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**TOPIC: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TWO THIRD GENDER RULE IN  
THE DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT AS STIPULATED IN THE KENYAN  
CONSTITUTION: THE CASE STUDY OF MERU COUNTY**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any award of degree before in any other University.

George Mworio Kurea

Signed.....

Date.....

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Supervisor

Prof. E. K. Mburugu

Signed.....

Date.....

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my dear wife, without whose caring support it would not have been possible.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>APK</b>	Alliance Party of Kenya
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>IEBC</b>	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>MCA</b>	Member of County Assembly
<b>SQ KM</b>	Square Kilometer
<b>UN</b>	United Nation
<b>USAID</b>	United State Agency for International Development
<b>WAD</b>	Women and Development
<b>WID</b>	Women in Development



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## ABSTRACT

According to the Laws of Kenya, not more than two-thirds of members of elective public bodies should be of the same gender. This is commonly known as two thirds gender rule. This study sought to examine factors that impede the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government as specified in the Kenyan 2010 constitution focusing on Meru County. The study had four objectives; to find out how the two thirds gender rule is being implemented in Meru County, to investigate the specific challenges facing the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved government of Meru County, to indentify social and demographic factors influencing perceptions on women and power among Meru people, and to determine the extent in which the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for the national assembly in Meru County. This study used descriptive survey design to achieve these objectives. A semi-structured questionnaire was administered to a sample of 120 respondents. A response rate of 83.3% was achieved. Qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods were used to analyze data. Results of qualitative data were presented in narrative form while the results of quantitative data were presented in charts and tables.

The study revealed that there is understanding on what the two thirds gender rule means. However, the results have shown that the two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented. The study established that a number of challenges are responsible for impeding women to go for political positions and attain the two thirds gender rule. These challenges include cultural challenges, fear to challenge men, male chauvinism, lack of education, fierce competition, discrimination, socio-cultural background, lack of resources, the electoral system and nature of Kenyan politics which is hostile and aggressive. The study established that in Meru, culture influence the perception of women in any political participation. The study revealed that the majority of leaders in Meru County are men because many voters despise or look down upon women and many women of Meru County shy away from vying for top positions. According to the results, the constituency background determines the voting pattern for female candidate in Meru County. The study established that the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for various positions during the last elections.

The study findings revealed that in Meru County there has never been an elected woman Member of Parliament and 2013 election opened up minds of community members where women came up to vie. On the perception of Meru people in regards to women and power, the study established that Meru people agree that women can manage both family and leadership but fairly agree that women are better leaders than men, women are good in policy making and an educated woman is even better in leadership. The study results have shown that Meru people disagreed that a woman can easily vote for another woman. This study concluded that there is awareness on two thirds gender rule and what it means in Meru County. Despite this awareness, two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented. This study concluded that social demographic factors influence two thirds gender rule implementation. This study recommends that the Commission for Implementation of Constitution should focus more on ensuring that challenges impeding two thirds gender rule implementation are addressed in Meru County.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

The Kenyan constitution of 2010 has addressed the problem of gender inequalities in Kenya. The constitution sets a framework stating that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies should be of the same gender. In the Constitution of Kenya (2010) Article 27 talks about equality and freedom from discrimination, Article 27 (8) provides for affirmative action where the State is required to take Legislative and other measures to ensure that no more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies are of the same gender. Article 81 further recaps that the same rule should be applicable to all elective public bodies. In Kenyan public institutions, and in particular the National Assembly, however, gender balance has been twisted against women and for that reason it has not been fully honored.

There are several articles addressing gender equality in public offices which include Article 177 on membership of the county assembly, Article 97 on membership of the national assembly, Article 98 on membership of the senate, and Article 88 (4) on the establishment of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission – IEBC, specifically sub-section (i) on its role in regulating the amount of money that may be spent by or on behalf of a candidate or party in respect of any election. Though the constitution of Kenya has created a two-thirds gender rule in the constitution that was promulgated in 2010; there is still a challenge in implementing it. The two thirds gender rule generally tries to bring in women into the lime light for the devolution Government to work effectively in Kenya, the Government should therefore involve both the women and men in planning and implementing their development agenda for their counties;

therefore, there is a great need for consultation from both genders that is, the women and men. As we all know, when people are involved they own up the whole process of development. The sense of getting the devolution to work is very vital.

Globalization has made it compulsory for countries subscribing to the international rules and guidelines to adopt and abide with the gender equity and gender equality rule. Our Country Kenya cannot afford to lag behind on this move of growth and development in this present Era we are living in.

Gender equality has continued to be a major problem in developing countries despite efforts to reverse the trend. Women historically have been marginalized in the devolved structures; however Kenya's new constitution that was publicized in 2010; devolution was one of the hallmark of the transition from the previously centralized political governance which was and is still blamed for its vast gender inequality.

Gender inequality is as old as the Old Testament time. The Jews men in their prayers used to pray thanking God that they were born men and not women; In Kenya we see that before the British colonialists came, the society was still patriarchal. (Ruled by men) African men made the decisions in the society and set the rules that the community was to live by. This was through the council of elders that existed in most societies. Few women occupied public positions of power. The one common position was that of medicine-woman. Generally the place of women was largely in the house and looking after the welfare of her homestead. Men on the other hand were generally their own masters. They dictated what was permissible and what was not. Men were the warriors of the community, decision makers, and heads of families and in that capacity they dictated

what was expected of the family. For example where I come from we have Council of Elders known as the “*NjuuriNcheke*” it comprises of men only.

The resistance to women based on their gender has remained the facilitating tool for keeping of inequity against women notwithstanding the spirit and provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Kenya (2010). Women are the key figures for any development to take place.

There is a radical move in the country because women must form a one third of any elective public positions. The principles of the two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented especially in the recent key appointments that have been already carried out; though there has been a bit of change in the women involvement. A good example is the appointment of the cabinet secretaries.

Gender equality is a critical element in achieving decent work for all Women and Men, therefore for any effective social and institutional change that leads to sustainable development with equity and growth; all gender should be considered equally and given equal right of participation. Gender equality refers to equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities that all persons should enjoy, regardless of whether one is born male or female.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

The 2013 general elections in Kenya opened doors to a huge political participation by women for the first time ever. Kenya’s constitution that was promulgated in 2010 contains a provision that radically allows the political representation of women in various positions of leadership.

Women have both a right and an obligation to actively participate in social and political leadership.

Researchers such as Rodham (2003), Maathai (2006) and Wanjohi have observed that when women get into leadership or when they are empowered into leadership, they bring high energy and a completely new paradigm shift of how to perceive issues in the society. By itself the new constitution guarantees only 47 women out of the 349 members excluding the speaker of the national assembly; that is one woman from every county. Similar provision is seen in the country of Rwanda. The position of these women will not be easily achieved (Maathai, 2006).

The new constitution stipulates that no more than two thirds of the members of any elected office shall be of the same gender, however; despite the developments in Kenya's constitution to support women to vie for these political positions, various factors continue affecting their participation. Gender inequality has continued to be a major challenge in Kenya. In the current devolved government, the implementation of the two third gender rule is facing a number of challenges in both national and at the county government level. Studies done on has not focused on challenges that limit women to fully participate in the national leadership positions as well as devolved government positions of this country. These are the gaps that prompted the researcher to investigate challenges affecting implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government of Meru County.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The following will be the research questions.

- i. How is the two third gender rule being implemented in Meru County?
- ii. What are the challenges facing the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government of Meru County?
- iii. What are the perceptions of Meru people regarding women and power?
- iv. How did the two third gender rule influence women in vying for the national assembly position in Meru County?

## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to examine factors that impede the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government as specified in the Kenyan constitution focusing on Meru County

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are:

- i. To find out how the two thirds gender rule is being implemented in Meru County
- ii. To investigate the specific challenges facing the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved government of Meru County
- iii. To indentify social and demographic factors influencing perceptions on women and power among Meru people
- iv. To determine the extent in which the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for the national assembly in Meru County



## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The study offers valuable contributions from both a theoretical and practical stand point. From a theoretical stand point, this research contributes to the general understanding of the role of the new constitution in influencing women to vie for electoral position. This study will be an eye opener to the women in that it will be pointing out to them how the new constitution governs their rights in vying for any electoral position.

Kaimenyi et al. (2013) observed that the fact that the two-thirds gender principle has been entrenched in the constitution which is the supreme law of the land is a noteworthy progress. This study is therefore important because it offers insight into the new law and the effect of its interpretation.

This study is important because it looks at the two third rules as a way of implementing the new demand of the constitution. Even though the two thirds rule has been widely studied, the circumstances of each country are different. Kenya is unlikely to achieve 33% female representation without the help of the two-thirds gender rule.

This study looked into two thirds rule in the Kenyan perspective so as to offer practical and achievable ways that might work for this country in order to implement the 33% requirement and set the pace for other counties. This study can be used by policy makers in developing practical policies and strategies. The study is also useful to the general public at large as it unravels the myths held about the male chauvinists by providing a comprehensive understanding of the concept.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This research will be carried out in Meru County. The researcher will be finding out how the two thirds gender rule is being implemented in Meru County and also to investigate the specific challenges facing the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved government of Meru. The researcher will seek to indentify social and demographic factors influencing the perception of women and power among the Meru people and also to determine the extent which the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for the national assembly in Meru County. This will involve registered voters of ages eighteen (18) years to Fifty (50) Years. This shows that all ages within the voting blanket will have an equal opportunity of selection as respondents

The limitations of the study would be that, some community leaders may fear to be victimized hence giving incorrect response and may not be informed completely about the two third gender rule. The other limitation is about poor response from the respondents. There is also the possibility of not getting back the questionnaires from the respondents. Also there will be time and financial limitations.

