PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN KENYA’S LEGISLATIVE PROCESS 1963-2017

BY

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C82/ 27041/2014

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.

MAY 2020
DECLARATION

I confirm that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other University/Institution for certification.

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DEDICATION

To the Almighty God who has cared for me all my life, inspired me and led me to this level; to my family members who have been very supportive throughout this study; to my mother for the prayers and encouragement, and to all the respondents and players who enabled me to complete this study.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Thirdly, I would like to thank the staff members of parliament for their immense support in securing appointments with the respondents in parliament. My gratitude to the staff at Kenyatta university library and other staff at the university for the guidance and support during the study.

To the many other persons who assisted me in one way or the other, and whom I may not mention, I say thank you and God bless you all!
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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>Affirmative Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSC</td>
<td>Parliamentary Service Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMWIK</td>
<td>Association of Media Women in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>Africa Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPFA</td>
<td>Beijing Platform for Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMD</td>
<td>Centre for Multiparty Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPST</td>
<td>Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWL</td>
<td>Caucus for Women Leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CREAW</td>
<td>Centre for Rights Education and Awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAWN T.</td>
<td>Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORD</td>
<td>Coalition for Reform and Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CKRC</td>
<td>Constitution of Kenya Review Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSW</td>
<td>Commission on Status of Women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIDA</td>
<td>Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAD</td>
<td>Gender and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROOTs</td>
<td>Grassroots Organizations Operating Together in Sisterhood Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IED</td>
<td>Institute for Education and Democracy (IED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRI</td>
<td>International Republican Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPU</td>
<td>Inter-Parliamentray Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPPG</td>
<td>Inter Party Parliamentray Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>KEWOPA</td>
<td>Kenya Women Parliamentary Association.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KWJA</td>
<td>Kenya Women Judges Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWPC</td>
<td>Kenya Women Political Caucus</td>
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<tr>
<td>KHRC</td>
<td>Kenya Human Rights Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>LWV</td>
<td>League of Women Voters</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Member of County Assembly</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYWO</td>
<td>Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NACOSTI.</td>
<td>National Council for Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCWK</td>
<td>National Council for Women in Kenya</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGEC</td>
<td>National Gender and Equality Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSC</td>
<td>Parliamentary Service Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>RVI</td>
<td>Rift Valley Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPSS</td>
<td>Statistical Package for Social Sciences.</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN Women</td>
<td>United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United State Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Women’s Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WDR</td>
<td>World Development Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEL</td>
<td>Women Empowerment Link</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WID</td>
<td>Women in Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAD</td>
<td>Women and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSP</td>
<td>Women Shadow Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WPA-K</td>
<td>Women Political Alliance-Kenya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

3-Fold Mandate The representation, legislation, and oversight roles/obligations bestowed on Members of Parliament.

August House The Kenyan Parliament or a “Respected House” of Honorable Persons which performs legislative functions in the country.

Bicameral Parliament: The two Legislative Chambers in Kenya parliament; the National Assembly and the Senate Chambers.

Competitive Politics: Competition for political power to acquire the ability to shape and control the content and direction of public policy and/or influence the official governmental decision making and action on public policy.

Contribution Making input into parliamentary debates, committees, and legislative process by women members of parliament.

De facto one-party state: State allows for multiparty elections but has a dominant party system and engages in practices that prevent the opposition from winning the elections.

De jure single party state: The state has a legal system which prevents any other party from existing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Economic status:</strong></th>
<th>An individual's wealth position in relation to others, based on income and occupation.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender:</strong></td>
<td>Socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities and attributes that the society in Kenya consider appropriate for men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender agenda:</strong></td>
<td>Active engagement in a range of processes, advocacy and support to improve the legal recognition for the female gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender equality:</strong></td>
<td>Equal rights, responsibilities and economic, political and social opportunities for women, men, girls and boys in Kenya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender Machinery:</strong></td>
<td>Institutions set up in the country to promote women’s advancement and ensure non-discrimination and equality between women and men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House Business</strong></td>
<td>Sequence of the matters to be dealt with in a Parliamentary sitting called Orders of the Day, under the direction of the Speaker by the authority of the parliamentary Business Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inclusive Leadership:</strong></td>
<td>Practice of leadership that carefully includes the contributions of all stakeholders at all levels of decision making.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Leader: A person who is politically active especially in party politics, holding a political office, whether elected or appointed, and whether professionally or otherwise. The leadership ranges from local to the national offices, to support and/or execute representation and legislative roles, such as, in Parliament.

Opinion leader: Appointed political leader in Parliament to influence decisions made by party or coalition members in Parliament.

Participation: Contributing to the parliamentary debates, committees, and tabling motions and bills by women members of parliament.

Performance: Delivery of bills which translate into laws that benefit women and men in Kenya by the women legislators either by sponsoring the bills or contributing to the debates.

Political leader: A person who is involved in influencing public policy and decision making or seeking those positions, whether by means of election, appointment, or through nomination means.

Political will: Motive force which generates political action.
**Political participation:** Any activity that shapes, affects, or involves the political sphere or seeking to influence or support government and politics.

**Political status:** An individual ability to influence the society in a certain way, especially in development and politics.

**Social status:** An individual ability to influence the community in a certain way based on education, occupation, accomplishments, or other factors.

**Welfare of women:** Taking measures in legislation to develop laws and policies which address the needs and priorities of women in social, economic and political spheres.

**Women’s movement:** Groups of people and organizations who believe that women should have the same rights and opportunities in society as men, and aim at securing legal, economic, and social equality for women.
ABSTRACT

Since independence up to the 11th Parliament (1963 to 2017) in Kenya, the increase in the number of women in Parliament has been slow. The highest ever attained number was 86 in the 11th parliament (2013-2017) save for affirmative action. Though the number of women MPs in Kenya has been low (160) since independence to the 11th Parliament, compared to male MPs (1,832), there has been an average achievement in delivering the gender agenda in the country. The gradual increase in numbers of women MPs since independence has not translated into a significant increase in delivery of the gender agenda (UN Women 2017). The objectives of this study are: establishing bills tabled by women MPs since independence to 11th Parliament that could benefit the welfare of women in Kenya, evaluating achievements by women parliamentarians since independence to 11th parliament in delivering bills which translate into laws, examining the challenges encountered by women MPs in executing their legislative roles during the study period, and determining the best strategies and support that can enhance performance of women legislatures in delivering bills and laws that benefit women in Kenya, to bridge any knowledge gap identified in the study. The study applied the Theory of Change as expounded by Avril Blamey and Mhairi Mackenzie (Vogel,2012), to explore new possibilities and environment for political change in order to deliver the gender agenda. Descriptive survey and interview schedules were used. The target population was 160 women MPs, elected or nominated, in Parliament during the study period. Due to the small target population, a sample size of 46 respondents were sampled by stratified random sampling and purposive sampling for the study. The sampling criteria was 10 percent sample in each strata (Mugenda, 2003). Women who had served for more than one term or held key positions in Parliament during the study period were purposively sampled for in-depth information including opinion leader in Parliament, leaders of women organizations and academia. Face to face interviews with the respondents were done. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics that entailed mean scores and standard deviations. Quantitative data was presented in frequency distribution tables, pie charts, and bar graphs to summarize and organize it so as to explain relationships among categories. Qualitative data was categorized into common themes, presented in narrative and verbatim forms. Women did not contribute equally in Parliament with respect to moving bills that had impact on women’s welfare in Kenya. This was mainly attributed to lack of experience in the legislative process and parliamentary procedures which could be addressed through capacity building and support networks. In conclusion, the performance of women in parliament since independence up to 11th parliament had an average mean score of below 3.0 (mean<3.0). The study recommended that the State, political Parties, Civil Society Organizations and other stakeholders should support capacity development for women in Parliament, for a transformative institutional change.
CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the background information to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions. It also contains significance, justification, scope, and limitations of the study.

Historical background to women participation in the political process in Kenya

Globally, the participation of women and men in formal and informal decision-making structures varies greatly between countries but is generally in favour of men (Waring, 2011). Institutional as well as cultural, economic and societal factors limit women’s opportunities and abilities to participate in decision making. Women’s low political representation is therefore often used as an indicator of gender inequality (Waring, 2011). Specifically, the ‘proportion of seats held by women in national Parliament’ was chosen as one of the three indicators to measure progress on the Millennium Development Goal number 3 (MDG 3) on gender equality and women’s empowerment. The same indicator was identified by the
Kenyan Government as one of the thirty-four gender specific indicators to measure progress on Sustainable Development Goal number 5 (SDG 5) on gender equality towards achieving Vision 2030 (UN Women, 2017). Women are underrepresented not only in the political sphere but also in decision making within the private sector, at the village level and in civil society. At the local level, men usually dominate positions of power, including religious and traditional leadership, local politicians and village elders (Waring, 2011).

Globally, women remain sidelined from the structures of governance that determine political and legislative priorities (IRI, 2016). In 1999, women occupied less than nine percent of all ministerial positions in the executive branch. Today, women represent 17.2 percent of the worldwide ministerial positions, and hold only 13 out of 193 heads of government positions, which is 6.7 percent (IRI, 2016). In global terms the number of women in national Parliaments has only increased by 0.1 percentage point from 23.3 percent in 2016 to 23.4 percent in 2017 (IPU, 2017). There was no change in the overall average of women in Parliaments despite the increase in percentage of seats won by women in the 2017 parliamentary elections worldwide (IPU, 2017). However, more seats were won by women in the elections held in 2017 than in previous years: 27.1 percent compared with 22.3 percent in 2016. This was largely due to quotas allocated to women (IRI, 2016). In the twenty countries where the quotas were used, women won over 30 percent of the seats, while only 15.4 percent of the seats were won by women in the 16 countries where quotas
were not used (IRI, 2016). For instance, Senegal (41.8 percent) and Norway (41.4 percent) elected the highest percentages of women in 2017 (Ibid) due to electoral quotas.

Parliaments are important, not just for democracy but also for gender and development. Worldwide, women’s average share of parliamentary membership nearly doubled between 1995 and 2015, from 11.3 percent in 1995 to 22.1 percent in 2015 (IRI, 2016). Women’s share gained ground in almost ninety percent of the 174 countries whose 1995 and 2015 data is available (IPU, 2015). Over the same period, the number of single and lower houses with more than thirty percent women parliamentarians grew from five to forty-two, and those with more than forty percent grew from one to thirteen in number. By 2017, three Houses of Parliament surpassed the 50 percent threshold, with one moving beyond 60 percent women parliamentarians (IPU, 2017). In Latin America, Cuba had 53.2 percent, closely followed by Bolivia (53.1 percent.) In North America, Mexico had 48.2 percent women representation in Parliament (Ibid). In Europe, Sweden is currently leading with 46.1 percent followed by Finland forty two percent, Norway forty one percent and Belgium thirty eight percent (IPU, 2017).

This progress was facilitated by electoral gender quotas which by 2017 had spread to all corners of the globe existing in one form or another in more than 120 countries (Ibid). In Asia, Taiwan had thirty four percent women representation, and elected the
first woman President in January 2016. Taiwan was followed by Afghanistan with 27.7 percent, Pakistan, 20.6 percent and Bangladesh, 20.3 percent (IPU 2017). Egypt, Iraq, and Nepal legislatively provide for quotas for women candidates (IPU, 2015). Nepal has a 29 percent legislated quota for women while Afghanistan has twenty eight percent. Pakistan and Bangladesh have 20% seats reserved for women. The provision for voluntary political party quotas in some countries that encourage and ensure women’s participation in the political process explains why globally some countries are ahead of others in women representation in Parliaments (UN Women, 2017).

The top ten highest ranking countries on representation of women in Parliament which were dominated by eight European countries in 1995, now include three in Sub-Saharan Africa, three in Europe and four in America (IPU, 2017). In Africa, Rwanda has surpassed developed countries in terms of equitable gender representation in Parliament with 61.3 percent and 38.5 percent of the members in the Lower House and Upper House respectively being women (Ibid). Rwanda is an example of the new trend of using gender quotas in the electoral process to fast-track gender balance in politics (UN Women, 2017). Other leading countries in Africa include Namibia 46.2 percent, South Africa 42.3 percent, Senegal 41.8 percent, and Mozambique 39.6 percent. (IPU, 2017). In the Eastern Africa, Ethiopia comes second after Rwanda at 38.8 percent, followed by Tanzania 37.2 percent, Burundi 36 percent, Uganda 33 percent, Sudan 30 percent, South Sudan 28.5 percent and Kenya
23.3 percent. Kenya is lagging behind in the region (IPU, 2017). Sudan at 30 percent is coming up fast in the region. The cases of Rwanda, South Africa, Cape Verde and Uganda respectively have made it clear that the combined force of critical mass and gender machinery translate into governance that actively works to correct social, economic and cultural gender imbalances (IRI, 2016). However, although there is significant change in passing the gender responsive laws and policies in the region, women are still struggling for gender equality at all levels.

Globally, gender unresponsive policies have had far reaching consequences on women's present positions in societies, which the male biases in post-colonial policy-making have done little to correct (Mupanduki, 2007). In Francophone, Lusophone and Anglophone Africa, women were generally positioned in Catholic, Victorian and other paradigms of domesticity. These paradigms entirely distorted the role of women in the society and resulted in them being viewed as best suited for roles such as farmers, breadwinners, household heads and political activists (Ibid).

The emphasis among many African governments on liberal and externally driven models of development for women is an enduring problem at the start of the 21st century (Mupanduki, 2007). Women around the world often face daunting social, economic, and political challenges (Ibid). Democratic governments must justly address internal and external conditions and factors that hinder the creation of an enabling environment for women’s political empowerment (UN Women, 2014).
In Kenyan history, the quest for gender equality in legislative and decision-making platforms has been largely unsuccessful. The formation of the pre-independence political parties sidelined women. In the recorded history of the Kenya African Union (KAU), (later the Kenya Africa National Union), Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), no women are mentioned (Ndungo, 2012). The role of women in Kenya’s struggle for independence has also been downplayed in history literature. This is despite the fact that many women played an active role in the country’s fight for independence. For instance, Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru lost her life trying to release Harry Thuku who had been arrested by the colonialists. Harry Thuku was one of the pioneers of African nationalism in Kenya (Owuor, 2016). He denounced the Kenyan colonial government after seeing colonial officials neglect African welfare (Ibid). He was especially active among Kenyan women, encouraging them to boycott British products and programmes. Kenyan women gave him the name Munene wa Nyacing’a, or chief of the women (Owuor, 2016). He was imprisoned by British authorities for the second time on March 14th, 1922. His supporters went on strike and demanded his release (Ibid). A clash on March 16th between colonial police and a crowd of 8,000 of Thuku’s followers took place outside a Nairobi police station (Owuor, 2016). Twenty-one people that included Mary Muthoni Nyanjiru died in the attack. Thuku was released and exiled to Northern Kenya from 1922 to 1931 (Ibid). Mekatilili wa Menza who led the Giriama people against the British colonialists was another woman who acted as a leader in the liberation struggle (Ndungo, 2012).
The role of women in constitution making in Kenya has also been downplayed. The team which participated in the first Lancaster talks in 1960 and the second in 1962 did not include women. Historical sources show that there were 70 men who participated in the second Lancaster House Conference and one woman, Priscilla Abwao, whose role was that of an observer or typist (Ndungo, 2012). She may have trained as a social worker and was highly regarded for her pioneering efforts in women's empowerment. She was proposed for nomination along with Margaret Kenyatta by The Kenya African Women’s League. The Governor chose Abwao (Owuor, 2016). However, there are indications that her attempts to present a written memorandum on behalf of all Kenyan African women were thwarted when her paper was snatched and shredded by a male colleague (Ndungo, 2012). She has been quoted in the Conference Report to have said that Kenyan women were not demanding anything more than what was due to them. 'We are not asking for a special position for ourselves. We are asking to be treated as equal partners in the new society which we are creating',” Her pleas went unheard (Owuor, 2016). This meant that, at Lancaster, the negotiations between African and European men entrenched the gender inequality in political leadership and decision-making in pre-independence era in Kenya.

The status of Kenyan women deteriorated during the colonial rule (Kamau, 2010). It was significantly affected by the coming of colonialists as the colonial laws disrupted and displaced women’s gender roles (Ibid). During pre-colonial era, women were to some extent subordinate to men. Under the African Customary
Law, the roles of men and women were complementary in nature in many respects, although Kenya’s traditional culture was predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal (Ibid). Pre-colonial women wielded social and political influence through indirect methods.

After independence, most African governments either came under pressure to maintain the “customary” patterns of authority instituted under colonialism or had vested interests in their preservation. Green, citing Jana Everett, observed that it was during the process of state consolidation and expansion that gender inequalities became particularly instrumental in elite survival strategies (Mupanduki, 2007).

**Political dispensation in Kenya**

Since independence, Kenya has gone through multiple governance phases: the multiparty era (1963 to 1966), the single party era, *de facto and de jure* (1966 to 1991), the multiparty democracy era (1992 to 2012), and the new Constitution dispensation era (2013 to date), marked by the promulgation of Kenya Constitution 2010. In the first Parliament in Kenya, no woman was elected or even nominated (Kamau, 2010). There were two political parties at the time: Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) and Kenya Africa Democratic Union (KADU). However, a year later KADU dissolved itself and joined KANU (CMDK, 2010). The first woman Member of Parliament, Grace Onyango, was elected in 1969 (Ndungo, 2012). The first woman nominated MP, Jemimah Gecaga, was also coerced to step down for her
brother in the same year. Kenya returned to a one-party state in 1969 after the banning of Kenya People’s Union (KPU) formed in 1966 and its leaders detained (CMDK, 2010).

Even with the return of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1992, democratic participation remained alien in most parties and as a consequence, leaders were expected to bankroll the activities of their parties (CMDK, 2010). Most of the large parties were formed after the return to multiparty democracy in 1992 by defectors from KANU, who had very little experience in the management of democratic and effective political parties (Kihoro, 2007). The wealthy began to control all aspects of political life in Kenya. This privilege was guarded with money and violence as perceived necessary (Ibid). Party ideologies and political issues affecting the women and the marginalized that included violence, exclusion, participation and voice in decision-making were relegated to the back. Women representation in Parliament was dismal during the period due to the low economic and social status. As a result of Inter-Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG) agreement in 1997 which sought 50 percent of the nominated Members of Parliament to be women, five women were nominated to parliament representing about 4 percent of the House (Ndungo, 2012). The dominance of patriarchal structures in Kenyan politics and society is well illustrated by the low number of elected female MPs since independence (160 female MPs and 1,832 male MPs). The Ninth Parliament, 2002-2007, is credited for its bold attempt to review the Constitution of Kenya.
During the multiparty era, the country re-negotiated the bicameral Parliament in the Constitution to address the regional imbalance and inequality in distribution of resources that was experienced in the single and multiparty eras (Nguru, 2014). Victory came in August 2010 when the Kenya Constitution 2010 was promulgated in a historical event on 8th August 2010 (Ibid). The under representation of women in political leadership was evident in single de facto and de jure and multiparty eras which could also have impacted on the voices of women in Parliament, contribution in Parliament business and consequently, their performance in delivery of bills and laws that could benefit the interest and goals of women in Kenya.

The first general election under the Kenya 2010 Constitution was held on 4th March 2013. The 11th Parliament comprised the Senate Chambers and National Assembly chambers with a total of 416 members that include the Senate: 47 elected Senators, 20 nominated Senators and the Speaker who is ex-official in the Senate Chambers giving a total of 67 members; and, National Assembly: 337 elected MPs, 12 nominated MPs and the Speaker who is an ex official in the National Assembly Chambers giving a total of 349 members. In total, 16 women (5.5 percent) were elected from single Constituencies, out of the 290 elective seats and 47 women were elected from the 47 Counties on Affirmative Action (UN Women Kenya, 2014). A total of 5 and 18 women parliamentarians who were nominated to join the National parliament was as a result of the fact that no woman was elected to the senate. The nominations helped achieve a 20.7 percent women representation in the 11th
Parliament (Ibid). The percentage was way below the global standard of 30 percent critical threshold standard for effective representation, regional standard of 50 percent women representation in decision-making (UN Women, 2017) and the Kenya Constitution 2010 requirement that not more than two thirds (33.00 percent) of the members of either elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender (Article 27 (8) and 81(b) of the Kenya Constitution 2010).

It is evident that the trend of the under-representation of women in parliament continued in the new Constitution era. Thus, women legislators in Kenya have continued with the struggle to get their voices heard in Parliament, effective representation of their Constituencies and the gender agenda in Kenya.

Women’s presence in political structures need to be considered in relation to the influence of social and women’s movements, their relations with one another; the nature and culture of political parties; and the norms and capacity of state institutions to achieve the desired change (UN Women Kenya, 2014). It also needs to be considered in relation to the values and work ethics that are associated with women leadership. Table 1.1 provides details about women representation in political leadership positions since 1963.
Table 1.1: Women’s Representation in the Kenyan Parliament 1963 – 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Available Slots for Nomination</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Women (Elected and Nominated)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1963-1969</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1969-1974</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1974-1979</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>1979-1983</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>1983-1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>1988-1992</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>1992-1997</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>1997-2002</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>2002-2007</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>2007-2013</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>2013-2017</td>
<td>63(47+ 16)</td>
<td>32 (12 national assembly and 20 senate)</td>
<td>23 (5 +18)</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The names of elected and nominated women MPs in Kenya since independence up to the 11th Parliament are listed in Table 1.2 indicated as appendix 1.

Contributions and performance of Women MPs in Parliament.

At the global level, in 2017, all regions registered some increase in their share of women in Parliament. Europe and America made the greatest strides. Despite the global increase in numbers of women in Parliaments, the gender gains from laws targeting women is still below the threshold of thirty percent as outlined in the
international and regional instruments on gender equality in terms of economic, social and political perspectives (IPU, 2017). Biases and stigmas against women in politics still remain, affecting their participation and performance in Parliament (IRI, 2016). Bills sponsored by women are more likely to be scrutinized with hostility and subject to debate than those introduced by men (IRI, 2016). Women in the legislature also find it more difficult to voice their opinions than men (IRI, 2016). Furthermore, women MPs are often intimidated by the hostile environment dominated by men, and lack of experience in parliamentary procedures (IRI, 2016). This is coupled with low numbers which often contribute to women MPs tabling a low number of bills that address the welfare of women and men (IPU, 2015; IPU, 2017). This concurs with IRI’s (2016) study that use of certain gender quotas can increase women’s political leadership.

A pilot study in twenty-nine African countries by the International Republican Institute (IRI), in relation to women’s roles in national governments and their legislative influence, showed that South Africa leads the region’s rankings, with the highest percentage of women’s leadership and influence in legislative and executive levels across the twenty-nine pilot countries. South Africa was followed by Rwanda, Cape Verde and Uganda (IRI, 2016). Sudan, DRC, Zambia, Malawi and Sierra Leone received the lowest index scores, indicating low leadership and influence of women. The index was based on the number of women MPs and the legislative committees they chaired in Parliaments. The research further revealed that the more democratic
countries tended to perform better on executive influence, while less democratic countries performed better on legislative influence. The findings showed that there were political, social, governance, and other factors which influence the performance of women at legislative and executive levels.

In Rwanda, one of the main achievements made by women parliamentarians is embedding principles of gender equality in all national development processes. This has resulted to: land registration which entrusts fifty percent equal share for either spouses and children to remain legal beneficiaries; Maternal mortality rate has reduced from 1070 individuals per 100,000 live births in 2005 to 320 individuals per 100,000 live births in 2013 and Infant mortality rate reduced from 86/1000 in 2005 to 50/1000 live births in 2010 (UN Women, 2015). Other progresses include ninety three percent of women accessing quality health care, and increased number of women delivering at health facilities from thirty percent in 2005 to sixty nine percent in 2010 (Ibid). This has been facilitated by the high number of women legislators and the political will by the Head of State.
Women’s contribution in legislation in the three eras in Kenya since independence up to the 11th parliament.

Kenya single party era-de facto and de jure (1963 to 1991)

In the single party state period- era-de facto and de jure (1966 to 1991), Kenya had six Parliaments during which only a total of 13 women were elected and 6 were nominated, representing less than 2 percent of total MPs (IED, 1998). The highest position a woman ever held in Kenya's National Assembly during the period was that of Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. This was since 1974, when the first woman was appointed to the front bench (Kamau, 2010). During the single party era, the women MPs rarely tabled bills or motions. It was recorded that up to 1991, the nineteen women parliamentarians had not used the decision-making platforms to influence national policies to benefit other women who did not have such an opportunity or such opportunities (Kamau, 2008). For example, none of the nineteen women MPs made an appeal to the government to remove the many legislations that discriminated against women in property ownership, employment, gender-based violence, inheritance, marriage and divorce (Ibid). The women were faced by a male dominated environment and political party dynamics in Parliament which were hard to manoeuvre.
Multiparty Era (1992-2012)

The introduction of multiparty politics in 1992 seems to have improved the environment for the participation of women in Parliament (Ibid). The freedom of speech and voice of the marginalized marked the multiparty era. During this era (1992-2012), the number of women MPs increased from nineteen to fifty-five with a record of tabling 15 bills and 3 motions in Parliament (KEWOPA, 2017). This could be attributed to the increase in their numbers in Parliament, a situation which amplified their voices. The ‘Gender Commission Motion of 2001, the HIV/Aids Control and Prevention Bill 2003 and the Supplies Management Practitioners Bill of 2006 were all tabled by women MPs (Okello, 2013). The women legislators strived to mainstream gender in policy processes through gender lenses, supported by women’s organizations (Okello, 2013).

Women movement support to women MPs.

The Kenya Women Political Caucus (KWPC) and Women Political Alliance Kenya (WPA-K) were at the forefront, supporting the women legislatures in drafting the Affirmative Action Motion of 1997, the Equity Bill 1999, and the Nutritionist and Dieticians Bill. The support from women movement, notably, the KWPC and WPA-K, coupled with re-electitions of some women who served for more than one term, contributed to the improved performance in the legislature on the welfare of women during the period. This was enhanced by their learning the parliamentary procedures and how to maneuver the male dominated environment.
This was evident by the fact that most of the Bills and Motions were tabled by those who had either served for more than one term and / or supported by the women movement (Owour, 2016),

During the period between 1992 and 2012, women organizations worked closely with a few women MPs to deliver the Bills and Motions which addressed the welfare of men and women. It is notable that during the period, over 90 percent of the Bills and Motions were tabled by MPs who had served for more than one term in Parliament (Appendix 1). Most of these women MPs had a background and work experience in women organizations such as KWPC and WPA-K (Kamau, 2008). The support from women organizations was paramount given the political dynamics in Parliament, and the male dominated environment which women found difficult to adapt to or manoeuvre when they got elected or nominated in Parliament.

