

**CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN LEGISLATION PROCESSES IN THE
KENYA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE 11th PARLIAMENT 2013-2017**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my own original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

Signature: ----- **Date:** -----

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

Signature: ----- **Date:** -----

ISAAC A. WERE

DEDICATION

To my father, the late Charles Godia Otieno who passed on as I was working on this project and did not live to see me graduate. I want to thank you dad for being my advisor and friend, setting me on the right path towards empowerment and independence. Without your support I would not have reached this far.

To my mother Yukabet Godia, for showing me that one can only reap from hard work and sweat, and not giving up even when things appear too hard.

To all my children for being a constant reminder that I have a responsibility.

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ABSTRACT

This is a study on the challenges faced by women legislators faced in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya 2013-2017 within their responsibility of enacting legislation. The basic study question looked at the legislation challenges facing women legislators in the National Assembly and how the women legislators address the challenges to enhance their performance in the National Assembly. The study was guided by Liberal Feminist approach which focuses on achieving equality between men and women and emphasises power of an individual person to alter discriminatory practices against women.

The study reveals that although most of the women in the National Assembly have post secondary education they are still not strong in performing their role as Members of National Assembly which include representing the people and enacting legislation. The study findings indicate that many women who go to Parliament are still not able to raise bills and motions as indicated by the small numbers compared to men.

The study concludes that women need to have their capacity built in raising important issues through bills and motions and to move away from soft topics that hardly get support in the male dominated parliament. The study also recommends a lot of civic education be carried out in society and among leaders to make them appreciate women in political leadership positions.

ABBREVIATIONS

FIDA-K ----- Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya

FGM ----- Female Genital Mutilation

KEWOPA ----- Kenya Women Parliamentary Association

MP ----- Member of Parliament

NCWK ----- National Council of Women in Kenya

NDI ----- National Democracy Institute

NGEC ----- National Gender and Equality Commission

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 BACKGROUND TO STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since Kenya attained independence in 1963, women have fared poorly in elective politics. Kenya's first parliament did not have any woman, nominated or elected. In spite of the fact that women constitute more than half of the country's population and have a better voter turnout, the role, scope and quality of women's participation in Kenyan politics has consistently been lower than that of men since 1963 (Okello, 2010).

At independence, the incoming leadership was all male and there were no female legislators (Kamau, 2015). It was not until 1969 that the first woman, Grace Onyango, was elected as a Member of Parliament to represent Kisumu Town Constituency (FIDA-Kenya, 2013). During the 1974 General Election, the number of women increased to four with the election of Julia Ojiambo, Nyiva Mwendwa and Chelagat Mutai with Grace Onyango getting a second term (Orlale & Ugangu, 2010).

Over the years, there has not been much of an improvement. For over three decades the number of women in the National Assembly never exceeded 10 (Atambitsa, 2008). While the democratic space has been expanding overtime, it has not benefited the women of Kenya politically. Compared to her East African neighbours, Kenya has not performed well on women's representation. For example, in the 10th Parliament (2008-2013) women were only 9.8 per cent compared to Rwanda which had 56 per cent, Tanzania 36 per cent and Uganda 35 per cent (FIDA-Kenya, 2013).

Looking at women's participation in politics, various challenges are cited in the broader engagement (Kivoi, 2014; Mitullah, 2010). In the last 50 years, since Kenya attained independence, the country has been characterised by a shortage of representation by women in decision-making positions (Atambitsa, 2008). For Mitullah (2010) the under representation of women in the political sphere is linked to their low and inferior status, increasing violence and crimes against women as well as their marginal status in the employment, education and health sectors. While the problems women face before getting into Parliament have been clearly documented, nothing has specifically focused on the legislation process and the challenges that women legislators face in the National Assembly in terms of contributing towards the legislation process.

Research into the relationship between women's representation and effective participation in policy formulation in developing countries is not well established (Goetz & Hassim, 2003; 18) However, Nthiiri (2014) has tried to look at some of the issues including how gender aware legislation has been moved by KEWOPA members. When examining these issues, Nthiiri (2014) tries to analyse "parliamentary leadership, institutionalization of gender lens in resource allocation, parliamentary language and its norms as well as the question of representational politics in women's contribution to the principle of equity and equality in democratic governance".

Another study on the role of women in Parliament in the recent past is by Aura (2015) who looks at Nairobi City County women's attitudes towards the representation of their interests by women parliamentarians. In this study, Aura sought to find the extent to which women MPs are better at representing women's interests than male MPs. The study notes how much the presence of women descriptively and substantively is

influenced by attitudes of women towards past and current representation of their interests to being women in Parliament.

The 11th Parliament is interesting to look at in terms of problems facing women legislators when developing, reviewing and enacting legislation. For the first time, there is a high number of women in the National Assembly which forms the Lower House of Parliament. While there are 86 women in both the National Assembly and Senate, this study will concentrate on the 68 women in the National Assembly who were either elected or nominated.

The reason for this is that out of the 11 elections that the country has held since 1963, the 2013 General Election remains significant in Kenya's electoral history. The number of women in the National Assembly surpasses the total number of women legislators in the 50 years of independence in Kenya (Onyinge et al, 2014).

The Constitution has provided opportunities for the women of Kenya to engage in political-leadership and decision-making positions and hence increasing the representation of women in the National Assembly. The General Election of 4th March, 2013 envisioned the greatest leap for women in elective and appointive politics. Through the Constitution of Kenya 2010, the number of women in the National Assembly increased from 22 in the 10th Parliament to 68 in the 11th Parliament. Out of these 68 women were elected in the parliamentary constituencies, 47 were elected to represent counties as single constituencies and five were nominated by the various leading political parties. Of these, two were nominated through affirmative action for young women and

persons living with disability (FIDA-Kenya, 2013) respectively. The other three were nominated through political parties.