## **1.7 Definition of Terms**

**Constitution:** is a document designed to protect the freedom of any country by imposing law on those who wield political power.

**Gender equality:** is the act of treating both men and women equally.

**Women representation:** is the act of representing women in both political, social leaderships and forum.

**Devolved government** Devolved government is government which delegates, either wholly or partially, its administration from state level to a more local level.

**Implementation:** is the carrying out, execution, or practice of a plan, a method, or any design for doing something. Implementation is the action that must follow any preliminary thinking in order for something to actually happen.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the literature review, theoretical framework and conceptual framework for this study.

### **2.1 Literature Review**

The literature review covers what other researchers have written on women and leadership around the world and in Kenya. It also examines gender equality and representation in Kenya.

#### **2.1.1 Women and leadership in the world**

Recent years more and more women have appeared on the international arena as successful political leaders. This tendency shows that women have the same leadership abilities as men and can successfully perform as Presidents and Prime Ministers. This trend is a good sign for leadership in the world which can be interpreted as a great step towards equal opportunities and the ability of public to overcome prejudices against women abilities to lead and rule. Women have been identified by some development institutions as a key to successful development; a good example is through financial inclusion.

According to the current female leader count we see that,

"Women presidents, prime ministers, and heads of state have commanded powerful nations throughout history. Great historical leaders include Cleopatra VII of Egypt, Queen Isabel I of Spain, Queen Elizabeth I of Great Britain, Catherine the Great of Russia, Empress Dowager Tz'u-his of China, and others" such as Margaret Thatcher (Boyd, 2002). Other famous female leaders include: Prime Minister of New Zealand Helen Clark, Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel, Sheikh Hasina Wajed of Bangladesh, and Janet Jagan of Guyana (Current Female World Leader Count 9, 2005).

The past few decades have seen a new era unfolding and the peak of an important development in the human history. The women in the world have developed and continue developing their aspirations to a point at which they have become well-defined planners. Within a decade a new self confidence and common sense of purpose emerged among women everywhere as they continued reaching out to each other (Tripp, 2000).

There we see that women's political position appears to have undergone substantial changes with the beginning of state formation in the 14<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Reynolds says that, "There is considerable variation among the world's countries in terms of women's representation in parliaments and governments. Previous research addressing this phenomenon has identified different variables that explain the variation (Reynolds, 1999).

In the Bible we see God using women in various circumstances; a good example is Deborah whom God used in leading the children of Israel to defeat the Canaanite (Judges 4). Female leaders bring to politics a new vision of the problems and new strategies to problems solving. For instance, the example of African female leader depicts that women "bring motherly sensitivity and emotion to their presidency" (Female presidents' show how the U.S. lags, 2005). Female political leaders show that leading others is not simply

a matter of style, or following some how-to-do guides or recipes. Ineffectiveness of leaders seldom results from a lack of know-how, or typically due to inadequate skills. Leadership is even not about creating a great vision. It is about creating conditions under which all followers can perform independently and effectively toward a common objective. To overcome limitations of male leadership Liberian President" her presidential campaign on her experience and wisdom -- and on bringing a woman's touch to the civic reconciliation necessary for Liberia"(Irene, 1990).

Female leaders help each of their followers to develop into an effective self-leader by providing them with the behavioral and cognitive skills necessary to exercise self-leadership. An important measure of a leader's own success is the success of her followers. The strength of a leader is measured by the ability to facilitate the self-leadership to others. If a leader wants to lead somebody, they must first lead themselves.

The other leadership quality which appeals to many people is that female leaders are more trustworthy than men. Women leaders are able to implement new style faster than men. For instance, female leader in Peru is characterized as: "She's a good woman, the woman who is going to move us forward; because the men can't be trusted Women are more honest". In pursuing and achieving objectives, Women leaders are more open to new ideas, insights, and revelations that can lead to better ways to accomplishing goals. This continuous learning process can be exercised.

From the reviewed literature, female leaders have proved as willing to deliver in their communities. With female leaders and transformational leadership any country will be "equipped" with the necessary and proper tools to successfully perform well on the international arena and succeed at the national level.

### **2.1.2 Women leadership in Kenya**

In this chapter, the notion of women's political representation in Kenya is introduced. This topic deals with women's representation both in parliaments and governments. The constitution promotes the participation of women and men at all levels of governance and makes provisions for proportional representation. It provides for women to occupy at least a 1/3 of the seats in County Assemblies as well at least a 1/3 of the seats in the Senate. The constitution also provides for the enactment of legislation to compel Political Parties to be democratic and have women in their decision-making organs. Article 81 (b) of the constitution provides that "not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender." What the constitution does not provide for is the methodology to be used to ensure implementation of Article 81 (b) (Mzalendo, 2012)

There is need to ensure that adequate civic education is conducted with a view to ensuring that we elect adequate number of women to meet the minimum 1/3 gender rule.

Women need to stand up and demand for what is rightfully theirs, by doing so, this will give them a higher chance of being elected and fighting for the change they desire. Additionally, women leaders should also contest for other elective positions like governorship, members of parliament and not just women representative to fulfill this constitution requirement.

Kenya has the lowest female representation in the whole of Africa with 9.8%, compared to Rwanda 56.3%, Tanzania 36.0%, Uganda 35.0% and Burundi 30.5%. In South Africa women representation is 55%. Women have the capability of being good leaders and we have an opportunity to prove this (World Bank, 2007).

### **2.1.3 Gender equality and representation in Kenya**

Inequality and discrimination, whether based on race, color, language, religion or sex, often takes similar forms in practice; however, there are specific characteristics of discrimination against women which do not occur elsewhere. Sex, attitude, beliefs, prejudice and myths are much more deeply rooted in the basic structures and human behavior than are many other customs, norms and traditions (Pietila, 1990).

Women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres', i.e. no gender is favored. Article 27 (6) and (8) of constitution directs the state to take legislative and other measures including affirmative action program to implement the principles that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. Filibustering on this rule is not an option (Odipo, 2014).

This proposal spreads its application countrywide and instills gender sensitivity in the parties. It encourages parties to invest in both genders so that they succeed in attaining two key thresholds i.e. those nominated and those succeeding at elections. The expected equitable parliament will gain the experience of working in a more gender balanced environment. Both the nominated and elected members will gain the requisite electioneering experience and advantages of incumbency in the successive elections so that the efforts to achieve gender equity will be considerably lessened (Odipo, 2014).

The constitution has created a rule of maximum threshold of the two thirds of either gender. There is therefore a great need to ensure that intensive civic education is



conducted with the view that adequate numbers of women are elected to meet the minimum one third gender rule.

Hikka (1990) observed that *“a mandate to bring equality between the sexes was already clear in the UN Charter where, the people of the United Nations determined to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person in the equal rights of men and women. UN general assembly appointed a commission that drafted the universal declaration of human rights. In it, it contained the words. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”* (p.116).

Proper functioning of any democracy will depend on the well functioning of its institutions; many times new democratic renewal means new institutions and new bodies such as the judiciary, the executive, the legislature and even political parties and above all new players in these institution, and not what we have observed in the recent past of people changing political parties and being shifted from one government department to another.

Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of Women’s perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of Equality, development and peace cannot be achieved. In terms of both representative democracy and gender equality, it is important for the country and the county government to have high levels of female representation in both parliaments and governments. Women are believed to bring a completely different paradigm shift of perception of issues.

According to Hogstrom (2012), “A parliamentary post and a government post can be viewed as two of the most powerful political positions of decision making”. It is important that countries have high levels of female representation in both parliaments and governments. It seems that many previous studies in this field have ignored this point. A majority of previous studies concerning women’s representation in politics deals only with women’s representation in parliaments and not with women’s representation in governments.

#### **2.1.4 Gender stereotype and its challenges**

Numerous studies on women participation in politics and in public decision making globally, indicate that electoral playing field has always been tilted heavily in favour of men; more so in countries such as Kenya which is highly patriarchal (Nelson, 1994). According to Witt (1995), women have had a more difficult time getting elected to these political positions. The difficulty of being elected as political leaders is associated with the possibility that voters may be more comfortable with electing women to the legislature than to executive office (Witt, 1995). This difficulty appears to be due to voters’ stereotyping of candidates and of political offices based on the expected policy issues that these offices address.

Female candidates are expected to be “warm, gentle, kind, and passive” while male candidates are perceived as “tough, aggressive, and assertive. As a result, voters view male candidates as more competent than female candidates when dealing with issues associated with the executive branch, such as security and economics” (Witt, 1995). For example, when elections revolve around security and crime issues, voters tend to view women as ill-equipped to deal with such issues. Thus, they do not vote for women. These

assumptions are based on long-established stereotypes that are difficult to overcome. However, when the issues are gender-related or social concerns like education, health care, and assistance for the disadvantaged, voters assume that female candidates are more concerned with and prepared to deal with these issues. As a result, voters are more likely to vote for women (Witt et al., 1995).

In the patriarchal society that we are living in today we see that being a woman has a negative effect on gaining support and being successful in politics. Fox and Lawless (2004) contended that the reasons women are less likely to run for offices are due to lack of encouragement from political or non political actors and women doubting their own qualifications. Those female candidates who receive encouragement from party leaders or elected officials and who view themselves as qualified have similar success rates to their male counterparts.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

In this theoretical framework, three theories were examined. They include conflict theory, exit, voice and loyalty theory, and symbolic interaction theory.

### **2.2.1 Conflict Theory**

Conflict theory believes that the progress of equality is liberating for all concerned. Conflict imagery plays a prominent role in public discussion of issues related to the family and leadership today (Lawrence, 1987). According to John (1976), Conflict theory has been employed to an increasing extent by those interested in exploring social processes and social problems. The current interest in Negroes and their problems and

aspirations has resulted in a number of studies which use conflict theory as an important analytical tool.