Even though there was an improvement in the number of Bills tabled by women MPs during the multiparty era, this was low performance given the number of 55 women MPs during the period. However, this was the same period that Kenya was drafting a new Constitution which was promulgated in 2010. The Constitution Review Process kicked off in 2001, with an inclusive Constitution of Kenya Review Commission CKRC (Owour, 2016). The key women MPs who were in front-line negotiations for the new Constitution were: Ms. Charity Kaluki Ngilu,
Ms. Naomi Namisi Shaaban, Ms. Martha Wangari Karua, Ms. Amina Abdallah, Ms. Cecily Mbarire, Ms Njoki Ndungu, Ms Julia Auma Ojiambo, Ms Betty Njeri Tett, Ms. Linah Jebii Kilimo, Ms. Beth Wambui Mugo and Ms. Winfred Nyiva Mwedwa. They were supported by other women MPs and women movement leaders (NGEC, 2017).

The women MPs and the women organizations worked closely to lobby for gender responsive Constitution provisions. The Draft Constitution of Kenya by the CKRC was reviewed at Bomas of Kenya Constitutional Conference from April 2003 to April 2014. Four key organizations: FIDA Kenya, Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), League of Women Voters, and the Institute for Education and Democracy (IED), provided particular scrutiny of the draft document and were satisfied with most of the provisions on gender and human rights (NGEC, 2017). The period recorded the highest support from women organizations and interactions with women MPs.

Women MPs in the 9th parliament (2002-2007) had actively participated in the drafting of the new Constitution. However, they became extremely silenced during the campaigns for the Constitution referendum held on 21 November 2005. Some women MPs like Ms. Jebii Kilimo and Ms. Charity Ngilu changed their minds since they feared for their political survival (Kamau 2010). This underscored the challenges women faced in the male dominated political arena, especially when they
had to make some objective decision that was different from men, who are the majority in politics.

Some of the gender gains in the Kenya Constitution 2010 include: Article 27 which sought to promote equality and freedom from discrimination; Article 45 which promotes equality in marriage; Article 60 which stipulated that women can own and inherit land. There is equal parental responsibility of the mother and father to provide for children as stipulated in Article 53; and dual citizenship for women in Article 78. Women automatically bestow citizenship to their foreign spouses or children born outside the country. There is women representation in elective and appointive posts. Other gains include: elimination of discrimination in laws, customs and practices related to land and property ownership, and explicit prohibition of all forms of discrimination and violence against women as stipulated in Article 27 (Kenya Constitution 2010). These gains were lobbied and negotiated by the women MPs and the women organizations.


The promulgation of the Kenya Constitution 2010 ushered in a new dispensation for women’s representation. Notable in this regard are Affirmative Action constitutional provisions including the introduction of the 47 County single gender seats reserved for women as outlined in Article 97. Though the number of women in Parliament increased from 9.9 percent in 10th Parliament to 20.7 percent in 11th
Parliament, the constitution gender principle, which states that “not more than two thirds of the members of either elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender” Articles 27 (8) and 81 (b) were neither achieved nor observed in the 2013 and 2017 general elections (11th and 12th parliament). The number of women MPs rose from 22 in the 10th Parliament to 86 in the 11th Parliament because of Affirmative Action. However, research showed that despite the gradual increase in number of women in Parliament since independence, their substantive influence when in office had remained constrained by institutional, political, and social factors (RVI, 2018).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There have been concerns by Women Organizations about women’s contribution in Parliament and the delivery of their mandate on representation, legislative and oversight (FIDA 2013). There is a public perception that the women legislatures neither add value nor make meaningful contributions in legislature, compared to the male counterparts (Ibid). Hence, the focus on legislative role in this study.

The gradual increase in the number of women in parliament since independence up to the 11th parliament has not translated into an increase in number of Bills and Motions, tabled in Parliament by women MPs, to address the welfare of women and men in Kenya. The 11th parliament had the highest performance since independence but only 18.6 percent of the women MPs tabled bills out of the 86

The performance of women MPs on legislation, especially in the 11th Parliament which had the highest women representation, was contrary to gender equality expectations as stipulated in the tenets of the theory of change, the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Platform of Action, the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (Maputo Protocol) and the 2010 Kenya Constitution. The expectations in these instruments were that an increase of women in political leadership would result into significant change of women’s situation, effective representation of the gender agenda and narrowing of gender inequality gaps in various countries. The gradual increase in women representation in the Kenyan Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament had not translated into an increase in Bills and Motions tabled by women MPs. Consequently, there was a need for a study to investigate any underlying limitations, environmental challenges and the political terrain faced by women in Parliament which affected their contributions and performance in tabling Bills and Motions that would benefit the welfare of women in Kenya.
1.3 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this study was to evaluate the contributions of women in Parliament in Kenya since independence up to 11th Parliament (1963 to 2017) in the delivery of Bills that have translated into laws to benefit women and men in Kenya. Also it was to analyze any barriers and suggest strategies and recommendations that could inform policy makers and gender equality advocates in planning and designing strategic interventions, to increase the delivery of gender responsive Bills by women MPs.

Therefore, the specific objectives of this study were to:

(a) Establish the bills tabled by women MPs since independence up to the 11th Parliament to benefit the welfare of women in Kenya.

(b) Evaluate the achievements by women parliamentarians since independence up to the 11th Parliament in delivering Bills which translate into laws in Kenya.

(c) Examine the challenges encountered by women parliamentarians in executing their legislative roles since independence up to the 11th Parliament in Kenya.

(d) Determine the best strategies and support that can enhance performance of women legislatures in delivering Bills and Laws to benefit women in Kenya.

1.4 Research questions

The study sought to answer the following questions;

1. Which Bills have the women MPs tabled in Parliament since independence up to the 11th parliament for the welfare of women in Kenya?
2. What have the women parliamentarians achieved in parliament in terms of delivery of Bills that have translated into laws since independence up to the 11th Parliament in Kenya?

3. What challenges do women parliamentarians encounter in executing their legislative roles in Parliament since independence up to the 11th parliament in Kenya?

4. What strategies and support can enhance the performance of women parliamentarians in delivering bills and laws for the benefit of women in Kenya?

1.6 Justification

There is need for gender responsive legal frameworks to bridge the gender inequality gaps nationally in relation to access to social and economic opportunities, resources and service delivery. Globally development issues which concern the female gender are mainly pioneered by women in Parliament (IPU, 2015).

It is important to collect data on contributions, performance and challenges encountered by women in Parliament in Kenya since independence (1963) in the delivery of Bills which have translated into laws that benefit women and to analyze challenges and factors influencing their performance in Parliament. This study’s findings could suggest necessary support, strategies, service providers and
recommendations for increasing women MP’s contributions in debates, committees and legislative work so as to fulfill the interest of women and their goals in Kenya.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Although there are existing studies that have been undertaken on women’s political participation by many scholars such as Nzomo (2003), Kamau (2008), Okumu (2008), Kiragu (2006), CMD Kenya, (2014) and FIDA Kenya (2013), no study seems to have been undertaken on contributions and performance of women parliamentarians in tabling Bills and Motions that translate into laws which benefit women in the country. The knowledge gap has contributed to the slow delivery of the gender agenda in Kenya by the women legislators. Most of the literature on women political leadership focuses on barriers they confront before getting into parliament. The women MPs could therefore benefit from the research findings through capacity development in legislature, and how to navigate the male dominated political environment in parliament.

The findings could contribute to literature for scholars on factors influencing the delivery of the gender agenda in legislation by the women parliamentarians in Kenya, and possible strategies for redress to bridge the gap.

The knowledge generated with regard to required support, strategies and recommendation would inform policy makers, gender equality advocates, scholars
and service providers in planning and designing strategic measures that could result into an increase in women’s contributions during parliamentary sessions relating to legislation that could benefit women in Kenya.

1.7 Scope of the study
This study is exclusively on Kenya and is focused solely on women political leaders who had served in Parliament since independence (1963) up to the 11th Parliament (2013-2017). It seeks to evaluate their contributions in Parliament concerning the tabling Bills and Motions that translatable into laws which could benefit women and men in Kenya. It is also focused on Speakers, Majority and Minority leaders, the Chief Whips, and Opposition leaders who served in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament where applicable. The study also sought to identify any underlying barriers to the effective delivery of the gender agenda and the support that might be required for its realization. The targets were women MPs, incumbent and former opinion leaders in Parliament, leaders of women organizations and scholars.

1.8. Research Assumptions
One of the key assumptions of the study was that both men and women MPs had equal chances to participate in parliamentary processes and procedures. In other words, there were no actual barriers to women or men MPs contributing to parliamentary debates. Consequently, it was only personal factors such as lack of
experience, failure to attend parliamentary sessions, and lack of knowledge in legislative processes and procedures which could hinder a parliamentarian’s performance.

Another key assumption of the study was that there ought to be a direct relationship between the level of representation of a particular gender in Parliament and the achievements of its members of that gender in legislation. In this case, the assumption is that an increase in the number of women MPs is supposed to automatically result into an increase in their achievement in delivering bills and laws on the gender agenda in Kenya parliament.

1.9 Limitation of the study

The political environment in Kenya is seems to be fluid and unpredictable. For instance, the researcher faced challenges in securing appointments with the women MPs and opinion leaders in parliament. There was no certainty of conducting an interview even after an appointment had been secured. The respondents could cancel or reschedule appointments at the last minute, irrespective of the long waiting hours by the researchers to conduct the interview.

To gather data from incumbents, the researcher secured appointments through their personal assistants. The researcher also relied on allies and networks at the time when the MPs were within Parliament premises to reach out and collect data from
the sampled respondents. The researcher had to align the interview appointments with parliamentary schedules, and members’ flexible timeframes, including negotiating for time which suited their time schedules. The researcher had secured clearance from the clerk to Parliament to conduct the interviews within the premises.

The researcher had to record the discussions to avoid missing out some important details. This resulted into the research period taking a longer period than was expected for setting up the interviews. However, the researcher managed to collect the data from 99% of sampled respondents.

Another limitation was that the study specifically focused on women MPs and opinion leaders since independence up to the 11th parliament. Tracing those who had served in earlier parliaments especially the 1st and 7th parliaments, was a challenge as some of them had retired from public life or passed on. These included women MPs like Jemima Gechaga and Grace Ogot, and Speakers; Humphrey Slade, Moses Kiprono Arap Keino, Jonathan Kimet and Arap Ngeno.

To secure appointments, the researcher made efforts through networks, referrals, allies and tracing them through their common social joints. Due to the unavailability and unpredictable schedules for parliamentarians, the study period extended from January 2017 to May 2018.
However, there were limited challenges in administering interview Schedule Three which targeted leaders of sampled women organizations. Their contacts and those scholars were readily available since they served in public offices.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction
This Chapter reviews relevant literature on the participation of women MPs in Kenya in post-independence period, the delivery of Bills and Laws to benefit women, and the challenges experienced by the women leaders in participating and executing their legislative roles in Parliament, to deliver the gender agenda in Kenya. The Chapter also discusses the Theory of Change to explain the link between the evidence generated from the research and practical measures that could be applied by the gender equality actors to bring the desired change in delivery of the gender agenda by the women legislatures. A conceptual framework is presented to explain how the study used the theory to give insight into the exploration of new possibilities and environments to challenge dominant practices for political change in Parliament, and to specify what was needed to achieve the change.

2.1 Evaluation of women contributions in the Kenyan parliament since Independence up to the 11th Parliament

According to various global, regional, and national figures, women constitute slightly more than half of the world’s population (UN Women, 2014). However, despite this, women’s participation in formal political structures and processes,
(where decisions regarding the use of public resources generated by both men and women are made,) remains insignificant (UN Women, 2017). In 2000, the United Nations recognized the central role of women in development by including their empowerment as one of the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals to accelerate the inclusion of women in development and decision making (UNDP, 2012).

Globally, women inside Parliament organize, mobilize, motivate and advance women related issues and concerns from inside the world's legislatures. They devise strategies and take action to promote issues relevant to women and facilitate changes in legislation (Wängnerud, 2002). The extent of women's impact depends very much on the number of women in Parliament, who are motivated to represent women's issues and concerns. West European experience shows that where women MPs have a mission to effect change, even small numbers can produce significant results (IRI, 2016). However, there is limited research and information available globally, regionally and nationally on the contributions that women have made, underscoring the need for more knowledge and understanding in this field of women and decision-making (UNDP, 2012). Kenya is not exceptional in this situation.

Female representatives not only advance women's rights, but also advance the rights of children and the general public. In national legislatures, there is a notable trend of women advancing gender and family-friendly legislation (UNDP, 2012). This
advocacy has been seen in countries ranging from France, Sweden and the Netherlands, to South Africa, Rwanda, and Egypt. A number of studies from both industrialized and developed countries indicate that women in local governments tend to advance social issues (UNDP, 2012). In India, for instance, greater women’s representation has corresponded with a more equitable distribution of community resources, including more gender-sensitive spending on programmes related to health, nutrition, and education (UNDP, 2012).

A case study done in Sweden on the impact of women political participation in Parliament showed that gender equality is one of the areas which are very seldom promoted by men in politics (IPU, 2015). Without female politicians, there is a risk that there would be silence on issues of gender equality as to a large extent, initiate the discussions on the topic (IPU, 2015). The study further revealed that men promote politics of care, like social policy, family policy and care of the elderly, but the difference is that women give them an even higher priority. The female dimension has become stronger in Sweden by having more women in Parliament, thus narrowing the gap of gender equality gap (IPU, 2015).

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), women’s presence has changed Parliaments around the world in a wide range of tangible ways. New issues like violence against women or women’s health concerns, which might not otherwise
have received the attention they deserved, were making it onto the political agenda (IPU, 2015).

In Africa, majority of women leaders are still struggling to narrow the gaps of gender inequality in various countries. It is notable that Women legislators in Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, South Africa, and Southern Sudan, in the region who have achieved 30 percent representation threshold, have not managed to transform the patriarchal culture and norms of political institutions in their countries (Nzomo, 2012). The same situation applies in Kenya, even though the country has never achieved the 30 percent representation threshold since independence up to the 11th Parliament. This underscores the need for further research.

The study assessed the achievements made by women parliamentarians in delivery of bills and laws that benefit women in Kenya. From the review of literature, there were no Bills tabled by the 19 women MPs who served in single party era, *de facto and de jure* (1969 to 1991).

### 2.1.1 Bills and Motions tabled by women MPs in the 7th to the 10th Parliament in Kenya during the multiparty era (1992 to early 2013)

From the literature review, majority of the Acts and Bills were tabled by women MPs who were either serving in their second or third terms as illustrated in Tables...
2.1 and 2. 2 on the 4 Motions and 16 Bills tabled by women MPs in the 7th to 10th Parliament in Kenya during the multiparty era (1992 to 2013).
Table 2.1. Motions tabled by women MPs during the multiparty era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Motion</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>First Affirmative Action Motion</td>
<td>Ms. Phoebe Asiyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1999</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Redrafted Affirmative Action Motion</td>
<td>Ms. Beth Mugo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>The Gender Commission Motion</td>
<td>Ms. Beth Mugo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (KEWOPA, 2017; Okello, 2013).

Ms. Phoebe Asiyo was serving in her third term and Ms. Beth Mugo in her first term when they tabled the Motions. This could imply that even after serving for more than one term, women MPs still faced challenges in manouevering the male dominated environment to contribute in tabling motions.
Table 2.2: Bills tabled by women MPs during the multiparty era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bill</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>HIV/AIDS Control and Prevention Bill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Sexual Offences Bill which was enacted to law. The Sexual Offences Act 2006.</td>
<td>Hon. Justice Njoki Ndung’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Affirmative Action Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Charity Ngilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Community Social Enterprises Capital Development Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Prof. Julia Ojiambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act (No. 32)</td>
<td>Hon. Chebii Kilimo, tabled by Hon. Fred Kapondi to secure support from male MPs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>National-Authority-for-the-Campaign Against-Alcohol-and-Drug-Abuse-Act-No-14</td>
<td>Hon. Amina Abdalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Treaty Making and Ratification Act (No. 45)</td>
<td>Hon. Millie Odhiambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Cancer Prevention and Control Act (No. 15)</td>
<td>Hon. Beth Mugo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Breast Milk Substitutes (Regulation and Control Act (No.34)</td>
<td>Hon. Beth Mugo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Universities (No. 42) Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Prof. Margaret Kamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Kenya Plant Health Inspectorate Service (no. 54) Bill.</td>
<td>Hon. Dr. Sally Kosgei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Public Benefits Organizations Act (No 18 of 2013)</td>
<td>Hon. Sophia Abdi Noor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Science, Technology and Innovation (No. 28) Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Prof. Margaret Kamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Technical and Vocational Education, and Training (No. 29) Bill.</td>
<td>Hon. Prof. Margaret Kamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Statutory Instruments (No. 23 of 2013)</td>
<td>Hon. Amina Abdalla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (KEWOPA, 2017; Okello, 2013).
The 55 women MPs who served during the multiparty era (1992 to 2012) tabled 16 Bills out of which 2 became Law. The continued struggle by women legislators to deliver Bills so as to narrow the gap of gender inequality indicate that Women have to climb the ropes in the new political arena in parliament and at the same time deliver on their 3-fold role: *Representation, Legislature and Oversight.*

The 11th Parliament, the first in the new constitution era (Kenya Constitution 2010) had 86 women MPs, out of which 18 percent were recorded to have tabled the highest number of Acts and Bills (35) since independence. The number of women MPs had increased from 22 (9.9 percent) in the 10th Parliament to 86 (20.7%) in the 11th Parliament. The 6 Acts and 29 Bills by women MPs in the 11th Parliament are shown in tables 2.3 and 2.4 below:
Table 2.3: Acts sponsored by women MPs in the 11th Parliament (2013-2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Acts</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Matrimonial Property Act (No 49)</td>
<td>Hon. Samuel Chepkonga -with support from women MPs and women organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Social Assistance Act (No. 24 of 2013)</td>
<td>Hon. Dr Joyce Laboso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Marriage Act (No.4)</td>
<td>Hon. Samuel Chepkonga -with support from women MPs and women organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Victim Protection Act (No.17).</td>
<td>Hon. Millie Odhiambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Protection Against Domestic Violence Act (No. 2)</td>
<td>Hon. Samuel Chepkonga -with support from women MPs and women organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>County Governments (Amendment) (No 2) Act, (No 17).</td>
<td>Hon. Martha Wangari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (KEWOPA, 2017: KEWOPA, 2018)

The 11th Parliament was the first Parliament in the Kenya Constitution 2010 dispensation. Out of the six Acts, three were tabled though a male MP, Hon. Samuel Chepkonga, two Bills by two women MPs who were serving for a second term, and one by a female MP who was serving for the first time in the Senate. The women MPs had to lobby a male MP to sponsor the Matrimonial Property Bill, Marriage Bill and the Protection against Domestic Violence Bills in order to secure support from male MPs who were a majority in parliament and to be enacted into Law. Culturally, women were perceived as victims of family issues, especially in separation and divorce, and domestic violence while men were the perpetrators. To avoid a scenario that would have been perceived as women versus men in debates, the three Bills had
to be strategically tabled by a male MP for success. The Civil Society also played a crucial role in lobbying for the support of the Bills. Young parliamentarians such as Hon. Priscilla Nyokabi and Hon. Mutula Kilonzo Jnr. also supported these bills.

However, the participation of women was somewhat low when the Matrimonial Property Bill (2013) and Marriage Bill (2014) were enacted into Law to address the historical injustices, especially to women. In both instances, there were less than twenty women parliamentarians in attendance in total, out of the 68 women legislators in the National Assembly (AMWIK, 2015). Men were the majority in both cases (Ibid). The outcome was the removal of some critical clauses in the Bills like equal division of matrimonial property in an eventuality of separation and divorce (AMWIK, 2015). The argument that each spouse ought to prove their contribution in purchasing the matrimonial property during divorce proceedings carried the day (KEWOPA, 2015).

It was notable that this was the same period when about half of women MPs had travelled to New York to attend the 57th and 68th session of the Commission on Status of Women (CSW). The principal global intergovernmental body was exclusively dedicated to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women which was held annually. It was important for women MPs to be strategic in their plans in Parliament and to prioritize the national agenda in the interest of the constituent of women and the society they represented in parliament. They need to
support bills that look into the interests of women throughout the entire law making process. The Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) needed to take charge of the process of organizing women parliamentarians in Kenya.

It was also worth noting that women in the 11th Parliament were also unsuccessful in lobbying their male counterparts to support the Gender Bill that would have provided a legal framework for the implementation of Article 81 (b) of the 2010 Kenya Constitution. This stipulated that “Not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender” In the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill, No. 4 of 2015 introduced in the National Assembly, sought to ensure that the membership of both the National Assembly and the Senate conformed to the two-thirds gender principle as articulated in Article 81 (b) of the Constitution (KEWOPA, 2017). It sought to achieve this by amending Article 81: 90 (1), 90 (2), 97 (1), 98 (1) (b) and 177 of the Constitution. The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill, No. 6 of 2015 also sought to amend Articles 90, 97 and 98 of the Constitution to ensure the membership of both Houses conformed to the two-thirds gender principle as articulated in Article 81 (b) of the Constitution (KEWOPA, 2017.). The Gender Bill failed to sail through in the National Assembly for two major reasons. First, there was failure to attain the constitutional set numerical threshold of two-thirds membership of the House. Secondly, there was a quorum hitch given that 150 members of the National Assembly failed to attend the session (KEWOPA, 2017). The Senate too attempted to ensure that the membership of the Kenyan
Parliament adhered to the two-thirds gender principle during the tenure of the 11
Parliament. This was in the form of the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill No.
16 of 2015 (KEWOPA, 2017). It sought to amend Articles 97, 98, 90, and 81. A
quorum hitch, however hindered the sailing through of the bill. The Bills tabled by
women MPs in the 11\textsuperscript{th} parliament are shown in Table 2.4:
Table 2.4: Bills tabled by women MPs in the 11th Parliament (2013-2017).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bills</th>
<th>Sponsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>The Persons with Disabilities (Amendment) Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Wanjiku Muhia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Diabetes Management Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Dr. Rachel Nyamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Kenya AIDS Control Authority Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Dr. Rachel Nyamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Traditional Health Practitioners Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Dr. Rachel Nyamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Pharmacy Practitioners Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Dr. Rachel Nyamai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The County Governments (Amendment) (No.2) Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Martha Wangari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Millie Odhiambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The National Youth Service (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Beatrice Elachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Natural Resources (Benefit sharing) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Sen. Agnes Zani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The Engineering Technologists and Technicians Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Cecilia Ng’etich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The Access to Information (No. 31) Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Priscilla Nyokabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Reproductive Health Care Bill (Sen. Bill No. 17), Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Judith Sijeny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Public Finance Management (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Beatrice Elachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The Food Security Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Beatrice Elachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2014</td>
<td>The Universities (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Halima Abdille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The Employment (Amendment) Bill (Senate Bill No. 1-Sen)</td>
<td>Hon. Martha Wangari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The Self-Help Associations Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Martha Wangari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The National Hospital Insurance Fund (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Martha Wangari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The County Library Services Bill, 2015, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Joy Gwendo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>The National Cereals and Produce Board (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Zipporah Kittony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Engineering Technology (No. 23) Bill</td>
<td>Hon. Cecilia Ngetich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Access to Information (No. 31)</td>
<td>Hon. Priscilla Nyokabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill,</td>
<td>Hon. Florence Mutua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The National Cohesion and Integration (Amendment) Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Beatrice Elachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The Public Appointment (Parliamentary Approval) (Amendment) bill, 2016 – Sen.</td>
<td>Hon. Fatuma Dullo,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The County Statistics Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Naisula Lesuuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>The Care and Protection of Child and Parents Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Elizabeth Ongoro Masha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Coconut Industry Development Bill, Sen</td>
<td>Hon. Elizabeth Ongoro Masha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (KEWOPA, 2017; KEWOPA, 2018).
The Bills listed above were tabled by 16 MPs out of 86 MPs, in the 11th Parliament. Hon. Dr. Rachel Nyamai and Hon. Martha Wangari tabled 4 Bills each. Hon. Beatrice Elachi tabled 3 Bills: Hon. Judy Sijeny 2 Bills; Hon. Cecilia Ngetich 2 Bills; Hon. Priscilla Nyokabi: 2 Bills. The remaining 10 MP’s tabled one Bill each. This means that only 18.6% of the women MPs contributed in tabling bills and Acts in Parliament. This was low considering the number of women MPs in 11th parliament. It is notable that eleven of the Bills were tabled by women MPs from the National Assembly and eighteen by women from the Senate. This was the first time the Senate was re-established after the first one of (1963-1967) was abolished following several Constitutional amendments between 1964-1968 which resulted into the abolition of Regions and the merging of the Senate and the House of Representatives (National Assembly of Kenya, 2018). Though all the eighteen women Senators were nominated in the 11th Parliament, they performed better in legislation than the 63 women, who were elected and 5 who were nominated to the National Assembly. Possibly, the composition of men in Senate was more and this ensured better women performance since a majority of the men were experienced parliamentarians from the 9th and 10th parliaments, and were, as such, used to women parliamentarians. This factor may have mitigated the patriarchal environment experienced by women in the National Assembly.

According to the Hansard Report, (5th session of the 11th Parliament), though this Parliament had the largest number of women since independence, most of them did
not contribute to tabling of Bills and Motions compared to the smaller numbers in earlier parliaments. The Bill tracker, 2017, indicates that as of June 2017, out of 110 Bills presented in the national assembly only nine were sponsored by women MPs (Bills Tracker, 2017). Also, only four Motions were sponsored and seconded by four women MPs out of the 77 tabled in the National Assembly (Bills Tracker, 2017).

The tabled Bills by the women MPs focused on health, education, agriculture, employment, and information technology. The record concurred with global findings that once women joined Parliaments, they focused on legislations in social, health, water, agriculture and education sectors (IPU, 2015; IRI, 2016). The Africa pilot study for 29 countries also confirmed that women, in both the legislature and executive cabinet/ministry level tended to occupy leadership positions in the so-called “soft” Ministries which were related to social development and welfare (IRI, 2016). This could be attributed to the fact that traditionally, women were care givers to their families and communities hence give priority to addressing gaps in sectors where they had experience and knowledge of the concerns.

The knowledge generated by this study could inform capacity development of women MPs to effectively deliver the gender agenda. It could also aid the women MPs to oversight the implementation of national laws that Kenya has enacted as
well as regional and international laws, protocols, and conventions that Kenya has ratified and is signatory to.

