

**THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER QUOTAS ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN
LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE 11th
PARLIAMENT OF KENYA (2013 -2017).**

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**A RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND
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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This Research Project Report is dedicated to my loving parents Prof Wellington Otieno and Susan Otieno, partner Marvin Owuor and daughter Zhane Lindiwe Eve Owuor.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- CoK** - Constitution of Kenya
- FIDA** - Federation of Women Lawyers
- IDIs** - In-depth Interviews
- KEWOPA** - Kenya Women Parliamentary Association
- KIIs** - Key Informant Interviews
- MPs** - Member of Parliament
- NACOSTI** - National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI)
- NDI** - National Democratic Institute
- WSP** - Women Shadow Parliament

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Culture	The distinctive patterns of ideas, beliefs, and norms which characterise the way of life and relations of a society or group within a society
Gender	Gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in families, societies and cultures. The concept of gender also includes the expectations held about the characteristics, attitudes and likely behaviours of sexes
Gender Analysis	The systematic gathering and examination of information on gender differences and social relations in order to identify, understand and redress inequities based on gender
Gender Discrimination	The systematic, unfavourable treatment of individuals on the basis of their gender, which denies them rights, opportunities or resources
Gender Equality	Gender equality denotes women having the same opportunities in life as men, including the ability to participate in the public sphere
Gender equity	Gender equity denotes the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognising their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources
Gender Mainstreaming	An organisational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities, through building gender capacity and accountability
Hansard	The official printed transcripts of the Kenyan National Assembly
Patriarchy	Systemic societal structures that institutionalise male physical, social and economic power over women

ABSTRACT

This study sought to explore whether indeed the increase in number of women occasioned by Affirmative Action principles in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya has enhanced women's political participation in the National Assembly. The March 4, 2013 General Elections which ushered in the 11th Parliament were considered landmark owing to the fact this it was the first General Election to incorporate affirmative action seats. As the term of the 11th Parliament came to a close, it was highly important to find out how effective gender quotas have been in achieving meaningful change for women representatives. The study was guided by Hanna Pitkin's (1967) framework that she employed in her work "Conception of Women's Political Representation". The study was additionally informed by Dahlerup (1988) "Critical Mass theory". The study made use of cross-sectional descriptive study design. The study was done with members of KEWOPA from the National Assembly of the Parliament of Kenya. The membership of the association consists of all the women Members of Parliament from all the political parties both elected and nominated. The target population of the study were the 68 KEWOPA members from the National Assembly with a sample size of 40 respondents calculated using the Yamane model. Questionnaires were used as the main data collection tool alongside key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. Validity and reliability of the instruments were measured to ensure accuracy and consistency. The study data was analysed thematically. A descriptive approach was involved where direct quotes and selected comments from informants have been used to explain the trends. Triangulation of data was done by looking into complementary and divergent opinions across the key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. The findings of the study suggest that there is still need to create and expand opportunities for women parliamentarians to enable them become more active and effective participants in the legislative processes of the National Assembly. The most urgent measure may be to proactively address the barriers that deter and frustrate them from benefitting from the expanded political space and legislative safeguards related to gender equity. Consequently, the findings raises the question on what current efforts are being put in place by political parties and the Registrar of Political parties to ensure that the Affirmative Action policy is being implemented to ensure that women legislators feel politically empowered to take up leadership positions. The findings of the research are useful to assess the gains of women political representation and inform the lessons; experiences and funding that can be harnessed to strengthen effective women's political participation in legislature and policy making. Secondly, the findings will contribute to informed public debate and critique on the effectiveness of women's affirmative action for increased participation and visibility on political platforms. Finally, legislators in parliament and policy makers in government will benefit from insights into what it takes to effectively support women's participation in legislative processes and how to leverage their numbers in parliament to the country's advantage.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Transitions from one system of governance to another can be driven by the political calculations of existing regimes, political and governance reforms as part of peace-building and reconstruction processes, or transitions in the wake of democratic uprisings. According to Gizelis and Pierre (2013) all these drivers represent critical junctures at which fundamental issues of gender-based justice and equality in representation need to be considered and addressed.

The Constitution of Kenya (1963) provided no legal framework concerning gender balance in political representation. The only provision that came close was Section 33 Subsection 3 “The person to be appointed shall be nominated by the parliamentary parties according to the proportion of every parliamentary party in the National Assembly, taking into account the principle of gender equality.” Under this provision; political parties made nominations according to their numerical strength in parliament. Ponge (2013) advances that political parties were urged, not compelled, to bear in mind the principle of gender equality, but there was no mechanism for verifying that their nomination reflected this at all. Furthermore, no entity was charged with the responsibility of ensuring that the parties observed the provision.

According to Kamau (2008), only 30.9 % of those employed in Kenya’s public service are women, 72 % of who are in the lower cadres. This inequity existed also in the judiciary and in the leadership of political parties. Women held only about 10 % of the seats in the 10th Parliament (2007 and 2013). The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) (2008) further supports this stating that despite the fact that women constitute over 50 % of the population, they constituted 8 % of MPs in the 9th Parliament; 6 % of Ministers; 13 % of Assistant Ministers; 3 % of District Commissioners; 20 % of District Officers; 13 % of Councilors and 21 % of Deputy Secretaries.

Of great concern, however, is with their gross under representation in the political decision making. Even with the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1992, Kenyan women’s

participation in the political sphere remains limited. During the 2002 general elections, there were 64 (6.1%) women contestants out of 1,055 parliamentary candidates. However, only 10 (4.8%) women out of 210 MPs were elected. In an attempt to raise the number of women in parliament, political parties used their nomination slots to get more women into parliament, bringing the total number to 18. According to UNIFEM (2002), this made Kenya one of the countries with the lowest level of achievement in gender equality and women's empowerment in terms of parliamentary seats. Kenya's general elections held in December 2007 saw 15 women elected to parliament. This was a marked improvement from the previous parliament which only had ten elected female members of parliament out of a total of 210. These figures represented relative progress over previous elections. Nonetheless, Kathambi (2009) notes that Kenya continues to lag behind its neighbours in Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. According to the findings of the 2012 Inter Parliamentary Union, Kenya was ranked position 113 globally with about 9.8% women representation in the National Assembly whereas Rwanda leads in the rankings with 56.3%.

This under-representation has major implications on the articulation and implementation of women's agenda in Parliament. Consequently, women remain largely absent at the levels of policy formulation and decision making and are therefore under-represented in policy decision making positions. Even where present, they are usually not equal participants due to such barriers as cultural practices and masculinity. Therefore, there is an urgent need to address this gender disparity by formulation of appropriate policies.

The Women Shadow Parliament WSP(K) (2008) Rapid Assessment and Gender Audit report conducted in 2008 noted that the gendered nature of power relations has for decades ensured that women's numerical strength do not translate into political capital and influence, and hence most women remain largely as voting tools for men, to whom political parties turn to as an electoral force and are enthusiastic for their participation only for the purpose of mustering votes for the party's presidential, parliamentary and local government candidates. Most women, thus, continue occupying limited roles at the lower and intermediate levels of the organization, where they serve as organs for mobilizing women to support men in elections.

The promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya in August 2010 has brought about reforms that will ensure more women are elected and appointed in public office. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 was responding partially to the gender bias that existed for long time, by providing for Affirmative Action. This was done by putting in place measures and laws that would guarantee larger participation, representation, and influence of women in all institutions of public sector and governance, including political parties.

Studies on women's political representation have mainly focused on western democracies, and especially the US. Wide (2002) notes that there is relatively weak statistics and data on women's participation in politics from Global South countries. Pogionne (2006) for example is one of the many studies made in this field that observe women legislatures impact on policy. Much focus is aimed at examining the differences between men and women in legislation and their different impact on policies. Poggione (2006) highlights that results from previous research mainly suggest that women politicians are more committed to welfare policies concerning children, women and family. I consider that this aspect of women's representation has already been fairly well explored, although not to imply that no more research needs to be done in that field in the foreseeable future. It is however worth noting that less focus has been given to the work done by the increased number of women parliamentarians, facilitated through affirmative action, once they come into office. This study therefore, focussed on examining the influence of gender quotas as a strategy for achieving greater understanding that facilitate better possibilities of effective women political participation including through sound policy mechanisms.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

According to FIDA-Kenya (2013), it is essential to contextualize the uniquely pivotal nature of the March 4, 2013 General Elections, which were considered landmark owing to a number of novel factors, among others; first General Election to incorporate affirmative action seats.

Through the adoption of various global and regional instruments, conventions, resolutions and declarations that Kenya is signatory to and using the supreme law of the land, the Constitution of Kenya (2010), the Kenyan Government has shown commitment towards promotion of gender

equality and women's empowerment. Celis (2008) indicates that the perceived changes in women's legislative representation have contributed in moving the idea of women's participation in politics and in the policy process from being a marginal issue to one of predominance and continues to address the under-representation of women and gender-related interests in politics and public policy.

Available statistics indicate that less than 16 % of the world's parliamentarians are women. In Kenya, one indicator of gender inequality is the small number of women in decision making positions and other national governance structures. In the 11th Parliament, Kenya's women representation in Parliament – National Assembly and Senate – stands at 21 per cent and remains below the Constitutional bare minimum of 33% provided by the Constitution of Kenya. Of the 86 women parliamentarians, 16 were elected as Members of Parliament (MPs), 5 nominated as MPs, 18 nominated as Senators and 47 women representatives selected under the affirmative action. However, although these numbers represent an achievement, the number of women in Parliament remains inconsequential in comparison to 81% of men at the National Assembly and 73% at Senate. More importantly, as the term of the 11th Parliament comes to a close, it is highly important to find out how effective gender quotas have been in achieving meaningful change for women parliamentarians.

It is in view of this that the study sought to explore whether indeed the increase in number of women occasioned by Affirmative Action has enhanced women's political participation in the National Assembly.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. Overall Objective

To explore the influence of gender quotas on women's participation in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To analyze the levels of women parliamentarians' participation on agenda setting and policy output in the National Assembly
- To assess the effectiveness of gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of

the gender agenda in the National Assembly

- To discuss constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws

1.4 Research Questions

- What are the levels of participation by women parliamentarians on agenda setting and policy output in the National Assembly?
- How effective are gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of the gender agenda in the National Assembly?
- What are the constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws?

1.5 Justification and Significance

The findings of the research are useful to assess the gains of women political representation and inform the lessons; experiences and funding that can be harnessed to strengthen effective women's political participation in legislature and policy making.

Additionally, the findings will contribute to informed public debate and critique on the effectiveness of women's affirmative action for increased participation and visibility on the political platform.

Finally, legislators in parliament and policy makers in government stand to benefit from insights into what it takes to effectively support women's participation in legislative processes and how to leverage their numbers in parliament to the country's advantage.