Conflict theory as applied to the family concentrates, first, on the individual in conflict with others and, second, on conflict between social categories. In other words, the focus is on process and politics. In process, a review of the literature on family power (McCall, 1978) sets forth a theoretical model according to which the individual draws upon power bases (resources) in processes (control attempts) aimed at achieving certain outcomes (control). In politics, Collins subsumes the theory of the family under the theory of sexual stratification. Family organization consists of "stable forms of sexual possession" based on violence (Collins, 1975). Collins's model resembles that of Engels, except for the apparent absence of the first and last stages, a time when sexual equality existed and a time when it will be regained.

Humans will coerce one another when opportunity arises and will resist coercion where possible; human males are usually bigger and stronger than females. Inasmuch as men take advantage of their size and strength, "men will generally be the sexual aggressors and women will be sexual prizes for men" (Collins, 1975).

What we see in this theory is that the society has been dominated by male chauvinist who have always looked down upon women and have taken advantage of their size and strength to manipulate and discriminate them, however the Kenyan constitution comes in as liberator for women by giving them equal chance of opportunity and participation by allowing one third of women into all political and governmental office. The formulation that men take advantage of their strength implies that equality is impossible however;

through intervention by the state through the constitution equality is achievable. Inequality means an imbalance in resources; therefore, equality can only be achieved through actions best described as political (Collins, 1975).

Inequality is an imbalance in resources; the concept of equality does not actually describe a historical stage so much as a condition that social life may more or less approximate. Resources in conflict theory tend to be material resources like; knowledge, power and government programs tend to be seen as resources in need of redistribution. Power is the control that one social category or class exerts over another by virtue of its monopoly of resources. In fact, power sometimes is itself seen as a resource, a possession, instead of a relationship (Collins, 1975).

What we see in this theory is that, there has not been equality between men and women, societies has been competing, one against another, and the strongest emerges victorious. This conflict has been there since the time of Adam and Eve. Conflict theory fits in this research so well because in this research we want to understand the reason as to why women are not involved or given the same platform as men in leadership as they should, why the differences and conflicts. Simmel brings in a very positive idea about conflicts and states that, conflict is a constructive process that could produce meaningful social change and integration within society. He saw conflict as a functional process that could produce integration at higher levels (Witt, 1995).

Coser (1956) observed that conflict is a constructive process that gives rise to social change and can serve an integrating function. In so far as conflict is the resolution of tension between antagonists, it has stabilizing functions and becomes an integrating

component of the relationship. It has been argued that while the sources of conflict are multiple, one particular conflict source among dyadic relationships has been perceived as unequal exchange between partners. There has been no equality in distribution of resources and also in power distribution. The Kenyan constitution has bridged the issue of in equality by apportioning at least two thirds of leadership to men and one third gender rule for women. This theory will help us understand more as to why this rule as not been achieved fully.

### **2.2.2 Exit, Voice and Loyalty Theory**

Local governments are frequently likened to business firms, with the assumption that they, like private firms, must satisfy their citizen-customers in order to remain viable. There are a variety of ways in which local governments might fail to satisfy citizens, however. Perceived waste or corruption in government, taxes that are too high or too inequitable, unequal distribution of power and resources, and deteriorating public services are ready example of bases upon which citizens might view their local government as faltering, and each of these problem has received its share of research attention (Gardiner 1970; Reiss 1971; Yates 1977; Lucier 1980; Lipsky 1981). In principle, these are not the only options for disaffected citizens. Apathy, patient endurance, distancing and substitution of private sector consumption for public goods are also possibilities.

People who are unhappy at work can do a number of things. They can focus attention on their non work interests, doing nothing about their work situation (neglect). They can work to improve the situation, through voice. They can find a better job and quit (exit). Or they can stay and support the organization, responding with loyalty.

Hirschman's analysis is significant because it takes us beyond the mere specification that exit, voice, and loyalty are possible consequences when citizens see problems with their local government. Hirschman is explicitly concerned with the interrelationship of these options. For example, does the existence of the exit option diminish the propensity to use voice? Under what conditions will voice be used, even if the exit option is available? These are significant issues because voice in its many forms provides corrective feedback that can help to get faltering institutions back on track. In their specific application to urban politics, these questions are equally important (Hirschman 1970: 78).

We see that women finally have decided to raise their voices in different forums demanding for equal distribution of resources. For a long time the voice of women have not been heard, till different forums and organizations decided to advocate for the women rights. A good example is the campaign of Women in Development (WID), women and Development (WAD).

### **2.2.3 Symbolic Interaction Theory**

According to Knott (1974), Symbolic interaction may be defined as the cognitive process by which man interacts with his social and physical environment through various tools, i.e. language (symbols), gestures, and signs, in such a manner that he is able to incorporate the ideas of others and past experiences into his unique knowledge system and, thus, to use this information in various situations which demand unique and creative responses. He continues to say that, the human mind does not exist separate and apart from society, but is an emergent factor which arises out of interaction with the various elements of society. Man's unique role-taking ability enables him to work together in harmony with others (in varying degrees) in order to produce the necessities required for

social functioning in general (Meads, 1934). The interactionist perspective maintains that human beings engage in social action on the basis of meanings acquired from social sources, including their own experience. With this idea therefore, we see that, because of this unique ability and different experiences women are able to work together and in harmony with other people irrespective of their gender in transforming the society.

Knott (1974) pointed out that instead of the individual being surrounded by an environment of pre-existing objects which play upon him and call forth his behavior, the proper picture is that he constructs his objects on the basis of his on-going activity. In any of his countless acts—whether minor, like dressing himself, or major, like organizing himself for a professional career—the individual is designating different objects to himself, giving them meaning, judging their suitability to his action, and making decisions on the basis of the judgment (Knott, 1974). Therefore we see because women are part of the society and living with a certain environment we cannot afford to leave them behind or shelf their ideas and input in the society. There is a great need for them to be engaged in the day to day activities and decision making. Humans are both actors and reactors, shaped and shapers, definers of social reality and defined by social reality.

Another major theoretical element is the concept of 'social process'. Man, as an intelligent and self-conscious being, is viewed as constantly changing through symbolic interaction with his environment; and, as a result of his actions, he affects the structural elements of society, which, in turn, brings about changes in the structure of society. Therefore, from an interactionist standpoint, process becomes a highly dynamic idea which assumes an action-oriented concept of society rather than a static conception, such as the structural-functional equilibrium maintaining model of Parsons and others (Shibutani, 1962).



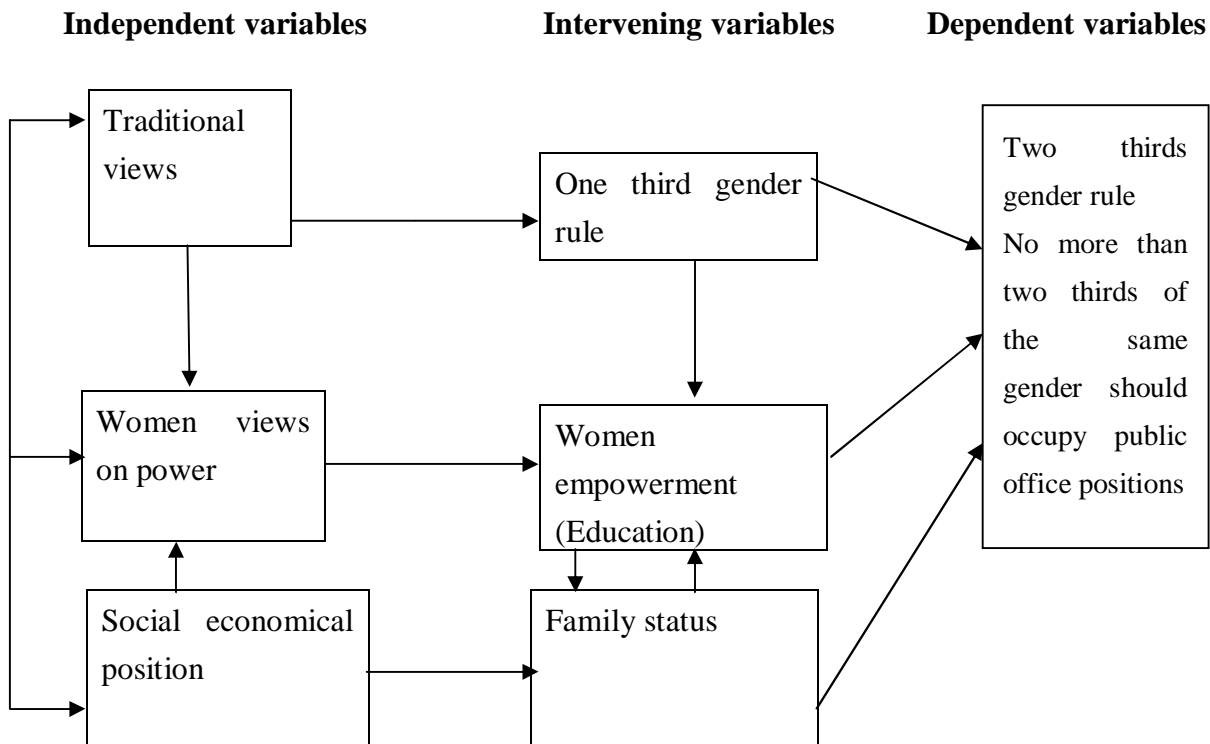
What we see in this theory, is that all human beings are intelligent and they are always interacting with the environment and because of that there is change in the society's constitution which allows women to take part in both social and political leadership in the society. This calls for both women and men to be involved equally in the matters that concern the environment in which they live in. To summarize on the Symbolic interaction theory, we see that both women and men are born into a society characterized by symbolic interaction. The use of significant symbols by others enables them to assimilate information about significant others which, in turn, permits them to take the role of others in order to elicit the proper responses toward their own behavior. This role-taking permits man to share the perspectives of others and leads to cooperative action. Concurrent with role-taking, the self develops, i.e. the capacity to act toward oneself which has been designated as reflective thought.