While it is expected that women will also be able to use their increased numbers to advance gender sensitive legislation by pushing for motions and bills that drive the women's agenda (Orlale and Ugangu, 2010), it would be good to understand the challenges that they face in legislation processes within the National Assembly.

As Nzomo (2012) indicates, a key agenda of women in political representation, therefore, should be to develop strategies/mechanisms for transforming patriarchal institutional values that normalise inequalities and undermine and render ineffective any legislative process. Although the Constitution of Kenya has allowed for equality to participate in political processes irrespective of gender, Nthiiri (2014) notes "numerical limitation has incapacitated women from meaningful participation in parliamentary processes".

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Onyinge *et al* (2014) have documented profiles of women who are in the 11th Parliament which includes the National Assembly and Senate. Out of the total number of seats only 19 per cent are held by women while 81 per cent is held by men. However, in Onyinge *et al* (2014) all the women profiled only speak of challenges that they faced before being elected and nothing about the challenges that they are facing within the National Assembly in their legislative role.

There have been concerns with regards to women's contribution in the National Assembly as well as on delivery of their mandate to their voters (FIDA-Kenya, 2013). Thus, there is an assumption that they are neither adding value nor making meaningful

contributions to legislation. There have been accusations and counter-accusations that women in the National Assembly are not delivering on their mandate (Ongiri and Odunga, 2013). From the experiences shared by women representatives in other African countries that have attained the 30 per cent gender threshold, women legislators have not been able to transform the patriarchal culture and norms of political institutions (Nzomo, 2012). From the foregoing it is clear that there exist challenges that continue to hamper the participation of women in the political process including in the National Assembly where legislation is carried out.

The ideal situation is that women who have been elected or nominated into Parliament, for Kenya — this being the National Assembly and Senate — should operate on the same footing with men. However, traditional beliefs, perceptions and stereotypes which depict women as being inferior have tended to militate towards their marginalization (Kivoi, 2014).

In view of the above highlights, this study is designed to answer the following research questions:

- i.** What are the legislation challenges facing women legislators in the National Assembly?
- ii.** How can women legislators address the challenges to enhance their performance in the National Assembly?

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 GENERAL OBJECTIVE

To explore the legislation challenges women legislators in the 11th Parliament are facing and ways through which they can be addressed.

1.3.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES WILL BE:

- i. To examine challenges facing women in the legislation process in the National Assembly.
- ii. To determine how women can address challenges faced within the legislation process.

1.4 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

1. Women legislators face challenges of legislation in the National Assembly.
2. The challenges women legislators face can be addressed through concerted efforts.

1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Women's representation in Parliament has always been low and hence little is known of their effectiveness in the legislation process. This study is justified on the basis that despite many challenges women face on their path to political representation and decision-making, few if any have been done on the challenges they face in engaging with the legislation process. This study, therefore, goes beyond an individual analysis of women MPs to look at one of their core mandate which is drafting, reviewing and enacting laws through the legislation process. However, in order to understand how women define and prioritise their role and responsibilities in enacting laws, the findings of this study will add to the existing body of knowledge on women's participation in the National Assembly. The study may provide insights for policy makers and researchers on

challenges facing women MPs within their core mandates in order to effectively address them.

The recommendations of this study may empower women legislators in fulfilling their mandate in drafting, reviewing and passing bills and, therefore, add value to women MPs legislation skills. The recommendations may also inform challenges that affect women's effective participation in the legislation process within the National Assembly with a goal of finding ways of how they can be addressed.

The study is expected to make an understanding that female and male MPs are leaders who are charged with the responsibility of passing laws that would positively impact on the lives of Kenyans and, therefore, any barriers towards this process would hinder female legislators from substantively performing this role. The study is also expected to be resourceful for other researchers who may venture into a similar study. The study goes beyond looking at women MPs as people's representatives in the National Assembly to another of their core mandates which is to enact legislation (Kenya, 2010)

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study focused on the role and responsibilities of women legislators in reviewing, enacting and passing laws through the legislation process. The study will focus on the challenges faced by women legislators in terms of contributing towards passing of legislation in the National Assembly.

The researcher forestalled that the women legislators may not clearly indicate that they are facing challenges for fear that if this comes out they may not be re-elected. The researcher anticipates that fear of being victimized by individual political parties and

political coalitions could hinder women legislators from openly talking about these challenges. There may be unwillingness to participate in the study by the respondents who are women legislators in the National Assembly for the period 2013-2017.

However, participants not willing to take part in the study may be opt out but only after getting the right information on the essence of the study. The researcher made it clear to the women MPs who will take part in this study that their identities will be protected in such a way that nobody can trace the responses from the research to them, their political parties or coalitions.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Affirmative Action: This is an action or policy that seeks to address past discrimination or inequalities through active measures to ensure equal opportunity in but not limited to social, economic, political, educational and employment spheres.

Enact Legislation: To make a Bill, Motion or any other part of legislation to become law.

Hansard: The official verbatim record of proceedings or debates in Parliament or the National Assembly. This is the traditional name of transcripts of parliamentary debate.

Legislator: A person who makes laws of a country, usually from an elective or nominated position. A member of a legislative body especially for a political unit.

Legislation Process: A sequence of steps required for laws to move through a system from ideas to formally adopted legislation.

Legislature: An arm of Government. The legislative arm of government is usually elective and the people are empowered to make, change or repeal laws of a country or state.

National Assembly: An elected legislature at national level that is composed of representatives of a nation.

