing persons to be gender aware and discard stereotypes that shape perceptions. This re-socialization should start at the formative years of children and go on to college education. The entire education system needs to integrate gender concerns in its curriculum.
4. Every public servant needs to be trained – those at the national level as well as those working at the local level. The public institutions could give incentives of such training such as partial scholarships or study leave for those wishing to learn.
5. There should be continuous assessment of the situation and needs of both men and women which should then inform appropriate action.

#### **5.4 Suggestions for further research**

Further research is needed to find out how the women at the top – senior managers, directors, etc. within public institutions have impacted the public service. Since they rise through the ranks over a period of time do they consistently retain their perspectives on issues in general and gender issues specifically, or do they become more like men?

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## **List of Interviewees**

1. Maendeleo ya Wanawake – Communications and Programmes Officer, Gender Equality Programme
2. Heinrich Boll Foundation – Programme Coordinator for Gender Democracy
3. FEMNET – Advocacy Associate – Men to Men Programme
4. Deputy Director -Former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development
5. Principal Gender Officer - Former Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development



(e) PhD

**Section B: Gender Mainstreaming**

9. (i) Are you aware of the term gender mainstreaming?

(a) Yes  (b) No

(ii) Do you usually attend conferences/workshop/training on gender mainstreaming or any other gender related concern?

(a) Yes  (b) No

(iii) If yes in (ii), how long do you take for the training on gender? (Tick appropriately)

(a) Less than one week

(b) 2 – 3 weeks

(c) I month

(d) More than 1 month

(iv) Are you familiar with the following terms? (Tick appropriately)

(a) Gender Equality

(b) Gender equity

(c) Gender mainstreaming

(d) Gender perspective

(e) Gender issues

(f) Other gender related terms (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

10. (i) Does your ministry /department uphold policies of encouraging gender mainstreaming?

(a) No

(b) Not sure/ aware

(c) To a large extent

(ii) If yes in (i) above, state some of the organizational provisioned policies put across to address gender mainstreaming in your organization

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(iii) How would you rate the effectiveness on implementation of the above (ii) stated policies?

(a) Highly effective

(b) Moderately effective

(c) Lowly effective

**Section C: Human Resource Management: Planning and Control**

11. (i) has there been an increment on women representation at the top management in the past few years?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

(ii) If yes, how many are they and which positions do they hold in the top management?

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(iii) In your own opinion, have there been efforts made by the ministry/department to promote women into senior management positions?

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

(iv) If yes in (iii) above, how many received promotion in the last 5 years?

(a) Less than 5 [ ]

(b) 5 – 7 [ ]

(c) More than 8 [ ]

12. (i) How many of the following policies are implemented in your ministry /department? (Tick appropriately)

(a) Equal opportunity policy [ ]

(b) Sexual harassment policy [ ]

(c) Maternity leave [ ]

(d) Paternity leave [ ]

(e) Telecommuting policy [ ]

(f) Other(specify)

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(ii) Are there policies put across in writing to address gender mainstreaming e.g. service charter, notices, billboards, etc

(a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]

If yes, state some of these policies

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(iii) Is gender awareness included in the job performance appraisal criteria?

- (a) Yes [ ]                      (b) No [ ]                      (c) Not Sure [ ]

(iv) In your own view, does the selection and training of the ministry's/department's staff institutionalize the integration of gender equality?

- (a) Yes [ ]                      (b) No [ ]                      (c) Not Sure [ ]

(v) Is there gender fairness while allocating incentives and rewards, and executing dismissals in your ministry/department?

- (a) Yes [ ]                      (b) No [ ]                      (c) Not Sure [ ]

(vi) Does the ministry/department reinforce gender sensitive behavior and procedures to curb and address gender related vices?

- (a) Yes [ ]                      (b) No [ ]                      (c) Not Sure [ ]

**Section D**

13. In your own opinion, state the various successes and challenges you have experienced within your ministry/department while in the process of integrating gender perspectives in the routine activities and other workforce related programs.

Successes

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Weaknesses/challenges

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14. Suggest the various measures that the management in your ministry/department should adopt to improve the adoption of gender mainstreaming in public institutions.

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**Many thanks for your time and effort.**