Symbolic interactionism has also proven to be of value to community organizers who are searching for realistic conceptualizations of society as a basis for their action-oriented programs. That is why the researcher has chosen this theory for this research. On the societal level one may identify interesting similarities between large masses of people and a single person. From an interactionist point of view, the individual self or actor is seen as emerging from the social process and not as a separate, independent entity. In the same fashion, society is viewed as being composed of action units which are dynamically related to one another and actually cannot function independently or separate from other action-units. Men cannot afford to ignore women's ideas and perspective because they are inter-dependent to each other. It is therefore becomes clear that symbolic interactionism provides for 'social action system' to the community problems rather than

the traditional structural-functional analytic approach. An action system consists of the ideologies, institutionalized services, programs, and personnel which are required to meet or to solve a given social problems (Knott, 1974).

### 2.3 Conceptual Framework

This study seeks to examine factors that impact that impede the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved government as specified in the Kenyan constitution focusing on Meru County. The independent variables in this study are: traditional views, women views on power, social economic position. The intervening variables are: the two thirds gender rule, women enlightenment, education, marital status, gender equality and equal opportunities. Dependent variable is the implementation of the one thirds gender rule.



## **2.4 Conclusion**

It is believed that the time has come for people to realize and appreciate that women have both a right and obligation to actively participate in political leadership. Women's participation in political leadership cannot be denied. Women involvement will bring a balance in the decision making process which in most cases is ignored. However, we see that people in many parts of the world have shied away from voting for women in political positions.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research methodology for this study. Basically the chapter is outlining how the research will be carried out. It entails the site description, research design, unit of analysis and units of observation, the target population, sample size and sampling procedures. We shall also look at the methods of data collection, the quantitative and qualitative data, and ethical considerations and finally we shall look at the data analysis.

According to Ellingsen et al. (2010) research methodology applies statistical analysis to the qualitative study of human subjectivity such as attitudes, beliefs, feelings and opinions. Research methodology is effective for obtaining data from small samples, and it offers respondents a concise and valid way of expressing their viewpoints with minimal researcher interference (Ellingsen, 2010). Therefore we see that research design is a blue print for conducting the research that specifies the procedures necessary to obtain the information needed to structure and solve the research problems (Cooper and Shindler, 2003).

### **3.1 Site description**

Meru County is one of the 47 counties of Kenya, located in the formerly Eastern Province. It is the sixth largest urban centre in the country. It has a total population of 1,356,301; 320,616 households and covers an area of 6,936.9 square kilometres. The population density is 195.5 per square kilometre.

<b>General Information (2009)</b>	<b>Meru</b>	<b>Rank</b>	<b>Kenya</b>
Population	1,356,301	7	821,491
Surface area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	6,936	20	12,368
Density	196	23	66
Poverty rate, based on KHIBS (%)	28.3	5	47.2
Share of urban population (%)	12.0	41	29.9
Urban population in largest			
Meru	53,627	41	
Chuka	43,470	54	
Chogoria	28,415	75	
Maua	17,226	96	
Timau	8,333	133	
Nkubu	7,551	138	
Kinna	4,867	173	
Lare	4,614	175	
Mitunguu	3,402	193	

*Source: Commission for Revenue Allocation (2014)*

Meru County is the home of the Ameru (Meru) ethnic group. The Ameru generally fit into the "Bantu" group of people who have been native to the Mt. Kenya area for many, many years — well before colonization of Kenya by Great Britain in the 19th Century. The people of Meru County are now predominantly Christian — Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and other denominations, reflecting the work of missionaries. The county headquarters is in the town of Meru. The current governor of Meru County is Hon. Peter Munya of APK party. Meru County has seven constituencies in total, that is, Meru Central, Meru North, Meru South, Igembe, Ntonyiri, and Buuri.

## **3.2 Research Design**

Research design refers to the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in the procedure (Babbie, 2002).

### **3.2.1 Descriptive Design**

This study used descriptive survey design. According to Kisilu and Tromp (2004), descriptive survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. It can be used when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinion, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues (Orodho and Kombo, 2002).

The reason for using this design is simply because it allows for the collection of data of both the quantitative and qualitative data from a sizeable and manageable population in a very highly economical way for this study. This method is more accurate and very precise and it involves the description of attitudes and opinions in a carefully planned manner. The researcher has chosen this design because it is appropriate in indentifying the factors that impede the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government as specified in the Kenyan constitution focusing on Meru County. It is largely about people's attitude and opinion. Secondary data will also be used, having been sourced from the existing records, published works and other documented sources.

## **3.3 Units of analysis and observation**

The units of analysis for this study are the challenges facing the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government as stipulated in Kenyan constitution:

The case study of Meru County; while the units of observation were the sources of the data that will be analyzed to provide a deep and detailed understanding of the units of our analysis in this study. These units of observation were; the registered voters from whom quantitative data will be collected, key informers will include: the Women representative, (WR) (the voted and not voted) women who vied for other political seats and were not voted, Members of County Assembly (MCA), senior officers in the devolution and county offices, the old men who command and are the custodians of the Meru culture, wisdom and culture, the Chiefs. These provided the researcher with the qualitative data; while the questionnaire that was given provided the researcher with the quantitative data that was analyzed in this research.

### **3.4 Target Population**

A target population is the group that the researcher focuses on. Kisilu and Tromp (2004) observed that when dealing with people, target population can be defined as respondents. The key target population (respondents) for this study will be the registered voters with a great emphasis on women from Meru County.

The choice of Meru County as the case study for this research is informed by the fact that Meru has voted once for a woman as a Member of Parliament since independence in any political office, and yet in the national government we have seen many women from Meru County in very senior positions. The other factor for choosing Meru County is that, the major urban areas in Meru County have become cosmopolitan in character.

### **3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure**

Sample refers to a segment of the population selected for research to represent the population as a whole (Kotler and Armstrong, 2006). Sample size is the number of items, objects or individuals selected for research to represent the population as a whole. Sampling procedure is the process of determining the number of items to represent the whole population. Cooper and Schindler (2003) explained that the basic idea of sampling is, selecting some of the elements in a population, so that the same conclusions can be drawn about the entire population.

#### **3.5.1 Sample size**

Sampling is the procedure a researcher uses to select people, places or things to study. It is a process of selecting a number of individuals or objects from a population such that, the selected group contains elements representative of the characteristics found in the entire group (Orodho and Kombo, 2002).

In this study the researcher was dealing with a sample of registered men and women voters, and therefore they were the respondents that the researcher selected from the large population of voters for the purpose of the survey. The sample size constituted of 120 respondents. Forty five (45) were male and 75 were female while 69 of the respondents were from rural areas and 51 from urban areas.

#### **3.5.2 Sampling Procedures**

The researcher found this procedure fit for this study because it's quite appropriate when dealing with issues related to gender, race or age. Another advantage for this procedure according to Kisilu is that, one is able to represent not only the overall population, but



also key groups of the population, especially small minority groups. For the purpose of this study the sample was stratified on the basis of rural and urban residence as well as gender. Stratified random sampling will generally have more statistical precision than simple random sampling (Kisilu and Tromp, 2014). Probability sampling is quite appropriate because it helps the researcher to draw conclusions and make predictions affecting the population as a whole. The researcher basically used the probability sampling, where he and his assistants randomly selected the respondents; where by the respondents will have an equal chance of being included in the study.

The following was the researcher’s stratified sampling procedure, these includes:

- i) **Residential:** The researcher involved both the rural and urban residence to ensure that the target population in both places was given equal chance of representation.
- ii) **Gender representation:** In order to ensure that every gender is well represented the researcher involved the youth, young adults, the old both male and female

Because of time and resources the researcher used Meru Central and Buuri constituency to collect data. These two represented Meru as a whole.

**Table 3. 1: Distribution of Target Population by Gender and Residence**

Gender	Residence				Total	
	Rural		Urban		N	Percent
	N	Percent	N	Percent		
Male	1600	20.0%	1400	17.5%	3000	37.5%
Female	3000	37.5%	2000	25.0%	5000	62.5%
Totals	4600	57.5%	3400	42.5%	8000	100.0

**Table 3. 2: Distribution of Sample Size by Gender and Residence**

Gender	Residence				Total	
	Rural		Urban			
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Male	24	20.0%	21	17.5%	45	37.5%
Female	45	37.5%	30	25.0%	75	62.5%
Totals	69	57.5%	51	42.5%	120	100.0

### **3.6 Methods of data collection**

Methods of data collection entail a description of the tool that was used to obtain data and how it was tested and administered to the respondents.

#### **3.6.1 Questionnaire**

The researcher used a questionnaire as the primary data collection tool. It was a semi-structured questionnaire with both open ended and closed ended questions. The questionnaire was administered to the registered voters and this provided both quantitative and qualitative data.

#### **3.6.2 Key Informant Interview Guide**

The researcher used Key Informant Interview Guide to collect data from the key informants. The questions were open ended which helped the researcher to gather qualitative data from the leaders and people of influence in Meru County.

#### **3.6.3 Pilot Study**

Before the researcher went to the field, he carried out a pilot study to ensure that his proposed methods and procedures would work in practice before being applied in a large, expensive investigation. It also provided the researcher with an opportunity to make

adjustments and revisions before investing in, and incurring, the heavy costs associated with a large study.