2.2 Challenges women parliamentarians have encountered in Kenya’s Parliament since independence (1963).

Globally, once women enter Parliament, their struggles are far from over as they enter a male dominated territory. Parliaments were established, organized and dominated by men, acting in their own interest and establishing procedures for their own convenience (Wängnerud, 2002). Inevitably, these male-dominated organizations reflect certain male biases, the precise kind varying by country and culture. In most countries, the political role of women in the legislature became a public issue only in the second half of the twentieth century (Ibid). Globally, when women enter Parliament, they face new challenges that are different from those they had faced while running for election. Parliament has a very particular cultural environment and modus operandi (mode of operation) that had historically been determined by men. Women have to address the new set of challenges (IPU, 2015). The challenges identified by thirty countries globally (thirteen from Africa) include rules and practices, behaviour and attitudes, and personal challenges. Support from Women’s Movement is critical to delivery in parliament, especially on the gender agenda.
In Sweden, women faced several challenges in Parliament. They struggled to reach high positions within Parliament. They viewed themselves and their work as being invisible. They were often subjected to ridicule and belittling; and they often did not have access to full information about parliamentary work (IPU, 2009). The challenges that women parliamentarians in Burkina Faso faced included physical violence and intimidation as scare tactics to dissuade them from legislating on certain issues. They even lacked access to key leadership posts; and a lack of support from colleagues and other women (IPU 2009).

In Kenya, the inequalities in the way women’s interests and needs in the political process are represented need to be wholly addressed by reference to the socio-cultural differences between men and women.

Colonialism not only destroyed female social institutions but imposed new ones which favoured men over women in four key areas: the introduction of scientific agriculture, the establishment of Western education, the creation of new political and religious authority, and the control over access to the market economy (O’barr, 1985). In all these areas, colonial policy had a differing impact on women as opposed to men.

Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO) was established to voice the concerns and aspirations of women and to influence public policy on matters of
concern to women. In 1964, in the immediate post–colonial period, The National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), which was formed as a front for women’s concerns, co-opted women’s self-help groups into the movement. This gave the movement more legitimacy and, among other things, contributed to its politicization (Ndambuki, 2010). The single party era marked by reign of President Jomo Kenyatta, 1963-1978, and President Moi, 1978 to 2002, may be described as gender insensitive periods and particularly because it was during Moi’s time that the organization was openly used by the male ruling elite to advance their political agenda at the expense of the women’s agenda (Ndambuki, 2010). As such, MYWO ended up becoming a tool for furthering the agenda of male politicians and did very little to support the effective participation of women in Parliament.

According to Nzomo (1993), the post-colonial era saw a deliberate move to keep both ‘feminist’ and women’s groups off political agendas. Many organizations’ constitutions barred them from engaging in political matters. ‘The formation of the Women’s Bureau (WB) in 1975, following the first women’s Conference in Mexico, and the introduction of monetary grants to the ‘feminist’ and women’s groups, led to rapid growth of the movement during the late 1970s (ibid). Hassim (2006) defines a women’s movement as having the capacity to articulate the particular interests of its constituents and to mobilize them in defense of those interests. It is important to note that a strong social movement requires a degree of political autonomy to retain its power within any alliance.
Ten case studies on women and political leadership in Kenya focus on women’s perceptions of their visions, missions, achievements, challenges and future plans, and their development priorities (Kamau, 2010). According to Kamau (2010), some of the challenges faced by women when contesting for political office include lack of financial capital and family support, cultural barriers, intimidation by male opponents, verbal and sexual gender based violence, and threats from community elders. However, the study does not show the challenges experienced by the women political leaders in executing their role in Parliament and the support needed in articulating the gender agenda. This study seeks to bridge this knowledge gap.

A study on perspectives of gender discourse focuses on enhancing women political participation as they attempt to join politics in Parliament and County Level in general elections. However, it does not show the challenges faced by those elected to parliament in executing the gender agenda and the legislative role in parliament (Nzomo, 2012; Okumu, 2008). The current study sought to bridge the knowledge gap on challenges experienced by women in making contributions in Parliament on the gender agenda.

Another study by Kiragu (2006) on women’s movement in Kenya, focused on the role of the key movements in enhancing their political participation in leadership, and their achievements. It failed to show the challenges experienced by the women legislators in parliament and the strategies for supporting them. This study sought
to generate literature to bridge the knowledge gap on participation and performance of women MPs, suggest strategies for their support and make recommendations that could inform the policy makers and gender equality advocates in planning and programming for measures of redress and capacity development.

The gender audit of the Kenya 2013 election process focused on the gender responsiveness to the electoral legal framework and institutional interventions under the first election to be held in the 2010 Kenya Constitution era (FIDA, 2013). However, the audit fell short of evaluating the gains by the women legislators since independence in delivering Bills and Motions that address the welfare of women.

2.3 Induction of women MPs in parliament

When women enter Parliament, they often encounter an institutional culture that does not necessarily accommodate their needs (KEWOPA 2018). Once elected, women and men legislators need support, training and advice in navigating the institution of Parliament. The training is mainly done on their legislative, representative and oversight roles (KEWOPA 2018).

Globally, mentorship by women who have previously served in elected offices and networking have proved to be useful to women legislators (IPU, 2015). Study tours have been used successfully with women legislators across the world. The
programmes provide exposure to comparative democracy relating to how women in other countries have influenced the legislative agenda (IPU, 2015).

In an effort to support women MPs’ social life, many Parliaments including South Africa, Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya have instituted child-care services in Parliament Buildings to assist the women MPs to balance family life and political responsibility (IPU, 2012). This has benefited both male and female MPs. However, while this is helpful, more targeted support is needed for women MPs in social, political, and economic sphere to increase their visibility at the Constituency, County and the national level.

From the literature review, there is a gap in the contribution of women in legislation which needs to be investigated, understood, and deliberately addressed in order to increase the delivery of Bills to benefit women in Kenya, and the oversight on their implementation. Currently, the coordination of women movement in Kenya is weak (NGEC, 2017). The movement’s support to women MPs is largely on personal relations. This has posed a major gap in supporting women MPs in drafting Bills and Motions on the gender agenda. The movement’s support during the 7th to the 9th parliament is evident from the literature review that show the number of tabled Bills about the gender agenda in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. The movement was well coordinated at the time. According to Owuor (2016), the limited funding and lack of unified voice on issues of women development catalyzed the fragmentation of the movement.
2.4 Summary of the literature and the research gaps

Globally, there has been an increase in the representation of women in Parliaments since 1995 when the Beijing Platform for Action came to force. However, only a few countries mainly in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa recorded significant change in the deplorable situation of women across the globe (IPU, 2015). This was achieved through the cumulative effort and focus on the gender agenda by the women MPs in the specific countries that included Bolivia, Sweden, India, Egypt, South Africa and Rwanda.

The far reaching constitutional, policy and legal gains on gender, expanded space for increasing women’s representation in public and political spheres in Kenya. However, there was a gap in the contributions made by women MPs on the gender agenda in Kenya since independence, irrespective of the increase in the numbers from 1.2 percent in the 2nd Parliament (1969-1974) to 20 percent in the 11th Parliament (2013-2017). There was need for research to study the scenario and make suggestions to bridge the gap.

Despite the many articles on women political leadership and a few studies, most of them in Kenya focused on experiences, achievements and challenges for women who attempted to get elected to parliament but not after joining it.
This study underscores the importance of a good working relationship between women parliamentarians, women’s movements and the national gender machinery. The literature review revealed a gap in the data concerning the achievements made and challenges encountered by women in parliament which deter them from contributing and effectively addressing the interest and goals of their women’s legislative role. Our study sought to bridge the knowledge gaps that could inform the institutions mandated to develop the capacity of the MPs in their 3-fold mandate.

The study identified the social, political and institutional barriers which deter women parliamentarians from maximizing their potential in the legislative role, proposed strategies that could be applied for remedy, and recommended the support that was needed to address the barriers experienced by women in parliament.

Based on the literature review, increasing the number of women parliamentarians in Kenya has not necessarily translated into increased delivery of the gender agenda in the country. Hence, there was need to investigate the underlying factors that might influence or deter participation and performance of women MPs in executing their legislative role in Kenya.

In Kenya, after the induction of MPs by the Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), the women MPs are inducted separately by KEWOPA on essential knowledge and tact on how to manoeuvre within Parliament, House business,
branding as well as performance of their mandate (KEWOPA, 2018). However, while these trainings focus on responsibilities of the MPs, they fail to address the soft skills such as the unwritten codes, procedures and mechanisms within party structures for getting things done, lobbying strategies for the advancement of women’s interests and goals that are equally important for effective and efficient performance of women MPs.

The literature review revealed gaps in data on the type of support required to develop the capacity of women MPs to cope with the male dominated political terrain in Parliament and to participate and effectively deliver their legislative role. This study therefore sought to address knowledge gaps on needs-based support for women MPs and identify the potential service providers for the required support.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

It is assumed that increasing the number of women in Parliament should result in increased gender responsive legislation that could drive the women agenda (Godia 2017). However, research in various countries has shown that this does not necessarily translate to increased legislation on the gender agenda (IRI 2016). There are factors that need to be assessed in order to determine how to increase legislation on the gender agenda besides increasing the number of women legislators. There are two theories which were applied in this research. These are: the Liberal Feminist Theory and Theory of Change.
2.4.1 Liberal Feminist Theory

Feminist movement is any activity that involves women coming together with the aim of meeting their strategic gender interests, and which in related literature is said to have a feminist agenda (Bryson, 1992). Bryson (1992) traces the term feminism in English during the 1880s, indicating support for women’s equal legal and political rights with men.

In dealing with power relations between men and women, feminism becomes important for political theory and practice, seeing women as central to political analysis. Feminism “seeks to understand society in order to challenge and change it with regard to women and their situation” (Bryson, 1992).

The Liberal Feminist Theory emphasizes the power of an individual person to alter discriminatory practices against women with the aim of achieving equality between men and women (Scarince, 2015). Liberal feminism tends to work within existing political systems and structures to eradicate all forms of gender discrimination (Ford, 2010). The theory targets inequalities in legal, political and educational arrangements and promotes law to redress inequalities in opportunities. However, its tenets of this theory do not necessarily challenge the sources of gender inequalities, hence does not recognize that relations between men and women have specific power relations. The study focuses on measures beyond existing political system and structures to
address the barriers to the performance of women legislators in parliament. The theory would thus be limiting to this study.

2.4.2 Theory of Change

The Theory of Change focuses on unfreezing barriers to what needs to be done, strategies required for the transition process in order to bring the desired change in attitudes, behaviour, stereotypes, and putting mechanisms to sustain the gains, and the changes realized.

The Theory of Change is believed to have originated from a considerable body of theory and applied development in the field of evaluation (Taplin et al., 2013). It was primarily used by theorists of evaluation who included Huey Chen, Michael Quinn Patton, Peter Rossi, and Carol Weiss in their work as well as practitioners who had continuously focused on how one could apply the programme’s theories to evaluation over the years (Taplin, 2013). The application of the Theory of Change which initiated its use in evaluation can be traced back to the 1950s when Kirkpatrick used it in his Foul Levels of Learning Evaluation Model theory (Taplin et al., 2013). This model was the best that was known for analyzing as well as evaluating the results that a trainer could get from training in both an informal and a formal setting (Taplin et al., 2013)
Further, the use of the theory of change in evaluation was included in the Daniel Stufflebeam’s Context, Input, Processes and Products (CIPP) as well as the logical frameworks that are used widely or the logical models that are used to set out causal chains which consist of inputs, outputs, activities, and outcomes that correlate with long term goals (James, 2011). These methods of log frames became a significant advance which created a framework whereby the relationship between components of a programme could be drawn out (James, 2011). In 1990, the Theory of Change emerged as a field of program theory and programme evaluation. Programme Theory explains the way a programme, policy, project, or strategy is understood, so that it can contribute to a chain of events and results that will produce the intended output or impact (Rogers, 2000). This became the new method to analyze the theories that were used to motivate the programme as well as the initiatives that were used for social and political change (Ibid).

The Theory of Change was mainly used because it not only gathered knowledge about the effectiveness of these programmes but also worked towards explaining the methods that were being used to make the entire change process effective. Thus, the theory of Change has increased its connection to sociology and political science (Connell & Kubisch, 1998). Outcome mapping was generated to address the problem of attribution in complex political, social, economic, and institutional aspects which underline the changes in society. (Connell & Kubisch, 1998). The outcome mapping process shows the difference between the changes in state and the changes in
behaviour. Changes in state are those broad shifts that are political, policy related, economic conditions, and institutional behaviour, among others with regard to the entire population (ibid).

The Theory of Change is used because it explains how many actions together set the stage for a range of results in the long run. This theory makes it easy to understand the activities of specific interventions that are expected to lead to the desired outcome (Vogel, 2012). Today, the social action perspective of the Theory of Change has been used by many organizations to bring about social change. Thus, this theory is used because it comprises a discussion on elements which include the context for the initiative that can influence change. These initiatives are comprised of the social, environmental, and political, conditions which the current issues seek to influence (Vogel, 2012). Also, the theory comprises the long-term change that the initiative will support for the beneficiaries of the project, the sequence of the change that is expected to lead to the intended outcome, the assumptions that fill up the expected step by step outcome of the project, and an entire summary that will capture the outcome of the whole discussion (Vogel, 2012).

The Theory of Change is suitable because this study seeks to explore new possibilities and environment for political change in Parliament which could form the basis for strategic planning for effective delivery of gender agenda and the desired change pertaining to gender equality. Application of the theory helps to
specify what is needed to achieve the change and generate data related to strategies and recommendations that could be applied by the policy makers and gender equality advocates.

The chief proponents of this theory are Avril Blamey and Mhairi Mackenzie who utilized a theory-based evaluation approach-Theory of Change and Realistic Evaluation-in the United Kingdom (Vogel, 2012). The main tenets of the theory are rationale for desired change, research and critical thinking, challenge of dominant practices, exploring new possibilities, environments, and political change (Vogel, 2012).

The Theory of Change is adequate because the above tenets provide a framework for research and understanding of the underlying practices and forces, considering the environment and possibilities for political change. The tenets were used to identify existing challenges in performance of women in Parliament and to explore new possibilities that could facilitate delivery of the gender agenda by the women Parliamentarians in Kenya. The patriarchal structures of Parliament as a, male dominated environment, political parties dynamics and lack of experience in parliamentary procedures and legislature, affect the women and men differently in adjusting to the new context once elected or nominated. The application of the theory helped to analyse the process leading to the performance of women in Parliament so as to understand the challenges that could hinder their performance in delivering
Bills that would benefit the welfare of women, and men, and the possible interventions needed to facilitate an enabling environment for their performance in legislature. The Conceptual Framework below outlines the linkage between the theory and variables in this study.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

An experiment involves manipulation of the independent variables to determine their effects on a dependent variable (Mugenda, 2003). The Conceptual Framework below illustrates insights from the literature review and the Theoretical Framework.
The above Conceptual Framework shows the relationship between the environment in parliament and women contribution and performance in legislation, and the expected outcome after application of the interventions identified in this study.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This Chapter focuses on the methodology utilized in the study. It begins with details of the research design and variables and then proceeds to describe the area, the population, sampling methods including sampling techniques, and sample size determination. The Chapter further details the data collection instruments, pilot study, validity and reliability, methods of data collection, management, analysis and presentation, logical and ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design

Descriptive research methods describe situations and a set of observations on the data collected (Jackson, 2009). There are three main types of descriptive methods: observational methods, case-study methods and survey methods. In survey research method, participants answer questions administered through interviews or questionnaires, after which the researchers describe the responses given (Jackson, 2009).

To achieve the study objectives, the researcher used descriptive survey research design to collect data on achievements made by women MPs since independence,
with regard to Bills tabled. Descriptive survey research was also used to investigate the challenges faced by women MPs and the strategies needed to support their effective contribution and delivery of the gender agenda in Kenya. It also enabled the researcher to collect qualitative and quantitative data within a natural environment which helped us to explain and provide suggestions on what could be done differently to improve the contributions and performance of women in Parliament.

Descriptive survey research design was appropriate because this study involved interviewing respondents. The method provided a framework to analyze the data obtained from the study conclusively, learn about similarities, differences, and trends and made predictions about the population being studied (Babbie, 2013). The method allowed the conduction of personal interviews at a time convenient for respondents and ensured anonymity. This enabled respondents to answer questions truthfully in confidence (Babbie, 2013).

The number of women who had served in Kenya’s Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament was 160 (Kihoro, 2007). Due to the small size of the target population, the study adopted two sampling techniques: stratified random sampling, and purposive sampling, to sample 30 women respondents who had served in Parliament or were incumbents. Stratified random sampling was done to ensure representation in each Parliament since the independence to the 11 Parliament in
Kenya. Purposive sampling was applied to sample specific respondents in the study population who were known to be knowledgeable and experienced in the area of study (Singleton, 1995).

3.2 Research Variables

According to Singleton (1988), a variable is a characteristic or feature that varies, or changes within a study. Independent and dependent variables are also important because they determine the cause and effects in research (Babbie, 2013). An Independent variable is one that a researcher manipulates in order to determine its effect or influence on another variable, while a dependent variable attempts to indicate the total influence arising from the effects of the independent variable (Mugenda, 2003).

In this study, the ability of women MPs to navigate the political environment of parliamentary procedures, and rules, and contributions to tabling Bills and Motions are independent variables. These variables can influence the performance of women in Parliament, depending on the interventions applied by researcher or other players.

The increase in women contributions to debates and committees, and increase in the delivery of Motions, Bills, and Laws tabled by women MPs on welfare of women are dependent variables. These variables are the effects of manipulating independent variables through capacity development for women MPs on the legislative process,
parliamentary procedures, gender mainstreaming in legislature and budgeting, mentorship programmes and support networks.

3.3 Research site

The study was carried out in the Kenya Parliament. The research site in Table 3.1 below shows the number of women MPs in Kenya since independence up to the 11th Parliament, and performance in legislation. The site covers the political period between 1963 to 2017.
Table 3.1: The study site periodization political period. Women’s representation in the three political eras in the Kenyan Parliament and performance in the legislation since independence up to the 11th Parliament (1963 – 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
<th>Existing Positions for Nomination</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Number of Acts, Bills, and Motions by Women Legislators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1963 – 1969</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1969 – 1974</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>1974 – 1979</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>1979 – 1983</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>1983 – 1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>1988 – 1992</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Multiparty democracy Era; (1992 -2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>1997 – 2002</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>2002 – 2007</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td>2007 – 2013</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya Constitution 2010 Era; (2013 to date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gland Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (KEWOPA, 2017; Godia, 2017; Owuor, 2016).

Parliamentary politics in Kenya is a highly competitive field. The first Parliament of independent Kenya was bicameral. There were two Houses, the Senate and the
House of Representatives (Nguru, 2014). The 1963 Independence Constitution was based on the standard "Lancaster House template" used for the former British colonies in Africa (Kihoro, 2007). The British Monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, was represented as head of state by a Governor-General of Kenya and each Province had an elected assembly. The 1963 Independence Constitution (officially referred to as Kenya Subsidiary Legislation, 1963) was amended in 1964 to make the country a Republic with the President as both Head of State and head of government (Ibid).

The life of the first Parliament was extended from the constitutional period of five years by the Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) (No. 4) Act of 1966 for another two years. This was mainly because of the abolition of the Senate and the absorption of the former Senators by the Lower House under Legal Notice No. 245 of 1969 (Nguru, 2014). The Second Parliament was summoned to meet on 6th February 1970 under Legal Notice No. 7 of 1970. The subsequent elections were held under the single party state, *de facto and de jure* up to the sixth Parliament (1988-1992) when Kenya adopted the multiparty democracy and the first elections were held in 1992 (Kihoro, 2007). From the 2nd to the 9th Parliament (1969-2007) all the elections were held under the 1964 Constitutional Amendment of Unicameral National Assembly (ORPP, 2018).

The Kenya Parliament had 74 women MPs and 1,502 male MPs during the single party and multiparty era *-de facto and de jure* period (Kihoro, 2007). The number
increased to 160 women MPs 1,832 male MPs in the Kenya Constitution 2010 era, in the 11th Parliament.

The single party period between 1963 to 1981 breaks into two parts, firstly, *de facto*, where the dominant party at the time, the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU) allowed nominally democratic election, but its’ existing power effectively prevented the opposition from winning elections. Secondly, *de jure* period between 1982 to 1991 when Kenya operated as a single party State with a legal system which prevented any other party from existing, ending in 1992 when Kenya became a multiparty democracy state (ORPP, 2018).

The study adopted stratified random sample in each parliament in the three periodic eras to achieve a representative sample of the target population.

### 3.4 Study Population

The study population was made up of the 160 women parliamentarians since independence up to the 11th Parliament. The small size of the study population necessitated the sampling of ten percent of each Parliament to get representation from each August House hence a sixty-five percent sample size. According to Mugenda (2013), for descriptive studies in small target population, ten percent sample size is enough. The ten percent sample size was applied across board in the sampling frame to sample 46 respondents who included, 30 women MPs, (former
and incumbents), 10 opinion leaders in Parliament (former and incumbents), 6 leaders of women organizations including 2 scholars.

The population for this study included women MPs who:

(a) Had served in parliament for at least one term or more since independent to the 11th parliament,

(b) Had served in key position in parliament,

(c) Were leaders of a political party,

(d) Had vied for the presidential position,

This study also included:

(a) Opinion leaders in parliament such as the chief whips, speakers, majority and minority leaders

(b) Opposition leaders who had served in different parliaments since independence to the 11th Parliament

(c) Representatives of organizations which focused on women in political leadership

(d) Scholars
3.5 Sampling technique and sample Size

This subsection discusses the study’s sampling technique and sample size. It details how respondents were sampled and how the sample size was determined.

3.5.1 Sampling Technique

As discussed in Section 3.4, a sampling criteria of ten percent sample size in each stratum was used. Stratified random sampling was used to sample 19 women MPs who had served in Parliament for at least one term or more since independence. The 19 respondents were subjected to Interview Schedule One which was meant to collect demographic data, contributions of women in parliamentary committees and debates, achievements, challenges, propose support that could be required for the women MPs, strategies needed, and the potential stakeholders to provide the support.

Purposive sampling was used to further sample 11 women MPs, who had served in Parliament for more than one term or had held key positions in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament, for in-depth information arising from their long experience in parliament. They were subjected to Interview Schedule Two to provide detailed data on the contributions of women in parliamentary committees and debates, achievements, challenges, propose support that could be required and the potential stakeholders to provide the support, strategies, and to clarify any gaps in collected data. The information provided in-depth knowledge in data analysis.
The sample size for the 30 women parliamentarians (19 plus 11) is presented in table 3.2 below;

**Table 3.2: Sampling women parliamentarians in Kenya 1963 – 2017**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total number</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Sample 10% of elected where applicable</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
<th>Sample 10% Nominated where applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1963-1969</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1969 – 1974</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1974 – 1979</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1979 – 1983</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1983 – 1988</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1988 – 1992</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1992 – 1997</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1997 – 2002</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2002 – 2007</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2007 – 2013</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;-</td>
<td>2013-2017-2017</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Sampled 30</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source; (Godia, 2017; AMWIK, 2015).
3.5.1.1 Sampling of opinion leaders.

Purposive sampling was applied in sampling 10 opinion leaders who had served in Parliament or were incumbents as key respondents. The opinion leaders who had served for more than one term in Parliament were sampled for in-depth information on the basis of their knowledge, experience, and observations on contribution and performance of women in Parliament.

These included the Chief Whips, Speakers, Majority and Minority leaders and opposition Leaders who had served in different Parliaments since independence to the 11th Parliament. The positions for Majority and Minority leaders commenced in the 11th Parliament after promulgation of the Kenya Constitution 2010. There were eight Speakers from independence to the 11th parliament out of whom three who had served in single party era and one in multiparty are now deceased. There were two surviving Speakers in multiparty era, two in Kenya Constitution 2010 era, two Opposition Leaders, two Majority Leaders and two Minority Leaders in the bicameral parliament (Senate and national assembly in 11th parliament). The ten respondents handled Schedule two of the questionnaires to provide detailed data on contribution of women in parliamentary committees and debates, achievements, challenges, propose support that could be required, and the potential stakeholders to provide the support, and to clarify any gaps in the collected data.
The interviews with opinion leaders were critical as they provided and clarified data that may not have been clear. The sample size for opinion leaders is presented in table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Sampling opinion leaders in the Kenyan Parliament (1963 – 2017)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief whips</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majority leaders</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minority leaders</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speakers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposition leaders</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sampling preference was given to opinion leaders on record for having made significant political impact in running the House Business in Parliament during their term of service.
3.5.1.2 Sampling of leaders from women organizations

Purposive sampling was applied to sample six representatives of organizations which focus on women in political leadership including two scholars who lead the Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), and academia, as key respondents. They were subjected to Schedule Three of the interview to provide additional data on knowledge and perception of contributions of women in parliamentary committees and debates, achievements, challenges, support that could be required, strategies and the stakeholders required to provide the support for data triangulation. These women organizations included Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust (CRAWN), and two scholars who lead the Center for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), and the Africa Women Studies Center at University of Nairobi.

3.5.2 Sample size

The study sampled 46 respondents who comprised thirty women political leaders who had served in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament, ten opinion leaders, six representatives of national organizations supporting women in political leadership including two scholars. The study adopted small sample population of key respondents to allow in-depth analysis (Singleton 1998).
3.6.0 Data Collection Tools

This sub-section discusses the data collection tools utilized in the course of the research.

3.6.1 Research Instruments

Data was collected using different methods to interrogate the topic under study from different perspectives. The triangulation method was necessary to validate information, observations and perspectives.

Three interview schedules were developed with flexible probing, ideal for investigating personal views and experiences on underlying barriers to women performance in Parliament since independence from the perspective of each respondent.

Three research interview schedules (Appendixes 2,3,4) (Pages 214, 220, 225) were designed, guided by the research questions and the objectives of the study. The interview schedules focused on six main aspects namely: contribution of women in the legislation in parliament, attendance during sessions, the achievements, challenges, proposed intervention for support, and the potential stakeholders. The three schedules were designed to collect data from sampled women MPs, former and incumbents, opinion leaders in Parliament, former and incumbent, and leaders
of women organizations including academia, for in-depth analysis of the data collected. The questions were tweaked to collect specific data from each category.

Interview Schedule One collected demographic data from women MPs, their personal and collective attendance during sessions, contributions in committees and debates, number of bills and motions tabled by women, their achievements, challenges, support that they could require to execute their legislative work effectively, the strategies, and the proposed service providers. Demographic data provided further analysis to determine if age, education and marital status has an influence on contributions and performance of women MPs in legislation.

Interview Schedule Two was used to collect data from women MPs who had served in Parliament for more than one term and opinion leaders who had served in Parliament during the study period. It was meant to collect in-depth data of their knowledge and opinion on attendance of women MPs in sessions, contributions in committees, debates, and legislative work, women MP’s achievements, challenges, required support to enable them execute their legislative work effectively, strategies, and potential service providers.