Political Leadership: A concept that is central to understanding political processes and outcomes by an individual.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This section reviews the literature related to the study. The literature is reviewed using textbooks, journals and the Internet along the following sub-titles History of women's political leadership in Kenya; Factors that influence women's participation in political leadership; State and or structural factors; Demographic factors; Socio cultural factors; Challenges that women face in political leadership and; Strategies employed by women in political leadership. The chapter ends with the theoretical framework to be used in the study and the relevance of the theory to the study.

2.1.1 HISTORY OF WOMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WORLDWIDE

For many years, male dominance in politics was practically total. This left women both generally underrepresented in the political arena (Skard, 2014). Globally women have continued to fight for space in political representation. Though the numbers have been increasing steadily, women continue to face barriers to getting into parliaments as many still see women's political leadership as a rarity and a political career rarer. Women the world over have been prevented from engaging in politics.

Before the World War, New Zealand was the first country in the world to give women the vote in 1893 while Australia was the first to give women the right to vote and stand for parliament in 1902 (t' Hart & Uhr, 2008).

It was not until after the World War II when nations were created and more democratic political institutions introduced that things began to change particularly within the

framework of the United Nations when governments of the world engaged in international, regional and national processes to promote gender equality between men and women (Skard, 2014).

Women in Parliament became an object of increased international attention in the 1990s (Sawer et al, 2006) after the Fourth World United Nations Women's Conference that was held in Beijing, China in 1995. The representation of women was a priority issue for the Beijing Platform of Action that was adopted by 189 countries in 1995 (Sawer et al, 2006).

This saw a number of countries including those in Africa begin to appreciate women's presence in parliament. Since the Beijing Conference things have changed and today, a small African country, Rwanda, has the highest number of women in its parliament more than any other country in the world. Women constitute 56 per cent of elected legislators (Kayumba, 2010) in Rwanda's parliament.

In many parts of the world, the electoral system is said to influence women's ability to gain legislative representation. In Africa, Rwanda, Mozambique, South Africa, Namibia, Uganda, Tanzania, Seychelles and Eritrea have female representation of above 30 percent in their parliaments (Salih, 2005). These countries have adopted affirmative action measures such as proportional representation and quotas or targets set by political parties themselves.

The Beijing Conference of 1995 laid out guidelines for increasing political representation of women. The expansion of women in legislatures has a number of implications for improving governance in African politics. It expands the pool of talent that is

incorporated in governing institutions (Salih, 2005), parliaments included where women bring their own perspective to the table that can influence legislation.

2.1.2 HISTORY OF WOMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN KENYA

Active participation in political leadership is both an obligation and right for women. Political leadership “implies a contractual relationship between those who govern and those who are to be governed. Although Kenya is making positive advancements in incorporating women in political leadership, history is characterized by marginalization of women in the political sphere (Onsongo, 2005). In fact, gender inequality in Kenya has been exemplified by biased or superficial political leadership/participation for women.

While many women would like to offer themselves for parliamentary elections, men use various reasons and pressures on women to prevent them from exercising their majority status to sponsor or lobby fellow women to represent them in parliament (Mikel, 1997).

The history of women’s political leadership in sovereign Kenya can be traced to the post-independence period. However, prior to that women’s political leadership in colonial Kenya is faint. Few women made it to head societies and ethnic groups in Kenya. Although women such as Mekatilili wa Menza of Giriama and Wangu wa Makeri of the Gikuyu spearheaded early political leadership for women, women’s active participation has remained relatively low in post-independent Kenya (Kamau, 2010). This is despite the fact that independent Kenya emerged from nationalist movements that depicted the heroism of women (Kamau, 2010). Women in this case participated actively in the fight for independence in various ways including protests against colonial rule and participation in political negotiations that ushered in independence.

Women political leadership and participation deteriorated further throughout the colonial era. Colonialists significantly affected negatively the status of women in Kenya. Onsongo (2005) observes that colonial laws dislodged and disrupted women's gender roles. Introduction of the monetary economy, cash crops and formal education negatively affected women as they remained on the receiving side in these parameters (Kamau, 2010). Men had employment on farms or worked in government offices, but many women were in rural areas doing subsistence farming (Onsongo, 2005).

Prior to independence, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation, which was launched in 1952, spearheaded and mobilized women's participation in political leadership (Kabira and Kimani, 2012; Kivoi, 2014). Such organization and consciousness paved way for awakening of women and women's empowerment towards political leadership. Although the first Kenyan Parliament did not have any woman elected or nominated, efforts of other women's organizations such as the National Council for Women in Kenya (NCWK) continued to strengthen and unite women (Kiragu, 2006). Grace Onyango spearheaded women's political leadership in post-independent Kenya by being the first elected female MP. Other women such as Julia Ojiambo, Grace Ogot and Phoebe Asiyo followed (Kamau, 2010).

Women have continued to increase their participation in political leadership and the number of female candidates in the 1997 General Election is a show of progression. Women's movements and institutional frameworks for gender mainstreaming (by policies and legislation) have endeavoured to enhance women's political leadership (Kabira and Kimani, 2012; Kivoi, 2014). Enactment of national and institutional gender policies, Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Services; Sexual Offences Act (2006)

and National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) have worked towards creating an enabling environment for women's political leadership (Kabira and Kimani, 2012).

However, things have been slowly changing because many empowerment strategies have been used to make women realise the importance of their presence and numbers in the National Assembly. The majority of Kenyan women have gradually overcome socialisation and no longer regard themselves as inferior (Mikel, 1997). However, Kenyan women have worked very hard and some have had to pay dearly in order for them to be where they are today (Kalu and Soyinka-Airewele, 2009).

In 2007, there was the highest women representation in parliament since independence with a total of 22 (9.8%) women parliamentarians and two cabinet ministers (Kamau, 2010: 16). These figures have doubled as of 2015 as the one-third gender rule continues to be implemented under the current Constitution (Kivoi, 2014). However, although, history shows gradual improvement in women's political participation and leadership in Kenya, there is need for more women political leadership and elimination of barriers.