### **3.7 Ethical considerations**

According to Seymour, there are some ethical principles that should be observed in the survey research that is right to privacy, informed consent and confidentiality that should be spelled out before the survey is carried out (Seymour, 1987). He continues to say that, in regards to confidentiality, norms may vary from one situation to another.

There are a number of key principles that describe the system of ethical protections that have been created to try to protect better the rights of their research participants. The principle of voluntary participation, requires that people not be coerced into participating in research. Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation is the requirement of informed consent. Essentially, this means that prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate. Ethical standards also require that researchers not put participants in a situation where they might be at risk of harm as a result of their participation. Harm can be defined as both physical and psychological.

According to Orodho (2014), there are two standards that are applied in order to help protect the privacy of research participants. Almost all research guarantees the participant's confidentiality; they are assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. The stricter standard is the principle of anonymity which essentially means that the participant will remain anonymous throughout the study -- even to the researchers themselves (Orodho, 2014).

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the data analysis and interpretation of the study findings. It starts with the response rate and demographic of the respondents. Results on two thirds gender rule in the constitution and social demographic factors are presented. The chapter ends by presenting results on influence of two thirds gender rule on women vying for political seats.

### **4.2 Response Rate**

The sample of this study was 120 respondents. The filled questionnaires that were filled and analyzed were 100. This translates to a response rate of 83.3%. This response rate was considered adequate for analysis.

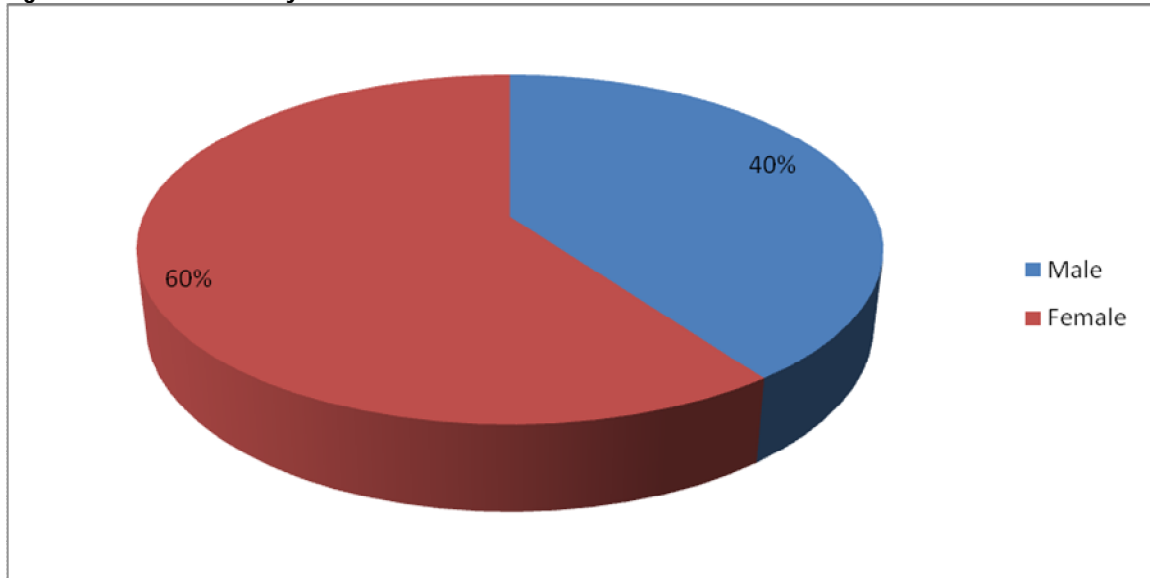
### **4.3 Social and Demographic Characteristics**

#### **4.3.1 Gender Distribution**

Respondents were asked to indicate their gender. According to the study findings, majority of the respondents were female (60%) while 40% of the respondents were male.

This implies that the number of women voters could be slightly higher than that of men. Where voting is expected to be influenced by gender women could determine who gets elected as the results in figure 4.1 show.

**Figure 4. 1: Distribution by Gender**



#### **4.3.2 Age Distribution**

The researcher asked respondents to indicate their age bracket. The results in table 4.1 show that 29% of the respondents were aged 25-30 years while 23% were aged 31-34 years. Only 14% of the respondents were aged below 24 years. Respondents aged 35-39 years were 16% while respondents aged 40-44 years were 6%. Only 4% of the respondents were aged 45-49 years and those aged over 50 years were 8%. These results implies that many of the registered voters are young and middle aged. Their voting behavior could have been inherited from the older generation.

**Table 4. 1: Distribution by Age**

Response	Frequency	Percent
18-24 years	14	14.0
'25-30 years'	29	29.0
'31-34 years'	23	23.0

'35-39 years'	16	16.0
'40-44 years'	6	6.0
'45-49 years'	4	4.0
Over 50 years	8	8.0
Total	100	100.0

### 4.3.3 Distribution by level of education

The researcher wanted to know the level of education of the respondents. Table 4.2 shows that respondents with a college degree were 42% while those with a masters degree were 26%. Respondents with a diploma and college level of education were 14% and 8% respectively. Respondents who indicated that they have primary level of education and college level were 4% for each. These results imply that the registered voters in Meru are literate and therefore illiteracy could not have influenced their voting behavior.

**Table 4. 2: Percent Distribution by level of education**

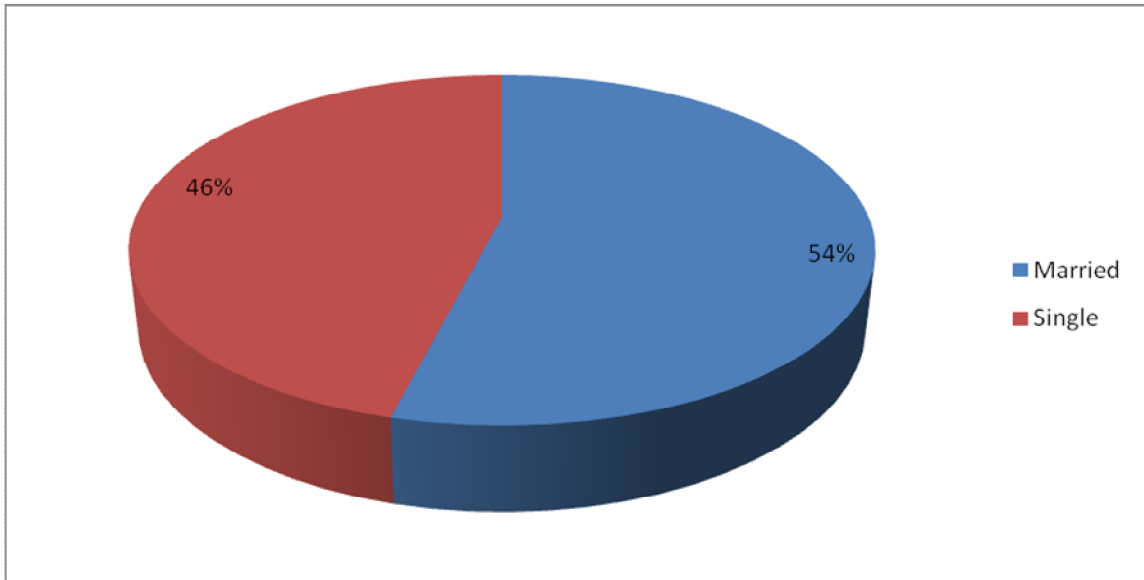
Response	Frequency	Percent
Primary level	4	4.0
Secondary level	8	8.0
College level	4	4.0
Diploma level	14	14.0
Degree level	42	42.0
Masters level	26	26.0
Others	2	2.0
Total	100	100.0

### 4.3.4 Marital Status

The respondents were asked to indicate their marital status. According to the results 54% of the respondents indicated that they are married while 46% of the respondents indicated that they were single (see figure 4.2). Since the results show majority of the registered

voters were in marriage, this could imply that power relations in the household may influence voting behavior.

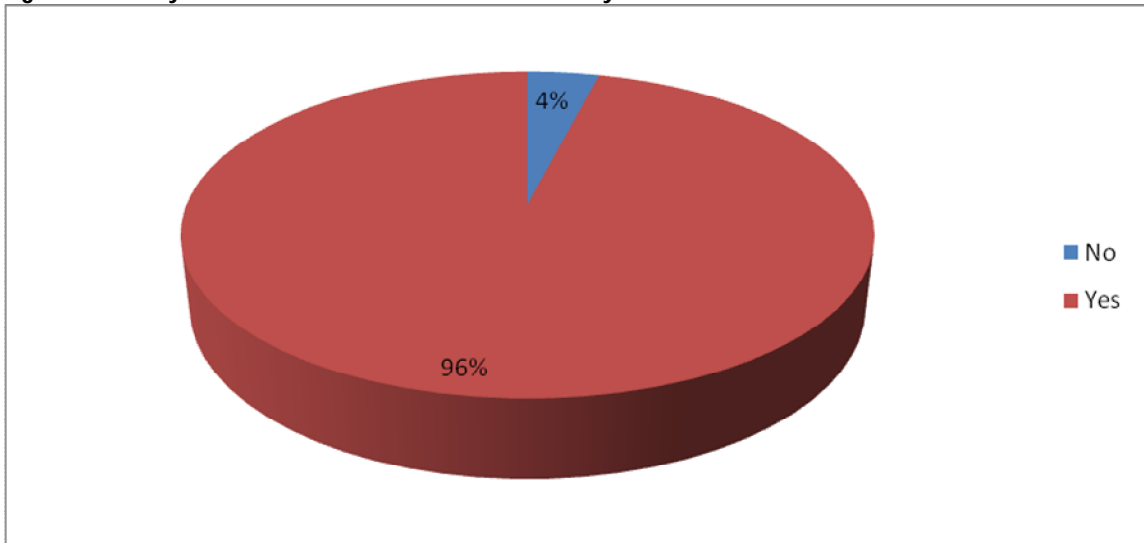
**Figure 4. 2: Marital Status**



#### **4.4 Two Thirds Gender Rule in the Constitution**

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they know what the constitution of Kenya is. The results in figure 4.3 show that majority of the respondents (96%) indicated that they know what the constitution of Kenya is while only 4% indicated they do not know. These results imply that registered voters aware of the constitution but there could be other underlying factors influencing their voting behavior other than what the constitution says about two thirds gender rule.