Interview Schedule Three collected in-depth data from the leaders of women organizations regarding on their knowledge and opinion of attendance during parliamentary sessions, contributions in committees, debates, and legislative work,
their achievements in making rights of women to be recognized legally and the women who tabled the Bills, the missed out opportunities in legislation of women’s rights, challenges, and the required support to enable them execute their legislative work effectively, strategies, and potential service providers.

The three interview schedules enabled the researcher to ensure validity of research through triangulation of data collected on the same topic, from different categories of respondents.

3.6.2 Desk review

Secondary data was collected through review of content and analysis of various literature materials which included books, journals, reports and other grey literature to get an overview of women performance in Parliament since independence. These included reports from global, regional and national Parliaments and studies done about women in political leadership. The researcher spent time in different libraries reviewing the relevant literature to the study objectives. Other materials were reviewed from own library and the internet. The researcher analyzed and critiqued the relevant materials based on the research objectives, questions and theoretical framework of the study. The key tenets of the Theory of Change justified the assessment of dominant practices in the political environment in order to explore new possibilities that could change the status quo (Vogel, 2012). Data on the achievements of women in Parliament at global, regional and national level, and
challenges faced was reviewed and collected within this theoretical perspective. The data from review of literature was used to cross-reference the findings of the study.

### 3.6.3 Field data

This subsection presents tools and methods used in field data collection, and the methods of data collection.

#### 3.6.3.1 Survey method

Interview schedules allowed for collection of quantitative data that was pivotal to this study. Interview Schedule One (Appendix 1) (Page 214) was designed to collect data from 19 women who had served in Parliament in Kenya since Independence to the 11th Parliament. The demography section was included in the schedule to determine if there was correlation between the level of education, marital status and contributions of the women in the legislature in Parliament. The interview schedule was administered to both incumbent women MPs and those who had served in previous Parliaments.

The study applied the triangulation method to correct and validate the data. Face to face interviews were conducted. The researcher voice-recorded and filled in the questionnaires during the discussions.
3.6.3.2 Key Respondent’s interviews

Key respondent’s interviews were conducted with people believed to be knowledgeable of the contribution of women to legislation in Parliament (Singleton, 1995). Interview Schedule two (Appendix 2) was subjected to ten opinion leaders and eleven women leaders with wide experience in Parliament and political leadership, with a view to collect their views and opinions on the contribution of women in Parliament since independence to the 11th Parliament. The second interview schedule was similar to schedule one but the questions were structured slightly differently in order to elicit in-depth understanding of the issues raised in the problem statement on the contribution of women MPs in tabling Bills and Motions in Parliament concerning the welfare of women, the challenges they encountered and what would be the possible remedy. This allowed the researchers to seek clarification on items that were not clear in the schedule one interviews. This generated further information on contributions of women in debates and parliamentary committees, challenges, proposed interventions for remedy and potential stakeholders.

3.6.3.3 In-depth interviews

In depth-interviews were conducted with women leaders of organizations, including scholars, who focused on women in political leadership. Interview
Schedule Three (Appendix Three) was used to collect data for in depth understanding of the research objectives and questions. Data was collected from key respondents outside Parliament with experience in working with women MPs in order to deliver the women’s legislative role in parliament, for triangulation and validation of data collected from Schedule One and Two. Interview Schedule Three was similar to Schedule Two with specific focus on leaders of women movement including scholars. The respondents understood the role of parliament in Kenya. The information was used to triangulate data and provide insight on underlying causes to issues raised in the statement of the problem, on the challenges women face in Parliament and how the challenges affect their performance of the legislative role.

3.7. Piloting of Research Instruments

Pre-testing interviews were done three months prior to the actual research to assess the suitability, validity and reliability of the questionnaires, and clarity in terms of the wording of items. The pretesting checked the flow and consistency of the responses, and the responses particularly those expected from the interviewees. The three interview schedules were administered by the researcher and a research assistant in pretesting exercise. The research assistant accompanied the researcher in the four pretesting interviews done to correct questions that were unclear to the respondents. After the pretesting, the researcher inducted the research assistant on the three interview schedules and administered one interview per schedule together
with the research assistant for quality assurance. Thereafter, the research assistant was assigned interviews for data collection. These were voice recorded to ensure no relevant details were left out in data analysis.

The exercise helped the researcher to familiarize with the questions, expected responses and the time frame. The findings from the pilot study were applied in refocusing some questions to the objectives and removing those that were deemed unnecessary so as to minimize measurement error (Mugenda, 2003). The pretesting was done with a sample of ten percent of the study sample size (five respondents) in the 9th, 10th and 11th Parliaments and leaders of women’s movement respondents who were not part of the study population. All deficiencies were identified and corrected. This ensured that items were clearly stated and had the same meaning to all respondents, hence standardizing the data collection.

3.7.1 Validity

Validity refers to the extent to which an instrument measures what it is purports to measure; the accuracy and truth of the data (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). Three common types of validity for researcher’s consideration were content, construct, and criterion (Grix, 2004). The study focused on content validity which indicates the extent to which items adequately represented the trait that the researcher wanted to measure.
The survey instruments were reviewed for further tweaking to ensure responsiveness and alignment to the study objectives and research questions. To increase internal validity, opinion leaders from Parliament were purposively sampled and availed to similar interview questions so as to assess the relevance of the responses to the study objectives. External validity was enhanced by sampling key respondents from outside Parliament to provide data that could be cross-checked with the study findings and other previous studies in the literature review on women political leadership in Parliament.

3.7.2 Reliability

Reliability refers to the dependability, stability, and consistency of information obtained in a study. Reliability is associated with the methods used to measure research variables. An instrument is reliable with regard to the extent to which it measures whatever it is measuring consistently (Mugenda 2003). Common measures of reliability include internal consistency, test-retest, and interrater reliabilities (Ibid).

To measure the reliability of the instrument, the researcher used the test-retest method by administering the three interview schedules on the respondents twice at an interval of two weeks. The extent to which the items in interview schedules
were related to each other and the index of interval consistency or repetitiveness
were determined by analyzing the reliability of each instrument (Grix, 2004).

3.8. Data Collection, Quality assurance and Control

According to Mugenda (2003), sample surveys are affected by the sampling design
and random effects, and non-sampling error. An appropriate sampling design
controls the former effect while the latter can be alleviated by quality control
procedures.

To ensure quality control, a research assistant was recruited and trained on the
administration of the research instruments. In one day, two mock interviews were
carried out in the presence of the research assistant. The research assistant was also
shown how to use a voice recorder during the interviews. The following day, the
research assistant was asked to carry out a mock interview with a voice recorder to
assess if the assistant had understood the questions, the necessary probes and
familiarization with the voice recorder. Once the researcher was confident on
competency, we did content analysis to ensure the research assistant was clear in the
mind about the objectives and expectations of the research. We did the first two
face-to-face interviews together. The researcher also verified the first five
questionnaires from the research assistant. This way the data collected was
standardized to minimize variations in procedures of data collection which could
have resulted in biased results.
All the data was collected through administering face-to-face interview schedules with the sampled respondents. Through the face-to-face interviews, the researcher was able to establish rapport with the respondents within a short time. This made the respondent confident to share detailed information and also clarified information that may not have been clearer to the researchers (Babbie, 2013). The collected data was carefully recorded in the interview schedules under each specific question and sub-questions. Voice recording was done for accuracy in data collection and analysis. All the qualitative and quantitate data was collected by this method to capture variations and to give the desired statistics. The primary and secondary sources of data provided information that was used to correlate and compare the study variables.

3.9 Data Analysis, Interpretation and Presentation.

After the data collection from the field, tally tables were prepared and cross-checked with interview schedules and field notes for reliability, and to ensure no data was missing. The collected data was categorized into research questions and coded to reduce it to manageable set of observation. It was then entered in the MS-Excel by the data entry clerk for further scrutiny and analysis. First, exploratory data was analyzed to check on frequency distribution. For contributions in debates, committees and legislation, cross tabulations were done to derive the analysis in the context of the performance. Cross tabulations which contributed to the analysis of research questions were retained.
The field notes from interviews with key respondents provided insights to data analysis. A coding guide was developed to summarize the field notes and the details were captured from the voice recorder based on themes. The quantitative data from the field notes was made manageable by summarizing after each session, and coded based on the key themes that provided reference to the research questions. Afterwards the coded verbatim statements were cross referenced with quantitative information. Emerging patterns were presented thematically in narrative and verbatim format, according to the research objectives. Verbatim statements from questionnaires and key respondents which strengthened the data were selected as citations. They were then cross referenced with literature review for validity of the research outcome.

The quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistical tools which included averages, mean scores, and standard deviations. Cross tabulations were done to derive the analysis in the context of the research questions. Tabulations that contributed to the analysis of objectives and research questions were considered in summarizing the data. The analyzed data was presented in frequency distribution tables, bar graphs, and pie charts to explain recurring patterns among categories and make conclusions (Singleton, 1988). The emerging patterns were analyzed, cross referenced with data from desk review, and presented thematically as per the research questions based on the study theories.
Qualitative data was analyzed for cross reference with the quantitative data in order to make suggestions, draw findings of the study, make recommendations and identify gaps for further study.

3.10 Ethical Considerations.

In research work, ethical considerations are given due attention. Mugenda (2003) argued that in social science, ethical considerations were paramount in conducting and reporting any piece of research.

After obtaining the research authorization letter (Appendix 5) from the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of Kenyatta University, the researcher presented it to the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI) for issuance of a research authorization permit. A copy of this (Appendix 6) was presented to the Clerk of Parliament in order to obtain access to interview the MPs. In addition, the Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association (KEWOPA) was informed of the research project. This was important as the KEWOPA Secretariat was to assist in securing the appointments with women MPs through the personal assistant. The responsibility of the respondents included participation and consent to be interviewed. The key respondents outside Parliament were first informed about the study and the research permit presented to them.

The right to knowledge for the respondents was observed. The respondents were informed about the purpose of the study, duration of the interview, confidentiality of
information and how the results were to be utilized. Accuracy in data analysis, and in the presentation of study findings was observed for accountability by the researcher. The respondents’ names were concealed in data analysis for confidentiality and only the initials were used.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings on bills tabled by women MPs since independence to 11th parliament that could benefit welfare of women in Kenya and achievements made by women MPs since independence up to the 11th Parliament in terms of delivery of Bills that translate into laws in Kenya. The chapter present the findings of objective 1 and 2. The study analyzes attendance in debate sessions and contributions in committees.

Descriptive statistics which include percentages, frequencies, means, and standard deviations are used to analyze the data. The results are then presented in tables, pie-charts, graphs, and content analysis for easier understanding. The data is analyzed thematically according to the research objectives.

Content analysis of the data was first done. The data was then presented in form of descriptive statistics, which was then followed by explanation or discussions.

The Chapter comprises of two sub-sections. The first sub-section presents data related to general information and bio-data while the second sub-section deals with data analyses based on the research questions 1 and 2.
4.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents

A sample size of forty-six (46) respondents that comprised thirty (30) women political leaders who had served in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament, ten (10) opinion leaders, six (6) representatives of national organizations supporting women in political leadership, including two scholars, took part in the study.

Out of the 46 sampled respondents, 45 of them took part in the final study giving a response rate of 97.8%. The demographic information that was collected from the 30 respondents in interview schedule one and two is discussed under the following subheadings: marital status, highest level of education and number of years served in Parliament.

4.1.1 Marital status of the respondents

In this section the researcher sought to establish the marital status of 30 women political leaders in order to have a good understanding of the social status of the sampled women Members of Parliament since independence to the 11th Parliament and the correlation of social status to the study objectives. The respondents were required to indicate their marital status based on such perspectives as single, married, separated, widowed, or divorced. The results were presented in Figure 4.1.
Figure 4.1 Marital status of the respondents who were women political leaders who had served in parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament

Figure 4.1 shows that the respondents were distributed in all clusters of marital status. Considerably more than half, 70.0 percent were married, 13.33 percent were widowed, 6.67 percent were single, 6.67 percent were separated, and 3.33 percent were divorced. From the study findings, most of the women Members of Parliament in Kenya were married. The study findings conform to those in a study on challenges facing women in legislation processes in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11th Parliament by Godia (2017) which showed that 92 percent of respondents were married, 2.5 percent were single, and 5 percent were divorced (Godia, 2017).

The findings are contrary to the widely held perception that majority of the women in political leadership are either single, separated, divorced or widowed (Kamau,
The study did not categorize marital status into the statutory or the customary type of marriages. There is a possibility that cohabitation or other forms of relationships are equated to formal marital unions by the respondents in Parliament. The researcher recommends further research on marital status of the women MPs to further investigate on the types of marriages they are in so as to generate new knowledge on this matter.

4.1.2 Education level for female MP respondents

An analysis of the levels of education was carried out in a bid to assess if there was relationship between performance and education levels. According to Negash (2006, cited in Khan 2014), most institutions use level of education as an indicator of one’s performance. The reason behind this is that education is considered as a source of exposure and confidence and it is assumed that high education level would enable women in both the Senate and the National Assembly to greatly contribute in passing Bills and developing Motions. Since independence up to the 10th Parliament (2007-2012), the electoral guidelines did not define the education qualification for one to become a Member of Parliament in Kenya. However, the Elections Act 2011 (2016 Amendment) defines a University degree level as the minimum qualification in order for one to contest an election as a Member of Parliament in Kenya from the 2022 general elections (Elections Act, 2011 Amendment Act No. 36 of 2016). Therefore, education level has not been an impediment for women to access Parliament in
Kenya. The results on education level for women MPs since independence are presented in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Highest level of education attained for female MP respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest level of Education attained</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 4.1 indicate that slightly more than half (53.33%) had attained University Bachelor’s degree. Another high proportion, 33.33 percent of the respondents had obtained a Master’s degree while ten percent had PhD level. However, only 3.33 percent had attained secondary level. The findings show that over 50 percent of the women in Parliament had attained a Bachelor’s degree level of education, implying a high capacity to table Bills and Motions. From the literature review, education level alone does not determine performance of women on legislative work in Parliament (IRI, 2016). There are other political environmental factors that determine their contribution in debates and tabling of Bills and Motions in Parliament. However, a high level of education is an enabler to conceptualize and understand issues in complex situation in a better manner than a counterpart with a lower education level. Since independence, Parliament has been dominated by men. The relatively low number of Bills tabled by women MPs compared to the high
percentage of women with a bachelors’ degree, point to the need to prepare women adequately on how to manoeuvre and cope with the political terrain in Parliament as soon as they are elected or nominated, and to equip them with skills to enable them to execute their legislative role effectively.

In Europe, education is often mentioned as a prerequisite for promoting greater political participation by women. However, this is not an obstacle as socially and politically active women, as a rule, have advanced education (IPU 2009). Hence, it is important to promote women’s political participation within the educational system in order to sensitize societies on the importance of gender equality in decision making and development. In Nigeria, it is assumed that women who are educated are more and would want to participate in political leadership in parliament (Godia, 2017).

In Kenya, according to research by Rift Valley Institute RVI (2018), substantive influence of women MPs in Parliament has remained constrained by institutional, political, and social factors, irrespective of gradual increase in numbers since independence (RVI, 2018). According to Godia (2017) educated women are more willing to participate in the legislative role once elected into parliament. However, their enthusiasm often fades away in the new political terrain which requires navigation and support from party leaders and internal networks that are dominated by men. Research shows that a woman with a PhD was nominated in the 9th
parliament (2002-2007) but did not utter a single word during the five years term of service (Kamau, 2008). From the literature review, the woman was intimidated by male counterparts with the support of male competitor from her constituency to deter her from competing with him in subsequent elections (Kamau, 2010). The well-established male network in Parliament among other factors, has become a barrier to contribution and performance of women MPs. Yet, an enabling environment was paramount for women to optimize their capacity in their parliamentary in legislative role.

4.1.3 Age bracket during representation in parliament

In this section, the researcher sought to establish the age of the sampled women Members of Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament (1969-2013). The age at which one was elected to Parliament can determine how much one could achieve within the term, subject to previous experience and exposure to political leadership. The respondents were required to indicate their age brackets during their tenure in parliament. The results are presented in Figure 4.2 below:
Figure 4.2: Distribution of respondents by age bracket during service in parliament

Figure 4.2 shows that more than half (60 percent) of the respondents who served in Parliament since independence, were in the age bracket of 46-55 years, 23.30 percent were in the age bracket of 36-45 years while 6.67 percent were in the age bracket 18-35 years. These findings implied that female youths were under represented in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament. The findings also implied that women were only given opportunities for political leadership opportunities from the age of 45 years and above. The findings concur with Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2014) Report on young parliamentarians which noted that women under the age of 45 were by far the least represented in national Parliaments, with eight per cent, compared to young men and older women, with sixteen per cent representation each (IPU, 2014). Older men, on the other hand, were vastly over-represented, comprising 60 per cent of parliamentarians (IPU, 2014). According to Kasomo
(2012), some women in the political arena were afraid of failure, especially, those at the beginning of their leadership journey due to intimidation, lack of adequate finances coupled with fear of the male dominated political terrain and violence. According to Moser (1993), globally women are overburdened with three triple roles, which make their contributions less visible and less valued than men’s productive work. The triple roles are: their reproductive roles which involve childbearing and caring as well as domestic tasks that support the household’s wellbeing; productive roles related to activities that produce goods and services for consumption or trade, and community role which involves community work, such as holding social events to improve or care for community. Women in parliament carry out these roles alongside with their reproductive roles in their households. The triple roles are over-burdening, especially to young women with young families. In Kenya, due to patriarchy and cultural barriers on women political leadership, most young women shy away from the political arena. Often, women are required to get permission from their husbands and their male relatives to join politics (Kamau, 2010).

The findings were affirmed by Ms. S.N who was elected in Ijara Constituency, Garissa County in 2017 general elections as the first female MP, not only in her home Constituency, Ijara, but also in the larger Northern Kenya region since independence. She fought for political space even when women’s leadership was intensely frowned upon in her community. Ms. S.N, remarked,
“It has not been an easy ride. At one point in 2013, the elders declined to approve my candidature for the MP seat and directed me to contest the Woman Representative seat instead.” I refused. ‘Imams and elders denounced my candidature saying that it was against Islam for a woman to compete with men and anyone who votes for me will go to hell. My supporters and especially women were marked and attacked on Election Day. Some women were beaten and subjected to harassment’

Her view was affirmed by remarks from another woman MP, Ms. S. K, a nominated MP in the 11th Parliament. In 2017, Ms. S.K won her electoral contest with a landslide to become the first woman MP for Laikipia North Constituency, she remarked,

“There were threats and curses from Maasai elders who saw my candidature as going against the traditions of the Maa people. I was branded a traitor and cursed in a ceremony that was attended by elders, governors, senators, and Members of County Assembly (MCA) from Laikipia and the neighboring Kajiado and Narok Counties. I encountered a lot of verbal abuse and propaganda about my character. Running against such a tide of negativity meant that I had to have a winning strategy”.

From the study findings, the tough journey for women political leadership starts before joining Parliament and does not stop there. Women have to manoeuvre the new political terrain alongside the 3-triple role (Moser, 1993) assigned to women by society.
4.2 Duration of the Representation

The researcher also sought to establish the duration that women had served in Parliament since independence. The duration of service determines the experience one had in a given field or career and this could have a great impact on women’s participation in tabling Motions and Bills in parliament. For example, duration in parliament determined the experience one had with parliamentary procedures, debates, lobbying, maneuvering the political environment in Parliament, and with leaders of political parties. To achieve this, respondents were required to provide the number of 5-year terms they had served in Parliament. Table 4.2 presents the results.

Table 4.2 Number of 5-year terms in Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of 5-Year Terms Served</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Term</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Terms</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Terms</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Terms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Terms</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above results indicated that close to half (46.67 percent) of the respondents had served in Parliament for one term (1-5 years), thirty percent for two terms (6-10 years), 13.33 percent for three terms (11-15 years) and ten percent for 4 terms (16-20 years) since independence. None of the respondents had served for more than 20 years. The data shows that majority of women MPs had served between one to two
terms since independence. The findings indicate that in most cases, women failed to get re-elected to Parliament after the end of their first term. This could be attributed to the fact that they may have encountered challenges of balancing family and political life (Kamau, 2010). It could also be due to lack of support from party leaders in Parliament who were mainly men, lack of support networks to enable them to navigate the political terrain in Parliament and party politics to strategize for retention. The findings concur with Khamisi (2014) who argued that the culture in Parliament denied women an opportunity to demonstrate their potential. All these factors called for the breaking of the social cultural barriers in Parliament and capacity development of women MPs.

According to the findings, Affirmative Action (AA) is an enabler and a fall-back for women in political leadership as demonstrated by the fact that out of the four women who served for three terms in Parliament during the study period, Ms. J.O was first elected in Funyula Constituency in the 3rd and 4th parliaments and got nominated in the 9th parliament. She was the first woman to be appointed Assistant Minister, Housing and Social Services in Kenya (Kamau 2010). Ms. N.M was elected in Kitui West constituency in the 3rd and 7th Parliaments and got re-elected in the 11th Parliament on an affirmative seat for county Woman Representative. Ms. C.M was first nominated in the 9th Parliament and got re-elected in Runjenyes constituency in the 10th and 11th Parliaments, after which she left voluntarily to vie for gubernatorial seat in Embu County. Ms. A.A was nominated in the 9th Parliament and retained the
nomination seat in the 10th, and 11th Parliaments. All the four women had benefited from Affirmative Action which gave them opportunity to recuperate and strengthen political networks for survival during the period of service. Due to the male dominance over the years in the political arena, women had to work hard to table a Bill, join Parliament, retain their seats, save for the Affirmative Action provided for in the Kenyan Constitution 2010. This was affirmed by one of the respondents who stated:

“For any bill sponsored by a woman MP to pass, the women MPs have to lobby more intensively than their male counterparts. At times, women lack the technical capacity to sponsor the bills”.

The three women who served for four terms in Parliament are political icons in Kenya. Ms. M.K was elected in Gichugu Constituency consecutively in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Parliaments after which she left voluntarily to vie for the Presidential seat in the 2013 General Election. She became the leader of National Alliance Rainbow Coalition Kenya (NARCK) political party. Ms. C.N was elected in Kitui Central constituency consecutively in the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Parliaments. She vied for Presidential seat in 1997 and lost but she retained her constituency seat. She is the leader of National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Political party. Ms. B.M was elected in Dagoretti Constituency consecutively in the 8th, 9th and 10th Parliaments. She was nominated to the senate in the 11th Parliament. The three women are renown for their resilience, perseverance, courage and confidence in
fighting tough political battles in the strongholds of male-led parties. Ms. C.N and Ms. M. K registered their own political parties to overcome the bottle necks at the political parties’ nominations stage where certificates to get to the ballot were issued. Their contributions in parliament are demonstrated by the bills they tabled during their service listed in tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 (Pages 32,33,34,38).

The findings show that fewer women made it for second or third term in Parliament due to the tough male dominated environment made their contributions in parliament invisible to their voters. Hence, they were perceived as not representing the interests of their voters. Only 30.00, 13.33, and 10.00 percent of the women MP respondents were in their 2nd, 3rd, and 4th term in parliament respectively while 46.67 percent of them were in their 1st term. From literature review globally, when women entered parliament, they faced new challenges which were different from those they had faced while running for office. Parliament’s cultural environment has historically been determined by men (IPU, 2015). The challenges include the new rules and practices, behaviour and attitudes, and personal challenges. The respondents stated that men had made society to believe that political space belonged to them. Men got threatened when women occupied political spaces. Women found it hard to adjust and manoeuvre the political environment in parliament that was peculiar to them. They often found it difficult to balance the new political environment with family and their constituents.
Unlike male parliamentarians who have support networks in and outside Parliament, women MPs lack support from within and outside Parliament. The complexity of their political situation limits their chances to be re-elected. To mitigate the challenge, women should retain and strengthen their social and professional networks with women movements and their constituents upon joining parliament. They should also establish support networks in parliament with their political leaders and allies for sustained political support.

4.3 Women’s contribution in Parliament since independence up to the 11th Parliament.

The second objective of the study sought to assess the achievements made by women parliamentarians in delivering Bills which translate into laws for the benefit of women in Kenya. In this study, participation of women Members of Parliament meant contributing to parliamentary debates and committees regarding the welfare of women and men in Kenya.

4.3.1 Contribution by women MPs in parliamentary debates and committees.

Members of Parliament have three main universal roles, namely: legislative, representation, and oversight roles. The statutory law making remains almost the preserve of Parliament (IPU 2017). The representative role requires that MPs engage
citizens in a continuing dialogue to understand their views and perspectives, respond to their concerns and complaints, draw on their intimate knowledge about local topics, and ensure the work of Parliament reflects the context and reality of peoples’ lives (CPST, 2014). There are several points of overlap between Parliament’s law making and oversight functions. Parliament’s business involves thematic committees. The process of oversight inquiry in committee frequently exposes potential gaps or flaws that may require legislative action, and recommend evidence gathering and stakeholders’ engagement.

The role and responsibility of MPs are intertwined. MPs have responsibilities to three main groups: their constituents, Parliament and their political parties. Their duties in Parliament include participating in debates and voting for legislation and other matters. They may also be members of committees examining new laws or the work of government departments (IPU, 2009).

The researcher sought to establish the extent to which women contributed in either parliamentary debates or parliamentary committees. Respondents were asked to state, in their opinion, whether women Members of Parliament (MPs) contributed to the welfare of men and women through parliamentary debates. The findings are presented in Table 4.3:
Table 4.3: Participation in parliamentary debates and committees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>93.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Close to all (93.33 percent) of the respondents were of the opinion that women contributed in parliamentary debates. The notable women MPs that were mentioned by opinion leaders were: Ms. Beth Mugo, Ms. Martha Karua, Ms. Charity Ngilu, Ms. Millie Odhiambo, Ms. Njoki Ndung’u, Ms. Rachael Shebesh, Ms Gladys Wanga, Ms. Phoebe Asiyo, Ms. Cecily Mbarire Ms. Amina Abdalla, Ms. Sophia Abdi, Ms. Ruth Oniago, Ms. Agnes Ndetei, Ms. Marere wa Mwachai, Dr. Joyce Laboso, Ms. Adeline Mwau, Ms. Tabitha Seii, Ms. Priscilla Nyokabi, Ms. Beatrice Elachi, Ms. Martha Wangari, Ms. Rosalinda Soipan, Ms. Florence Kajuju, Ms. Rachael Nyamai, Ms. Annah Gathecha, Ms. Naisula Lesuuda, Ms. Janet Wanyama, Ms. Judith Sijeny, Ms. Tiya Galgayo, Ms. Esther Gathogo. And Dr. Agnes Zani.