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

This study focused on members of the National Assembly. Furthermore, the study focused on the unique experiences of the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) across its programme portfolios of legislation, representation and political party function. The study assessed the extent to which the National Assembly and more so KEWOPA has strengthened women participation in parliament and the challenges it has faced in its endeavour to do so, and

more particularly, at the institutional and legislative levels.

The study was limited to the experiences of members of the National Assembly and sought the opinions of women caucuses outside parliament that are in any sense involved in enhancing women participation in parliament. Given the qualitative nature of this study, only a small number of subjects were involved thus limiting the generalization of the study findings to experiences of women parliamentarians in other countries across Africa. Moreover, comparisons of women's caucus contributions across different parliamentary phases since Kenya's independence in 1963 is beyond the scope of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers literature relevant to the subject under study. The main issues under review were: the levels of women parliamentarians' participation on agenda setting and policy output in Kenya, the effectiveness of gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of the gender agenda globally, in Africa and in Kenya and finally the constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws.

2.2 Review of Related Literature

Different studies have concluded that prior to the 1980's, the effectiveness of women as legislators was always second to that of men, a position which still remains true in many societies even today. Feminist researchers have made the case rather that whenever women are inadequately represented, society as whole is denied the unique voice that women may bring to the public decision-making process (Gilligan 1993; Tripp 1994b; Walzer 2002). Thus any efforts to empower women to be equal participants in the decision-making processes of societies become jeopardized wherever women, a key demographic group, are not adequately represented (Childs 2004; Grey 2002; McAllister and Studlar 1992).

2.3 Effectiveness of gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of the gender agenda

Many countries around the globe have used positive action strategies designed to bring more women into elected leadership positions. According to Tripp (1994), the push for increased presence of women in legislatures to substantively represent women is based on the idea that women possess distinct interests in common for which only they (women) demonstrably seem well-placed to bring attention to on their own behalf. Similarly, Phillips (1995) and Wängnerud (2009) concur that these distinct interests include issues relating to child-bearing and health, exposure to sexual harassment and violence, unequal division of paid and unpaid labor, and exclusion from most arenas of economic and political power.

Piscopo et al, (2009) notes that governments all over the world have increasingly adapted the use of gender quotas to fast-track gender equality in legislative assemblies. By electoral law, about a dozen countries worldwide have reserved a certain number of parliamentary seats for women in the lower house of the national parliament. This strategy has been used for the lower house of the national parliament in Morocco, Jordan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Botswana, Taiwan, Lesotho, and Tanzania. Reserved seats have also been adopted for the new Afghanistan constitution and positive action strategies are being considered in Iraq. At the local level, as well, in India 33 percent of seats on local municipal councils are reserved for women, bringing thousands of women into local office. This strategy is likely to be particularly important in political systems where gender quotas cannot be implemented through party organizations and party rules.

Quotas are largely attributed to activists in the Nordic countries in Europe, although Tripp (2005: 52) has also noted a similar trend in Africa, particularly in the years following the UN declaration of the Millennium Development Goals. In Kenya, Fida-Kenya (2010) notes that gender quotas were adopted in 2005 and were seen as an important step in enhancing descriptive representation for women. The quota law requires parliament to ensure that one-third of MPs represented in parliament are women.

It matters however how quotas are applied since, as Kabeer (2005:22) notes, the way that quotas are applied makes a difference to whether the presence of women is a token or a legitimate form of representation. Kabeer (2005:22) uses the term tokenism to imply a form of political expediency where women are assigned seats to balance a political equation and extent a certain regime in power without a genuine commitment to gender equality.

In theory, reserved seats implemented through direct elections appear to have many potential advantages. Cofelice (2018) advances that elections provide the fairest and most democratic process for determining membership of any parliament. This process also insures that women members entering parliament through reserved seats should have as much legitimacy and popular support as other members elected through general seats. Direct election should also strengthen the independence of women representatives and make them accountable to the electorate for their performance in office. Moreover, leaders may also use the powers of patronage for partisan

advantage in legislative bodies. One major criticism of reserved seats through appointment is that these place 'token' women in visible leadership positions and yet undermine their power of independence.

Dahlerup (2005) argues from the point of view of exclusion and stresses that gender quotas draw legitimacy for both the political parties and governments at large. Furthermore, States use gender quotas as a way of expressing their commitment to gender equality albeit such commitment may be questioned especially where presence does not translate to empowerment. According to Piscopo et al (2009), quotas —increase diversity among the types of women elected, raise attention to women's issues in policy-making processes, change public attitudes about women and politics, and inspire female voters to get more politically involved.

Krook (2008) has however criticised the use of gender quotas arguing that they may be used to —further neoliberal projects, demobilize women's movements, [and] result in the election of non-feminist women. She also questions some underlying policy issues around the design and implementation of gender quotas such as:

Who mobilizes for and against quotas, and for what reasons...does the apparently widespread support for quotas in fact mask other political intentions?...do they constitute a feminist demand articulated by a new global women's movement, or instead, reflect a more cynical attempt among elites to mask other struggles under the guise of concern for the political status of women?

Krook's views are shared by Tripp (2006) who observes that such criticism is widespread —even among feminists in Africa, many of whom believe the practice leads to tokenism and can become yet another mechanism in the service of patronage politics." Similarly, Dahlerup (2006) cautions that the concentration on the descriptive representation of women ignores an evaluation of their impact on politics and political process. She criticises the use of quotas as a means to achieve greater representation of women, arguing that the use of electoral quotas challenges our ideas and theories about the relationship between women's political representation and their socio-economic positions, since quotas may lead to unprecedented historical leaps in women's representation without simultaneous changes in women's socio-economic position.

Powley (2005) and Wilber: (2011) highlight the factors that contributed to *Rwanda's success story*- especially the fantastic increase in women's representation in politics and other public decision making positions. Rwanda's 56.3% women in the national assembly is a product of the *specific socio-economic and political circumstances of the genocide*, the quota system, and a sustained campaign by the women's movement in collaboration with women in government and with the explicit support of the ruling party-Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) - that made a policy decision to prioritize women's political presence in government structures. Accordingly, RPF introduced structures and mechanisms for reaching gender parity including: i) a mandatory Constitutional quota of 30 percent women in the National Assembly(Chamber of Deputies) and other government decision-making bodies, ii) a constitutionally mandated triple ballot electoral system introduced in 2003, comprising of a women-only ballot; the general ballot, and the youth only ballot; iii)Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion (MIGEPROF); iv)Women's Councils elected at the grassroots and represented at the national level; v)RPF and president's support for women for competitive electoral seats and vi) the gender demographic (with women comprising about 70% of the country's population following the 1994 genocide), thus making it politically expedient to deploy a high percentage of females in leadership to advance President Kagame's regime interests.

Nzomo (2003) states that of the 24 women who came into the National Assembly of Kenya through nomination by their respective parties to various seats after implementation of the gender quota; several of them decided to get into the male dominated arena of elective politics to challenge their male companions and most of them emerged victorious. According to Longman (2006) the electorate in Rwanda are now choosing to elect more women than men into their legislature than what is required by their constitution. The gender quota in Rwanda has served as an "incubator" for giving women the impetus, experience, and confidence to engage in leadership. The forum of Rwandan Women Parliamentarians (Forum des Femmes Rwandaises Parlementaires (FFRP) - the Women's Parliamentary Caucus established in 1996 has done a great deal in significantly advancing the role of women in the legislature e.g. through lobbying and passing legislation that advances feminist change on matters such as gender-based violence, unfair laws that discriminate against women in nationality and citizenship, inheritance rights of

women, land ownership and introducing a gender ‘social climate’ in the parliamentary debates and legislation.

The experiences and impacts of women with governance in other African Countries that have attained a critical mass of women in political governance institutions; notably South Africa, Senegal, Mozambique, Angola, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda, reveal similar experience to that of Rwanda, in respect to women’s participation as Political Representatives.

2.4 Constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws

South Africa and Mozambique, like Rwanda, adopted a PR electoral system but unlike Rwanda, they did not constitutionalize and/or legislate quotas. Instead the ANC and FRELIMO adopted an internal voluntary party quota of 30% representation of women in parliament. This quota was in South Africa, spearheaded by the ANC Women’s League through a series of campaigns and inside lobbying for a party policy to increase female representation (Tripp 2003). Application of this quota system through party policy has had a significant impact on numbers of women in parliament. However, as Hassim (*ibid*) notes for South Africa, women political representatives have had limited space for dissent within the ruling ANC party, which, like Rwanda’s RPF, is the party to which most women MPs owe their presence in parliament.

According to Nzomo (2003) the push towards effective women political representation through gender quotas and affirmative action in the long run may not be sufficient without structural changes and key political institutional support such as the state organs at the National and Devolved governments as well as political parties.

Kang’ethe (2007: 145) has observed that even though affirmative action is highly rated as the way forward, it should be viewed as only one of the instruments for achieving equity and justice. Admitted that women must learn to exploit their numerical strength in occupying political space, there is need to consider the quota system which has yielded much success in countries like Rwanda (Powley 2004; Huggins & Randell 2007) and Uganda (Cornwall & Goetz 2005). One indicator of gender inequality in Kenya is the small number of women in decision making positions and other national governance structures. The 10th Parliament has about 10% of

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

2.5 Levels of participation by women parliamentarians on agenda setting and policy output

The participation of women at all levels of decision-making in all spheres of society is crucial for the development of democracy and the realization of women's rights. There can never be true or substantive democracy without equal participation of women. However, women in Kenya continue to be grossly marginalized in organs of decision-making and governance structures despite the existence of progressive laws that guarantee their equal representation in political spaces. Ponge (2013) posits that since independence, women in Kenya have continually been sidelined in politics. Their poor representation is exhibited in political parties, which continue to confine women to lower cadre party positions despite having policies upholding affirmative action.

In order to understand the extent of women's political participation in Kenyan society, one needs to understand the history of Kenya and the journey women have had to make from pre- colonial, to colonial to post-colonial times.

Brief History on the Role of Women in Kenya's Politics

Bauer & Tremblay (2011) explains that for most African women the colonial period was characterized by significant losses in both power and authority. Colonial officials accepted Western gender stereotypes which assigned women to the domestic domain, leaving economic and political matters to men. As a result, women's economic and political rights often diminished. Colonial officials ignored potential female candidates for chieftainships, scholarships and other benefits. Many women institutions were destroyed.

Bauer & Tremblay (2011) compares Kenya to her neighbouring countries expressing that although women's descriptive representation in Kenya remains low, even in comparison to

neighbouring countries in the region such as Uganda and Tanzania, there has been a steady increase in the number of women gaining entering parliament over the last 10 years.

The British ruled in Kenya from 1890 to 1963. Women were affected by the land redistribution experienced by most Africans. However, women appear to have been more personally affected by this land alienation. This is because as women lost access to and control of the land, they became more economically dependent on men. This led to an intensification of domestic patriarchy, reinforced by colonial social institutions. Land alienation reduced the economic independence enjoyed by women by compromising their economic productivity. As colonialism continued in Africa, the perceived importance of female agricultural contributions to the household diminished as their vital role in food production was overshadowed by the more lucrative male-controlled cash crop cultivation.