**Figure 4. 3: Do you know what the Constitution of Kenya is**



#### **4.4.1 Reading of the new Constitution**

The respondents were asked whether they have read Kenya’s constitution that was promulgated in 2010. Results in table 4.3 show that majority of the respondents (79.6%) indicated yes that they have read Kenya’s new constitution of 2010. Respondents who indicated that they have not read it were 20.4%. The results clearly show that registered voters in Meru have read the constitution and therefore are aware of the two thirds gender rule. Failure of its implementation therefore could not have been influenced by lack of awareness.

**Table 4. 3: Response whether the respondent has read the new constitution of 2010**

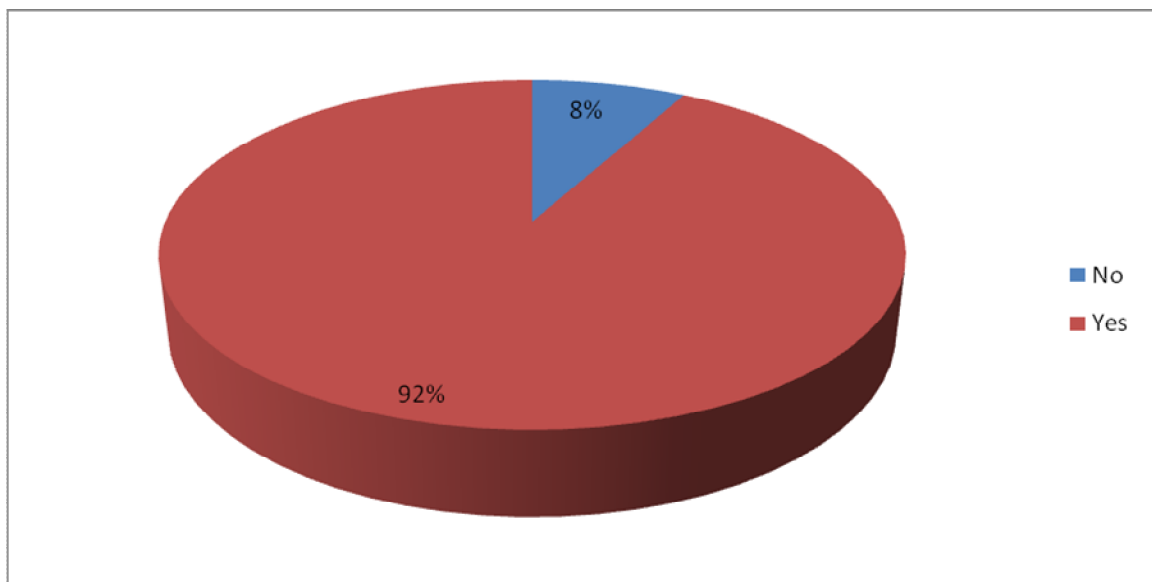
Response	Frequency	Percent
No	20	20.4
Yes	78	79.6
Total	98	100.0



#### 4.4.2 Meaning of the two thirds gender rule

The researcher wanted to know whether the respondents know what the two thirds gender rule means. The results in figure 4.4 show that majority of the respondents (92%) indicated that they know what two thirds gender rule means and only 8% who indicated that they do not know. These results imply that failure to achieve two thirds gender rule cannot be blamed on lack of understanding by the registered voters.

Figure 4. 4: Know what the Two Thirds Gender Rule Means

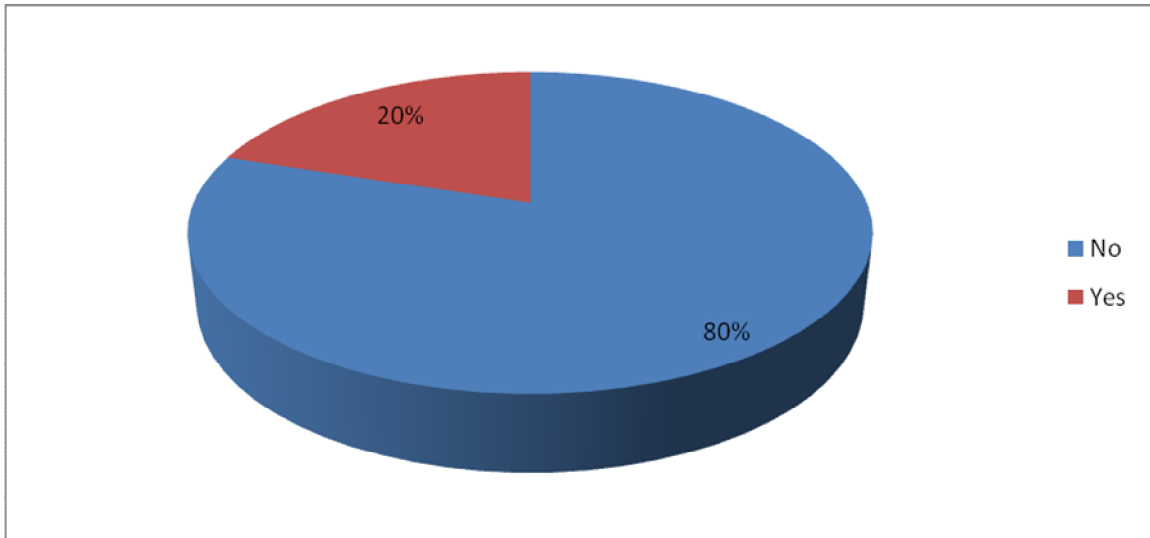


#### 4.4.3 Implementation of the two thirds gender rule

Respondents were asked to give their opinion in regard to whether the two thirds gender rule has been fully implemented. The results in figure 4.5 show that majority of the respondents (80%) indicated no while only 20% of the respondents indicated it has been implemented fully. Registered voters are aware that the two thirds gender rule has not been implemented which could mean that either they do not know that they have the

power to address the situation or do not want to do so due to political and socio-cultural issues.

**Figure 4. 5: Two Thirds Gender Rule has been fully implemented**



#### **4.5 Challenges facing Implementation of the two thirds gender rule**

##### **4.5.1 Cultural Challenges of the Meru people**

The researcher wanted to know the specific challenges facing women in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule. The respondents were asked to indicate these specific challenges that they thought women face in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in Meru County. The respondents gave open responses where they cited cultural challenges in Meru that women should not seek elective positions, fear to challenge men, discrimination, bias, male chauvinism, lack of education, and fierce competition from men who are more qualified.

#### **4.5.2 Socio-economic background**

On the specific challenges facing women in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule, respondents gave open responses where they cited social background of the Meru people, lack of resources, sexual harassment, and women being not fully empowered. The respondents also noted that the society has not fully acknowledged women's leadership abilities as women are viewed as the weaker sex. There is also victimization by male dominance, financial challenges, women classified as children, women termed as non performers and not given crucial roles and also neglected. These views were supported by the key informants who indicated that women face a number of challenges in political campaigns such as lack of finances and less time for campaigns compared to men due to many family responsibilities they have. The key informants also cited family ties and men competitors portraying them as weaklings, gender violence, stigmatization, and intimidation as challenges.

#### **4.5.3 Aggressive Nature of Politics**

According to the study findings, the nature of politics has been described as aggressive and due to feminine nature of women they shy away from engaging in politics. In open responses, respondents cited challenges facing women in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule as the electoral system, and nature of Kenyan politics which is hostile and aggressive. These views were supported by the key informants who indicated that women face a number of challenges in political campaigns in Meru County. They cited biasness, harassment, male chauvinism, dirty nature (abuses in Kenyan political campaigns), and beatings by drunk youths. In addition, key informants noted that irregularities in political party primaries lock women out and there is male domination in

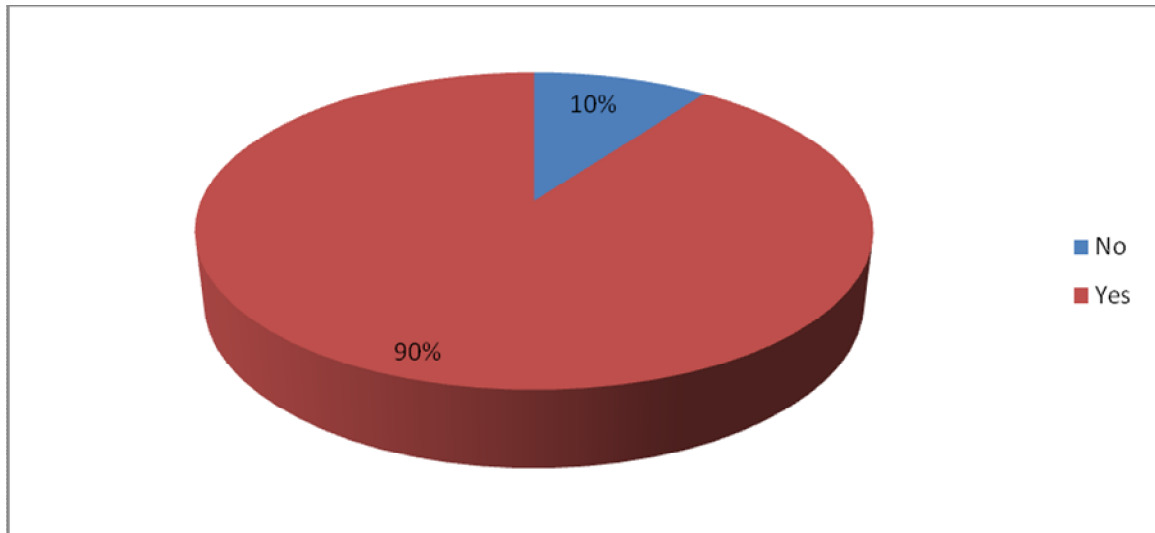
influential decision making structures in most political parties. Key informants revealed that there is also lack of solidarity among women across the political divide and the culture has disadvantaged women aspirants.