Those who had served for more than one term were repeatedly mentioned by the opinion leaders. From the literature review, sixteen of the women mentioned also tabled Bills that addressed the welfare of women. Thirteen out of sixteen women had served for more than one term in Parliament. The findings indicate that serving for more than one term in Parliament helps increase the confidence and chances for women to contribute to debates in Parliament.
Respondents were further asked to state the contributions that women had made which had an impact on the welfare Kenyan women. Data was analyzed using mean and standard deviations based on a range scale of one (very low) to five (very high).

The results are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Summary of means and standard deviations of women’s contributions to Bills on women welfare in Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contribution to Bills on welfare of women</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to debates and Bills sponsored by women leaders in Parliament that are relevant to the welfare of women.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting for rights of people living with disability and especially children.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving women’s lifestyles in the County through the creation of sustainable income-generating activities to spur economic growth</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising the education standards of the girl-child by providing sanitary pads and encouraging the girls to work hard in their studies.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confronting early marriages and elimination of FGM.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction of new maternity clinics in some of the worst informal settlements</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Championing for mainstreaming of gender equality and promoting the education of girls.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: N=Number of items in the survey, SD=standard deviation.

Mean and standard deviations above were used to test respondent’s ideas. Standard deviation is the square root of the variance and it measures the spread of set observations. The results in Table 4.4 indicate that all items had a mean score of below 3.0 (mean<3.0).
These findings implied that women did not equally and adequately contribute in Parliament with respect to moving Bills that had an impact on women’s welfare in Kenya since independence. Less than 3 women in the different Parliaments were involved in tabling Bill on the welfare of women. This concurs with the literature review which showed that no Bill was tabled by the nineteen women who were in parliament during the single party era, *de facto and de jure*, (Kamau, 2010), and only fifteen Bills and three Motions were tabled by the fifty-five women MPs who served in the multiparty era (Okello, 2013). According to Godia, (2017) performance in tabling Bills and Motions remained low in the 11th parliament (Kenya Constitution 2010 era). Even though the Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST) inducts all newly elected members on legislative process and parliamentary procedures, the findings show that women legislators need systematic and consistent capacity building on legislative matters, parliamentary procedures and leadership skill to enable them to participate effectively in parliament.

These findings allude to IPU Report (2015) that once women are elected to parliament, they face a new set of challenges: to carve out their own space and gain influence over policy-making processes, to oversight and to perform their representative roles. Sessions for Induction for newly elected women leaders are critical to enable them to navigate the parliamentary process and procedures and establish spaces in the various networks for support and stability.
Interviews revealed the various contributions made by women MPs, from respondents who made the following remarks,

“Women did well in the 9th parliament where Justice N.N tabled the Sexual Offences Act 2006. Prof. R.O, Ms. J.O, Ms. M.O and Ms. R.S formed parliamentary network on children. Ms. M.O and Ms. R.S were good at gender and youth issues.” (Mr. E.E, Former speaker, 11th parliament).

Prior to becoming a Speaker, Mr. E.E was an MP in the period between 1997 and 2012 (from the 8th to the 10th Parliament) hence the in-depth institutional memory and knowledge on Parliamentary matters and contributions of MPs. The statement affirms the findings in table 4.3 on the contribution of women in parliamentary debates.

“Women parliamentarians have moved motions in parliament, requested for statements, presented petitions, served in parliamentary committees and sponsored Bills that drive the women’s agenda.” Mr. K.M, former speaker in 10th parliament

From the literature review on the contributions and achievements of women in Parliament (KEWOPA, 2017), and the study findings, some of the Bills tabled by women MPs in Parliament on the welfare of women include, Matrimonial Property Act 2013 (No. 49) and the Marriage Act, 2014 (No.49). The two Bills were drafted by women MPs with support from women organizations but championed by a male ally, Hon. Samuel Chepkonga, who was the Chair of Legal Committee in the 11th parliament (KEWOPA 2017). Due to the male dominance in parliament, often,
women have to lobby their male counterparts to support their Bills and Motions in Parliament, including asking them to champion them to avoid their Bill getting trivialized as a women’s issue. The two Bills are beneficial especially to marginalized groups like women and children. Some of the provisions in the Marriage Act include registering of polygamous marriages under customary law, and recognition of Islamic and Hindu laws for registration and dissolution of marriages (UN Women, 2015).

Though Kenya is a signatory to Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the country went ahead to register the Marriage Act which contradicted article 16 of CEDAW on marriage and family law. Article 16 of CEDAW does not recognize registration of polygamous marriages. The Matrimonial Property Act (2013) has provision for ownership of property during marriage, after dissolution of marriage or after death of the spouse. Women have a right to claim half of matrimonial property in a court of law though they must show their contribution (FIDA 2015).

The Sexual Offences Act 2006 (Amendment Bill, 2016), championed by Hon. Samuel Chepkonga, provides for the protection and relief of victims of domestic violence. It provides for the protection of a spouse and any children or other dependant persons, and matters connected therewith or incidental thereto (Kenya Gazette, 2016). Women and children are mainly the victims of domestic violence
The Bill provides for the National and County governments to promote public awareness on sexual offences through a comprehensive nation-wide education and information campaign conducted through the relevant Ministries, departments, authorities and other agencies (Ibid). As a result, many Counties are putting up safety shelters and availing service providers for victims of gender-based violence majority of whom are women. This study reveals that the women legislators are making efforts in the domesticating articles in international instruments which benefit women in Kenya. The specific article highlighted in this study are Article 12 on health care and Article 16 on marriage and family law, though the family law is not fully compliant with the international instruments (UN Women, 2015). These findings were affirmed by one of the women MP respondents who served in Parliament during single party- *de facto and de jure*, multiparty and Kenya Constitution 2010 era,

> “Women have tabled bills and motions on elimination of gender-based violence, early marriages, female genital mutilation, promotion of girls’ education and gender equality” (Mr. R. O, political party and opposition leader).

The findings show that women can do better if given the necessary support to deliver their legislative role. Despite the male dominance in Parliament, the low numbers, and the inexperience in Parliamentary procedures, another respondent who served in Parliament in the single-*de facto and de jure*, and multiparty eras, as a party and
opposition leader, and later held a key position in the County in the Kenya Constitution 2010 era reported that,

“Women parliamentarians have been at the forefront championing the mainstreaming of gender equality, women’s progression and participation in the development process such as FGM (Female Genital Mutilation) and early marriages and promoting the education of girls”. (Mr. M.K former political party and opposition leader).

The comments by the key political parties and opposition leaders concur with the literature review on the Bills tabled by women MPs (Bills tracker, 2017) that include, firstly, Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Act, 2011 by Hon. Jebii Kilimo which has benefitted young girls who could be married off immediately after circumcision at teen age. This practice was rampant especially in the pastoral regions in Kenya. The law gives girls opportunities to enjoy their right to education and increased opportunity for economic empowerment. Secondly, the Breast Milk Substitutes (Regulation and Control) Bill, 2012 by Ms. B.M. These laws addressed the challenges that required young mothers to return to work after three months post-natal period denying the young child the right to be breastfeed for the first six months. In compliance with the law, most sectors, the government, private, and Civil Society Organizations (CSO) have flexible working hours to support lactating mothers and in some instances rooms for breast-feeding to enable working mothers
to feed their children even when at work. This was also echoed by another female key respondent in parliament who narrated the following,

“I have fought for human rights (with a focus on women and children’s rights), governance and equalizing opportunities for all. I was instrumental in initiating laws that seek to protect women and children. I was the initiator of the Sexual Offences Bill while N.N was the mover in the House. I was also instrumental in other laws of significance to children such as the Children Act, the Criminal Law (Amendment Act) of 2006 and mainstreaming children and women’s rights in the Constitution. When I was nominated to parliament, I brought about 10 legislative agendas to the House. One of them, is the Counter-trafficking in Persons Act, which passed. (Ms. M.O. from 2007 to date).

Ms M.O was first nominated in the 10th Parliament (2007-2013) and got elected in the 11th (2013-2017) and 12th Parliaments (2017-2022). Her statement concurs with the study findings that most Bills were tabled by few women who, in most cases, had served for more than one term in Parliament. Research shows that women who contribute in legislating Bills on the welfare of women in their first term or subsequent terms were mentored by those who had joined Parliament earlier on (UN Women, 2018). According to UN Women (2018), the main mentors include Ms. M.K, Ms. C.N, and Prof. M.N who is a scholar but a mentor on women in political leadership.
A female key respondent who served for 20 years in Parliament observed that the few women who braved the challenges made significant changes in legislation as observed in the following statement.

“Women successfully lobbied for constitutional provisions and laws that are gender friendly among them, are the 1997 Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) and constitutional amendments, which introduced gender quotas regarding nominated seats in parliament and all local authorities, and outlawed discrimination based on sex as captured in Kenya 2010 constitution, introduced public participation, and secured better rights for all” (Ms. M.K, Political Party leader and former MP).

The statement underscores the findings that women can make significant change in legislative work if mentored and supported technically and politically to deliver on their legislative role.

The findings in the above statements from the respondents implied that women parliamentarians largely focused on women’s welfare in health, education and governance and social affairs for women and girls. The findings concur with the IPU (2015) report that women’s presence has changed Parliaments in tangible ways around the world mainly in water, health, ending violence against women, education and agriculture.
One respondent who served in the 7th Parliaments (1992-1997) reported that she contributed to national debates and offered invaluable views that served to enrich these debates on Motions and Bills on women’s right. She further added that she did not participate in the committees because she was an Assistant Minister and the constitution, by then, did not allow for such opportunities, even though there were those who participated in various committees.

This finding shows that in addition to the disadvantage of the low numbers of women in single-de factor and de jure, and multiparty eras, 74 women compared to 1,502 male MPs, their contributions to parliamentary business was further constrained by constitutional provisions, resulting in further marginalization of women MPs.

The patriarchal culture and the electoral system in Kenya are the main factors that can be attributed to the low number of women in Kenya’s Parliament since independence and subsequently constrained voices in Parliament. The first-past-the-post (FPTP) voting electoral system in Kenya has never been known to deliver gender equality in politics anywhere in the world (NGEC, 2018). While the Constitution provides room for proportional representation by nomination through party lists as per Article 90 of the Constitution, most parties are led by men, with little inclusion of women in the management structures (Ibid). Out of the 67 registered political parties by 2017, only four were led by women leaders: The National Alliance Rainbow Coalition (NARC) led by Ms. Charity Ngilu, The National Rainbow Coalition Kenya (NARC-K) led by Ms. Martha Karua, Chama

Kenyan politics requires an enormous outlay of social capital, yet the processes of economic, cultural and political accumulation still favour men. According to Biegon (2016), the presence of women in positions of power has largely proven to be invaluable.

This observation corresponds to the study findings which show that the few women who contributed to debates and committees have impacted on the broadening of legislative priorities to include the gender agenda and give prominence to issues that were previously ignored.

The Constitution of Kenya 2010 has provided a good framework for realizing equal representation of women in political processes. However, there are multiple political, cultural and socio-economic factors which have impeded the translation of legal provisions into tangible or concrete gains for women. To date (2018) the affirmative provisions of the Constitution lack a legislative operational framework for implementation in Parliament, and Kenya is yet to close the gender gap in political representation (UN Women, 2017).
The enactment of a legislative operational framework for attainment of not more than two-thirds gender rule in Parliament has been challenged by the fact that the Constitution does not provide an operational framework for the attainment of the principle in the National Assembly and Senate in case the electorate does not elect enough women to give effect to the gender principle in Article 81 (b). This is unlike the situation in the Counties where in Article 177 (1) (b) of the Constitution ensures that the County Assemblies meet the gender rule (NGEC, 2018). The low number of women in Parliament pose a challenge in achieving the required threshold to vote for the Bills sponsored by women. Most of the time, women MPs have to work hard to lobby the male MPs to vote for Motions or Bills tabled by Women in parliament.

4.3.2. Women MPs who sponsored Motions and Bills in parliament

The researcher sought to establish the key women MPs during their term in Parliament who moved Motions and sponsored Bills. Through interview schedules, the respondents were required to provide the names of the key women MPs. The findings of the study indicated that at least two women MPs in parliamentary committees contributed in moving Motions and sponsoring Bills through the committees besides the more than five women MPs who moved Motions and tabled Bills in parliament.

Further the findings revealed that majority of Bills and Motions were tabled by women who had served for over five to twenty years in Parliament. It was evident
that they had acquired experience in parliamentary procedures, legislation and lobbying strategies to get support from male MPs. Also, women could move Motions and table Bills in Parliament if they had experience in parliamentary procedures and capacity to navigate the political environment. According to Kamau (2010), one woman who was nominated in the 9th Parliament and was a PhD holder indicated that her contribution was limited by lack of experience in parliament procedures and intimidation by the members of parliament. She lost the election when she contested, despite her good development record, due to lack of voice during the five year term in Parliament (Ibid).

To date women’s access to public office remains unbalanced with that of their male counterparts, and biases and stigmatization against women in politics are real. According to IRI (2016) Bills sponsored by women are more likely to be scrutinized with hostility and are more subjected to debate than those introduced by men. Men dominate policy areas considered more prestigious while women take leadership on what are considered “social” issues. Women in the legislature therefore find it more difficult to voice their opinions. From the literature review, women are often more likely to occupy the “soft” Ministries such as Education, Health and Welfare, rather than the “hard” ministries such as Defense, Finance and Foreign Affairs (IPU, 2015).

4.3.2.1 Motions and bills sponsored by women MPs
The research further sought to establish the specific Motions and Bills sponsored by women MPs in Parliament during the study period. The respondents were required
to specify the particular ones sponsored by women MPs on the welfare of women which they could recall. The findings were presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Main Motions and Bills sponsored by women in Parliament that translated into Law

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bills and motions that translated into law</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative Action Social Development Bill, 2015</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>48.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill 2014/ assisted Reproductive Technologies Bill 2016</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Offences Bill 2006</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>57.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Victim Protection Bill, 2013</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Persons with Disability (Amendment) Bill, 2013</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Act, 2011</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Diabetes Management Bill, 2014</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproductive Health Care Bill, 2014.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The self-Help Associations Bill, 2015</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family laws- Matrimonial Property Bill 2013 and Marriage Bill 2014,</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Counter Trafficking of Persons Bill, 2010</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Authority for the Campaign Against Alcohol and Drug Abuse Bill, 2012</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Benefits Organization Bill, 2012</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Social Assistance Bill, 2012</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Breast Milk Substitutes (Regulation and Control) Bill, 2012</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Statutory Instruments Bill, 2011</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ratification of Treaties Bill, 2011</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=45

Table 4.5, above reveals that the most popular Bills and Motions on the welfare of women sponsored by women in Parliament since independence to the 11th Parliament were the Sexual Offences Bill 2006 (Amendment, 2016) (57.78%), the Victim Protection Bill, 2013 (51.11%) and The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill, 2014 (51.11%) as
reported by slightly more than half of the respondents (50.0%). However, Bills such as The Counter Trafficking of Persons Bill, 2010 and Social Assistance Bill, 2012, were least reported by women in parliament (4.44%).

The findings show that the level of respondents’ awareness on women achievement in legislature since independence to was limited to:

(a) reducing cases of sexual and gender-based violence,

(b) early marriages and FGM,

(c) increasing representation of women in decision making, the general welfare of the society in relation to health,

(d) and reproductive and economic rights.

The findings show the need to raise awareness on women achievements in Parliament so as to increase their visibility in legislature. These findings concur with Godia (2017) and FIDA (2013) that there have been accusations and counter accusations that women in Parliament do not deliver on their mandate. Apparently, the assumption that that they don’t add value in making contributions in legislature, is false. However, women need to work with their networks, media and gender equality advocates to raise their visibility and achievements in delivery of their mandate in Parliament.
Also from the findings, there was a gradual increase in representation of women in Parliament with the highest increase in the 11th Parliament attributed to Affirmative Action provision in the Kenya Constitution 2010. The women MPs lobbied and pushed for the Affirmation Action from the 5th parliament (1983-1988) when Ms Phoebe Asiyo initially tabled it as a Motion for the first time in Parliament but it was rejected. The Bill was tabled again in the 7th Parliament (1992-1997) by Ms. Charity Ngilu. Women MPs who had experience in politics who included Ms. Martha Karua, Ms. Charity Ngilu and Ms. Beth Mugo, Ms. Millie Odhiambo, Ms. Naomi Shabani, Ms. Rachel Shebesh, Ms. Cecily Mbarire and other women MPs with support from women movement lobbied for adoption of the Affirmative Action in the Kenya Constitution 2010.

However, the research findings show that the significant increase in women representation in the 11th Parliament did not result in a significant difference in the number of Bills and Motions tabled by women MPs in previous parliaments, especially in the 9th Parliament which only had 16 women MPs. This could be attributed to the fact that the Kenya Constitution 2010 provided many opportunities for women to join Parliament through the 47 slots in the National assembly for County Women Members of Parliament (County Woman Representative), six nomination slots and eighteen nomination slots in the senate. The opportunity opened doors for many women with no political background or experience to join Parliament in the 11th Parliament (2013-2017). It took them time to learn the ropes in the male
dominated environment, Parliamentary procedures, how to manoeuvre the political parties politics, understanding their roles, and balancing the family, politics and the constituencies’ responsibilities. The findings concur with research by Godia (2017) which established that only ten percent of women legislators successfully tabled Motions or Bills in the 11th parliament. A structured support mechanism and mentorship programme for women legislators are recommended to address this gap. The experienced women MPs could mentor the new entrants onto the political terrain.

Despite the challenges, the Motions and Bills sponsored by women during the study period did not only cover women related issues but were also inclusive of other issues. This finding conforms to a report by Mzalendo (2017), an organization that tracks performance of MPs, that women parliamentarians’ contributions span in a wider variety of interests and topics (Mzalendo, 2017).

4.3.2.2 Bills sponsored by women MPs enacted into law.

The study further sought to confirm the number of Bills that translated into law. To achieve this, the respondents were required to state the number of those that were sponsored by women MPs on women related issues which translated into law.
The results were presented in Figure 4.3 below.

![Figure 4.3: Number of Bills that translated into Law](image)

The results in Figure 4.3 indicated that slightly more than half (53.33%) of the respondents reported that only two Bills out of the mentioned seventeen moved in parliament translated into law, 24.44 percent stated that five of the bills translated into law, 15.56 percent had three, 4.44 percent indicated 4 bills, 2.22 percent said one bill translated into law, while none stated that more than five bills translated into law. This response corresponds to the study findings that the level of awareness in society about women achievements in legislature is limited.

From the literature review, seventeen mentioned Bills translated into law including Protection Against Domestic Violence Act 2015, the County Statistics Act 2016, The National Cohesion and Integration Act 2016, the Public Appointment Act 2016,
National Food Security Act, 2013, The National Hospital Insurance Fund Act 2015 among others (KEWOPA, 2017). The inaccuracy from the respondents could be attributed to the limited knowledge on the enacted bills. Women need to sensitize the society on their achievements as a profiling strategy to increase their visibility, chances for re-election, and to convince the society that women leaders bring value to the legislature.

The relatively low numbers of Bills tabled by women MPs could be attributed to the low representation in Parliament (160), compared to men (1,832), since independence up to the 11th Parliament. According to Inter-Parliamentary Union Reports-(IPU), (2015; 2016; 2017), in most cases Women MPs have challenges in pushing the women agenda in Parliament due to the male dominance which overwhelms women’s voices due to the low representation (Wängnerud, 2002). Men are reluctant to support Bills sponsored by women so as to ensure that they do not get credit since they perceive them as competitors. A case in point is the Kenya 10th (2007-2013) and 11th (2013-2017) parliaments which failed to pass the Constitutional Bill on “Not More than Two Thirds Gender” (Articles 27 (8) and 81(b)). The 11th parliament rejected the Two Third Gender Bill (Duale Bill, 2015) twice at its second reading due to lack of quorum (KEWOPA, 2016). The 11th Parliament had 86 female and 330 male MPs. The highest votes ever achieved by the two thirds gender bill was 195 out of the minimum threshold of 233 (KEWOPA, 2016). This was despite the intensive lobbying of legislatures and the executive,
gender equality advocates, gender machineries and female MPs. Going forward, male MPs need to be sensitized on the need to engender Bills.

In terms of women representation in Parliament, it is evident that regions represented by women in past Parliaments were more likely to vote in women MPs in future elections. These include Nyanza, Rift Valley and Eastern regions as demonstrated in appendix 1.2. Murang’a County made history in the 12th Parliament when they elected three women from single constituencies out of the seven constituencies. This was attributed to the leadership of Ms. Alice Wahome and her mentorship and the nurturing of the two women MPs, Ms. Mary Njoroge, Maragwa Constituency and Ms. Ruth W. Mwaniki, Kigumo Constituency. The two women were elected alongside her from the County to the 12th Parliament. Ms. Alice Wahome was elected for the second time in the 12th parliament in Kandara constituency. This shows that the more women get elected from a region, the more others will aspire for political seats, get mentored, and the more likelihood that they will be elected.
4.4 Achievements by women MPs since independence up to the 11th Parliament.

Respondents were required to identify women achievements in legislature during their tenure in Parliament from independence up to the 11th Parliament. The data was analyzed using mean and standard deviations. The results are presented in Table 4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Campaigning for the promulgation of the new Constitution</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Succeeding in developing mechanisms for transforming patriarchal institutional values that normalize inequalities and render ineffective any legislative process</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ensuring gender equality and executing constitutional mandate pertaining to women’s empowerment</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Raising the confidence of the public on women’s leadership</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Advocating for equal education opportunities for the girl child</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dismantling stereotypes associated with women’s leadership</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reducing the cases of FGM</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reducing cases of early marriages</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Creating an enabling environment for women’s political leadership</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ensuring gender equality and executing constitutional mandate pertaining to women’s empowerment</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Sponsoring Bills and Motions that propel the women’s agenda</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Child trafficking coming to an end</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Protecting Orphaned and Vulnerable children</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** N=Number of items in the survey, SD=Standard Deviation
From Table 4.6, means and standard deviations were used to test respondent’s ideas. Standard deviation is the square root of the variance and measures the spread of set observations. The results in Table 4.6 indicated such items as ‘creating an enabling environment for women’s political leadership’ (mean=3.8, SD=.23); ‘reducing cases of early marriages’ (mean=3.6, SD=.44); ‘reducing the cases of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)’ (mean=3.4, SD=.19); ‘Sponsoring Bills and Motions that propel the women’s agenda’ (mean=3.3, SD=.50); and ‘ensuring gender equality and executing constitutional mandate pertaining to women’s empowerment’ (mean=3.3, SD=.60) All of these had mean scores of above 3.0 (mean>3.0). The findings show that women prioritize making laws on social issues that adversely affect the female gender (UNDP, 2012), mainly in social and education sectors. This require intensive strategic interventions, lobbying and advocacy within and outside Parliament to achieve the gender agenda. Protection against early marriages and elimination of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is facilitate the empowerment of women and girls for sustainable development (UN Women, 2017).

Dismantling stereotypes associated with women leadership (mean=2.2, SD=0.59) and ‘child trafficking came to an end’ (mean=2.2, SD=0.32) scored the lowest (mean>2.5). This could largely be attributed to the fact that dismantling stereotypes requires a long-term strategy to change behaviour and the negative attitudes towards women participation in political leadership and decision making. Also, the findings show that traditional beliefs in Parliament on the role of women in society create
barriers to their effective participation in Parliamentary debates and House Business Committees whether elected or nominated.

4.4.1 Contributions by women MPs to the welfare of women and men in Kenya.

During interviews with Women MPs, respondents were asked to give the contributions they had made in order to improve the welfare of women and men in Kenya. Below are statements from some of the respondents:

“I fought for the rights of women, including but not limited to, eliminating FGM and early marriage, and realizing equal opportunities for women. I also contributed to the expansion of the political space for women. While serving as a member of the Health Committee and as a minister of health, I vehemently sought to improve the healthcare of Kenyans through an introduction of an insurance bill”.

The statements above show that women in Parliament legislate on health and social issues which affect men and women. The respondent served for 20 years in Parliament (7th to the 10th Parliament). The finding show that women can contribute on welfare of men and women if given a chance to serve for longer terms in parliament.
Another respondent made the following remarks,

“*I pushed for matters that concern youth and women through legislation and lobbying. I vouched for a functional Constitution that addresses women’s agenda in a country where many communities are yet to fully embrace women as leaders. I was also keen on reproductive health rights and especially on the issue of teen pregnancies and abortion. I repeatedly spoke against rape and defilement as well as calling on the government to institute stiffer penalties for sexual violence offenders. I have worked with organizations whose mandate includes training young girls on life skills. I push for a gender responsive budget to address the gender inequalities at planning, and budgeting*”.

The statement corresponds to literature review that the contribution of women MPs tends to lean on the welfare of women on health, and social matters. Another respondent made the following remarks,

“I oversaw the installation of the closed-circuit television equipment in the country’s main prisons as a way of insulating the inmates against brutal prison officers and also dealing with rampant sexual molestation of inmates by their colleagues”.

The statement above shows that some women MPs do not specifically focus on legislation on women’s issues but the general welfare of both men and women. The findings concur with Mwath (2017) that women in Parliament do not only focus on the gender agenda but also address a broad range of issues. This may at times result
into a challenge in bridging the gender inequality gap in legislation since men who are the majority in Parliament do not necessarily prioritize women concerns in legislation. The statement above was further confirmed by another respondent who stated:

"I sponsored relevant bills to parliament which included the Diabetes Management Bill, 2014, the traditional Health Practitioners Bill, 2014, the Kenya AIDS Control Authority Bill, 2014 and the Pharmacy Practitioners’ Bill, 2014”.

The observation above concurs with research by Godia (2017) that women MPs need sensitization and training on gender concepts and the gender agenda to represent women effectively in the legislature. The findings above were further explained by another respondent in a parliamentary committee, thus:

“Many women politicians see themselves as contributing to national political issues not exclusively women rights issues. We however miss the point that indeed that is why we are elected as women leaders and should be sensitive and conscious to women rights issues. Not all women leaders have backgrounds of women rights issues before they get elected. The ones who stand out and constantly raise issues of women have prior knowledge on gender issues. Those without any background on gender issues, contribute to national issues just like male MPs.”

The views above clearly show the need for more capacity building for women MPs on gender as soon as they join Parliament. Globally, elected women leaders are the
champions of change at policy, planning, budgeting, implementation and monitoring levels. Their success is the success of all women who aspire and join political leadership.