2.2 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Participation of women in political leadership is a function of discrete variables that determine the degree of participation. The differential women's participation in political leadership in different jurisdictions is, therefore, a product of multiple factors influencing the outcome. The factors that influence this outcome can be grouped into three major categories: state/structural factors, demographic factors, economic factors, and socio-cultural factors (Otieno, 2012; Tundi, 2013; Kabira and Kimani, 2012)

2.2.1 STATE/STRUCTURAL FACTORS

Structural factors at state level that influence women's participation in political leadership touch on the role of state in mainstreaming gender equality in leadership, advocacy for women's political leadership (Kiragu, 2006) as well as institutional and national frameworks and policies for gender issues (Mwatha et al, 2013). Lack of political will and commitment on the part of political leaders and government is the biggest impediment to women so far. Governments have the obligation of integrating affirmative action as well as formulating and implementing policies on women's participation in political leadership (Kivoi, 2014: 177). This is through creating an enabling environment for women to be actively involved in political leadership including legislative processes. Ensuring gender equality and executing constitutional mandate pertaining to women's empowerment and affirmative action generates the impetus to elevate women to political leadership. For example, implementation of the one-third gender rule in Kenya is fundamental for increasing women's participation in political leadership (Kivoi, 2014). Further, ensuring gender equity and equality in education and healthcare enables women to competitively participate in political leadership due to the empowerment thereof. Political willingness to incorporate gender issues and executing affirmative action on gender influences women's participation in political leadership.

2.2.2 DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

According to the National Democracy Institute (NDI), Kenyan women comprise 52 per cent of the country's population and 60 per cent of the registered voters. Yet multiple demographic factors influence women's participation in political leadership (Otieno, 2012; Tundi, 2013). These include variables such as marital status, education and economic status (Kamau, 2010; Otieno, 2012; Tundi, 2013). Kamau (2010) notes that

unmarried women face serious challenges in political leadership and such participation as they fall short of social expectations of being a woman. Further, married women are said to belong to the husband's political area. Thus, when such women are away from their constituencies of birth, they may not appeal for political leadership (Kamau, 2010). Other women's participation in political leadership is influenced by their husbands (if married) and fathers (if not) (Kamau, 2010).

Education influences women's participation in political leadership significantly (Otieno, 2012; Kamau, 2010; Kabira and Kimani, 2012; Tundi, 2013). Well educated women tend to have economic and social status that facilitates their participation in political leadership. Education further enhances capacity building for women to qualify in political leadership (Kamau, 2010; Kabira and Kimani, 2012).

The economic factor pertains to the economic empowerment propensities that propel women in leadership (Tundi, 2013). Economic disadvantages suffered by women and poverty circumvent their political participation and thwart other factors such as education which influence participation in political leadership (Kabira and Kimani, 2012; Mwatha et al, 2013; Bulloch et al, 2012).

2.2.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Women's participation in political leadership in patriarchal and matriarchal societies may vary due to the socio-cultural influences on women's leadership (Kamau, 2010). The socio-cultural influences are well mapped in the obstacles to women's participation in political leadership. Considerable socio-cultural barriers have impeded Kenyan women's participation in elective politics. In a male/masculine dominated society, women

experience social, cultural and economic subordination. Social and cultural perceptions of women in society influence how they participate in political leadership (Kasomo, 2012; Otieno, 2012; Tundi, 2013).

2.3 CHALLENGES THAT WOMEN FACE IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Participation in political leadership for women is against the background of discrete challenges of socio-cultural, economic nature, and political exclusion in governance structures (Kivoi, 2014). These social and economic disadvantages create a barrier towards political leadership for women. Atambitsa (2008) notes that the challenges include fear of and negative publicity, lack of resources, lack of confidence, cultural and patriarchal biases, violence and lack of family support. These barriers collectively create a significant gap in the political participation for women (Mwatha et al, 2013). Social and cultural perceptions held in patriarchal society demean women's leadership. Cultural values and practices that perpetuate male dominance and women oppression curtail women's political participation and leadership (Ndlovu & Mutale, 2013; (Kabira & Kimani, 2012; Mwatha et al, 2013). Gender roles are socially created and culturally perpetrated and some gender roles limit women's participation in political processes. Perception of women duties within domestic circles narrows the path to not only economic freedom and empowerment but also dims political ambitions (Kivoi, 2014; Kasomo, 2012). In such socio-cultural settings, women are only useful in voting rather than political leadership. Kivoi (2014) notes that many African communities tend to negate the role of women in mainstream political leadership regarding them only as home makers. There is evidence of the far-reaching impact of cultural practices that decimate the chances for women's participation in political leadership. Cultural factors are linked

to stereotypes and beliefs about ability of women across many communities. These cultural perceptions, Kivoi (2014) notes, do not encourage women to actively participate in politics. Practices such as FGM and domestic violence degrade women's worth and expose them to factors that further thwart active political participation and leadership. Due cultural practices such as FGM, women suffer education and health inequalities that make them lag behind in political participation (Barasa, 2010).

In economic terms, economic disadvantages suffered by women create inequality and unfair game play in political participation and leadership when compared to men (Otieno, 2012; Tundi, 2013). Economic disempowerment reduces the capacity of women to advance political careers and women are relegated to the political back scene. Such disempowerment affects other variables such as education and health that further fuel lack of political participation and leadership (Kivoi, 2014). Women face the challenge of cyclic political exclusion and non-involvement in critical decision-making (Kabira & Kimani, 2012). Women lack complete control of their lives as they lack voice in political, economic and social arenas. Such exclusion limits their capacity to be leaders at political level (Bulloch et al, 2012).