Manor (1991) discusses in depth that gender inequality in political participation in Kenya was partly a consequence of colonization, a period during which power was concentrated on individual figures and not institutions. The political consequences of this played a critical role in privileging men over women and even some ethnic groups over others with the associated socio-economic and political gains.

Colonialism instilled a feeling of superiority over women in Kenyan men. A patriarchal order emerged, where the male dominated the female. This order suppresses women, restricts the full development of their potential, prevents them from exercising their rights, makes them live for others, forces them to reproduce, and usurps their right to self-determination.

After independence in 1963, the lucky girls that managed to go to school were those whose parents were involved in mission work and had interacted with the Christian missionaries during the colonial period. Many girls were not sent to school and were instead married off as early as 12 years old. As a result, some communities like the Maasai and Samburu are still struggling to get rid of the practice of early child marriages. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action brought a change in the status of Kenyan women. It led to a rise in female consciousness and self-confidence as women began to speak up and say 'no' to continued social scorn and disrespect.

Midamba (1990) notes, that in the two decades following independence however, Kenya remained a single party state and during this period, tokenism (assignment of powerful positions to serve self-interests) and political brinkmanship characterised political recruitments and the assignment of decision-making positions to individuals. Okello (2010) adds that this made it even more difficult for women to manoeuvre through political power, and it constrained their access to political opportunities since power belonged exclusively to men. KANU [Kenya African National Union), being the only party, enjoyed unlimited political power. KANU's operational formula was heavily informed by and influenced by patriarchal leanings and thus privileged men in nomination exercises, party leadership positions and the ultimate allocation of political resources.

The pursuit of equal representation in parliament by Kenyan women has been a daunting journey that started with the fight for political independence from the British colonial rule in the years before 1963 (Midamba, 1990), to the end of single party rule in 1992 (Okello, 2010). Through coordinated political organising commencing right after Kenya got her independence, women in Kenya have made major political strides.

Kenyan women have had difficulty penetrating the patriarchal decision-making structures and processes of the state and the party. (Nzomo, 2007) Despite these difficulties, women of the many ethnic and religious backgrounds have employed informal as well as formal channels of political expression in dealing with the successive states and governments (traditional, colonial, modern), sometimes with mixed results.

Before the British colonized Kenya in 1890, Kenyan communities were governed by councils of elders, consisting mainly of elderly men in the community. The role of women and girls was to farm the family land, harvest, care for the children, maintain the homestead, and tend to their husbands. Girls were socialized to be homemakers and cultivators. Women were economically empowered as they sold their farm produce in the markets. However, in some communities, decisions affecting the community were left for the council of elders and the men in the community.

Maria Nzomo (2003) also highlights some of the historical trends which constrained women

from accessing political power, in the early years after independence social resistance to women's participation in political leadership informed by retrogressive patriarchal cultures and the feminisation of poverty that constrains women financially as well as women's marginal position in mainstream political parties.

Okello (2010) acknowledged that change however occurred after a constitutional amendment in 1991 that paved the way for the return of multi-party politics and expanded popular participation in the democratisation process in Kenya. Multi-party democracy expanded the space to accommodate freedom of expression, association and assembly for both political parties and various pressure groups including women's rights groups, space women used to lobby for gender equality in political representation.

Nzomo (2003) notes that the first multi-party general election in December 2002 saw a significant number of women being nominated by political parties to run for parliamentary elections. Out of the 19, only six won the election and none were nominated by a political party to represent them in parliament, which at the time consisted of 212 members. Subsequent elections after 1992, held every 5 years, saw a slight but steady increase in the number of women getting into parliament through elections as well as nominations by political parties. According to Okello (2010), despite the fact that Kenya has ratified various international protocols on the rights of women), to date, access to decision-making positions for women remain an uphill task.

According to Nzomo & Kibwana, (1993), women rights organisations and other non-governmental organisations espousing feminist ideals have been at the forefront of advocating women's descriptive representation in parliament. Organisations such as the Kenya National Committee on the Status of Women (KNCSW) have provided assistance to women regardless of their political party affiliations to run for office.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

As there are many forms of feminisms, the feminist perspective employed in this study is one that is informed by Watson (2013) "Feminist Political Theory" which recognizes and values women's multiple identities and their diverse and unique experiences and hence takes seriously

their interests in and their capacities for bringing about social and political change.

The study was also guided by Hanna Pitkin's (1967) framework that she employed in her work "Conception of Women's Political Representation" within which she defines political representation as "the activity of making citizens voices, opinions, and perspectives "present" in the public policy making processes'. Therefore, political representation happens when political players advocate, speak, symbolize, and act on the behalf of those they represent in the political arena.

The final concept that informed this study was the "Critical Mass theory" a concept that is associated with Drude Dahlerup. The idea of a "critical mass," according to Dahlerup (1988), connotes the state of having at least 30 percent representation of women in national legislatures in order to be able to have significant impact on policies. Dahlerup, in a 1988 study "From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics," became the first researcher to introduce the "critical mass" concept into political science and into political thinking. Findings from Dahlerup's study of women in Scandinavian legislatures affirmed that 30 percent women representation in legislatures is the "critical mass" point and that whenever women make up less than 30 percent of the total legislature, they face difficulties in being accepted as legitimate participants in the respective political environment (Broughton and Zetlin 1996; Dahlerup 1988). Similarly, when women constitute less than 30 percent of the total representation, Dahlerup contends, it becomes difficult for them to significantly influence policies, and much more so, are unable to represent women and "women's issues" (Dahlerup 1988).

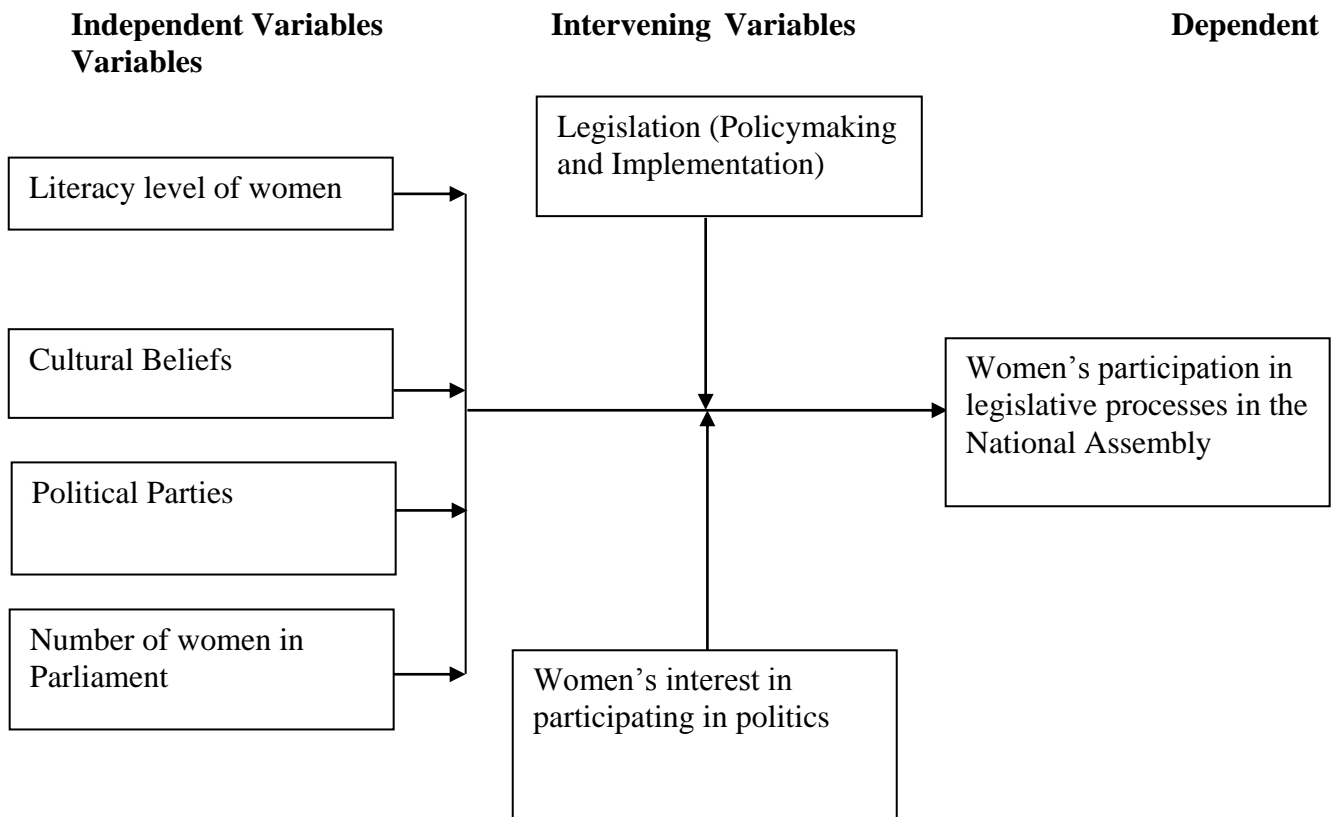
The three frameworks were applied in the study to analyse the gender dimension of political representation in Kenya's electoral politics; to assess women's representation of gender issues once they are elected or nominated representatives in the National Assembly and finally, whether the increase in quotas as mandated by the Constitution of Kenya (CoK) has had any significant impact on women's political advancement in the National Assembly.

By applying the Feminist Political Theory lens, the findings indicate that women legislators have been able to use their numbers to improve the richness and quality of legislation by bringing to bear their professional backgrounds, lived experiences and visions for Kenyan women. As per

the Hannah Pitkin’s framework “Conception of Women’s Political Representation” the study finds that the women representatives have not only advanced specific gender equality issues but they have also contributed to socio-economic debates for the benefit of the society at large.

Finally, the study findings also support the “Critical Mass Theory” concept by appreciating the role of formal groupings such as KEWOPA that are a pillar in consolidating women’s legislators voices and forging a common agenda for its women members. The caucus is viewed as an agent empowering women through gender-nuanced capacity-building initiatives which work to enrich women’s agenda as political leaders.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a description of the study site, the study design, study population, sampling procedure and sample size, data collection methods and data analysis. The chapter finally discusses the ethical considerations that will guide the study.

3.2 Research Design

The study used a cross-sectional descriptive study design. According to Owens (2002), this design is useful in collecting data at one point in time from a sample selected to represent a larger population. The researcher preferred this design because she sought information from a large population over a short period of time. Secondly, the resources at the researcher's disposal were limited, dictating that the time, materials and research assistants were quite minimal. The unit of the study were women parliamentary members of the Kenya National Assembly.