4.5 Conclusion

The research findings were contrary to the popular belief that a majority of women MPs do not participate in parliamentary processes. In fact, 93.33 percent of the respondents were of the view that women MPs are actively involved in parliamentary debates and committees. The study also found out that those who had served in Parliament for more than one term were more involved in parliamentary processes. They were also more likely to table Bills in Parliament, compared to those who were serving their first term. Also, the 11th Parliament had a greater number of women MPs than any other Parliament before it since independence. This was mainly as a result of an additional 47 Constitutionally established seats in the National Assembly which were set aside for a woman representative from each of the country’s 47 Counties. It was notable that the increase in the number of women MPs in the 11th parliament did not translate into an increase in the number of Bills tabled by women parliamentarians. This was mainly attributed to the fact that many of the women MPs elected at the time were parliamentarians for the first time and were, as such, largely inexperienced when it came to parliamentary processes.
CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS ON CHALLENGES

5.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings and discussions on challenges encountered by women parliamentarians in executing their legislative role in Parliament since independence to in Kenya, based on Objective 3 of the study. It aimed at examining the challenges encountered by women in delivery of Bills that translate into Law.

Content analysis of the data was first done. The results were then presented in frequency distribution tables for easier understanding followed by explanations or discussions. The data was then analyzed thematically, according to the research objective.

5.1 Challenges encountered by women in sponsoring Bills and Motions in Parliament.

The researcher wanted to establish the challenges women encountered in sponsoring Bills and Motions in Parliament. The Data was collected from respondents and the results presented in Table 5.1.
Table 5.1: Ratings of challenges women encounter in sponsoring Bills and Motions in parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items related to challenges</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of capacity to conduct research</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of experience in sponsoring Bills</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of in-depth understanding of the Constitution</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fear of participating in debates</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of support by the executive and political parties</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi chores related to family and political activities</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimidation and harassment</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of education</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** N=Number of items in the survey, SD=Standard Deviation

From Table 5.1, the means and standard deviations were used to test respondents’ ideas, where standard deviation is the square root of the variance and measures the spread of set observations. The results in Table 5.1 indicate that all items had a mean score of above 3.0 (mean>3.0) with lack of experience having the highest mean score (mean=3.8, SD=.23).

Consequently, most women in Parliament faced significant challenges in contributing to debates and in sponsoring Motions and Bills to address the gender inequality issues in Kenya since independence to the 11th Parliament. The challenges range from male dominance to stereotyping. These lead to:

(a) Fear and marginalization,
(b) Lack of data for evidence to support their argument,

c) Lack of support by the leadership and political parties,

d) Overwhelmed by multiple roles; their parliamentary role vis-a-vis family roles,

e) lack of family support, and

f) lack of experience in the legislation process and parliamentary procedures.

The lack of capacity to effectively take part in legislation and contribute to debates are a major drawback to women in Parliament, catalyzed by lack of evidence from research that is critical in the execution of their role in representation, legislative and oversight. Adequate support from Parliament, women’s movement and their political party leaders are important to facilitate them manoeuvre the male dominated political terrain in parliament. Given the nature of parliamentary work which requires spending long ours in political meetings, at constituencies and on travel to various missions, women MPs require family support to enable them balance between family responsibility and parliamentary roles (UN Women, 2017).

The findings were affirmed by some representatives from Women’s Movement organization supporting women leadership by the following remarks,

“Women are victimized by political parties and coalitions and therefore are not given opportunities in sponsoring bills in parliament. Given their busy schedules they have limited time to draft bills and review the existing ones. Women parliamentarians spend most of their time addressing the immediate
needs of their constituents, as a result, they are left with little time to participate in parliamentary proceedings.”

The statement concurs with findings in International Republican Institute -IRI (2016) report that multiple roles for women and demand from society limit their time in legislative work (IRI 2016). Being a woman in Parliament is a challenge due to the male dominated environment which has persisted since the establishment of Parliament in Kenya. Besides the multiple roles, women don’t get enough support from the political parties and at times the public. The above sentiments were echoed by another respondent who stated that:

“Most of the time women in parliament are committed to party positions rather than representing women agenda. If the political party does not support women issues, they also shy off from such issues. Majority of them especially the new timers have limited understanding of constitution clauses where they can anchor their arguments, limited knowledge on gender issues and their roles. There is inadequate knowledge on the legislation process in parliament and naivety on parliament politics.”

These findings allude to the Inter-Parliamentary Union’s report (2011) which points to the need to make Parliaments more “women-friendly” by adjusting its timing to allow women have time for their families, capacity development in legislation, provide child care facilities, and create an enabling environment in Parliament for women (IPU, 2011). Political party in some instances are not keen to ask their members to rally behind Bills seeking to promote gender equality.
Due to the socially constructed multiple roles for women, women MPs often find themselves limited to the first three levels of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow Ed, 1970); physiological needs (breathing, food, water, shelter, clothing, sleep), safety and security (health, employment, property, family and social stability), love and belonging (Maslow Ed, 1970). Capacity development is required to empower the women MPs for personal growth and to become leaders of choice. Capacity development, social and political support can enable the women MPs to move to the 4th level of Maslow’s hierarchy of needs; which is self-esteem (Confidence, achievement, respect for others) and the 5th level which is motivated by self-actualization (morality, creativity, spontaneity, acceptance). From the study findings, majority of the women MPs who have demonstrated self-esteem and self-actualization have served for more than one term in parliament, meaning that gaining knowledge and experience in legislation, parliamentary procedures and politics, is paramount for women to contribute effectively in Parliament.

The challenges experienced by women parliamentarians in executing their mandate since independence, were further tabulated in Table 5.2 for in-depth knowledge. Descriptive statistics for each of the research variables was measured and discussed using means and standard deviations. The results are presented in Table 5.2.
Table 5.2 Means and standard deviations of challenges facing women’s participation in Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges facing women in Parliament</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Male dominance and stereotyping leading to marginalization and isolation</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gender prejudices and cultural factors</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bureaucratic parliamentary norms and procedures</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Lack of numbers in Parliament</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Inferiority complex</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lack of support by the government and political parties</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lack of experience in the legislation process</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results in Table 5.2 above indicate that all items had a mean score of above 3.0 (mean>3.0). These findings imply that most women have faced, to a great extent, many challenges in participating in Parliament since independence with the items, ‘male dominance and Stereotyping leading to marginalization and isolation’ (mean=4.18, SD=.23) and ‘lack of support by the government and political parties’ (mean=4.0, SD=.78) having mean scores of above 4.0 (mean>4.0).

These findings imply that negative attitude towards women’s participation in Parliament by male Parliamentarians is a major barrier to the realization of the women’s agenda. In addition to that, the leadership and political parties were not willing to support women’s participation in Parliament. This could be attributed to men feeling that women were encroaching upon political spaces where they have
enjoyed supremacy due to their high numbers and support networks since independence. These findings demonstrate that male dominance in social, political and support networks - ‘boys club’- in parliament has been a barrier to women contribution is parliament since independence. Below is a discussion of each of the challenges identified in Table 5.2.

**Male dominance in Parliament.**

Given the large population of male parliamentarians strengthened by male networks, women feel out of place and/or intimidated. This forces them to assume a passive role in Parliament or participate behind the scenes by lobbying through the men. During interviews. It was noted that some male counterparts view women MPs as “flower” girls (just a figure to increase the numbers with no serious role), especially, the County Woman Member of Parliament (Women County Representatives). This often stems from the view that County women MPs get the opportunity to be in Parliament after acquiring their seats in a somewhat less competitive basis. In other words, they just compete against their fellow women aspirants in a race where male aspirants are totally locked out. Men are skeptical about women’s ability to effectively participate in political leadership. Empirical studies of commonwealth countries by Duke (2010) suggest that most communities are patriarchal in nature. Men remain at the helm of affairs and make decisions virtually exclusively even when the issues relate to women. The few women who venture into the man’s world feel inhibited to speak, especially when they are in large, male dominated assemblies.
(Duke, 2010). The findings are echoed by the following remarks from one of the key respondents:

“Political processes are very exclusive of women. Women MPs are forced to conform to the “boys club” that they find in parliament and the party politics. They end up not delivering the gender agenda adequately because they have to conform to the male dominated environment to remain relevant in party politics”.

The remark above shows the intensity of social and political challenges that women face in Parliament and their implication to the delivery of the gender agenda, and the contribution of women in parliamentary debates.

**Gender prejudices and cultural factors**

Traditional beliefs, perceptions and stereotypes, which depict women as inferior, hamper them from executing their mandate effectively and seamlessly (Odoul, 2008). The existence of a patriarchal culture and norms of political parties hinder them from driving the women agenda effectively as they are viewed as competitors by male counterparts. Male parliamentarians are of the view that the women agenda is driven at the expense of the male agenda (AMWIK, 2014). The view that a woman’s place is at home and the political career is reserved only for men is still held by many communities in Kenya.

In most cases, women in politics are usually seen as a haphazard phenomenon, hence their eventual failure is expected as self-evident outcome. The failure of
women to perform well is automatically associated with their gender and not with the lack of professional skills or abilities, or lack of resources as it would be in the case of men (AMWIK, 2014)).

In Kenya, when a woman declares an interest in political leadership, she must often endure violence and name-calling, often in the presence of her husband, son or brother, all intended to embarrass these relatives (Kamau, 2010). People wonder who will be taking care of her husband and children while she is attending to her political roles. They try to make her appear insensitive to her family’s needs, irrespective of her qualities and capacities. Globally, it is common for politically or economically active African men and women to be single, divorced, widow, widower or childless, but this is used by opponents and communities to marginalize women political leaders while it is perceived to be normal for the men political leaders.

The busy schedules in political leadership limits the time that women MPs have to draft Bills. Traditionally, women’s role as care givers demands them to dedicate almost all their time to household chores and family responsibilities IPU, 2014). Hence, women parliamentarians spend most of their time addressing the immediate needs of their constituents. They are less keen about taking up national leadership roles. Women who choose other paths, such as caring for their families, are often perceived as not successful in their personal life or simply losers, as a result, they are
left with little time to participate in parliamentary proceedings and this implies the limited support from the male colleagues.

The findings concur with empirical studies done by Shvedova (2007) which showed that, in most countries, women carry a disproportionate share of domestic work. It must be recognized that it is difficult, especially for women with young families, to participate in political life when their major concern is striking a balance between family and politics. At the same time, society expects them to spend much of their time in taking care of the families. Becoming a Member of Parliament with these demands may be considered a second full-time job. The result is that most women shy off from holding a political office or maintain a low profile in Parliament due to the overwhelming responsibilities (Oduol, 2008).

**Working around bureaucratic parliamentary norms and procedures.**

Most women get challenged and intimidated by Parliamentary procedures and rules once they join Parliament. Globally, women have always found it a challenge to maneuver through Parliamentary politics due to the male dominance underscored by men’s’ networks (IPU, 2016).
Lack of quorum and party support

Numerical limitations incapacitate women’s vote and voice in parliamentary processes. The male dominance in Parliament poses insecurity among women when the House is deliberating on an explosive topic (KEWOPA, 2017). Women play important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties, yet they rarely occupy decision-making positions once they join Parliament (Ibid). Although political parties possess resources for conducting elections, women rarely benefit from these resources despite the parties having a section on Affirmative Action in their manifestos (CMD 2016). Majority of parties are owned by men and do not provide sufficient financial support for women (CMD 2016).

Common practice across the globe is that women participation in Parliament is realized through quota provisions in the political system. Unlike in Kenya, most political parties in Sweden use ‘zebra’ lists, where women’s and men’s names alternate on the party lists, resulting in 46.1 percent women representation in Parliament (IPU 2017). In Kenya, the regulations in the Elections Act 2011 require that all parties submit ‘Party lists’” to the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP) with alternate names for men and women before submitting the names to the Independent Electoral Management Commission (IEBC). However, implementation of the party list in Kenya has been a challenge as parties submit two different lists to ORPP and IEBC.
The party list submitted to Office of Registrar of Political parties (ORPP) is usually compliant to zebra requirements, but the political parties submit a different list to IEBC to reward their cronies from the various regions (ORPP, 2018). However, this loop-hole in legislation has been addressed in the 2018 regulations for Political Parties Act 2011, concerning political parties’ Registration, Political Parties Funding, and political Parties Liaison Committee. The new regulation on registration require ORPP to first gazette the zebra list upon submission by the political parties before submission of the list to IEBC.

**Inferiority complex and lack of confidence.**

Interviews with respondents revealed that some women parliamentarians do not realize the potential they possess, and the great opportunity Parliament provides for them to drive the women and the nations’ agenda (UN Women, 2018). This could be largely attributed to the fact that women are socialized in the patriarchal system that is oppressive to their rights. Lack of confidence is one of the main reasons for women’s under-representation in formal political institutions, whether Parliaments, Ministries or political parties (Ibid). With confidence and determination women can reach the highest levels in the political process. That is why they should believe in themselves and should do away with the widespread perception that men have to be their leaders. They have the same potential as men but need to fight for their rights. Women are very good campaigners, organizers and support-mobilizers, but
fear prevents them from contesting elections and from participating in political life (CMD, 2017).

Lack of experience was attributed to the fact that most women parliamentarians were serving their first terms and were inexperienced in parliamentary operations and unfamiliar with the new environment and political terrain. Women were also challenged in Parliament because of lack of capacity to conduct research. Although they were provided with research assistants just like their male counterparts, they lacked the knowledge to effectively lead the research process. The process of drafting Bills and Motions is a scientific process that requires an empirical approach. In addition, they were not acquainted with parliamentary politics which plays out in the legislation process. The finding was affirmed by one of the opinion leaders who remarked,

“In most times during the debates, speakers are inclined to give opportunity to more experienced members who are recognized in parliament for their contribution in legislature and debates”

Lack of a good understanding of the Constitution limits the capacity for women MPs to contribute to the drafting of Bills and Motions that address gender equality issues. This is underscored by the inadequate mastery of Parliamentary procedures, and unsupportive male counterparts, especially in debates. One of the representatives from the women movement remarked thus:
“The women movement can help women parliamentarians in drafting bills and motions especially, on gender equality as provided in the constitution and provide resource materials to the women MPs to enhance their participation in parliamentary committees and debates”.

The observation above affirms the need to develop the capacity for women MPs to deliver the 3-fold mandate, namely: legislative, representation and oversight. Such support would also increase the visibility of women and the value they bring into leadership and society. One of the respondents stated that:

“There is fear of participating in debates where controversial bills or issues are discussed for fear of attack if they turn chaotic. There are women parliamentarians with crucial motions, but they failed to move them because of fear or failure to invoke interest and win support in parliament. It is challenging for women to combine the long hours of the legislative process with the presumed primary parenting responsibilities”

Therefore, it would appear that fear, intimidation and harassment deter women from contributing to legislation in Parliament. This was reiterated by another respondent who stated that:

“We as women, do not adequately participate in parliamentary sessions because of several issues. Among them, juggling time between family and
work is a big challenge. Stigmatization of female politicians through negative propaganda by men. Political gender-based violence and intimidation from my opponents whom I had defeated during the elections. At some point, I had to seek refuge outside the country. I believe it was directed to me because I am a woman.”

These statements underscore the findings that women do not only face challenges before joining Parliament but find a set of new challenges within the House which they have to manage and deliver the expectations from the electorate and the women movement. The women MPs need capacity development for balancing skills to enable them to manage the multiple roles successfully.

These findings were echoed by another respondent who opinioned that,

“First as a Muslim woman I was viewed with disdain and suspicion. Therefore, mobilizing support from male colleagues is difficult because most of them view women legislators as agents of the women’s agenda only. The fact of being a nominated woman parliamentarian and especially from minority religion attract disengagement from elected members”

The statement above revealed that women were further marginalized in Parliament by their religions. This affected their contribution in legislation and delivery of their mandate in Parliament.
Parliamentary leadership and political parties were also not willing to support women’s political participation

From literature review, men believe that women’s political involvement excludes them from their supremacy in the political arena. The drafting of Bills and Motions is a legal process which requires evidential data and understanding of the parliamentary language and norms. There should be deliberate efforts to develop the capacity for women regarding legislature and political leadership.

Lack of knowledge and capacity in parliamentary role.

According to the study’s demographic analysis, 53.43% of the women leaders, since independence up to the 11th parliament, attained a degree level of education and above. Therefore, education could be an obstacle to their participation in Parliament but possibly other factors. According to Khan (2010), educational attainment helps women’s social, political and economic empowerment. However, there is a wide variation between countries in respect to women’s education level and representation in formal politics (Ibid). While formal education is an enabler to political participation, women MPs need exposure and capacity development so as to engage effectively in politics and legislature. The findings show that capacity development in legislation, political leadership and experience to navigate political environment in Parliament is crucial for survival, and for the contribution of women in legislature in order to deliver on the gender agenda.
In Sweden, despite the high level of education, women faced several challenges such as struggling to reach high positions within Parliament, viewing themselves and their work as invisible, and lack of access to full information about parliamentary work (IPU, 2012). In contrast, women in Burkina Faso mainly suffered from physical violence and intimidation as scare tactics to dissuade them from legislating on certain issues (IPU, 2012).

Oduol (2008) suggests that, in Kenya, many women lack adequate political training which can enable them to participate effectively in the political arena. This leads to a situation where women are not taken seriously, even when they declare their candidature (Ibid). The study by Godia (2013) on the challenges facing women in the legislative processes in the Kenya’s National Assembly of the 11th Parliament (2013-2017), identified women’s challenges as:

(a) social and cultural stereotypes,

(b) psychological factors,

(c) lack of confidence among those elected once they get into parliament,

(d) balancing reproductive and workplace function, and

(e) lack of networking and negotiating skills.

The findings concur with this study’s findings on challenges faced by women in parliament.
5.2 Redress measures for challenges encountered by women in sponsoring bills and Motion in Parliament.

The respondents were asked to suggest ways through which the above challenges could be solved. The results were discussed using descriptive statistics such as means and standard deviations. The findings are presented in Table 5.3:
Table 5.3 Summary of means and standard deviations of suggested measures to address the challenges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested Measures</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Women parliamentarians need to work with professional consultants who are acquainted with areas from which they are producing Bills on.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Networking and mentorship from the most experienced Members of Parliament. This can be provided by either male or female parliamentarians, and retired Members of Parliament.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Regular trainings on parliamentary procedure, the Constitution and law making.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Women Members of Parliament should be provided with research assistants/advisors who are informed on matters of gender, and particularly those touching on women. This will assist them in drafting Bills and move Motions that are practical, realistic and consistent with the Constitution</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Through awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing public misconceptions towards women’s political participation as a means that can be used to empower women’s legislation ability.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Through aggressive mobilization of male parliamentarians to earn their support before and during tabling of the Motions.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Through capacity building to equip the women parliamentarians with the necessary knowledge and skills.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Adopting an independent mind and steadfastness to overcome victimization from their parties and coalitions.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** N=Number of items in the survey, SD=Standard Deviation

Findings above indicate that the item, ‘regular trainings on parliamentary procedure, the constitution and law making, networking and mentorship’ had the highest mean score (mean=3.9, SD=.31). “Adopting an independent mind and steadfastness to overcome victimization from their parties and coalitions” had the lowest mean score (mean=2.5, SD=.59). These findings underscore analyses in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 which
show that lack of capacity in parliament procedures, legislation, support from political parties and knowledge on gender hinder participation of women in parliament.

**Capacity of women MPs in parliamentary procedures and the legislative process.**

Given that Parliament is a patriarchal institution due to the history and dominance of male MPs since independence, capacity building programmes which are tailor-made to specifically address the capacity needs of women MPs are critical. From the study findings, most women MPs have ideas on the change they would like to see but fear of intimidation or ridicule by male colleagues, bar them from tabling the Motions and Bills or contributing in debates. The Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), and Centre for Parliament Studies and Training (CPST) could address this gap through trainings to maximize on the potential of women MPs. Developing capacity of women in legislation is key to remedying the gender inequalities which exist in Kenya.

**Mentorship programmes**

From the findings, mentorship programmes were identified as helpful in inducting newly elected women leaders in parliamentary procedures, house business committees and networks for technical and political support, especially, in passing gender related Motions and Bills.
In the history of Kenya, about 80 percent of the MPs do not get re-elected to Parliament. This has a bigger impact on women MPs due to the low numbers and the cultural barriers to electing women in political leadership. Women in and outside Parliament need to be mentored by those experienced in politics. They need to learn how to navigate the political environment in Parliament and party politics without being marginalized in debates, so that they participate in the legislative process.

Mentorship programmes and exposure to politics can increase the performance and visibility of women in Parliament. For instance, seven out of twenty-three elected women MPs in 2017 were those who already held positions in Parliament in 2013. All the three women Governors had experiences in Parliament and/or in Ministerial portfolios. Ms. Charity Ngilu, the Governor of Kitui County, was a presidential candidate in the 1997 elections, had been an MP for 20 years, had been a minister, and leader of a political party. Dr. Joyce Laboso, the Governor of Bomet County had been an MP, and a Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly. This exposure meant that they already had a visible and recognizable public branding which gave them mileage over greenhorns (UN Women, 2018). These women had an impact in legislation in Parliament and had great capacity to mentor women MPs on parliamentary procedures, legislature and how to manoeuvre party politics in Parliament. They are also an asset to mentor those intending to join parliament.
Support from political parties

From the literature, women bring a different perspective to politics based on their social nurturing roles and their shared experience of marginalization. The political office is a space of authority and influence and women’s needs and interests will be prioritized only when women are represented in legislation, planning and national budgeting effectively.

Political parties are the main vehicles through which candidates are elected into legislative bodies and as such, are an important part of a country’s democratic system. They are responsible for ‘selecting, grooming and supporting candidates for political leadership and governance positions. Since women are mostly new entrants into party politics, they are seen as not bringing much political capital to the parties in terms of brand, influence and gravitas (Biegon, (ed), 2016).

Patriarchal resistance to women’s political leadership is greatest at the institutional levels of family, community structures such as elders, political parties and within the patriarchal institutions of political office such as Parliament (UN Women, 2018). Women MPs need support on how to navigate the political environment as soon as they join Parliament. They need to understand how the political party politics play out in Parliament and how to balance the political party agenda, and their personal agenda in legislation, representation and oversight without conflicting with the
leaders of political parties in Parliament. They need to understand how the political parties make networks operate in Parliament and how to manage the politics.

**Knowledge on gender concepts**

The society at large assumes that women MPs naturally understand gender issues because they are women. However, this is not the case. Women MPs need to be sensitized and trained on gender concepts to enlighten them on how to draft Bills that can address the gender inequality in social, political and economic spheres of life. This could be incorporated in the induction programme for women MPs immediately they join Parliament. They need to learn how to table the gender agenda or present the same in debates, without causing suspicion or being trivialized as a women’s issue, by the majority male MPs. Being the minority in Parliament, they need to learn strategies for lobbying male MPs and getting allies to support them on the floor of the House when they table Bills on women’s agenda.

**Women’s network in parliament**

Given the glaring challenges faced by women leaders in Parliament, strengthening existing networks for their support can help them overcome the huddles within political parties rather than adopting the individual approach. Men have established exclusive social, political and business support networks, commonly referred to as the ‘boys club’ (UN Women, 2018). These support systems are catalyzed by the male dominance in leadership, decision-making and spaces of influence since
independence. The efforts towards gender equality threaten the power dynamics enjoyed by the ‘boys’ club’, hence the resistance to create an enabling environment for women participation in political leadership and decision-making. Sustained efforts and advocacy will break the glass ceiling to women participation in parliament. Women MPs also need to exploit opportunities such as caucusing to get the support of male MPs, even those outside their political parties in their quest to achieve gender equality.

5.3 Strategies applied by women MPs to overcome challenges in Parliament

Respondents were asked to provide ways through which they could address or overcome the challenges they faced in Parliament. The data was analyzed using means and standard deviations. The results are presented in Table 5.4:
Table 5.4: Strategies applied by women MPs to overcome challenges they face in executing their mandate in Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategies</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Being aggressive in driving the women’s agenda and other important agendas such as education, health and security.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. By building the capacity of men and creating awareness on the importance of supporting women and getting a change in attitude and perceptions towards women in leadership.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. By arranging for press conferences to call for public awareness</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. By remaining united and focused on women’s mandate.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. By building the capacity of men and creating awareness on the importance of supporting women and getting a change in attitude and perceptions towards women in leadership.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Through capacity building and working with researchers, professionals among other consultants to assist them develop Bills and Motions</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seeking the support of male counterparts through one-on-one approach.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. By working in groups where they encourage and empower one another.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Skipping sessions with explosive topics. Most women parliamentarians prefer avoiding such sessions for safety reasons, both emotionally and physically.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Storming out of Parliament: there are occasions where women parliamentarians have been forced to walk out of Parliament to protest decisions, motions or clauses of legislation that are gender biased</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Assure women parliamentarians of their safety when an explosive topic is being discussed.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The Speaker of Parliament should be conscious of the challenges faced by women parliamentarians. Consequently, he or she should be considerate and must not allow male MPs to intimidate women parliamentarians.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: N=Number of items in the survey, SD=Standard Deviation
Results in Table 5.4 indicated that all items had mean scores of above 3.0 (mean<3.0) implying that most women in Parliament were well conversant with ways through which they could address or overcome the challenges that they faced. This meant that they were adjusting to coping mechanisms in the new environment. However, some of the strategies applied, like skipping sessions with explosive topics for safety reasons or storming out of Parliament to protest decisions, Motions or clauses of legislation that are gender biased, can lead to further marginalization of women. Support in training and mentorship would facilitate them to overcome the challenges so that they focus more on their roles in Parliament and family.

5.4. Conclusion

The study found out that women MPs tended to face a host of challenges in a bid to contribute to debates and sponsor Motions and Bills which address the gender inequality issues in Kenya since independence up to the 11th Parliament. These challenges include:

(a) Male dominance in Parliament,

(b) Negative stereotyping and attitude towards women MPs leading to fear and marginalization,

(c) Lack of data for evidence to support their argument,

(d) Lack of support by the leadership and political parties,
(e) Being overwhelmed by multiple roles such as Parliamentary role vis-a-viz family roles,

(f) Lack of family support,

(g) Lack of knowledge, experience, and capacity in the legislation process and Parliamentary procedures.

(h) Lack of confidence and inferiority complex.

Data gathered from the interview schedule for women members of parliament revealed that some women parliamentarians failed to realize their potential and thereby missed the opportunity that Parliament provides for them to drive the women and the nations’ agenda (UN Women, 2018).
CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS ON STRATEGIES AND SUPPORT THAT CAN ENHANCE THE PERFORMANCE OF WOMEN IN DELIVERING GENDER RESPONSIVE BILLS

6.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings and discussions on strategies and support which can enhance performance of women legislators in delivering Bills and Laws that benefit women in Kenya, based on Objective 4 of this study. The study also analyzed attendance in debate sessions and proposed strategies for enhancing attendance. The findings are discussed and presented in this Chapter based on the data analysis with respect to Objective 4.