2.4 STRATEGIES EMPLOYED BY WOMEN IN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

The strategies employed by women in political leadership can be state or non-state in nature. State-based measures involve the state/government. In the endeavour to participate in political leadership and to overcome the challenges involved, women have embraced various strategies aimed at increasing participation. Women's organizations and groups have served as fundamental springboards for airing women's grievances that open up more political participation and leadership. Organizations such as Maendeleo ya

Wanawake have proven pivotal in addressing women's and gender issues that have been a platform for women political exclusion (Kamau, 2010). Women protection agencies such as FIDA Kenya have served women's interests such as protection against sexual violence (Kamau, 2010). Such basic measures ensure that obstacles to women's empowerment are tackled.

Public campaigns have also served important roles in mobilizing communities on the issue of women's empowerment and political leadership. With the general population as target audience, the campaigns sensitize the community on the importance and rationale of women involvement in politics (Mwatha et al, 2013). In addition, women have used legal approaches for political leadership. On this point, women use a rights-based approach to point to legal and constitutional provisions that provide for gender equality in political participation (Kivoi, 2014). In Kenya, for example, gender equality in public service and governance is a constitutional provision for gender mainstreaming and affirmative action (Kamau, 2010; Kivoi, 2014). Women have used the legal apparatus strategy to advance political leadership interests.

In addition, women have used government agencies and ministries for political leadership. They have also embraced government initiatives that aim at women's empowerment and advancement of political careers. For example, the women and youth funds help enhance women's empowerment as they use economic empowerment as a stepping stone to participation in political leadership. Pertinent government ministries (gender) also help women increase the level of active political participation (Kivoi, 2014).

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.5.1 LIBERAL FEMINIST THEORY

This study is guided by the Liberal Feminist approach. This approach focuses on achieving equality between men and women that emphasises power of an individual person to alter discriminatory practices against women (Scarince, 2015). This theory aims at individuals using their own abilities in the democratic process to help women and men become equal in the eyes of the law, society and work place. By organising women into larger groups that can speak at higher level, lobbying legislators and raising awareness on issues, liberal feminists use available resources and tools to advocate for change (Scarince, 2015). Liberal feminism tends to work within existing political systems and structures to eradicate all forms of sex discrimination (Ford, 2010;20). Liberal feminism targets inequalities in legal, political and educational arrangements and promotes laws to redress inequalities in opportunity (Worrel & Remer, 2003; 16). Women as political leaders and members of national parliaments must be able to participate in the democratic processes. These processes include being able to engage in the arena of public political discourse and electoral politics (Nthiiri, 2014).

Liberal strategies work well to garner political and legal rights for oppressed groups, especially women. This is because women remain oppressed by patriarchy which by extension has been extended to political spaces such as national assemblies. Therefore, Liberal Feminism attempts to increase women's participation in public and electoral politics which has been male dominated. Identifying women as a minority, therefore, is very effective in mobilising them as an oppressed group to demand political equality and

equal opportunities (McLaren, 2002). Women's position can only improve when they become self-reliant and exercise full control over decisions they make in their lives.

2.5.2 RELEVANCE OF LIBERAL FEMINIST THEORY

Liberal feminism has its roots in liberal enlightenment, thought, rationalism and rights philosophies (Worrel, 2002). Liberal feminism is important to this study because it tends to celebrate women's strengths rather than focusing on the difference between sexes (Parrish, 2014).

Liberal feminism is relevant to this study because many patriarchal communities in Kenya do not see the need for gender equality since most of them are patriarchal by nature and often see gender equality as a challenge to male dominance (Kivoi, 2014; 179).

As Phillips (2004; 13-14) argues, a decision making chamber (National Assembly for this study) that acts for both sexes but is exclusively of one gender cannot be described as representative. Where nature of representation is an issue, equality of outcome is not just a way of scrutinising the claims of equal opportunity, it becomes an important objective in itself.

There is a growing interest among feminist political scientists in the way in which variations in party and political systems affect women's prospects for establishing substantial presence among elected representatives and in promoting women's interests in policy making (Goetz & Hassim, 2003;9).

Liberal Feminist Theory assumes the exploration of restrictive gender role socialisation and raises women's awareness of how personal issues such as low confidence, low self-

esteem, anxiety and fear of success may limit their aspirations (Worrel, 2002; 470). Once aware of internalised restrictions, individuals can develop assertiveness and skills.

As long as our socialisation favours men, it will be difficult for women to participate on equal footing with men in political competition (Kivoi, 2014; 179) even though liberal political theory is grounded on the conception that individuals, both men and women have equal potentiality for reason (Jaggar, 1983).

In many parts of the world, electoral systems are said to influence women's ability to gain legislative representation. The expansion of women in legislature has a number of implications for improving governance in African politics. Women bringing their own perspectives to the table can influence legislation (Tripp, 2005).

As members of national assemblies, women must strive to ensure that individually, they can fully participate in the legislative process. The single most important power of national assemblies is their power to propose and enact legislation. To be enacted into legislation, each piece of law must be approved in identical form by a majority of the membership (Little & Ogle, 2006), including women.