3.3 Site of the Study

The study was done with members of KEWOPA from the National Assembly of the Parliament of Kenya. The membership of the association consists of all the women Members of Parliament from all the political parties both elected and nominated. After the March 2013 elections, the membership was expanded to include women in the Senate (www.kewopa.org). The formation of the association arose out of the need to raise the number of women parliamentarians, increase their contribution, influence Parliamentary business, and ensure increased attention to issues affecting women. KEWOPA envisions women and men who are equitably represented in Parliament and decision-making in public and private spheres. Thus, it has a mandate to promote the advancement of parliamentary democracy by enhancing knowledge and understanding of democratic governance and facilitate the networking of women parliamentarians for the socio-economic development of Kenya. In the current parliament, KEWOPA has a total membership of 86 women and a coordinating secretariat situated in Nairobi (www.kewopa.org).

3.4 Study population

The study population included all women parliamentarians in the National Assembly. In the eleventh (previous) parliament, their number stood at 68. Thus the study population will include purposively sampled members of the National Assembly whose positions have allowed them to be privy to specific information. The unit of analysis will be the KEWOPA members.

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample size

3.5.1 Sample Size

Kothari (2004) postulates that a sample size should be neither too large nor too small and that an optimal sample is one which fulfils the requirements of efficiency, representativeness, reliability and flexibility. Yamane (1967:886) provides a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. In this study, the Yamane model was used to construct the sample size for target population at 0.90 confidence level. According to the model,

$$n_s = \frac{N}{\{1 + N(e^2)\}}$$

Where;

n_s - Sample Size

N - Target Population Size

e - Precision level (at 0.90 confidence interval, $e = 0.1$)

Given $N = 349$ then;

$$n_s = \frac{68}{1 + 68(0.1^2)}$$

= 40 respondents

3.6 Research Instruments

The study employed questionnaires, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews methods as the tools for data collection. These instruments aided in the collection of qualitative data. Qualitative data was obtained through open-ended questions contained in the instruments. This provided the researcher with necessary background and in-depth information about the participation of women parliamentarians in the National assembly.

3.6.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews (IDIs) were carried out with former and current KEWOPA members. This method was important in highlighting the caucus' experiences around lessons, achievements, challenges and opportunities that the caucus deem necessary for strengthening women participation across its legislative and political party functions.

Members of KEWOPA secretariat were interviewed to offer opinions on some of the lessons learnt across these functions and how the lessons were being used to re-orient the programme focus for the purposes of strengthening women participation in parliament. The interviews were conducted using an interview schedule (Appendix I) containing mostly open-ended questions so as to provide room for thorough probing and clarification.

3.6.2 Key informant interviews

These interviews were carried out with KEWOPA leadership and purposively selected members of the National Assembly based on their positions, for example in Parliamentary Committees, have considered them privy to specific information. This enabled the researcher to collect balanced and accurate information as regards the subject under study. The interviews were conducted using a key informant interview guide (Appendix II).

3.6.3 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used as the main data collection tool alongside key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. Data collection was done with the help of five research assistants who were trained by the researcher. The study data was analysed thematically. The questionnaires were useful in this case as a descriptive approach was adopted and direct quotes and selected comments from informants have been used to explain the trends. Triangulation of data was done by looking into complementary and divergent opinions across the key informant interviews and in-depth interview

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The study was undertaken with a desire of generating findings that would be testable and widely applicable. Based on this, various approaches were adopted to enhance finding validity and reliability.

3.7.1 Validity

Validity of research instrument is a measure of the extent to which the instruments measure what they are intended to measure and the data collected through it accurately represents the respondents' opinions (Amin, 2002). One of the main reasons for conducting the pilot study was to ascertain the validity of the questionnaire. Face, construct and content validity were measured by seeking the opinion of lecturers and experts in the field of political science and research methods from Kenyatta University on the adequacy of the research instruments in achieving the objectives of the study. Statisticians assessed the questionnaire to determine whether any irregularities exist that would hinder data-analysis. Based on their opinions, the instrument was adjusted by deleting and adding some questions, and changing the structure or lexical density of questions as appropriate.

3.7.2 Reliability

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) defines reliability as a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. Internal consistency was measured during the analysis of the pilot study data. Reliability was tested using Cronbach's Alpha with a predetermined threshold of 0.7 (Marczyk, DeMatteo and Festinger, 2004). Values above 0.7 indicate presence of reliability while values below signified lack of reliability.

3.8 Data Collection

Before collecting data from the targeted respondents, the researcher obtained an introductory letter from Kenyatta University and a permit from NACOSTI. The researcher then sought permission from the Clerk of the National Assembly to collect data. Due to the huge number of parliamentarians and their availability (or lack of), the researcher recruited five research assistants who assisted in data collection. The researcher trained the five research assistants on how to administer the instruments. The researcher and the five research assistants then administered the questionnaires. Questionnaires were collected immediately after being filled by respondents. To ensure a high response rate, the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the respondents, make the questions precise and concise, clarify difficult questions and assure the

participants of total confidentiality. Before data entry, questionnaires were checked for completeness and data cleaning was done to enhance data quality.

3.9 Data analysis

Data processing involved all forms of manipulations necessary for preparing data for further processing for example coding, categorizing answers to open-ended questions, editing and checking as well as preparation of tables. Data was analysed thematically. For each data set, separate code sheets were created in an attempt to establish and interpret patterns and relationships. A descriptive approach was involved where direct quotations and selected comments from informants were used to explain the trends. Triangulation of data was done by looking into complementary and divergent opinions across the key informant interviews and in-depth interviews.

3.10 Data Management and Ethical considerations

The researcher sought the required approvals from the relevant bodies before the field work began. During fieldwork, informants were duly briefed on the purpose, the target groups, selection procedures, duration of the study, and potential use of the research results.

Recruitment was based on informed consent of the women parliamentarians upon being satisfied with the objectives of the study and accompanying explanations about their selection for the study. The right of informants to disqualify themselves at any point of the study was explained. However, due measures were taken to encourage full and informed participation of the informants throughout the study period to amicably meet the objectives of the study.

During the interviews, the informants' consent was sought to allow for taping of deliberations that were later transcribed for analysis. The study results will be availed to the wider scientific community through publication to be made in journals and unpublished literature at Kenyatta University.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings on the influence of gender quotas on women's participation in legislative processes in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya (2013 -2017). The findings are organized according to the themes derived from the objectives of the study as follows: levels of women parliamentarians' participation, effectiveness of gender quotas and constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws. Forty questionnaires were administered and were duly filled and returned, representing 100 per cent response rate. The gender representation in the study was 92% women and 8% men.

4.2 Respondent Profiles

This section presents the respondents background information considered crucial for subsequent discussions such as age, marital status and level of education.

4.2.1 Age

Age was considered to be a crucial component of the study as it is assumed that with age women become more empowered and are likely to take up leadership position.

The researcher, therefore, asked the respondents to indicate their age brackets as shown in the figure below. In this study, 13% were aged between 18 and 34, 55% of the respondents were aged between 35 and 49 years, while those aged 50 years and above comprised 32% as summarized in Figure 4.1 below.

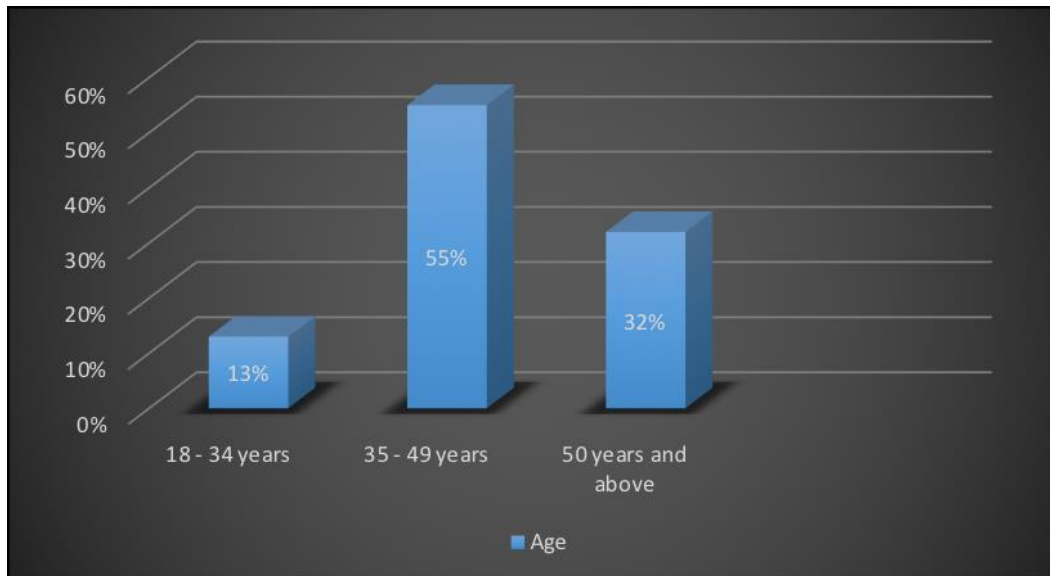


Figure 4.1: Age of the respondents

There were fewer younger people in the survey as indicated by only 13% being between the ages of 18 -34 years. This is reflective of Kenya’s political landscape which according to Oloo (2007) a majority of women parliamentarians are elderly something which intersects with expectations of African traditional societies that with age comes wisdom .

Moreover, financial resources are needed to mount effective campaigns, pay agents, secure media slots for advertising and print posters, among other expenses make the situation dire for young women than older women because most of them are neither well established in their careers, nor do they attract adequate sponsorship.

Family obligations and motherhood was pointed at as a hindrance to young women’s active participation in politics. According to Tamale (2018) the reproductive role of a woman plays a big role in the success of her political leadership trajectory. A lot of young women’s reproductive cycle kicks in as they are beginning to explore political opportunities something that their male counterparts easily take up getting ahead.

Vecchione and Caprara (2009) found that education and age are significant factors that intersect with gender affecting political participation levels. Their findings compare very well with those by Stolle and Hooghe (2009). As a determinant of political involvement, it has been argued that many of the young people may feel isolated and even excluded from the political system which

tends to be ‘self-reproduced and often self-serving.’ According to Lister (2007), these sentiments arise since young people are often considered to be immature and financially dependent on their parents, so they are not often treated as equal members of the planning process and power arrangements. Briggs (2008) and Henn et al. (2005) differ and argue that there is a steadily increasing body of research suggesting that young people are not generally “disengaged” from politics, but instead that they have a critical attitude towards institutional politics.

4.2.2 Marital Status

Marital status was an important variable in this study because the influence of a male spouse is an important determinant of a woman’s political experience in Kenya’s socio-political landscape. This study therefore sought to analyse the marital status of the respondents and the findings are summarized in Figure 4.2 below.