To summarize the data, content analysis was first done. The results were then presented in Tables, graphs and content analysis for easier understanding, followed by explanations or discussions. The data was then analyzed thematically according to the research objective.
6.1 Support mechanism for women MPs in parliament

Through interviews, the respondents were required to outline support mechanisms that would be put in place to enhance effective participation of women in Parliament. Here are some of the feedback:

“Through implementation of the two-thirds gender rule, this will ensure equal representation of women in parliament, raising the number of women MPs and as a result boost the participation, voice and women MPs vote in parliament.”

The two-thirds gender Bill on Affirmative Action can boost women’s voice in Parliament if enacted (NGEC, 2018). However, attempts to pass the Bill have failed thrice in Parliament from 2015 to 2018, due to lack of political support (KEWOPA, 2018). The women movement may have to increase their advocacy for women in political leadership and engage community gate keepers as male champions. This could break the cultural barriers and negative attitude towards women in political leadership and, hence, get more women elected in Parliament for effective women’s voice. The above statement was echoed by three women respondents:

“Raising Awareness, advocacy and lobbying should be continuously done, aiming at changing the negative public perception towards women’s political leadership. Capacity of women’s legislation should be enhanced through provision of research assistants acquainted with parliamentary procedures, rules, regulations and the political environment, and mentorship by more
experienced members. These are some of the essential approaches to curb the challenges that women face in parliament.”

The views above concur with other study findings and the global parliamentary report (IPU, 2016) that contribution of women in Parliament is greatly enhanced by the mentorship of women MPs, research and advocacy for legislation, to change the patriarchal environment in Parliament (Ibid). In Kenya women MPs can lobby for support from the leaders of political parties and other opinion leaders in Parliament for equal treatment and opportunities with male counterpart in political parties and parliamentary business (FIDA, 2013). Strengthening the women MPs networks within and outside Parliament can make their voice forceful in lobbying the political party leaders.

6.1.1 Women’s movement perspective on support mechanism for women MPs in parliament

The interview with leaders of women movement organizations revealed that women must be prepared well to participate in parliamentary sessions. This was demonstrated by the following perspective from one of the respondents:

“The Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) should provide avenues for women MPs to air their challenges and come together to get common solutions. Because women come to parliament already at a
disadvantaged point with low numbers and limited knowledge on parliamentary procedures, there is need to establish networks to teach them how to maneuver and cope in the parliament. Women MPs must stay together, watch over each other and be mentored to survive in parliament. There is need for male champions on gender agenda in each parliament to support the women MPs in parliament.”

The perspective above is an important strategy to support women MPs if embraced. From literature review, women in Parliament are increasingly using male MPs to champion their Bills, especially those addressing gender inequality issues. This could increase the likelihood of these bills getting widespread acceptance by parliamentarians, both men and women. A global campaign by UN, HeForShe was launched in 2015 to change the attitude towards women in leadership, advocate for gender equality, and the need for involvement of men, women, boys and girls so as to achieve the desired change in gender equality (UN Women 2015). The findings underscore the need for mentorship and a strong women network in Parliament, for a unified voice that can break the barriers for their effective contribution in Parliament. The aspect of Women MPs staying together and watching over each other, is in line with sisterhood concept recommended by feminist theories as an important support mechanism.
6.1.2 Support by women movement to women MPs in Parliament

The researcher also wanted to establish how the women movement assisted the women MPs to overcome the challenges. There were over fifty percent of key respondents from women organizations, namely: Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), The Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWI), Community Advocacy and Awareness (CRAWN) Trust, and the 2 scholars from the Center for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST) and the Africa Women Studies Center at the University of Nairobi (UoN). They reported that:

“We facilitate conferences and workshops aimed at building the capacity of women in parliament, where possible. We also train the women MPs on different leadership areas, sensitize them on gender mainstreaming in policy making, information, packaging, generate fact sheets on Bills and legislative processes, and summarize the key issues for their quick reference”.

However, the respondents remarked that there had been a disconnect between the women movement and women MPs. The support had not been consistent and effective as it should have been.

This underscored the need for a strong Women Movement network with leadership from the grass-root to the national level which could support the participation of women MPs in Parliament and at community level. It could also avail mentorship for women who may aspire to join political leadership. The findings of this study
show that majority of the women MPs on record for having tabled Bills and Motions have their background in the women’s movement. This concurred with the study by Okello (2013) on the role of women in enhancing women participation in politics in Kenya.

According to the study findings, although the support from women movement has not been consistent since the 9th Parliament, one of the respondents stated that the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), with technical support from The Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST) trains women MPs on gender mainstreaming and gender issues in the legislative process, parliamentary procedures, and leadership skills, in addition to exchange programmes, as a learning platform for parliamentary business. This shows that the two parliamentary organizations have been bridging the capacity gap between the women MPs and the women movement. Also, the support from women movement has a twin effect since it supports the women MPs in and outside parliament for delivery of the gender agenda and offers visibility for retention in parliament. The findings show that there is an urgent need to strengthen the link between the women movement network in outside Parliament.

From the study findings, women comprise about 24 percent representation in all parliamentary committees. However, they hold few leadership positions in the parliament, especially as Chair of committees or opinion leader portfolios. In the
11th Parliament (2013-2017) women Chaired three out of the twenty-seven committees in the National Assembly (Environment, Health and Education), which was the highest since independence (KEWOPA, 2015). No woman participated as Chair of committees in Senate. Overall, in the leadership of the 11th parliament which had the highest number of women in key position, women occupied only 5 key positions as opinion leaders: first, Majority Whip in senate, *Ms. Beatrice Elachi*, second, Minority Deputy Whip, *Ms. Petronila Were*, third, Deputy Majority Leader, *Ms. Fatuma Dullo* and fourth, National Assembly Deputy Majority Leader, *Dr. Naomi Shaban* and fifth, deputy Speaker of the national assembly, *Dr. Joyce Laboso*. This was the first-time that women held key positions in parliament as opinion leaders or speakers since independence mainly, facilitated by the provision of affirmative action in the Kenya Constitution 2010 that significantly increased the number of women in Parliament, thus increasing the chances for women to be appointed in those positions.

Even though the 11th Parliament had the highest number of women occupying political positions, most of these were subordinate positions such as Deputy Minority Whip, Deputy Majority leaders and Deputy Speaker. There should be further interventions to have women occupy more substantive positions where they can influence decisions on gender equality and sustainable development. This ought to be especially the case of women with more experience such as those who have been in Parliament for more than one term.
More than half of the respondents felt that organizing the Women’s movement to effectively contribute to institutional frameworks on gender mainstreaming in policies and legislation was a key strategy in supporting women MPs. This could be through the provision of technical and moral support to women MPs in order to encourage them to contribute to Parliamentary proceedings and advocate for inclusion.

The women movement could be instrumental in supporting women MPs to mainstream gender through legislation by carrying out rapid research for evidence-based suggestions in legislature, preparing the briefs and key points to raise in debates, and develop their capacity on gender concepts. However, this can only be effective if there is collaboration and networking between the movement and women MPs. At the time of this study, the collaboration and networks between the women movement and women MPs were weak and largely individualized. One of the respondents from the Women Movement and a scholar remarked that,

“The movement is fragmented and divided. The first step for the movement to effectively support the women MPs would be to have a well-organized women movement. The National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) should be at the forefront to put the women movement together”

The above sentiments concur with NGEC’s (2018) Report that the Women Movement in Kenya is fragmented. This makes it hard to have a unified voice for
advocacy in pushing for the passing of the Two-Thirds Gender Rule Bill in parliament and gender agenda.

This was further expressed by another respondent from the women’s movement who argued that:

“The Women’s Movement should stop fighting amongst themselves and unite to push for the gender agenda in Parliament. They should support the women MPs on the two Thirds Gender Rule Bill by providing possible scenarios on how debates would go. They should be on the forefront to support and encourage the women MPs to overcome the challenges they face in Parliament”

Given the critical role played by the Women Movement, especially in achieving gender equality, the gender machineries and gender equality advocates should make effort to get the Women Movement organized to meet the intended purpose

6.2 Attendance in Parliamentary sessions by women MPs.

Based on the attendance of parliamentary debate sessions by women MPs, respondents were asked to rate the average attendance during the study period on a scale of one to ten (1-4= lowest attendance and 5-10=high attendance in ascending order). Results are presented in Figure 6.2.
The results in Figure 6.2 indicate that considerably more than half (53.33 percent) of the respondents scored high when it came to attendance in parliamentary debate sessions. However, 37.78 percent of the respondents scored low level attendance in the debate sessions. This represented a distinctive number of women MPs who were missing debate sessions in Parliament.

Women, being a minority in Parliament, are further marginalized by failure to attend the sessions in full numbers. This explains the few women who table Bills that would translate into Law, lack of commitment to the gender agenda and lack of quorum to pass the Bills.
By skipping sessions, the respondents stated that women MPs missed the opportunity to articulate the gender issues in debates, resulting in unbalanced contributions, where the women perspective in legislation is left out. There are some issues that are better understood by women themselves. Their contributions could add value to the improvement of the quality of governance and democracy. Some of the mentioned debates with limited contributions from women MPs include security, mining and finance Bills. The Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Supplementary Bill, 2015, was amended to allow 30% bias to go to youth and not women since women MPs were not present to defend fellow women.

Though the youth were also not present, the sympathy was more pronounced for the youth than for the women. In 2016, five women MPs were missing during the voting day for the Two-thirds Gender Bill (Duale Bill 2015) which failed due to lack of quorum. The five women MPs wanted to keep safe by aligning to the position of their party leaders. These findings reveal that women miss the opportunity to influence change in the sectors perceived to be their main areas of focus by failing to attend parliamentary sessions and failing to be actively involved in the entire law-making process.
6.2.1 Strategies to increase attendance in parliamentary sessions by women MPs.

Respondents were required to suggest how high attendance in sessions could be realized. Data was analyzed using means and standard deviations. The results are presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Summary of means and standard deviations of strategies for achieving high attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested Strategies for Achieving High Attendance</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Providing supportive facilities and services such as baby care centres so that the nursing women MPs can have their babies taken care of as they attend the sessions.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Enhancing accountability measures through parliamentary rules and regulations, and by their constituents.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Capacity building on parliamentary procedures; if they are conversant with the way things are done then they may be motivated to participate.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Giving priority to Bills sponsored by women.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Women parliamentarians need to be challenged to come out of their comfort zone and work towards gender equality.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Making public the attendance register and preparing a report on the contribution of each Member in Parliament. This can be done by the Parliament leadership to help the public hold their parliamentarians accountable.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Creating an enabling environment in Parliament for women to participate comfortably without feeling intimidated. This can be achieved by electing more women to Parliament and empowering those who are already there.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Women parliamentarians need to be encouraged to participate because their perspective is essential.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Enhancing accountability measures through parliamentary rules and regulations</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: N=Number of items in the survey, SD=Standard Deviation
Results in Table 6.1 indicate that all items had a mean score of above 3.0 (mean>3.0) with the item, “by enhancing accountability measures through parliamentary rules and regulations,” and “making the attendance register public for their constituents to hold them accountable” (mean=3.9, SD=.31) scoring the highest mean.

**Enhancing accountability measures through parliamentary rules and regulations**

Despite the many challenges women MPs experience in executing their mandate in Parliament, their participation in sessions and attendance could be enhanced by strengthening the existing attendance rules to demand for more accountability from the MPs. This should apply to men and women MPs. Enhancing the attendance of women MPs is critical since it would ensure that they would be able to make the most out of their limited numbers in Parliament. This would also address the concern of unfamiliar parliamentary procedures and rules and make the women MPS more informed about the processes, procedures and debating, and gain confidence in tabling Bills and Motions.

**Making the attendance register public to their constituents**

Making the attendance register public and easy access to Hansard Reports could be a strategy to motivate the women MPs to attend sessions in Parliament and, consequently, contribute in debates. This can also increase their visibility and change
the narrative that women do not deliver in legislation or make a difference in Parliament.

Navigating the male dominated environment in Parliament

According to Godia (2017), women need to establish strong networks in Parliament to shield themselves from the male dominated environment. A united women voice can dismantle the barriers of fear, ridicule and intimation from male counterparts.

Monitoring by their constituents, and women movement on delivery of their promises

Women in Parliament need to strengthen their support network to encourage and empower them to execute their role so as to meet the expectations of their constituents and the women movements on the gender agenda. Their network should link with Women Movement networks for support in drafting Bills and Motions on women’s agenda, equality in development and fulfillment of their campaign promises to their constituencies.

The study findings show that women leaders face challenges in adjusting, coping with the new political terrain and joining support networks within Parliament, which is mainly male dominated. Unless gender sensitive policies are put in place to provide supportive structures and spaces for women leaders in Parliament, women MPs will continue to struggle for survival and bear the harsh judgment from society.
on their performance in legislation. There is therefore need for parliament to have a specific standard training programme for women leaders on parliamentary procedures and participation in House Business throughout their term.

In line with the study findings in table 6.1, a phased mentorship programme should be rolled out for the newly elected women leaders by the experienced leaders to provide a soft-landing platform and balance between family, constituents and parliamentary roles. The mentorship programme could be done in phases to ensure consistency and knowledge-building in a systematic manner, in response to capacity needs that could facilitate the coping up with the patriarchal parliamentary institution.

The Kenya Constitution 2010 provides for 416 Members of Parliament. This makes it difficult for new members to contribute to debates due to time limit, especially in the National Assembly which has 349 members. Time may not be a major factor in Senate with just 67 members. From the study findings, the 11th Parliament had 18 women Senators who tabled more Bills in the Senate compared to 86 women MPs in the National Assembly. The challenge of time limit in the National Assembly applies to both men and women MPs but is more impactive on women due to their low numbers in Parliament and in debate sessions. The chance to contribute to debates is higher for those with experience and knowledge of procedures and Parliamentary regulation than the new entrants. The small number of women in Parliament compared to men, and the glaring capacity gaps, lowers their chances to
contribute to the debates or table Bills and Motions. According to Khamisi, (2014), women MPs are not given a chance to contribute in Parliament as most Speakers who have been men, tend to favour male MPs. It is only in the 11th parliament that there was a woman as a deputy Speaker since independence. This could be alleviated by an Affirmative Action policy on debates and parliamentary business for the marginalized groups which include women, youth and persons with disabilities.

Also, findings from the interviews revealed that the relatively low number of women MPs who attended parliamentary debate sessions contributed to women’s agenda related gaps in the debates and legislation. This finding undermined the efforts to change the negative public perception on women leadership. These findings were echoed by the following statement by one of the respondents:

“As a result of poor attendance of women in parliamentary sessions, there are important motions and bills that were passed without incorporating their perspectives on gender equality. Hence, they missed the opportunity to mainstream gender in legislation that could have addressed the cultural barriers to equity and equality. (Former president of the Republic of Kenya, and former opposition leader).

The statement underscores the importance of women MPs voice in legislature for gender equality and sustainable development.
6.3 Required support for women MPs in legislation

The study’s Objective three sought to determine the best strategies and support that could enhance women legislators’ performance in the delivery of Bills and Laws to benefit women in Kenya. To achieve this, respondents were asked at first to specify the kind of support required, how the support could be provided, and to recommend providers of the support. All the respondents agreed that women, indeed, required support to enhance their contributions and performance in parliament. In an interview with M.K, she indicated that numbers were important, and the number of women in Parliament should be increased to reinforce their voice in legislature. According to her, society starts questioning performance when they hear about women, yet the same scale is not subjected to men who have been the majority in Parliament since independence. She argued for the implementation of the not more than two thirds gender principle for gender parity in Parliament.

The study findings indicated that funding for capacity building of women MPs through trainings, drafting Bills, research, presentations during debates, mentorship programmes, support networks and implementation of the two-thirds gender rule were the major strategies for enhancing participation and performance of women in Parliament as stipulated below:

“Capacity Building through trainings and benchmarking with other Members of Parliament within the East African Community, that should be
adequately funded, to provide a level playing field with their male counterparts.”

The statement above concurs with IPU (2015) report that simply electing more women is not the same as empowering them in politics. Considering that women often lack access to the same networks as men, special induction sessions could be held for newly elected women, alongside the traditional orientation training provided to all newly-elected parliamentarians, to help them navigate some of the more informal aspects of parliamentary life (IPU, 2015).

From the study findings and IDEA (2002), the capacity building required includes participating in training and orientation exercises on internal parliamentary codes of conduct (for example how to ask questions on the floor); public speaking and effective communication and media engagement; how to relate and lobby male MPs; networking with women's organizations; and mentorship and shadowing by more senior MPs (IDEA, 2002). Training by political parties is ideal as it offers insight to the MPs on the party’s understanding of parliamentary procedures, and how the party itself fits into the procedures. This knowledge and understanding is important for women MPs especially in tabling Bills and Motions which, in most cases require whipping of party members by the leader for support. One of the respondents remarked that,
“Women’s lack of experience in the legislation process is the biggest barrier to women’s participation in parliament. Through capacity building and funding from political parties and development partners, the voice of women would increasingly be heard in parliament.”

The statement above shows the importance of financial and moral support from political parties and other stakeholders to women MPs with a view to enabling them to overcome the challenges in legislation.

Contribution by Members of Parliament as a political process have to align to party position regarding most issues in Parliament (IPU, 2015). Parties have a significant influence on procedures since the organization of legislative work often depends on party composition (Ibid). In some parts of the world, political parties offer special skills training, especially for women, due to their limited experience in legislative procedures. However, this is not the case in some countries like Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, which operate with the assumption that women's perspectives and women's issues do not deserve any specific priority (IDEA, 2002). In Kenya, political parties are yet to organize induction training programmes for women MPs. A general induction for new members and incumbents is done by CPST for all members (KEWOPA, 2017). KEWOPA does a specific induction training for women MPs on procedures and gender mainstreaming.

Networking is a crucial mechanism of training and socialization for women MPs as it provides a quick access to knowledge that could otherwise take years of
experience to acquire and bring the women MPS together for a unified voice. According to IPU (2015) Report, networking of women MPs across party lines has been successful in several countries including Sweden, France, the Netherlands, South Africa and Egypt. In Kenya, networking of women MPs needs to be strengthened since they are often divided along party lines in Parliament.

**Legal path for women to navigate through legislative responsibilities**

The capacity for women MPs in legislation could be enhanced through providing specific technical support services to the individual women, especially in gender mainstreaming and legislative processes. Some of the measures that could be applied to support the women MPs in legislation include: first, providing legal and gender advisors to the women network in Parliament; second, providing gender focal points to each committee so as to provide advice and draft briefs for discussion at meetings, based on the gender agenda, alongside the orientation of MPs on the gender perspective. However, hiring of legal and gender advisors is a costly affair and would require to be institutionalized for budget allocation from the exchequer for sustainability.

**Support the women parliamentarians to take advantage of their increased numbers and legislative empowerment to drive important agendas**

From the literature review, women have also created their own paths to leadership by learning the rules and taking advantage of changing political circumstances (IRI,
The more women that enter Parliament, the easier their access to leadership positions becomes. The number of women chairing committees in Parliament has increased mainly in “soft” portfolio areas, such as women’s affairs, employment and education. This concurs with the study findings that only 24 percent of women had chaired committees since independence, specifically in health, education, social affairs, water, energy, and environment (KEWOPA, 2017). Women MPs in Kenya should make effort to negotiate with leaders of their political parties for more slots in all committees for representation and contributions on gender agenda. They should unite beyond party lines to maximize on their strength in numbers so as to be able to lobby for their party leaders’ support for slots. This calls for accountability and transparency in political parties. Legislating the two thirds gender bill would go a long way in having more women participate in committees.

One of the respondents stated that,

“The women’s achievements in politics would largely depend on their willingness to work on the same footing as men. They must cease to view themselves as inferior and instead work to create leverage and encourage more women to join politics. There is a great opportunity for women’s strength in numbers in Kenya Constitution 2010. The first election under the 2010 constitution achieved 86 women in parliament and six cabinet ministers, the highest number since independence. The women parliamentarians have the ability to support each other for influence and use their increasing numbers to leverage on important issues.”
The above statement shows that going forward there is an opportunity for women MPS to increase their contributions and influence on the gender agenda in Parliament by using their increased strength in numbers to break the barriers to this. The findings of our study concur with Godia (2017) that there is need to encourage women by building their capacity and confidence, as well as self-esteem and getting them out of their comfort zones, to make tough decisions and be able to speak as women leaders. Also, women in Parliament ought to view themselves as leaders, and perform their roles in developing and enacting laws without fear or favour but, most significantly be able to stand up for their rights.

Further interview with leaders of women movement and academia affirmed that capacity development and support from other stakeholders was the primary support needed to be able to boost women’s leadership and participation in Parliament. They highlighted that political parties should show value for women and practise goodwill, grassroots networks should build a movement to support the women in Parliament and religious leaders should sensitize their congregations on the gender agenda to help change the attitudes and perceptions on women’s political leadership. Also, academic and research institutions should offer support to build the capacity of women to ensure that the gender agenda they present in Parliament is issue and evidence based.
These sentiments correspond with the findings of this study on the need for support from women movement, support networks in Parliament, support from political parties, and change of attitude towards women leadership by the Kenyan society at large.

6.3.1 Strategies to support women in Parliament

After suggesting the required support to improve the performance of women MPs, the respondents were asked to suggest strategies that could be used to support women MPs in legislative matters. The respondents identified the following strategies:

Lobbying and advocacy for implementation of the two-thirds gender rule to increase women representation in Parliament

A study by IPU (2016) in Argentina, France, Morocco, and Uganda on the value of nominated women in Parliament showed that those elected via quotas were equally – and in some cases more – qualified than their non-quota counterparts (IPU, 2016).

This provision on representation in decision making in the Kenya Constitution 2010 Articles 27 (8) and 81 (b) have been a challenge largely due to lack of political goodwill by the State, as discussed in Chapter One Section 1.2 on Background to the Study. One of the respondents among the opinion leaders, observed that:
“There has been gradual improvement in women’s participation in Kenyan politics. The women have realized the importance of their presence as members of parliament, have been able to overcome socialization, and no longer regard themselves as inferior. However, the government of the day has an obligation to implement affirmative action and legislations that are meant to address gender inequality issues. For example, the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule solely relies on the political will of the government through the executive and the parliament”

Article 81(b) of the Kenya Constitution 2010 indicates that “not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender.” It stipulates that, should the election not yield a 33 percent minority, nomination of the minority gender should be done to meet the threshold. Legislation governing how to appoint those members was enacted at the County Assemblies. For Parliament, the Constitution established 47 seats in the National Assembly (one from each County) which would be open only to female candidates, who would compete for them in the general elections. It also provides for 12 nominated or appointed seats to the National Assembly, to be selected from a zebra list, (alternating male and female candidates) who would represent marginalized groups. In Senate, the Constitution established 16 seats for women, nominated by political parties according to the number of elected members in the Senate, plus two members to represent the youth and two to represent persons with disabilities (PWD) for each gender.
The Constitution makes no specific provisions to ensure compliance to the two-thirds gender rule in Parliament. Instead, it obligates Parliament to enact legislation promoting the representation of women, PWDs, youth, ethnic and other minorities, and marginalized communities in the national legislature. The Constitution also mandates political parties to respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms and gender equality and equity.

However, the representation of women in Kenya has been low since independence. It is critical to meet the recommended 33 percent threshold to make an impact towards realizing gender equality in Kenya. The compliance to the threshold needs to start with leaders of political parties and opinion leaders in Parliament, who have been mainly men since independence. They need to be sensitized on the importance of gender balance in representation so as to change their attitude and perception in this regard. The removal of socio-cultural stereotypes should involve a transformative change in the public mindset, parliamentary and election management practices, processes and a general attitudinal change towards women leadership and gender discrimination.

All the women parliamentarians in the Senate in the 11th Parliament were nominated. Nominated Senators have no voting rights, thus negating the intended purpose for Affirmative Action. This phenomenon is further entrenched in the County Assemblies where the nominated women who are the majority are discriminated in
conducting House Business (IPU, 2016). These findings and narrative concur with IPU (2016) that women who accede to political positions via gender quotas may be derided as “quota women,” with supposedly no other qualifications for office than being female.

Hence, a study on the contribution in Kenya’s Parliament by nominated women should be done to demystify the myth that they are just but “flower girls” as presently perceived in the Kenyan political arena.

**Develop capacity of men and women parliamentarians on gender responsive legislature**

Since women are currently the minority in Parliament, it is important to develop the capacity of the male MPs on gender mainstreaming and drafting of Bills and Motions on gender equality in order to secure support when women MPs table such Bills. The male MPs could champion gender equality Bills which are likely to be opposed in Parliament. The study findings show that this strategy has been effective in passing some gender equality Bills in Parliament as indicated in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. These include; Matrimonial Property Act (No 49), Social Assistance Act (No. 24 of 2013), Marriage Act (No.4), Victim Protection Act (No.17), and Protection Against Domestic Violence Act (No. 2), championed by Mr. Samuel Chepkonga to win
support from the majority of the male MPs in Parliament. The Bills were successfully enacted into law.

Men constitute just a little bit below half of the Kenyan population. It is also important to bring men on board in advocacy and campaigns for gender equality for success. Women or men cannot make it on their own in the struggle for gender equality, and yet this is critical for sustainable development and growth of the economy. Globally, gender equality and women empowerment are recognized as a driving force for the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN Women, 2018).