2.6 CONCEPTUAL THEORETICAL MODEL

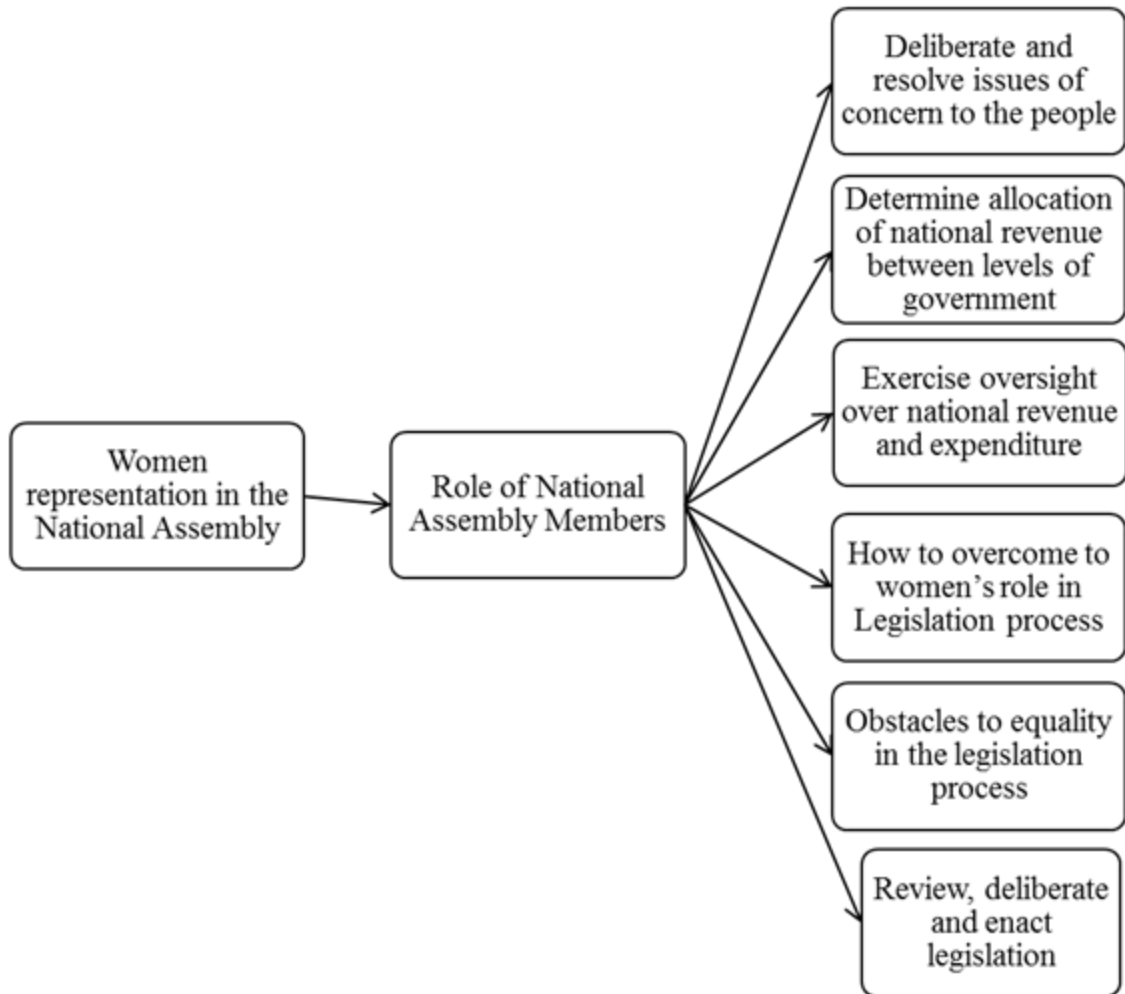


Figure 1: CONCEPTUAL THEORETICAL MODEL

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes methods and procedures used in the study which include research site, research design, study population, sampling technique; data collection methods, data processing and analysis and ethical considerations.

3.2 RESEARCH SITE

The study was done in Nairobi City County with a focus on women legislators in the National Assembly. The National Assembly is within Kenya Parliament Buildings situated along Parliament Road in Nairobi City County.

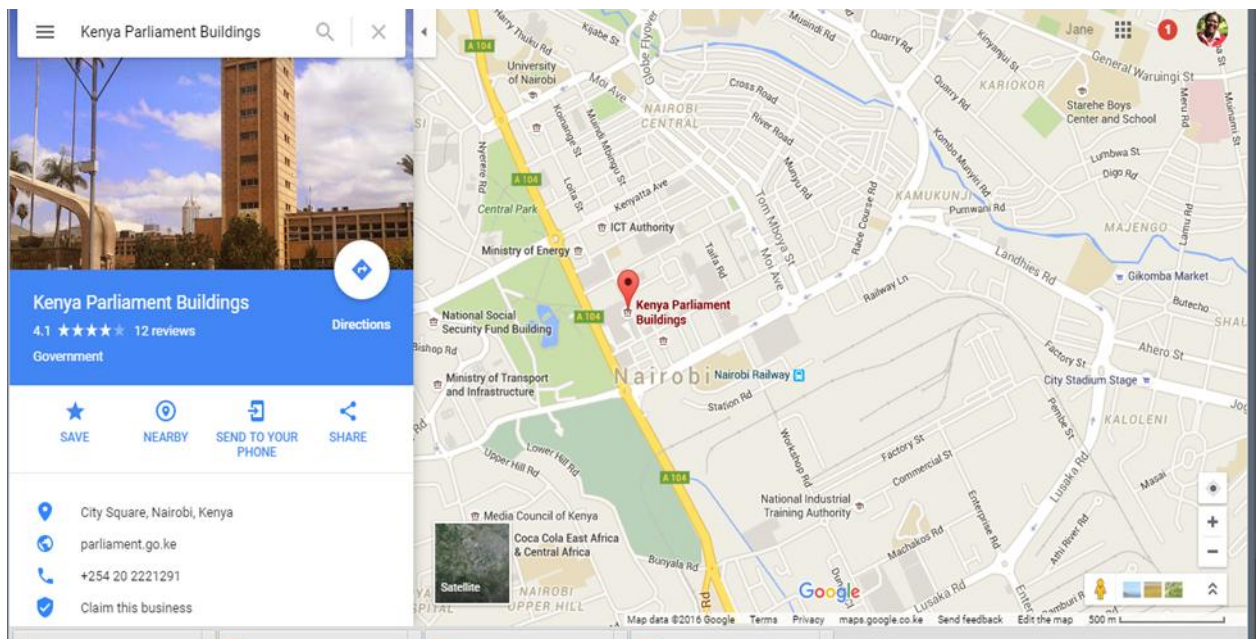


Figure 2: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY LOCATED WITHIN KENYA PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN NAIROBI CITY COUNTY (SOURCE: GOOGLE MAPS)