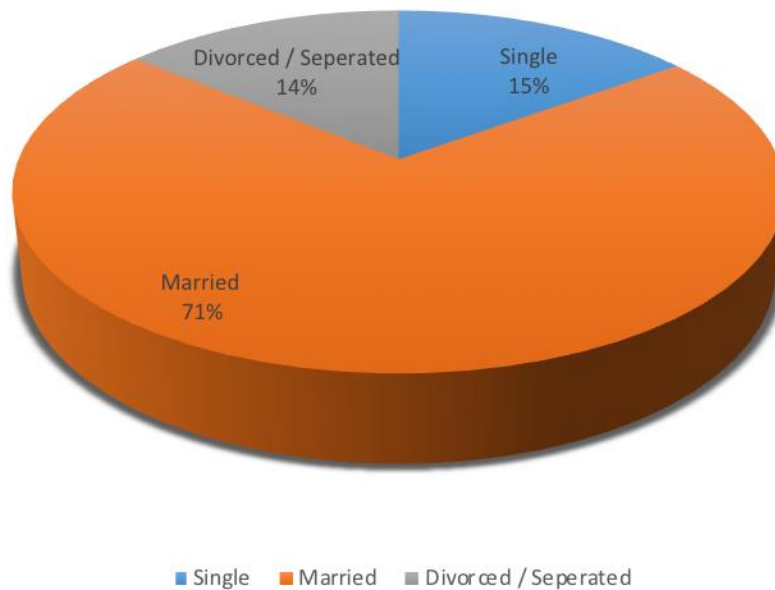


Figure 4.2: Marital Status

The findings revealed that a mere 15% were single women (never been married), 71% were married while 14% were either divorced or separated. This implies that a majority of the women members of parliament were married.

Another barrier to active political participation among women is the reproductive role. Tripp (2001) argues that political campaigning requires an extensive travel programme where one spends nights away from home, going into bars and public barazas, to meet supporters. These may not be readily acceptable in most African societies, including Kenya. Women who vie for political positions have to weather labels such as “unfit” and “loose” as mothers and wives. The societal attitude towards women therefore hinders women seeking leadership positions due to stereotyping and discrimination. Studies have shown that women’s family obligations, including the availability of child care, interfere with women ability to take political position. Often, there a conflict in terms of societal expectations on women between parental roles, marital roles and political career.

However, from the findings, it is apparent that a high premium is attached to women’s reproductive role. Unmarried women members of parliament decried that during campaigns they are asked by the voter population to prove that they can indeed take care of them if they do not have families to look after. Purporting that for a woman, one needs to be married preferably with children to demonstrate that she can take care of the voting population. This agrees with Hašková et al (2003) who noted that women continued to be the primary carers for children and bore the primary responsibility for housework and childcare. This, they noted, virtually forced all women to devise strategies to deal with “the double burden.” Kiamba (2008) says that despite women aspiring for leadership positions, they still face barriers related to culture and cultural expectations, as well as the choice and balance between work and family.

Empirical studies in Kenya done by Kamau (2010) found out that in Kenya majority of women in politics are widowed, divorced or never married. According to literature reviewed, Rotolo (2000) suggests that marriage is anticipated to have a stronger negative effect among women than men. In most cases, where marriage may even boost participation in men whereas it is vice-versa for women. Once married women’s leisure time declines to a great extent than men’s, and women tend to increase the amount of time spent on housework (Sayer 2005). Bolzendah and Coffe (2010) also advance that being divorced is linked to a likely increase in women’s involvement in politics. Kamau (2010) notes that unmarried women face serious challenges in political leadership as they fall short of social expectations. She further posits that married women may not appeal for leadership in their constituencies of birth as they are said to belong to

the husband's political area. Perhaps the only exception women's influence in political leadership is if it is influenced by their father if unmarried, further pointing to strong patriarchal influence in the political arena. (Kamau, 2010)

Moreover, Lamb (2002) highlights that women in Kenya have endured 'physical and psychological bashing, mental trauma, maiming, rape, sexual harassment and even death while participating in politics.' Kenya being a patriarchal society, women have endured decades of humiliation, ridicule and sexual and gender based violence (SGBV). The violence against women leaders can be traced as far as colonial times where women were humiliated in many ways and others killed during Mau Mau uprising and the declaration of a state of emergency in 1952. Women politicians such as the Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai were set upon by state agents when they ventured into politics (Kassilly & Onkware, 2011). The married ones have to get the full support of their husbands.

4.2.3 Education level of respondents

In identifying this variable, the study took note of the fact that research has shown that access to political leadership and contribution of women Parliamentarians is greatly influenced by their level of education. Education was considered important because it is assumed that education makes a woman confident enough to venture into political leadership. In Parliament, education is a key determinant of effective participation for example in understanding standing orders and other key legislative processes. The findings for this variable are presented in Figure 4.3 below

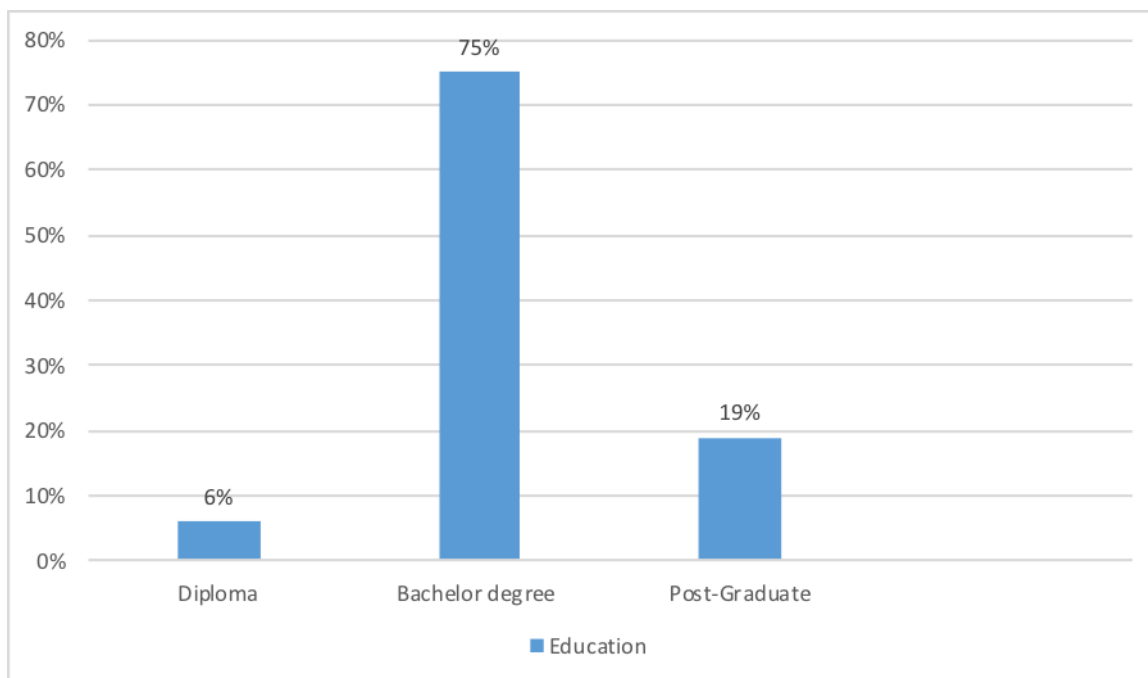


Figure 4.3: Education level of the respondents

Study findings revealed that 6% of the respondents had Diplomas and/or Higher Diplomas, 75% had a Bachelor’s degree and 19% had Post-graduate qualifications. Findings from various reports indicate that women parliamentarians with advanced levels of education contribute more than their counterparts with basic education levels.

Education is critical to various development aspects because it guarantees effective participation in both public and private realms of the society. Empirical studies in India suggest that literacy has a strong impact on women’s capacity to perform in the political institutions (Mohan et, al. 2005).

This finding confirms an argument carried in the Daily Nation of April 6, 2009¹ which pointed out that “A distinguishing element of the women leaders who made it to parliament or any related position of leadership in Kenya is their high levels of professional achievements. Most of the women leaders were accomplished academics having reached the pinnacle of their professions. Examples include Dr. Julia Ojiambo, Phoebe Asiyo, and Professor Wangari Mathai among others.” However, the respondents highlighted that these academic and professional

¹ Daily Nation, 6th April 2009 also posted in [HTTP//WWW.nation.co.ke/news/-/1050/557575/-/item/1/-/hyph/-/index.html](http://www.nation.co.ke/news/-/1050/557575/-/item/1/-/hyph/-/index.html)

accomplishments confirm the view that women are held to higher standards of achievement than men.

Education influences women's participation in political leadership significantly (Kabira and Kimani, 2012). This is because well educated women tend to have economic and social status enable their political participation. Furthermore, political leadership positions, especially the higher positions, usually have certain requirements on educational level attainment. (Kabira and Kimani, 2012).

4.3 Levels of women parliamentarians' participation

The first objective of the study was to analyse the levels of women parliamentarians' participation on agenda setting and policy output in the National Assembly. The inclusion of the perspectives of women and their participation in politics are prerequisites for their democratic development and contribution to law making. To this end, the study sought to document various variables to unpack the levels of women parliamentarians' participation. These were categorized as: representation in Parliamentary Committees; Formulation of Bills and Contribution to debate on the floor of the House.

For this particular objective, the study primarily focused on contributions made by women legislators as recorded in The Hansard, which is the official verbatim record of debates in the Kenyan Parliament, analysis from responses to the questionnaires and various secondary sources. The study reviewed the period between March 2013 when the 11th Parliament had its first sitting and 30th June 2015.

4.3.1 Women Parliamentarians' Representation in the National Assembly Committees

According to Shaw (1998), parliamentary committees are very powerful institutions in decision making and shaping public policy. The committee system enables a more robust deliberation on legislation and oversight of issues introduced on the floor of the House. The committees have the task of research and making recommendations on matters of national interest brought to the house by the legislators. It is important to note that the process of nominating members to committees depends largely on party loyalty and competencies on the issues covered by the committees.

The study established that although the number of women parliamentarians has greatly increased in the 11th parliament, the representation of women in house business committees is far less than their male counterparts and only seven house committees out of the possible 28 committees were chaired by women as shown below. This represents 25% of the total positions. They also held 3 vice chair positions which translate to 10.7%.

Table 4.1: Women Chairpersons and Vice-Chairpersons in The National Assembly in the 11th Parliament of Kenya

	COMMITTEE	NAME	POSITION
1	Liaison Committee	Dr. Joyce Laboso	Chair
2	Committee on Implementation	Rosalinda Soipan	Chair
3	Committee on Regional Integration	Florence Kajuju	Chair
4	Departmental Committee on Education, Research and Technology	Sabina Chege	Chair
5	Departmental Committee on Environment and Natural Resources	Amina Abdalla	Chair
6	Departmental Committee on Health	Rachael Nyamai	Chair
7	Catering and Health Club	Janet Wanyama	Chair
8	Committee on Constituency Development Fund	Esther Gathogo	Vice-Chair
9	Departmental Committee on Legal Affairs	Priscilla Nyokabi	Vice-Chair
10	Departmental Committee on Labour and Social Welfare	Tiyah Galgalo	Vice-Chair

Source: The Hansard, National Assembly

When it comes to participation in house business, the study findings found out that while there has been an increase in the number of women chairing Parliamentary committees, they are still instances where they relegated to the ‘soft areas’ such as Catering and Health Club and not in the

powerful committees such as Defence for example. It is also important to note that no woman has chaired four of the most powerful Committees in the history of the National Assembly. These are: The Public Accounts Committee (PAC), the Public Investments Committee (PIC), House Business Committee and the Budget Committee.