#### **4.6 Perceptions on Women and Use of Power**

##### **4.6.1 Cultural Stereotypes**

The researcher wanted to know whether the cultural stereotypes influence the perception of women in any political participation. The results in figure 4.6 show that majority of the respondents (90%) indicated yes while only 10% of the respondents indicated no. This implies that culture is influential among Meru registered voters and significantly determines their voting behavior. This means that unless there is cultural change, the voting behavior is unlikely to change.

**Figure 4. 6: Meru Culture Influence on Political Participation**



#### **4.6.2 Gender respondents would vote for**

The respondents were asked to indicate whom they would vote for between a man and a woman. According to the results in table 4.4, opinion was divided and 40.6% indicated they would vote for a male candidate while 37.5% indicated they would vote for a female candidate. Respondents who indicated they would vote any or either of the two candidates were 21.9%. The results imply that many of the registered voters would still vote based on gender rather than other issues. Many of the respondents still believe that a male candidate is better than a female candidate and this could be ingrained in their social cultural values which are hard to change.

**Table 4. 4: Gender respondents would vote for**

Response	Frequency	Percent
Male candidate	39	40.6
Female candidate	36	37.5
Any/either	21	21.9
Total	96	100.0

#### **4.6.3 Reasons for Gender Bias in Voting**

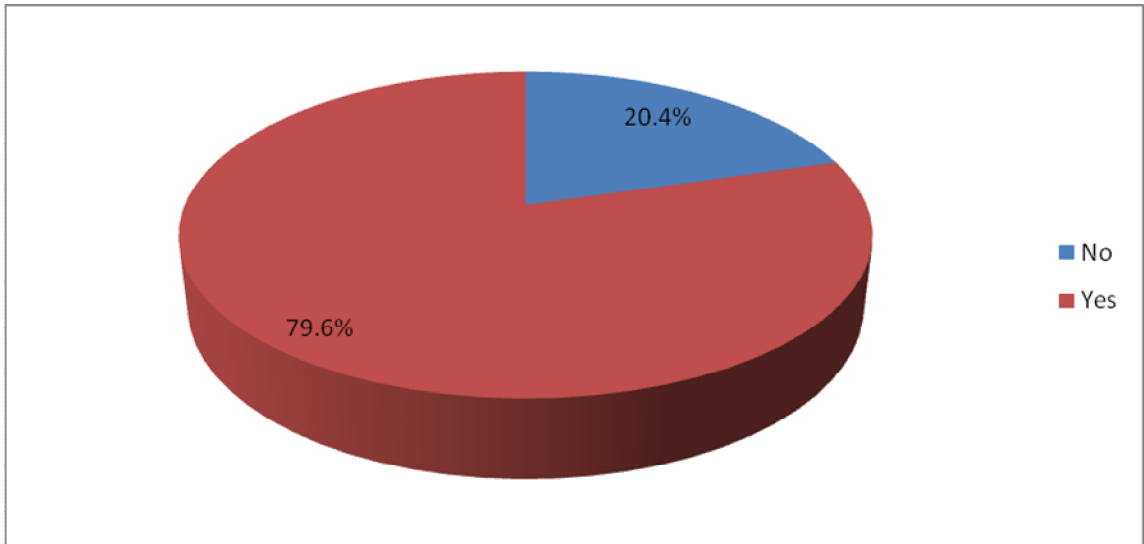
The researcher wanted to know the reasons for the way respondents indicated they would vote. Respondents gave open responses where they cited culture and others indicated that their choice would depend on quality a candidate has on leadership. Some respondents indicated that they do not vote on gender basis while other indicated they would consider a good manifesto. Respondents noted they would look for readiness to perform and would vote for either candidate depending on the objectives of the person. However, there are some respondents who were of the opinion that men are generally well skilled especially during campaigns but women are less corrupt. A section of the respondents indicated they would vote for a female candidate because they have been discriminated for a long time while others indicated that they believe that woman can deliver like male counterpart.

Key informants observed that majority of leaders in Meru County are men because many voters despise women and many women of Meru County shy away from vying for top positions. Key informants also noted that some women also like deputizing rather than heading organizations while most of elective positions were captured by men. This is because many men have higher chances of being elected than women due to Meru culture that men are better placed to be leaders and not women. The key informants concluded that since they were elected by people and ours is a democracy. People should respect that since men were voted for by their electorates.

The researcher wanted to know whether or not the constituency of residence determines the voting pattern for female candidate in Meru County. The results in figure 4.7 show that majority of the respondents (79.6%) indicated yes while 20.4% indicated no. this

implies regional politics also influence voting patterns in Meru County. This could affect implementation of two thirds gender rule.

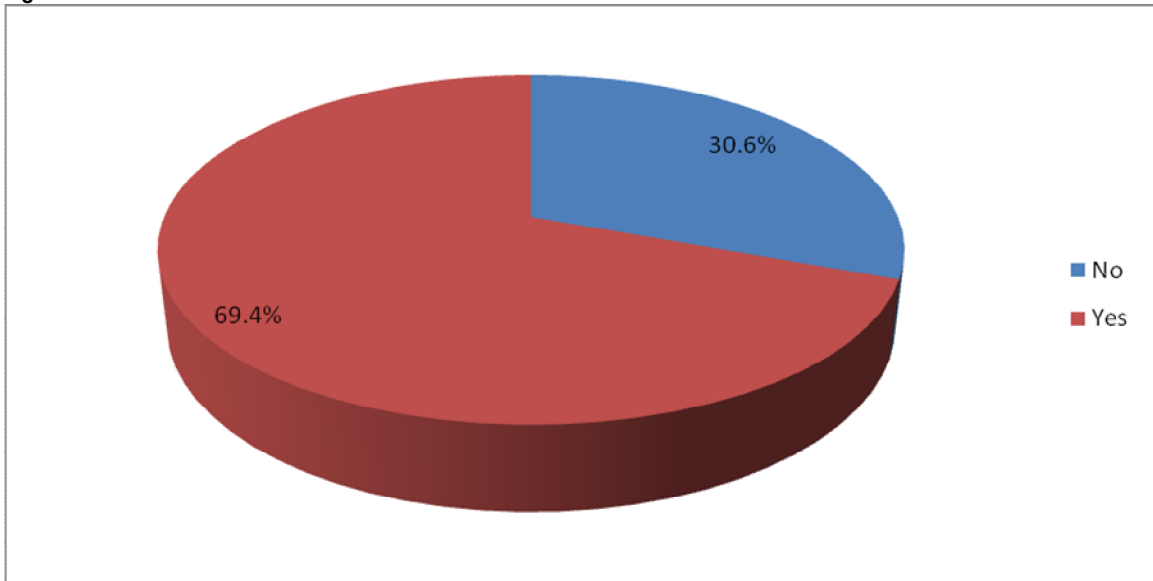
**Figure 4. 7: Residence and Voting Pattern**



#### **4.6 Influence of Two Thirds Gender Rule on Women Vying for Political Positions**

The respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on whether two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for various positions during the last elections of 2013. Results in figure 4.8 show that majority of the respondents (69.4%) indicated yes while 30.6% indicated no. These results imply that although two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented and faces a number of challenges, it at least influenced women to vie for political seats.

**Figure 4. 8: Two Thirds Gender Rule Influenced Women to Vie**



The researcher sought further explanation from respondents who felt that two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for various positions during the last elections of 2013. Respondents gave open responses explaining that it is because women knew that they are disadvantaged and therefore the voters shall recognize them. Some respondents noted that in Meru particularly there has never been an elected woman Member of Parliament (MP) so the election opened up minds of community members and many women came up to vie for women representative seats. Respondents also gave open responses indicating that women were motivated by the fact that the case of a county Member of Parliament in every county that called for women candidates only and these vacancies were provided for by the constitution. However, some respondents were not pleased and they expressed their displeasure as they indicated that women came out to vie for leadership because they waited to be nominated freely to increase ‘our’ wage bill for nothing.



Key informants noted that new constitution has an impact on the number of female candidates vying for political positions in Meru County. This was because new vacancies have been created such as a high number of Members of County Assembly (MCAs), nominated women and creation of government offices for women. Key informants also observed that the number of elected women in elective posts have increased significantly as seen among Meru County Assembly members (MCAs) and the Women County Representative position introduced an MP which drew several participants.

The researcher sought the opinion of the respondents on why they thought that women from Meru County have not had much interest in taking part in national political participation. Respondents gave open responses indicating that it is because of the culture as women are seen as weak and of no opinion in Meru politics. In open responses, respondents also indicated that currently women are participating in national politics though previously the community had no faith in women. Respondents gave open responses where they cited the fact that social set-up portrayed women as only who should deputize men. In addition, respondents also indicated it is because some think politics is a dirty game while others think it is reserved for men. Respondents cited that women in Meru lack empowerment.