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study adopted exploratory approach to understand how the legislation process has posed challenges to women legislators. In an effort to explore the challenges that women in the National Assembly face, two types of data were used. There were open ended questionnaire for the survey and unobtrusive observation to collect primary data while secondary data were derived from the Hansard.

3.4 STUDY POPULATION

The population for this study constituted women legislators in the National Assembly of Kenya under the 11th Parliament. The unit of analysis were the individual legislator from the study population.

3.5 SAMPLE POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The sample population were the 68 women in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya. Since they are not many and some may not respond, this was left open and when possible all were considered but with a hope that at least 50 percent were reached and respond. Purposive sampling was employed in line with the selected study subjects as this is considered adequate to generate satisfactory information to answer the objectives of the study given its qualitative nature. Purposive sampling, being non-probability sampling allows one to take the widest variety of respondents to test the broad applicability of questionnaire (Babbie, 2013). This is because there are various cadres of women legislators and these include those who are elected and nominated as well as the youth and those living with disability. This mix is necessary for capturing the information needed to answer the research questions.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The data collection method used in the study was survey with an open ended questionnaire which sought to obtain specific information from the women MPs.

3.6.1 SURVEY

The study was conducted using a survey which include use of a an open-ended questionnaire to elicit information that were useful for analysis. Every respondent was exposed to the same stimuli. In this case, the self-administered questionnaire was dropped off to the women members of the National Assembly through KEWOPA offices and also the researcher visited Parlaiment where she was able to have the MPs fill in the questionniare through a face-to-face meeting.

Using an open ended questionnaire as a data collecting instrument is advantageous in this study because the researcher was able to collect a lot of information from the respondents over a very short period of time. The self-administered open-ended questionnaire offered an opportunity for anonymity which gave the respondents a sense of security.

3.6.2 UNSTRUCTURED OBSERVATION

The study also adopted unstructured observation to collect primary data because it allows for observing behaviour and events in an endeavour to explore the situation under investigation (Alston & Bowles, 2003). The researcher attended at least six sessions of National Assembly sittings as a guest in the public gallery for unstructured observation to observe the ways of the National Assembly — how it operates and the interactions of legislators within the legislation processes — among other elements.

Unstructured observation is ideal for this study because it helped provide for a richer and more direct accounting of the behavioural phenomenon under study (Taylor et al, 2006). It allowed the researcher to observe of the women are actively participating and if there are flows like failing to get the attention of the speaker. This was to enhance the accuracy of the study.

3.6.3 SECONDARY SOURCES

Secondary data collected from The Hansard which is the official resource that documents parliamentary proceedings. Secondary data will help enrich findings and answer the research question related to the study. Where possible, the researcher tried to reach out former female members of Parliament to get an understanding of the gymnastics in the National Assembly.

3.7 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The data collected from primary sources was analysed and integrated with those from secondary sources. Analysis of data was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences and Microsoft Excel 2007 computer software whereby data collected was coded for easy analysis. Quantitative data from the questionnaire analysis was done through computing averages such as the ranges, frequencies, mean and percentages, where necessary. They were then be presented through descriptive statistics in the form of frequency distributions and tables.

Qualitative data from the questionnaire and observation notes analysis was done through content and thematic analysis. They were transcribed, coded and analysed according to themes and content of emerging issues. The information obtained were coded, then categorised according to the major themes emerging in the course of the study.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical approval for this study was obtained prior to field work. Participation in this study was only by women legislators in the 11th Parliament but specifically those in the National Assembly. Data collection was voluntary and written information sheet and consent form was given after explaining to the participants the objectives of the study and the intended utilization of the information. The final data sets were anonymised by removing identifiers such as names, constituencies or counties. Confidentiality was maintained. The participants had the right to withdraw from the research and their contributions were not included.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, DISCUSSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter hinges on the following areas: data presentation, analysis, discussions and interpretations. The work is presented in sections/parts within the chapters and arranged objective by objective. This ensured logical flow and made it easy to organize the work for analysis, discussions and interpretations.

The findings were interpreted and discussed basing on the aim of the study. By use of qualitative and quantitative methods, the findings were presented using tables, pie charts, graphs and content analysis for easier understanding. This chapter combines both findings from survey which included use of an open-ended questionnaire and observation as well as secondary data.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The respondents were asked to indicate their gender, marital status, age. Figure 4.1 below shows the age of respondents that participated in the study. They included those between 18-27 years, 28-37 years, 38-47 years, 48-57 years and 58 years and above.

4.2.1 MARITAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

In this section the researcher sought to establish the marital status of the respondents. Table 4.1 shows the number of respondents that participated in the study who were

single, married, separated, widowed, divorced and those respondents that did not state their marital status.

Table 4. 1: Marital status of the respondents

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Married	37	92.5
Single	1	2.5
Divorced	2	5.0

Table 4.1 shows that 2.5% of respondents were single, 92.5% were married, while only five per cent were divorced. From the study, it was discovered that most of the women in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya were married.