Nevertheless, women legislators in these positions have demonstrated efficiency by making sure that they follow up on requested statements and present relevant feedback to the various issues raised in the house. Some of those who were very effective Chairpersons included Hon Sabina Chege (Chairperson, Education, Research and Technologies) and Hon. Rosalind Soipan (Constitution Implementation Committee) making ‘significant contributions to their dockets.’ (Mzalendo, 2016) Chairing committees has also enabled them to steer their committees into sponsoring related Bills.

Research specifically looking at gender dynamics in legislative committees shows that women’s leadership and conflict resolution styles embody democratic ideals and that women tend to work in a less hierarchical, more participatory, and more collaborative way than male colleagues (Rosenthal, 2001).

4.3.2 Formulation of Bills in the National Assembly

The study sought to find out the correlation between the increase in number of women legislators and the number of formulated bills in the National Assembly. The Table below provides a summary of legislation passed at the National Assembly.

Table 4.2: Summary of legislation passed at the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya

Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2013	13
Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2014	25
Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2015	37
Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2016	54
Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2017	29
Bills Passed by the National Assembly and currently at the Senate as at 15-June-2017	22

Total No. of Bills Passed by the National Assembly in 2013 -17	180
Bills Undergoing Debate by the National Assembly as at 15 – June - 2017	49

The findings established that the increased number of women legislators in the 11th National Assembly in the Parliament in Kenya has been instrumental in moving bills within parliament as well as initiating amendments to Acts of Parliament as shown below. The National Assembly of the 11th Parliament ran from 2013 to June 2017 with 250 members including the Speaker. According to Kenny (2019), in this, 86 legislators were women, the highest in number witnessed in Kenya. During this period, one hundred and eighty Bills were passed..

Table 4.3: Bills introduced by Women in the National Assembly

No.	Member of Parliament	Bill/Act	By June, 2017
ACTS			
1.	Cecilia Ng’etich	The Engineering Technologists Bill, 2015	Passed
2.	Priscilla Nyokabi	The Access to Information Bill, 2015	Passed
3.	Millie Odhiambo	Victims Protection Act (No.17 of 2014)	Passed
4.	Dr. Joyce Laboso	Social Assistance (AMEND) Act (No.24 of 2013)	Passed
5.	Sophia Noor Abdi	Public Benefits Organizations Act (No. 18 of 2013)	Passed
BILLS			
6.	Grace Kiptui	The Basic Education (Amendment) Bill, 2016	Passed
7.	Wanjiku Muhia	The Persons with Disabilities (Amendment) Bill, 2013	Passed and Forwarded to Senate for consideration
8.	Rachel Nyamai	The Diabetes Management Bill, 2014	Lapsed
9.	Rachel Nyamai	The Kenya AIDS Control Authority Bill, 2014	Withdrawn by Committee Chair because it had already been introduced in the Senate
10.	Rachel Nyamai	The Traditional Health Practitioners Bill, 2014	Lapsed

11.	Rachel Nyamai	The Pharmacy Practitioners Bill, 2014	Lapsed
12.	Millie Odhiambo	Assisted Reproductive Technology, 204 (The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill, 2014)	Referred back to the Mediation Committee
13.	Florence Mutua	Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill, 2016	Lost at 2 nd Reading
14.	Gladys Wanga	The Cancer Prevention and Control (Amendment) Bill, 2016	1 st Reading/Lapsed
15.	Sabina Chege	The Breastfeeding Mothers Bill, 2017	2 nd Reading (committee stage)/Lapsed
16.	Mary Emase	The Nutritionists and Dieticians (Amendment) Bill, 2017	1 st Reading/Lapsed
17.	Amina Abdalla	The Wildlife Conservation and Management (Amendment) Bill, 2017	1 st Reading/Lapsed
18.	Sunjeev Birdi	The Kenya Citizenship and Immigration (Amendment) Bill, 2017	Introduced on 11/7/2014/ Lapsed

Mzalendo, an online platform which documents and tracks how parliamentarians perform notes that women legislators made several important contributions in the National Assembly. It also disapproves the notion that women legislators only cover gender-related issues as the moved several important motions and amendments on various issues including education, campaign financing, education, campaign financing, adoption of reports on nomination of members to the JSC, legislation on disability, translation of laws, mining, setting up of local fertilizers boards and so on. (Mzalendo, 2017)

Further interrogation of the Hansard and Parliamentary Order papers further indicates that the women legislators also actively contributed to various Bills brought to the floor of the House by their male counterparts. These included the Magistrates Court Act, the Firearms Tracking and Registration Bill for example.

4.3.3 Analysis of Women's Legislators Contribution to Debates on the Floor of the House

Upon review of the Hansard, as of June 2017, women legislators introduced a total of 18 out of a total of 180 pieces of legislation which included five Acts and 13 Bills (Bills Tracker, 2017).

Table 4.3 indicates that between March 2013 to June 2015, women sponsored 9 out of 110 Bills in the National Assembly. This represents approximately 8% of the total bills. The findings of the study affirms that enhanced women's participation at the legislative level in the National Assembly is a direct function of their numerical numbers and the extent to which women's organizations promote women candidates. These findings were similar to the research by NDI (2008) which shows that the number of women in parliament does matter; at the very least, the more women there are in parliament, the more likely the parliament is to address women's issues and to change the gender dynamics in the chamber. The proportion of women members of parliament has a great influence on the nature of the debate in politics, something that is echoed by the KEWOPA Treasurer:

In the 11th parliament we have used our numbers as women to move several bills that we believe will advance the gender agenda and to a large extent improve the welfare of men, women and children in this country especially around issues of health and the welfare of the girl-child in the country (**Women Representative & KEWOPA Treasurer**).

Women legislators not only represented issues in their counties and constituency, but they also contributed to various issues of national interest including regional integration bodies like The East African Community. According to Mzalendo (2017), their focus did not lie solely on the Family Bills (The Marriage Bill, The Children's Bill, The Protection against Domestic Violence Bill and The Matrimonial Property Bill) but they went ahead to contribute to other areas including; security, finances, water, health, devolution, infrastructure, waste management, environmental issues, mining and so forth.

It is also important to note that the women legislators contributions are greatly influenced by their level of education, professional background, work and life experience. Those with higher levels of education had more insightful contributions for example Hon (Dr.) Rachel Nyamai (Chairperson, Departmental Committee on Health) who was able to sponsor four health related Bills – The Diabetes Management (Amendment) Bill, 2013, The Kenya AIDS Control Authority Bill, 2014, The Traditional Health Practitioners Bill, 2014 and the Pharmacy Practitioners Bill,

2014 – in the life of the 11th Parliament of Kenya. Some were also to build on their previous experience to provide insightful contributions through a good understanding of issues in their counties and constituencies. For example, in the substantive debate on the Magistrates Court Bill, Hon. Millie Odhiambo-Mabona was able to raise critical issues on access to justice by highlighting barriers that women face including lack of capacity for women to understand the law because of language, intimidation, rebuke from the community and long distances from courts. Her legal expertise and background as human rights lawyer and experience as a women's rights champion, she said, leveraged her contributions to both substance and technicalities of the debate. The women legislators brought to the fore their knowledge, experiences and understanding of issues to enrich the various debates.

4.4 Effectiveness of gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of the gender agenda in the National Assembly

Piscopo et al, (2009) notes that governments all over the world have increasingly adapted the use of gender quotas to fast-track gender equality in legislative assemblies. By electoral law, about a dozen countries worldwide have reserved a certain number of parliamentary seats for women in the lower house of the national parliament. According to Little & Ogle (2006), the single most important role of the National Assembly is the power to propose and enact legislation. For a law to be enacted to legislation, it must be approved by a majority of the members.

The study sought to find out the effectiveness of the gender quotas in enhancing women legislators participation in the National Assembly to advance the gender agenda. To this end, two variables were explored: gender analysis of bills passed and the role of KEWOPA.

4.4.1 Gender Analysis of Bills Passed

An analysis of the Bills introduced by women's legislators allows us to appreciate the gender perspectives infused in the life of the 11th Parliament of Kenya. The findings affirm Hanna Pitkin's (1967) framework in her work "Conception of Women's Political Representation" within which she defines political representation as "the activity of making citizens voices, opinions, and perspectives "present" in the public policy making processes". In this Parliament,

the women legislators championed a number of crucial Bills and motions that would have a significant impact on women and Kenyans more generally.

Some notable examples were highlighted in the findings. For a country faced with constant drought and severe food shortages, it was critical that we have such a Bill in place. Women and children bear the heavier brunt caused by famine and this Bill was championed by a woman reflecting the same. In a similar vein, The perennial water shortages and drought in Kenya are issues that needed to be addressed. Women spend so much time looking for water especially in the ASAL areas. Many women parliamentarians called for the setting up of multiple water harvesting dams in all counties to address the issue of drought during dry seasons. Furthermore, the Water Bill and Food Security Bill were sponsored by women parliamentarians to this end. Women parliamentarians also sponsored the Mining Bill and the Natural Resources (Benefits and Sharing) Amendment Bill that would regulate how mining benefits would be shared and in particular highlighting the welfare of women mine workers and in this calling for improved working conditions particularly as women are often low paid and in the most precarious working conditions.

Furthermore, women legislators were able to contribute gender perspectives in various Bills. For example in the Older Person Cash Transfer System as women are often doing majority of the care work in the society and are forced to take care of the old and aged in society which is a huge financial burden. In this women legislators called for the creation of nursing homes for older people, strengthening of the National Security Social Fund to cover old people and increase of funds given through this program. In the Devolution on Marriage Services, women legislators called for provision of marriage services to all constituency because of the costs people had to incur to access these services in the big towns and cities. Moreover, the Basic Education (Amendment) Bill, 2016 , benefited from the critical gender perspective of women parliamentarians who shared experience of girls in their constituency missing school and policy incoherence in the approach of menstruation.

Legislations such as those highlighted above would never been brought to the floor of the House as they are usually stereotyped as women's business.

4.4.2 The Role of KEWOPA

The Kenya Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) is a membership association of all women parliamentarians drawn from across all political parties both elected and nominated in the Senate and National Assembly. KEWOPA's vision is for a world where women and men are equitably represented in parliament and decision making in public and private spheres to promote sustainable development. To this end, KEWOPA's mission is to promote the advancement of parliamentary democracy by enhancing knowledge & understanding of democratic governance and facilitate the networking of women parliamentarians for the socio-economic and political development of Kenya (www.kewopa.org)

KEWOPA has been instrumental in shaping the capabilities and assertion of women parliamentarians in influencing legislative processes in the National assembly as elaborated by Gender Advisor to KEWOPA below:

All female Members of Parliament automatically become members of KEWOPA irrespective of their political party affiliation or whether nominated or elected. By mobilizing women as a group, KEWOPA has been instrumental in empowering women parliamentarians to contribute effectively to legislation and enactment of policies. KEWOPA members have been very particular on Affirmative Action realization, they lobbied on the floor of the House, with male colleagues and committee of experts on significant gender items in the 2010 constitution making process. More pronounced was the realization of affirmative seats across national assembly, senate and the county assembly significance (**KEWOPA Gender Advisor**).