The researcher asked respondents to indicate the extent they agree or disagree with a number of statements in relation to perception of Meru people in regards to women and power. According to the study findings in table 4.5, respondents agreed that women can manage both family and leadership ( $M=4.13$ ,  $SD=1.118$ ). The respondents fairly agreed that women are better leaders than men ( $M=3.38$ ,  $SD=1.328$ ), women are good in policy making ( $M=3.64$ ,  $SD=1.229$ ) and an educated woman is best in leadership ( $M=3.3$ ,

SD=1.494). However, respondents disagreed that a woman can easily vote for another woman (M=2.66, SD=1.3).

**Table 4. 5: Strength of agreement/disagreement with statements related to women and power**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Fairly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total		
						Percent	Mean	N
Women are better leaders than men	12.2%	16.3%	15.3%	33.7%	22.5%	100.0%	3.38	98
A woman can easily vote for another woman	24.5%	22.4%	25.5%	17.3%	10.3%	100.0%	2.66	98
Women are good in policy making	12.2%	4.1%	13.3%	48.0%	22.4%	100.0%	3.64	98
Women can manage both family and leadership	8.2%	0.0%	7.1%	39.8%	44.9%	100.0%	4.13	98
An educated woman is best in leadership	20.4%	10.2%	17.3%	23.5%	28.6%	100.0%	3.3	98

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter covers the summary of the study findings, conclusions made from the study findings and recommendations of the study.

### **5.2 Summary of the Findings**

The general objective of this study was to examine factors that impede the implementation of the two third gender rule in the devolved government as specified in the Kenyan constitution focusing on Meru County. The specific objectives of this study were: To find out how the two thirds gender rule is being implemented in Meru County; to investigate the specific challenges facing the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved government of Meru County; to indentify social and demographic factors influencing perceptions on women and power among Meru people; and to determine the extent in which the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for the national assembly in Meru County.

This study used descriptive survey design to achieve these objectives. A semi-structured questionnaire was administered to a sample of 120 respondents. A response rate of 83.3% was achieved where 100 of the administered questionnaires were filled and returned for analysis. Nine interviews were also conducted with key informants using key informant guide. Qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods were used to analyze data. Results of qualitative data were presented in narrative form while the results of quantitative data were presented in charts and tables.

The study revealed that there is understanding on what the two thirds gender rule means (92%). However, the results have shown that the two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented (80%). The study established that a number of challenges are responsible for impeding women to go for political positions and attain the two thirds gender rule. These challenges include cultural challenges, fear to challenge men, male chauvinism, lack of education, fierce competition, discrimination, socio-cultural background, lack of resources, the electoral system and nature of Kenyan politics which is hostile and aggressive. The study established that in Meru, culture influence the perception of women in any political participation (90%). These results are in line with Pietila (1990) who noted that sex, attitude, beliefs, prejudice and myths are much more deeply rooted in the basic structures and human behavior than are many other customs, norms and traditions.

The study revealed that the majority of leaders in Meru County are men because many voters despise or look down upon women and many women of Meru County shy away from vying for top positions. The study established that many men have higher chances of being elected than women due to Meru culture that men are better placed to be leaders and not women. These results confirm Witt's (1995) observation that women have had a more difficult time getting elected to these political positions. The difficulty of being elected as political leaders according to Witt (1995) is associated with the possibility that voters may be more comfortable with electing women to the legislature than to executive office. This difficulty according to Witt (1995) appears to be due to voters' stereotyping of candidates and of political offices based on the expected policy issues that these offices address.

According to the results of the study, the constituency background determines the voting pattern for female candidate in Meru County (79.6%). The study established that the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for various positions during the last elections of 2013 (69.4%). The study findings revealed that in Meru County there has never been an elected woman Member of Parliament so the 2013 election opened up minds of community members and many women came up to vie for women representative seats. On the perception of Meru people in regards to women and power, the study established that Meru people agree that women can manage both family and leadership (M=4.13, SD=1.118) but fairly agree that women are better leaders than men (M=3.38, SD=1.328), women are good in policy making (M=3.64, SD=1.229) and an educated woman is best in leadership (M=3.3, SD=1.494). these findings are in agreement with an observation by the World Bank which noted that women have the capability of being good leaders and people have an opportunity to prove this (World Bank. 2007; 145). However, the study results have shown that Meru people disagreed that a woman can easily vote for another woman (M=2.66, SD=1.3).

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This study concluded that there is awareness on two thirds gender rule and what it means in Meru County. Despite this awareness, two thirds gender rule has not been fully implemented. This study concluded that social demographic factors influence two thirds gender rule implementation. The society and culture has not been supportive of the two thirds gender rule in Meru County. The Meru culture does not regard role of women in leadership highly and those that go for leadership positions are viewed in bad light. There are deterrents for women to go for leadership positions and also those who defy these

deterrents are faced with a lot of challenges when they vie. The study concluded that two thirds gender rule influenced women on vying for political positions. The vacancies reserved for women have made many come out and vie. The high number of women leaders also has an impact on the perceptions by the Meru society which can be changed through embracing and appreciating women leadership.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

### **5.4.1 Policy Recommendations**

This study recommends that the Commission for Implementation of Constitution should focus more on ensuring that challenges impeding two thirds gender rule implementation are addressed in Meru County.

The study recommends central government and county government should come together to ensure that challenges affecting two thirds gender rule implementation in Meru County and across the country are addressed.

The study recommends that voters in Meru County should be educated through civic education and advocacy campaigns to give women a chance in leadership so as to engage them in implementation of two thirds gender rule.

The study recommends that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission should work together to change the aggressive nature associated with politics in Kenya. This will encourage more women to vie for political leadership and provide the opportunity to implement two thirds gender rule which can only be implemented in an

environment where every candidate is given a fair chance of participation and are able to conduct their campaigns without any harassment.

This study also recommends that the political parties should conduct their party nominations in an orderly manner and ensure that they meet the two thirds gender rule. Their mechanisms of nominating candidates should not lock out women from leadership posts.

#### **5.4.2 Recommendations for Further Research**

The study recommends that further research should be done on two thirds gender rule implementation in other counties in Kenya. Further studies should focus on ways to counter negative culture that impede women from taking leadership positions in Meru County and Kenya in general. Future scholars should also work out a formula to encourage women aspirants rather than having them nominated to political positions.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE REGISTERED VOTERS**

This questionnaire consists of three sections. Kindly answer all the questions in the space provided or by ticking (√) in the correct box.

**SECTION A**

1. Your gender is    Male (   )            Female (   )
  
2. What is your age bracket?    Tick whichever appropriate  
  
Below 24 years (   )            25-30 years (   )  
31-34 years (   )                35-39 years (   )  
40-44 Years (   )                45-49 years (   )  
Over 50 years (   )
  
3.    What is your highest education level? (Tick as applicable)  
  
Primary level (   )            Secondary level (   )  
College level (   )            Diploma level (   )  
Degree level (   )            Masters Level (   )  
Others Specify.....
  
4. Marital status  
Married (   )                    Single (   )  
Separated (   )                 Divorced (   )  
Widow (   )                      Widower (   )

**SECTION B**

**i) Two thirds gender rule in the constitution**

5. Do you know what the constitution of Kenya is?    Yes (   )            No (   )
  
6. Have you ever read the Kenya's constitution that was promulgated in 2010?  
Yes (   )    NO (   )
  
7. Do you know what the two thirds gender rule means? Yes (   )    No (   )

8. In your opinion do you think the two thirds gender rule as been fully implemented? Yes ( ) No ( )

**ii) The specific Challenges facing women in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule**

9. What do you think are some specific challenges women face in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in the devolved Government of Meru County?

- i) .....
- ii) .....
- iii) .....

**iii) Social and demographic factor**

10. In your opinion, does the Meru Culture influence the perception of women in any political participation? Yes ( ) No ( )

11. In your own opinion, whom would you vote for? Male candidate ( ) Female Candidate ( )

And why?.....

12. Does the constituency background determine the voting pattern for female candidate in Meru County Yes ( ) No ( )

**iv) Two thirds gender rule influence women in vying for political seats**

13. In your opinion, do you think the two thirds gender rule influenced women to vie for various positions during the last elections of 2013? Yes ( ) No ( )  
If yes

.....  
.....  
.....

14. In your opinion why do you think women From Meru have not had any interest in taking part in any national political participation

.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION C**

**15. To what extent do you agree with the following statements in relation to the perception of Meru people in regards to women and power? In this section tick in the correct answer. 5 (strongly agree) 4 (agree) 3 (fair agree) 2 (Disagree) 1 (Strongly Disagree)**

<b>Statement</b>	1	2	3	4	5
Women are better leaders than men					
A woman can easily vote for another woman					
Women are good in policy making					
Women can manage both family and leadership					
An educated woman is best in leadership					

**APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE KEY INFORMANTS**

**Section A**

1. Your gender is Male ( ) Female ( )
2. What is your age bracket? Tick whichever appropriate

Below 24 years ( )                      25-30 years ( )  
31-34 years ( )                      35-39 years ( )  
40-44 Years ( )                      45-49 years ( )  
Over 50 years ( )

3. What is your highest education level? (Tick as applicable)

Primary level ( )                      Secondary level ( )  
College level ( )                      Diploma level ( )  
Degree level ( )                      Masters Level ( )  
Others Specify.....

4. Marital status

Married ( )                      Single ( )  
Separated ( )                      Divorced ( )  
Widow ( )                      Widower ( )

1. State three challenges that women face in Political campaigns in Meru County

- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)

In your opinion have men and women been treated equally in the implementation of the two thirds gender rule in Meru County? Yes ( )                      No ( )

2. Do you think the new Kenyan constitution has increased the number of male and female candidate vying for political and electoral position in Meru County?  
Yes ( )                      No ( )



Explain.....  
.....

3. Who are the majority leaders in Meru County government?

Male ( )          Female ( )

Explain.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

4. Who hold the key positions in the Meru County government?