Respondents were asked to suggest the potential partners who would provide the required support to enhance capacity and performance of women MPs in performing their legislative roles. The responses are presented in Table 6.2:
Table 6.2: Summary of frequency and percentage means of service providers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Support providers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KEWOPA</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>86.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN Women</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>71.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Movement</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>64.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD).</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55.56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leadership of Parliament and the Parliamentary Service Commission</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departments of Universities that provide governance related courses</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judiciary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24.44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=45

The findings in Table 6.2 indicate that over 55.56% of the respondents suggested that women’s support in Parliament ought to be provided by the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), and the women movement organizations which include the Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya (FIDA-K), Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW), Women Empowerment Link (WEL), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), and Community advocacy and Awareness Trust (CRAWN TRUST). Other support providers are the donors that include UN Women, and United State of America International Development (USAID), and the political parties secretariat, the Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD). Some respondents were of the opinion that the leadership of Parliament and Parliament Service Commission, Departments of Universities, and the Judiciary should be providing support to women in Parliament towards enhancing their performance in debates and parliamentary committees.
KEWOPA is hosted within Parliament Buildings and has a full-time secretariat with funding from a few donors such as UN Women, and USAID. UN Women provides financial and technical support for KEWOPA on the gender agenda and gender mainstreaming. The Association is well positioned to induct the new women MPs and the incumbents in all areas of political leadership, including Parliamentary procedures, debate rules, navigating the political party leadership in Parliament and mentorship by experienced members. However, KEWOPA has at times not realized its full potential in developing the capacity of its members partly due to the fact that, in some cases, it lacks capacity in the secretariat and at time there is division of women MPs along party lines. Political parties hinder the effective working of the Association by lobbying and rallying their women MPs to support party position in Parliament. The conflict of interest results into the delay or limited capacity development for the members. The problem is further compounded by the fact that the Chair of KEWOPA’s secretariat is usually from the ruling party. This could result into the Association being perceived as pro-government, a situation that could result into women MPs from other parties approaching its initiatives with suspicion. Despite the shortcoming, KEWOPA has been instrumental in supporting the women in Parliament to adapt to the new environment they find by providing sharing platforms and mentorship by experienced members.
Women movement and Departments of universities

The Women Movement, as discussed in previous Chapters, could be critical in providing support to women MPs in Kenya, especially, in providing evidential data on legislation to address the gender inequality. They could provide opportunities to discuss policy issues and create bonds of friendship across partisan divides and develop women’s capacity in legislation. A case in point is in Namibia where the movement holds workshops to train women in leadership, speech writing, and gender budgeting (IPU, 2015). Women parliamentarians need to increasingly engage women organizations and research institutes to identify the key gender issues for effectiveness in legislation. The Research arms of Universities which address gender issues could be a good resource for data. These include African Women Studies Centre, University of Nairobi, and Africa Centre for Transformative and Inclusive Leadership (ACTIL), and Kenyatta University. Women MPs need to toe their party lines and make a commitment to the women movement. Also, the movement itself needs to put its house in order by uniting and strengthening the network from the grassroots to the national level with clear management and election guidelines, and transparency and accountability for the sustainability and survival of the network.
Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) and leadership in Parliament

The centre for Multiparty Democracy is a registered secretariat arm of political parties. Currently, CMD has a membership of 27 political parties mainly form the main parties in Kenya. The secretariat is a registered NGO and has a great potential to develop the capacity of its members. CMD has made progress in contributing to the revision of the Political Parties Act 2011, and providing the regulations meant to make the Act inclusive. The secretariat focuses more on developing the capacity for women candidates to join Parliament. Given that the leaders of political parties are usually members of CMD, women could use the CMD platform and capacity to negotiate for equal treatment, funds allocation from parties, and access to opportunities in Parliament like male MPs. Women, as well as men, are frequently challenged in their ability to initiate legislative proposals not condoned by their parties –facing serious consequences if they do, including expulsion from the party. Due to their vulnerability, women in most cases choose to remain silent for the sake of party consensus (IPU, 2011).

Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC)

The Parliamentary Service Commission of Kenya is one of the independent commissions established under Article 127 of the Constitution of Kenya to ensure smooth functioning of the Houses of Parliament- the Senate and National Assembly
One of the roles of PSC is to undertake programmes, singly or jointly with other relevant organizations, devise programmes to promote the ideals of parliamentary democracy and perform functions necessary for the well-being of the members and staff of Parliament (CPST, 2014). The PSC established the Centre for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST) to provide capacity on parliamentary procedures, leadership and legislation for all MPs. While this organization inducts and provides capacity on needs basis, to Parliament, it could be valuable in developing capacity for women MPs in legislature and gender mainstreaming. This could work well if KEWOPA can have a tripartite partnership with CPST and the women movement.

KEWOPA can mobilize the MPs and organize for the trainings, the movement can identify the gender gaps to be addressed in legislation while CPST could provide the training. One of the key respondents remarked that,

“Women parliamentarians and interested stakeholders should develop mechanisms for transforming patriarchal institutional values that normalize inequalities and undermine legislative process. Secondly, they need to stand up on their rights”

The observation above underscores the value for multi-partnership with various stakeholders to adequately develop capacity for women MPs. This was further supported by another key respondent who suggested that,
“If PSC can fund the trainings for women MPS and the salaries for KEWOPA secretariat, the women MPs can concentrate on pushing the gender agenda in parliament with better results. Currently the leaders have to support the secretariat to seek for funds from donors for capacity building and salaries for the secretariat”.

The view above shows that the time for women MPs in legislative work is also limited by other responsibilities in Parliament which are beyond their control. The women MPs could use their influence to negotiate for financial support from PSC.

The Judiciary. The women judges registered the Kenya Women Judiciary Association (KWJA) to unite the women judges and help them support each other in executing their duty. KEWOPA could collaborate with KWJA to advise the women MPS on critical aspects concerning amendments of gender related Acts, based on their experiences in gaps from filed petitions and cases in courts especially those that adversely affect them like the Sexual Offenses Act, family laws, employment, land and health.

6.3.2 Avenues to provide support to women MPs

The research sought to establish ways through which support could be provided to women in Parliament. Table 6.3 gives a summary of means and standard deviations on ways of offering support to women MPs as stated by the respondents.
Table 6.3: Summary of means and standard deviations on ways of support to women in Parliament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ways of supporting women MPs.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Through provision of funding to facilitate training and conferences to equip women with necessary legislative skills</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Through provision of knowledge products to the women Members of Parliament</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Provision of funds to facilitate benchmarking with other Parliaments</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Through sponsorship to learn and share experiences with other global Parliament networks</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Establishment of structures and mechanisms of solving the challenges that women parliamentarians face in Parliament</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Provision of staff paid for by the political parties and/or development partners</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Table 6.3, it is evident that “funding to facilitate training and conferences to equip women with necessary legislative skills” had the highest mean score (4.1), among all other items. This was followed by sponsorship to learn and share experiences with other global Parliament networks with a mean score of 3.8. These findings implied that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that capacity development was the most fundamental strategy to improve women’s contribution and performance in Parliament.

As discussed in this Chapter, once women are elected to Parliament, they need support from the leadership and from their male counterparts, political parties,
development partners, other stakeholders, women movement and networks for capacity support, in order to deliver the expectations from society.

6.4 Conclusion

This study found out that one of the main strategies and support mechanisms that could help enhance the performance of women MPs in the delivery of gender responsive bills would be to implement the two-thirds gender rule. This would significantly increase the representation of women in Parliament and strengthen their voice in the house. Another strategy that was identified in the study was increasingly using male MPs to champion their Bills, especially, those addressing gender inequality issues. This would help ensure that such Bills received widespread support in Parliament. Sensitizing men on the need to integrate gender in Bills was also found to be another strategy that would help enhance the performance of women MPs in the delivery of gender responsive Bills. Furthermore, the study found out that organizations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), Community Advocacy and Awareness (CRAWN) Trust, the Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) and the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC) would play a role in supporting the contribution of women MPs in Parliament. They would achieve this by mentoring women MPs especially the new entrants, strengthening support networks, drafting briefs on the gender agenda for debates, and organizing capacity development programs.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations. Conclusions were drawn from the findings while recommendations were made based on the conclusions and research findings. It also suggests further areas for research.

This study sought to: establish the Bills tabled by women MPs that could benefit welfare of women in Kenya since independence to 11th parliament, evaluate the achievements of women parliamentarians in delivering Bills that translate into laws in Kenya since independence; examine the challenges experienced by women parliamentarians in the execution of their legislative role since independence and determine the best strategies and support that could enhance performance of women legislators in delivering bills and laws that benefit women in Kenya.
7.2 Summary of the study findings

The research findings were contrary to the popular belief that majority of women MPs do not participate in parliamentary processes. In fact, 93.33 percent of the respondents were of the view that women parliamentarians are actively involved in parliamentary debates and committees. This study also found out that women MPs who had served in parliament for more than one term were more involved in parliamentary processes. They were also more likely to table Bills in Parliament compared to those who were serving their first term. The study also showed that the 11th Parliament (2013 to 2017) had a greatest number of women MPs than any other Parliament before it since independence (1963). This was mainly as a result of an additional 47 Constitutionally established seats in the National Assembly which were set aside for a woman representative from each of the country’s 47 counties. However, it was noted that the increase in the number of women MPs in the 11th parliament did not translate into an increase in the number of Bills tabled by women parliamentarians. This was mainly attributed to the fact that many of the women MPs elected at the time were parliamentarians for the first time and were as such largely inexperienced when it came to parliamentary processes.

This study found out that women MPs tended to face a host of challenges in a bid to contributing to debates and sponsor Motions and Bills which address the gender inequality issues in Kenya since independence. These challenges include; male dominance in Parliament, negative stereotyping and attitude towards women MPs.
leading to fear and marginalization, lack of data for evidence to support their argument, lack of support by the leadership and political parties, being overwhelmed by multiple roles such as parliamentary role vis-a-vis family roles, lack of family support, and lack of knowledge, experience, and capacity in the legislation process and parliamentary procedures. Lack of confidence and inferiority complex were also another challenge which was found to hinder the contribution of women MPs in Parliament. Data gathered from the interview schedule for women Members of Parliament revealed that some women parliamentarians failed to realize their potential and thereby missed the opportunity that Parliament had provided for them to drive the women and the nations’ agenda (UN Women, 2018).

The study found out that one of the main strategies and support mechanisms that would help enhance the performance of women MPs in the delivery of gender responsive Bills would be to implement the two-thirds gender rule. This would significantly increase the representation of women in Parliament and reinforce their voice in the House. Another strategy that was identified in the study was to increasingly use male MPs to champion their Bills, especially, those addressing gender inequality issues. This would ensure that such Bills received widespread support in Parliament. Sensitizing men on the need to integrate gender in bills was also found to be another strategy that would help enhance the performance of women MPs in the delivery of gender responsive Bills. Furthermore, the study found out that parliament leadership, development partners like UN Women, USAID and
organizations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya), Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Association of Media Women in Kenya (AMWIK), Community Advocacy and Awareness (CRAWN) Trust, and the Center for Multiparty Democracy (CMD) would play a role in supporting the participation of women MPs in Parliament. They would achieve this by mentoring women MPs especially the new entrants, organizing capacity development and organizing exchange programmes for women MPs.

7.3 Conclusions

With regard to Objective 1 of the study, research findings revealed that the most popular Bills and Motions sponsored by women in parliament since independence to 11th Parliament that could benefit the welfare of women in Kenya were Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill, 2006 The Victim Protection Bill, 2013 and The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill 2014. Affirmative Action Social Development Bill, 2015, The Person with Disability (amendment) bill, 2013, and family laws- Matrimonial Property Bill, 2013, and Marriage Bill, 2014 scored over 46%. The above Bills mainly touch on social issues and may have received wide coverage by the media during the debates, raising the awareness and visibility of the bills.

When it came to Objective 2 of the study, findings revealed that despite the involvement of women in political leadership since independence, their contribution in Parliament to debates and tabling Bills and Motions which translated in law in
Kenya was rated as average in this study. Women from all walks of life vie for political office not necessarily because they believe in women’s rights but because they believe they have a right to participate in political office. Therefore, not all women necessarily fight for women rights in Parliament. Some could be interested in community health, education, and poverty eradication or in a clean and healthy environment. Women are not homogeneous in the issues they believe in and society should not expect homogeneity in this. However, they must realize that active participation in political leadership is both an obligation and a women’s right. They should be passionate about national issues as well as women’s rights issues. They must fight for the political space until they establish themselves as leaders of choice.

With regards to objective 3, the study found out that a combination of challenges had hindered women’s participation in the legislation process since independence. These include the patriarchal system which had been extended to parliament, catalyzed by male dominance, in the form of “boys club”, which led to marginalization and isolation, lack of experience in the legislation process by the women leaders, inferiority complex among women and lack of support by parliamentary leadership and political parties. There is still lack of safeguards to ensure development and implementation of plans and strategies in order to address the current challenges and flaws which perpetuate an uneven ground for women in Parliament.
When it came to Objective 4, the study found out that quick win strategies to manage challenges experienced by women MPs were implemented without introducing institutional political reforms as well as social transformation in attitude and perceptions towards women in political leadership in Parliament. Application of Theory of Change approach to address the challenges faced by women in Parliament would result into a transformative change in parliamentary processes, procedures, debates and legislation. Such change would be effected at planning, implementation process, monitoring and evaluation of the progress towards the achievement of the desired goals.

While the study has elaborated the challenges experienced by women in Parliament, little is documented on whether women support each other’s agenda in Parliament, and how they work together in supporting motions and bills tabled in Parliament by fellow women.

There is, therefore need to carry out further research on women political dynamics in Parliament, and with women movement, network to assess how these contribute to success or failure of women’s agenda in Parliament.

Such a research would shed more light on strategic interventions to increase their capacity in legislation, co-ordination with women movement and support networks for effective delivery of equality gaps in Kenya to narrow the existing inequality gap.
7.4 Recommendations of the Study

The following are the recommendations:

7.4.1. Recommendations on Objective One. Establishing the Bills tabled by women MPs during the study period that could benefit welfare of women in Kenya

This subsection presents recommendations on contribution by women parliamentarians in delivering Bills that translate into Laws that could benefit women in Kenya since independence.

Inadequate capacity in legislation, parliamentary procedures and limited social support are pointed as key factors influencing contribution of women in legislation. Women MPs play a critical role in the development agenda of any country because of their knowledge and interaction with specific needs of the society.

The recommendation is made to Parliament, Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Women movement, the Parliamentary Service Commission (PSC), and the Center for Parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST).
A sustained needs-based capacity development for women MPs to improve their performance is needed. The PSC need to allocate adequate resources for capacity development and transformative institution change in parliament. There is need to strengthen networks with women movement for support in drafting evidence-based bills and contribution in debates and committees. The women MPs need to be trained to understand and appreciate their mandate cuts across all genders for their representative role and the need to pay specific attention to the women agenda in legislation to address the gender inequality gaps in line with treaties such as CEDAW, Beijing platform Action (BPFA) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

7.4.2. Recommendations on Objective Two. Evaluating the achievements by women MPs since independence to the 11th parliament in delivering bills that translate into laws in Kenya

This subsection presents recommendations on achievements by women parliamentarians in delivering Bills that translate into laws in Kenya from 1963 to 2017.

From the study findings, training, mentorship, and exchange programmes are the key capacity building strategies that could improve performance of women MPs in legislation if fully supported.
The recommendation is made to the Kenya Parliament, Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), Kenya women Judges Association (KWJA) Political Parties (PP), and Women movement that include FIDA, CREAW, GROOTs, and AMWIK.

The stakeholders need to support capacity building of women MPs. mentorship and support networks within parliament and with women rights organizations to equip women MPs with adequate knowledge in legislation and parliamentary procedure, to perform at the same level as male MPs, and to claim their political space. The donor funding should be extended to women movement to facilitate network support to the women MPs.

7.4.3. Recommendations on Objective Three. Examining the challenges encountered by women MPs in executing their legislative role in Kenya since independence up to 11th parliament.

This subsection presents recommendations on challenges encountered by women parliamentarians in legislative role from 1963 to 2017.

Patriarchy within parliamentary procedures, lack of capacity, fear, intimidation, and lack of support networks were pointed out as key challenges encountered by women MPs.
The recommendation is made to Parliament’s leadership, Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), development partners (Donors), women movement, Political Parties (PP), and academia.

The stakeholders should work together for sustained support to address the systematic barriers encountered by women MPs. Parliament leadership should allocate leadership roles to women MPs equally with male MPs within committees and in the ranks of Parliament’s leadership. There should be a policy guide directing that the chair and vice-chair positions should not be held by the same gender so as to create more space for women leadership in the legislative process.

Male MPs and leaders of political parties should be lobbied and sensitized to support women MPs in parliament and in politics for a level playing ground. Women MPs should work with other women leaders outside parliament to consolidate existing efforts and strengthen the networks that could support them to influence legislation, and effectively oversight the implementation to address the gender inequalities in Kenya.
7.4.4. Recommendations for Objective 4. Determine the best strategies and support that can enhance performance of women MPs in delivering Bills and Laws that benefit women in Kenya.

This subsection presents the strategies and support to women MPs that can enhance their performance in delivery of Bills and Laws to benefit women in Kenya.

The main proposed strategies for enhancing women participation and performance in parliament were capacity building on legislative and Parliamentary procedures, mentorship, and support networks.

The recommendation is made to Parliament, Center for parliamentary Studies and Training (CPST), Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA), development partners (Donors), women movement, and Academia.

A policy guide with regard to the zebra list for parliament leadership for women to influence institutional and legislative process is necessary. The stakeholders should lobby Parliament leadership to institutionalize capacity building strategies that could build women capacities and create an enabling environment to improve their contribution and performance for transformative institutional change in Parliament.
7.4.5. **Recommendations for further research**

There is need for further research on social political dynamics of women in Parliament, to establish how women MPs support each other in legislation, and their interaction with women movement to determine the effect of these factors to their contribution and performance in Parliament. The research could include strategies to be implemented by women MPs to lobby their male counterparts to support bills pertaining to gender equality and women empowerment.

The research could also generate data on strategic interventions to increase internal and external coordination with support networks to improve their performance in legislation.
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**Journals and Articles**


**Internet Sources**


APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Elected and nominated women MPs Since Independence to 11th Parliament.

Table 1.2: Women MPs in Kenya since independence to 11th Parliament.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parliament</th>
<th>No of MPs</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Nominated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Deceased)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Winnie Nyiva Mwendwa-Kitui West.</td>
<td>2. Jemimah Gecaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Juliana Auma Ojiambo-Busia Central</td>
<td>(Deceased)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Philomena Chelangat Mutai-Eld N.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Julia Auma Ojiambo-Busia Central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>No of MPs</td>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Elected</td>
<td>Nominated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Grace Akinyi Ogot-GEM-(deceased) | 1. Rose Waruhiu                 |
2. Grace Akinyi Ogot-GEM-(deceased) | 0                              |
2. Martha Wangari Karua-Gicugu  
3. Winnie Nyiva Mwendwa-Kitui West  
4. Agnes Mutindi Ndetei-Kibwezi  
5. Charity Kaluki Ngilu-Kitui Central  
2. Beth Wambui Mugo-Dagoretti  
3. Mwarere wa Muchai-Msambweni  
2. Maryana Mohamed Matano  
4. Tabitha Jeptoo Seii  
5. Josephine Sinyo |
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Appendix 2: Interview schedule for women members of parliament

My name is Lucy Mathenge PhD student from Kenyatta University, Department of Gender and Development Studies. I am conducting research on assessment of women’s participation in legislation and performance in parliament in Kenya since independence; achievements, challenges and way forward.

You have been chosen as a respondent for this research and I am therefore seeking for your assistance. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. I assure you that the information you give will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of scholarship.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation.

Yours’s faithfully,
Lucy Mathenge


PART ONE: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Date__________________________

Name of the respondent (optional) -------------------------
Year when respondent served in parliament
Senate from-------- to ------
-National assembly from--------to-----

_Please tick what is appropriate to you;_

Gender of the respondent
Male                               Female

Marital status
Single   Married   Separated   Divorced
Windowed

Highest level of Education attained
Primary  Secondary  a Level  University
Masters  PhD.

Occupation prior to joining parliament-----------------------------

Age bracket when the respondent served in parliament.
18-35 years  36- 45 years  46 -55 years  56-65 years  66 years and above.

Number of years you have served in parliament------------------------

Part Two

1. Participation in Parliamentary Committees

Part A (About the respondent)

Have you participated in parliamentary committees Yes/ No.?

(a) If Yes, please specify;

(i) The committees that you participated in and the period.

(ii) The position held in the committee
(iii) In your opinion what was your contribution to the welfare of men and women in Kenya?

(iv) What challenges did you encounter in the committee as a woman?

(v) How did you solve them in order to enhance your effective participation in the committee?

Part B (Other women)

Yes option

(b) How many women (MP) participated in your committee during your term in parliament?

(c) What position did they hold in the committee?

(d) In your opinion what was their contribution?

(e) Did they experience challenges?

(f) How did they solve the challenges?

No option

(g) If no women participated in the committees, please explain why.

2. Participation in Chambers

(a) How many motions did you move during your tenure in parliament? Please specify the motions.

(b) How many bills did you sponsor during your tenure in parliament?

(c) How many of these bills translated into law?
(d) What contributions did you make in parliament during the debates?

(e) What challenges did you encounter in parliament which you attribute to your being a woman? Kindly list the challenges.

(f) How many motions were moved by women MPs during your tenure in parliament?

(g) How many bills were sponsored by women MPs during your tenure in parliament?

(h) What was the women’s’ achievement during your tenure in parliament?

(i) What challenges did the women encounter in moving the motions during your tenure?

(j) How were the challenges solved?

3. Attendance in Sessions

(a) On a scale of 1-10, how can you rate your attendance in sessions during your tenure in parliament? 1= lowest ------10= highest attendance

(b) On a scale of 1-10 how many women MPs attended the sessions on average? 1= lowest ------10= highest attendance

(c) What do you think was the impact of your attendance in session or none of it?

Other Women MPs

(d) If low number of women MPs in attendance, were there gaps in debates that resulted from the low participation of women? Yes/ No

(vi) If yes what were the gaps?
(vii) If no, why?

(e) How can women attendance in parliament be enhanced?

4. Challenges

(a) In your opinion, what challenges do women MPs experience in participating in parliament?

(b) How do they address the challenges?

5. Support to Women MPs.

(a) Do women MPs require support to enable them to participate in parliament?

    Yes / No

(b) If yes specify;

i. Why is the support required?

ii. What kind of support is required?

iii. Who is required to provide the support?

iv. How the support should be provided.

(c) If No specify why

(d) Provide any other information which you feel should be included in this report
Appendix 3: Interview schedule for key informants within parliament.

My name is Lucy Mathenge PhD student from Kenyatta University, Department of Gender and Development Studies. I am conducting research on assessment of women’s participation in legislation and performance in parliament in Kenya since independence, achievements, challenges, and way forward.

You have been chosen as a respondent for this research and I am therefore seeking for your assistance. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. I assure you that the information you give will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of scholarship.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation.

Yours’s faithfully,

Lucy Mathenge


PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

Date__________________________

Name of the respondent (optional) ---------------------

Year when respondent served in parliament Senate from------ to -------

National assembly from------to------
Part Two

6. Participation in Parliamentary by Women MPs

In your opinion do women MPs contribute to the well fare of men and women in:

(a) Parliamentary committees

(b) Parliamentary debates

(c) If yes, what contributions have they made that had an impact on the well fare of women in Kenya?

(d) If No, why do they not contribution or make an impact on the well fare of women?

a. In your opinion who were the key women MPs during your term in parliament who moved motions and sponsored bills in;

(h) Parliamentary committees

(i) The chambers/ debates.

(j) Specify the motions and bills sponsored by women MPs on well fare of women that you can remember.

(k) How many of the bills sponsored by women MPs on well fare of women translated into law?

(l) How many of the motions translated into the intended change?

(m) What challenges do women encounter in sponsoring (i) Bills and (ii) Motions?

(n) How can the challenges be solved?
7. Attendance in Sessions

(f) In your opinion how many women MPs attended the sessions on average during your time in parliament on a scale of 1 to 10? (1- lowest attendance 10- highest attendance)

(g) How can more attendance in session be realized?

(h) If low number of women MPs in attendance, were there gaps in debates that resulted from the low participation of women? Yes/ No

(viii) If yes what were the gaps?

(ix) If no, why?

8. Challenges

(c) In your opinion, what challenges do women MPs experience in participating in parliament?

(d) How do they address/ overcome the challenges?

(e) What support mechanism can be put in place to enhance effective participation of women in parliament?

(f) What can other stakeholders do to help them overcome the challenges?

9. Support to Women MPs.

(e) Do women MPs require support to enable them to participate in parliament?

Yes /No

(f) If yes specify;

(x) What kind of support is required?
(xi) Who is required to provide the support?

(xii) How the support should be provided.

(g) If No specify why

(h) Please provide any other information which you feel should be included in this report
Appendix 4: Interview schedule for key informants outside parliament

My name is Lucy Mathenge PhD student from Kenyatta University, Department of Gender and Development Studies. I am conducting research on assessment of women’s participation in legislation and performance in parliament in Kenya since independence, achievements, challenges, and way forward.

You have been chosen as a respondent for this research and I am therefore seeking for your assistance. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. I assure you that the information you give will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation.

PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

Date__________________________

Name of the respondent (optional) ---------------------

Year when respondent served in the organization as the leader from--------- to -------

Number of years you have served in women’s movement-----------------------------

-----

Part Two

10. Participation in Parliamentary by Women MPs

In your opinion, do women MPs contribute in?
(e) Parliamentary committees

(f) Parliamentary debates

(g) If yes, what change have they made in making the rights of women to be recognized legally, in policy development and decision making?

(h) If No, what are the critical elements that they have missed out in regard to the rights and legal recognition of women in the country since independence?

   a. In your opinion who were the key women MPs who moved motions and sponsored bills that translated into law that has benefitted women since independence?

   o Specify the bills/ laws

   p Specify how the laws have benefited the women.

(q) How would you rate the participation of women MPs in parliament since independence in relation to delivery of gender agenda in Kenya? (On a scale of 1-10)

11. Attendance in Sessions

   i In your opinion do women MPs attend parliamentary session as required on a scale of 1 to 10? (1- lowest attendance 10- highest attendance).

   j Are there gains for women that have been achieved by the high attendance of women MPs in parliamentary sessions? Yes/ No

         If Yes explain

         If No explain
(k) Are there incidences where there were gaps in debates because of low participation of women MPs in specific debates? Yes/ No

If yes;

(xiii) What were the gaps?

If No,

(xiv) What were the gains?

(xv) What did women loose?

12. Challenges

(g) In your opinion, what challenges do women MPs experience in participating in parliament?

(h) How do they address the challenges?

(i) How did you use your office to assist them overcome the challenges?

(j) What can the women movement do to assist them overcome the challenges?

Who would be the stakeholders? Please suggest

(k) What can other stakeholders do to help them to overcome the challenges?

13. Support to Women MPs.

(i) In your opinion do women MPs require support to enable them to participate in parliament? If yes specify;

(j) Why the support is required

(k) The type of support required.

(l) Who is required to provide the support?

(m) How the support can be provided.
(n) If No specify why

(o) Please provide any other information that you deem relevant to this study.
Appendix 5: Research authorization letter

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Ref No. NACOSTI/F/17/93497/14615

Lucy Kihia Mathenge
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Assessment of Women’s political participation and performance in parliament in Kenya since independence,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi County for the period ending 4th July, 2018.

You are advised to report to the Clerk of the National Assembly, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Clerk
National Assembly.

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.


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Appendix 6: Research permit

[Image of a research permit]

**CONDITIONS**

1. The Licence is only for the proposed research, and cannot be transferred.
2. Both the Licence and the Licence holder are non-negotiable.
3. The Licence is valid until the date of expiry stated.
4. The Licence holder shall submit a progress report.
5. The Licence holder shall report to the County Ministry of Environment and the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation on any change of circumstances that may affect the research objectives, duration, scale and methodology.
6. The Licence holder shall not have authority to transfer the Licence to any other party.
7. The Licence holder shall undertake all due diligence and ensure that any liabilities arising from the research are fully covered.
8. The Licence holder shall ensure that any data collected is handled in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations.

**National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT**

Serial No.A 14655

CONDITIONS: see back page