There is however still need to enhance the participation of more women in the National Assembly, which would then act as the ladder to legislative participation and policy-making roles. With this in mind, the study sought to find out the role KEWOPA has played in increasing the participation of women in parliament. Overall, the findings indicate that much of these contributions were largely premised on the enactment and formulation of gender sensitive laws and policies. Key informants in the study were of the opinion that through KEWOPA women parliamentarians have been able to raise critical issues and influence the progressive legislation in the National Assembly as elaborate by key informant response:

Critical to the influence of women parliamentarians in parliament is their number and need to level playground including operational norms in the houses of representatives. I think as KEWOPA we have done a great deal to promote gender equality advanced by democracy as a key tenet and we have been able to push through fundamental changes in

parliament that remains beneficial to date (**Female Nominated Member of Parliament & former Deputy Chair, KEWOPA**).

According to Rosenthal (2001), women are more likely to work across party lines and strive for consensus, even in partisan and polarized environments. Moreover, women lawmakers say in studies that they see issues like health care, the environment and combating violence more broadly as social issues and that women more than men see government as a tool to help serve underrepresented or minority groups. Women lawmakers are often perceived as being more sensitive to community concerns.

The findings showcase the caucus as an entry point where women structure strategies to assume leadership positions within the legislature and generate crucial bills to advance the gender equality agenda. The study is therefore in agreement with Drude Dahlerup (1988) who notes that having a minimum representation (at least 30%) of women in national legislatures is needed in order to have significant impact on policies. In this way, the caucus builds the support base and agenda for women's leadership in parliament while at the same time offering a point of reference for transformative and distinctive leadership from that of male politicians.

4.5 Constraints faced by women parliamentarians to influence policy output and enact laws

The institutional context in parliament presents a critical dynamic in the ways in which female parliamentarians participate in legislative processes. As Franceschet and Krook (2008) explained,

Substantive representation occurs at multiple stages of the legislative process: Women's interests are promoted when legislators introduce women's rights bills; when they seek to mobilize support for these bills...when legislators vote for and pass laws that promote women's rights... outcomes are influenced not merely by the sex of the representative but by the gendered power relations that are reflected in the institutional rules, operating procedures, and informal norms of legislative bodies. (2008: 16)

In other words, an analysis of substantive representation that disconnects the legislator from her legislative context is not adequate enough to make us understand the critical links between

women's descriptive representation and legislative outcome. It is with this, the researcher sought to find out how women legislators participate in the debate process in the National Assembly by inquiring about their perception of the legislative environment and processes inside the House. To this end, the study posed open-ended questions that generated the following responses which are discussed under the following sub-sections: patriarchal norms and attitudes, division caused by political parties and complex legislative language.

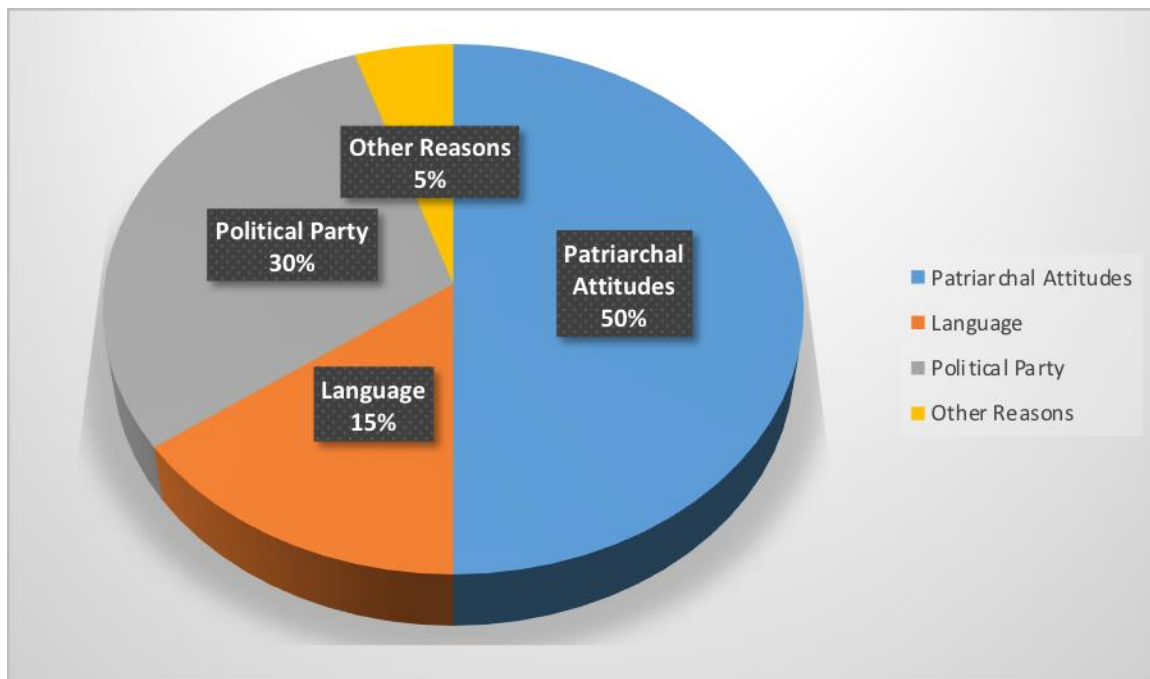


Figure 4.4: Constraints to Women's Participation in the National Assembly

The most significant challenge mentioned was patriarchal norms and attitudes (50%). The issue of the role of political parties (30%) in enhancing women's legislators participation and complexity of legislative language (15%) also featured significantly. Other challenges (5%) brought up by the women parliamentarians include long and irregular working hours, balancing demands at the constituency level and parliamentary work, care work at home just to name a few home leave them feeling exhausted and tired.

4.5.1 Patriarchal norms and attitudes

The face of Parliament for a very long time has been 'male'. This is because of a trend where positions such as Speaker, Whip, Clerk, Majority and Minority Leader are disproportionately distributed among the two genders. The fact that women have not been elected to these powerful positions is a barrier to their influence and power to direct House business. Unfortunately, in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament, all these positions were occupied by men. In fact, Hon. Joyce Laboso was elected the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly by members and Hon. Beatrice Elachi as Majority Chief Whip for the very first time in the history of the House (Mzalendo, 2017). The role of Majority and Minority leaders includes determining which matters including Bills and Motions get debated on the floor of the House. The Whip rallies political party members to support identified matters in line with the political party agenda.

From the findings, patriarchy is deeply entrenched in the National Assembly as represented by the negative attitude towards women's involvement in politics and legislative processes (50%). This finding is similar to those of Heilman (2001) and Carli and Eagly (2007), who suggested that the masculine construct of leadership and its antithetical relationship with women was a major barrier to women's leadership ambitions. The respondents echoed what Tamale (2000:12) found in her study of Ugandan parliament, that parliamentary institutional frameworks can perpetuate gender inequality and affect the way female parliamentarians participate in debates and motions during parliamentary sessions.

Parliament is an important institution that enables women make the most impact to advance women's welfare because this is where all laws are made. However, in my view as currently constituted the 11th Parliament does not have the institutional capacity to give women space to participate effectively because the structures in place were inherited from the colonial government, most which are anchored on draconian laws that governed

the way business was conducted in the house. They are discriminating on the basis of gender; they gag media coverage of parliamentary proceedings so that the public cannot audit what is going on inside parliament etc. There is a need to open up parliament and engender its structures including standing orders, house business committees and laws to ensure everyone participates equally without fear or favour (**Women Representative – National Assembly**).

The study found that women's presence is not welcome in Parliament as witnessed when an initiative dubbed "Punda Amechoka, Punguza Mzigo" loosely translated to mean *the donkey is tired, reduce the load* to scrap off the County National Assembly positions occupied by 47 women was led by Hon. Moses Kuria (Member of Parliament for Gatundu South). The initiative was couched under the intention of reducing the bloated Parliamentary budget. More than 300,000 people endorsed the initiative by signing the petition.

Moreover, respondents also mentioned instances where they felt that their contributions were not always taken seriously. This can be seen from a cursory look of the Magistrates' Courts Act which does not reflect the gender related contributions that were brought to the floor of the House during the debate as captured by the Hansard records. The challenge of not being recognised and respected in the National Assembly is faced mostly by the nominated members where names such as "top-Up" or "Flower Girls" have been concocted to ridicule their presence. Additionally, they constantly are challenged to state which constituency they are representing when they contribute to substantial debate on the floor. Often they have to push back on such narratives as highlighted by a key informant below:

Bringing in women to parliamentary leadership is not only important in amplifying the participation of women in the legislative agenda of parliament but it is also crucial in creating a balance between men and women legislators in spearheading parliamentary platforms such as committees where issues pertinent to the quota of women and their influence in parliament are debated and raised for discussion in the house business (**Nominated Female Member of Parliament**).

It is critical that key stakeholders such as political parties, the Registrar of Political Parties, Civil Society Organizations and the media work together to advance the political agenda of the affirmative action principles and foster political will to support women legislators in Parliament

4.5.2 The Role of Political parties

Political parties are the most crucial institutions that affect the political participation of women. Research shows that, in most countries, political parties are responsible for candidate nomination and selection, and decide on which issues are placed on the policy agenda (Oloo, 2007). How women participate in political parties or how political parties facilitate and nurture women's involvement is a key determinant of their prospects for political empowerment. The study found out that while women parliamentarians would rally support for a bill touching on an important gender issue they would sometimes be sharply divided (30%) along party lines.

An example of this was witnessed during the crucial gender rule debate in the National Assembly. Upon the Attorney General of Kenya seeking an advisory opinion on the minimum one-third gender rule requirement in both houses of the Senate and the National Assembly from the Supreme Court of Kenya, the court held on 11th December 2012 that despite affirmative action being progressive for gender equity in Kenya it was not feasible for immediate implementation. Parliament was given a grace period until 27th of August 2015, by the court to put its house in order so as to enable the enactment of the one-third gender rule in the 2017 general elections. (Opuko, Anyango & Alupo (2018)

According to Kameri-Mbote (2018), the court's findings averted a constitutional crisis but only served to divert the focus of the political parties from identifying, nurturing and nominating women candidates for political leadership. Implementation of the gender rule in essence suffered a major setback after the Supreme Court decision for postponement and failure of the 11th Parliament of Kenya to pass appropriate legislation for enactment of the gender rule prior to the 2017 elections.

However, the National Assembly women's organization, Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association (KEWOPA) has also served to strengthen the voices of women legislators. By coming together to form a caucus, women legislators have been able to shape the parliamentary agenda. In sharing resources such as staff time, research materials, and budgets, women caucus members can more efficiently and strategically advance their agendas. Such caucuses not only

advance women's policy priorities, they provide an important platform of amplifying women's participation in legislative process and collaborative policymaking, particularly in post-conflict or highly polarized environments. The findings on the contribution of KEWOPA have been discussed across legislation activities that largely defines the major domain of the organization's objective.

There is a pronounced programme for political leadership mentorship run by KEWOPA in order to build the capacity of female aspirants across constituencies and political parties as in the response below:

Mentorship to young aspirants is a noble cause pursued by the caucus. It is something that women need to strengthen their capacity to campaign, gain visible leadership positions within the political parties and influence their way as candidates because men dominate political parties. The results are evident with our previous experiment; there are up to three female parliamentarians in the 11th parliament that sailed as a result of the capacity building approach (**Elected Member of Parliament – National Assembly**).

Given the low levels of women's presence in parliaments and other decision-making bodies, parties need to be proactive in ensuring that gender equality is addressed in governance. Parties are influential in determining which issues inform the political debate: they formulate policy, set governance priorities and are therefore strategically placed to address the concerns of women.

Kenya's electoral system and patriarchal culture has served to bring about the dismal performance of women who seek leadership in the political arena. The nature of Kenya's politics demands a lot in terms of finances and social capital, yet the means and ways of acquiring social, financial and political capital remain heavily skewed to the advantage men more than women regardless of a woman's religious, ethnic or social class background. For the gender rule to be implemented as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, it is necessary for political parties and the legislature to put in extra effort for its realization...

4.5.3 Language

Increased women participation in parliament requires a shift from patriarchal practices including the parliamentary language and standing orders that over the years has not been gender neutral.

The study findings found that the colonial traditions and practices that influence (15%) their legislative participation is a big hindrance.

According to the Gender Advisor at KEWOPA, highlights on efforts being made by women legislators to overcome this challenge:

KEWOPA members felt there is need to nurture the legislative and political skills of young, first time parliamentarians, and to facilitate this agenda, we attached three mentees to each of the members in the 10th parliament and for 11th parliament, we sought partnership of NDI on collaboration of the mentorship programme that will then be cascaded down to young women leaders in university (**Gender advisor to KEWOPA**).

The study established that due to KEWOPA's efforts towards bringing about change in the National Assembly Standing Orders of 2011 the use of archaic language and legalese has been done away with and replaced with simple and direct English, ordinary phraseology. This is because KEWOPA members undertook to mainstream gender perspectives into the Standing Orders by stigmatizing the chauvinistic use of masculine pronouns and terminology when referring to persons.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the findings of this study as well as the conclusions drawn from the findings. It also presents suggestions on possible way-forward in light of the findings and conclusions, and areas of further research.

5.2 Summary

The first objective of this study was to analyse the levels of women parliamentarians' participation on agenda setting and policy output in the National Assembly. The assumption was based on Pitkin's (1967) framework which notes that political representation happens when political players are able to advocate, speak, symbolise and act on behalf of those they represent in the political arena. The findings of this study showcase that quotas in parliament are important for increased women's visibility in terms of agenda setting as well as building a sense of critical mass to approach legislative issues. The study is therefore in agreement with Drude Dahlerup (1988) who notes that having a minimum representation (at least 30%) of women in national legislatures is needed in order to have significant impact on policies. The findings indicate that women legislators have been able to use their numbers to improve the richness and quality of legislation by bringing to bear their professional backgrounds, lived experiences and visions for Kenyan women. The study also advances Pitkin's (1967) framework in that the study shows that women parliamentarians have greatly advanced gender equality issues and have also contributed to socio-economic debates for the benefit of the society at large. Rosenthal (2001:12) argues that woman's political participation results in tangible gains for democratic governance, including greater responsiveness to citizen needs, increased cooperation across party and ethnic lines and more sustainable peace. The study findings corroborates this by demonstrating that women legislators for the most part have been able to organise across party lines to forge a unified front. The second objective sought to assess the effectiveness of gender quotas as a political tool for ensuring pursuance of the gender agenda in the National Assembly. This was interrogated

against Dahlerup (1988) “Critical Mass Theory” concept. The assumption was that an increased number of women parliamentarians due to the constitutional requirement would lead to more visible women’s contributions to legislative processes in Parliament and take up key positions in the National Assembly. UNDP (1995) argues that a critical mass of 30% women’s representation is needed to achieve substantive legislative influence. The findings of the study show an increase in number of legislative pieces advanced by the women legislators. The findings also further show a strong correlation between women leadership positions in the National Assembly and their legislative capabilities to advance critical social and economic development agendas. The study is therefore advances Dahlerup (1988) who notes that having a minimum representation (at least 30%) of women in national legislatures is needed in order to have significant impact on policies. Deliberating on this, Bearman et al. (2007) stated that when women are empowered as political leaders, countries experience higher standards of living, and positive developments can be seen in education, infrastructure and health. In essence, women’s participation positively affects communities, legislatures, political parties, and citizens lives, and helps democracy deliver.

In objective three, the study explored the constraints faced by women parliamentarians as they seek to influence policy output and enact laws. The findings of this study indicate an array of challenges faced by women parliamentarians in their efforts to live up to their legislative mandate. These include patriarchal norms and negative attitudes towards women’s political leadership, the role of party politics which can be divisive and gender-discriminating, colonial and archaic language. The respondents perceive all levels of political participation from advocacy, civic education and even party positions as male dominated and patriarchal in structure. Political parties are the primary and most direct vehicle through which women can access elected office and political leadership. Therefore, the structures, policies, practices and values of political parties have a profound impact on the level of women s participation in the political life of their country. The study findings also appreciates the role of formal groupings such as KEWOPA that are a pillar in consolidating women’s legislators voices and forging a common agenda for its women members. The caucus is viewed as an agent empowering women through gender- nuanced capacity-building initiatives which work to enrich women’s agenda as political leaders.

5.3 Conclusion

The study sought to find the effect of legislative quotas the influence of gender quotas on women's participation in legislative processes in the National Assembly. The study notes slow but steady progress being made to increase the number of women legislators in Parliament. This has consequently led to women legislators gaining confidence to articulate and advance critical issues bedevilling the society. The findings of the study suggest that there is still need to create and expand opportunities for women parliamentarians to enable them become more active and effective participants in the legislative processes of the National Assembly. The most urgent measure may be to proactively address the barriers that deter and frustrate them from benefitting from the expanded political space and legislative safeguards related to gender equity. The historical records of women's representation in Kenya have indicated a disparity lower than the world and regional average, despite the country having led efforts to legislate on gender equality. The findings of this study advance that more effort and political will is required to ensure the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of Kenya which calls for Affirmative Action is realized for the benefit of Kenyan women. With this insight, the study therefore made recommendations that are covered in the next section.

5.4 Recommendations

On the basis of the conclusions of this study, the following recommendations are made for the effectiveness of gender quotas in legislation making and participation at the National Assembly

1. KEWOPA needs to embrace a robust research-oriented secretariat that can internally inform its activities and operations of the women legislators including their capacity is strengthened on Standing Orders and language used during Debate. Additionally, KEWOPA needs to continue supporting women legislators in political networking with the speakers and clerks' offices, political parties, media and the parliamentary legal team in drafting the Bills, making amends to the laws and initiating advocacy for increased visibility of women legislators performance at the National Assembly. Women's rights organisations need to develop targeted programs for training women to advance their political capital and increase their political capacities to advance legislation in the National Assembly.

2. Political parties remain a critical vehicle to the success of gender quotas. Most political parties consider women to be central in mobilising voters for various party candidates during election campaigns; party culture and custom do not value women equally to enable them hold strategic positions within the party. The Office of the Registrar of Political Parties needs to put in place a monitoring and enforcement mechanism that will ensure they can hold parties to account for example in party leadership positions. Gender quotas need to complement other efforts to transform political norms and values.
3. While policy and legislative frameworks to promote gender equality are guaranteed through the Constitution of Kenya (2010), women aspirants need to be made aware of the challenges they expect to face at the National Assembly so that they are adequately prepared to overcome them. It is also critical to raise awareness among women aspiring politicians and other members of the community to create awareness and address the stereotypes that have continued to ensure only a handful of women succeed in the legislative space. As women and women's organisations continue to agitate for an increase in number of women legislators, they should equally work to transform the ideology of patriarchy and retrogressive institutional culture in Parliament. Women's rights organisations should organise induction and regular sensitization sessions with women parliamentarians. KEWOPA should facilitate continuous mentorship and capacity strengthening sessions among and between women parliamentarians to build expertise and share experiences which can assure effective women participation in the National Assembly.

5.5 Suggestions for further research

This study sought to assess the influence of gender quotas on women's participation in legislative processes in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya (2013-2017). The study itself was not entirely exhaustive as active engagement and women's involvement in legislative and decision making processes will require multi-pronged strategies and approaches. Research needs to be done to explore the factors that limiting women legislators within the

parliamentary institution of Kenya as intertwined through interaction of not only political factors such as political party influence but social, economic and cultural factors as well. The findings raises the question on what current efforts are being put in place by political parties and the Registrar of Political parties to ensure that the Affirmative Action policy is being implemented to ensure that women legislators feel politically empowered to take up leadership positions. Further research needs to be done on how responsive political parties are within the parliamentary system to mainstream gender in all the decision making processes.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

My name is Felogene Gor Anumo, a Master of Arts student in Public Policy and Administration at Kenyatta University. I am conducting a study on **the influence of gender quotas on women's participation in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya**. I am particularly interested in KEWOPA's efforts in terms of legislative and administrative functions towards supporting effective women's participation in parliament. You have been chosen because of your professionalism and experience in the subject matter. Please feel free to seek any clarification before you give your answers. The interview will take approximately 45 minutes.

Demographic Profile of the Respondents

1. Name of respondent (Optional) _____

2. Age: 18 - 34 Years 35 - 50 Years 50 Years and Above

3. Marital Status: Single Married Divorced / Separated

4. Education Background:

Diploma / Higher Diploma Bachelor's Degree Post-Graduate Degree

1. With respect to the mandate of KEWOPA, what would you list as some of your achievements as a caucus towards increasing women participation in parliament?
2. In your opinion, how has KEWOPA performed towards increasing the participation of women in parliament?
3. What are some of the governance structures that widely influence women participation parliament?
4. Has few numbers of women in parliament contributed in lack of adequate participation of women in parliament?

5. Given the promulgation of the new Constitution, has the new seats reserved for women bolstered women participation in parliament?

APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What efforts does your political party undertake to foster women's participation in parliament?
2. Is level of education a major hindrance for lack of women's participation in parliament?
3. Does one's interaction with culture affect women parliamentarians' perception and participation in parliament?
4. What legal provisions guiding the Political Parties Act have been implemented to provide a conducive environment which enhances women participation in parliament?