4.2.2 LEVEL OF EDUCATION

An analysis of the levels of education was done in bid to establish the composition of respondents in terms of their highest levels of education. This was because one's educational achievement was generally associated with a positive career outcome and most institutions use level of education as an indicator of one's productivity. The level of education is also noted as a source of exposure and confidence and would enable the women legislators make greater contribution in the National Assembly.

Table 4.2: Distribution by level of education

Level of education	Frequency	Per cent
Post-graduate	12	30
Tertiary (diploma and degree)	28	70
Total	40	100.0

The results indicate that 30 percent had post-graduate degree while 70 per cent had tertiary education which included diploma and degree holders. It can, therefore, be noted from the results that majority had university education as their highest level of education. degree, and some diploma levels of education which is an indication that the respondents were knowledgeable about the challenges to women's in legislation processes in the 11th Parliament of Kenya. Kenya like so many other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa subscribes to an elitist education system that provides opportunities for further learning to a few selected students. The legacy of colonial education and the political economy of post-independence Kenya have led to an education system that favours the most advantaged students (Wachira Kigotho, 2009).

4.3 MEMBERSHIP IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The study at this part aimed at identifying whether, respondents of the study were either nominated or elected as Member of Parliament by political party. The table below shows the research findings.

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by Membership in the National Assembly

Membership	Frequency	Percent
Elected Member of Parliament	33	82.5
Nominated MP	7	17.5
Total	40	100.0

From the findings, 82.5 per cent of the respondents were elected Members of Parliament through various political parties, while, 17.5 per cent of the population were nominated members of parliament.

4.3.1 MEMBERSHIP BY PARTY AFFILIATION/COALITION

Respondents of the study were asked to indicate the party/coalition they belong in, this was done in an effort to establish the party that sponsored majority of women to elective positions. The party of coalition is also noted as a determinant factor on how women would support or raise bills and motions in the National Assembly.

Table 4.4: Distribution by level of education

Membership By Party Affiliation	Frequency	Percent
Jubilee	16	40
Cord	21	52.5
Amani	1	2.5
Other	2	5

Membership By Party Affiliation	Frequency	Percent
Jubilee	16	40
Cord	21	52.5
Amani	1	2.5
Other	2	5
Total	132	100.0

From the findings, majority of the populations who participated in the study (52.5%) were affiliated to the CORD coalition, 40 per cent were from the Jubilee coalition, 2.5 per cent were from the Amani coalition and five (5) per cent were other small parties.

4.3.2 TERM SERVED AS MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The study intended to find out the term served by women members of parliament as legislators. The term served would help in determining their experience in the legislative process. Their responses are highlighted in the Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Distribution by number of terms served

Category	Frequency	Percentage
First term	37	92.5
Second term	2	5.0
Third term	1	2.5

Table 4.5 shows that 92.5 per cent of respondents were first term members of parliament, five (5) per cent were second term members of parliament, and 2.5 per cent were third term members. From the study, it was discovered that most of the women in the National Assembly of the 11th Parliament of Kenya were new.

4.3.3 SPEECH IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

From the findings it was identified that all the women legislators have made a speech in the National Assembly at one stage of their. They, however, admitted that they felt really nervous speaking from a very important stage. Although people congratulate them for speaking they admit that it's not easy for one to rise on making their first speech, which is known as Maiden Speech in Parliament.

4.3.4 MEMBER OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

Respondents of the study admitted that they are members of at least one Parliamentary Committee, most committees mentioned are the Liaison Committee, Catering and Health Club Committee, Committee on Implementation, Committee on Delegated Legislation, Committee on Regional Integration, Defence and Foreign Relations Committee, Administration and National Security Committee, Agriculture, Livestock and Cooperatives Committee, Environment and Natural Resources Committee, Education, Research and Technology Committee, Energy, Communication and Information Committee, Finance, Planning and Trade Committee, Health Committee, Justice and Legal Affairs Committee, Labour and Social Welfare Committee and Lands Committee.

The Parliamentary committees among other responsibilities study and review legislation that have been brought before them. Members to these committees are nominated by the House Business team.

4.3.5 CHAIRING OF THE COMMITTEE BY WOMEN LEGISLATORS

Majority of women parliamentarians were not chairing committees of the various departments in the August House, but they were quick to pinpoint the success of various

departmental committees chaired by women parliamentarians particularly the Liaison Committee Chaired by Joyce Laboso, Catering and Health Club Committee Chaired by Janet Nangabo Wanyama, Committee on Regional Integration Chaired by Florence Kajuju, Environment and Natural Resources Committee Chaired by Amina Abdalla, Education, Research and Technology Committee Chaired by Sabina Chege, Health Committee Chaired by Rachel Nyamai and Priscilla Nyokabi who is the Vice Chair Justice and Legal Affairs Committee.

There are few women chairing the committees, because the National Assembly is male dominated and hence women do not stand a chance of leading especially the powerful committees.

4.4 LEGISLATION PROCESS

4.4.1 DEVELOPING A MOTION OR BILL

The study intended to identify whether women legislators have participated in developing a motion or bill that was brought to the floor of the house in the 11th Parliament. The results are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Developing a motion or bill

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Yes	4	10
No	36	90
Total	40	100.0

The results indicate that only 10 percent had successfully brought a motion or bill to the floor of the house while 90 percent had not. A crosscheck of the above identified a number of bills, sponsored and developed by women legislators; particularly Ms Joyce Emanikor of Turkana County stood out for developing the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines Bill, teacher shortages in Turkana, mining, the Equalization Fund, corruption, fishing, micro-finance loans and youth employment. Ms Millie Odhiambo's star shone when she sponsored two Bills — Victim Protection Bill and In-Vitro Fertilization Bill. Joyce Laboso, deputy Speaker (Sotik Constituency MP) on her role on The Protection against Domestic Violence Bill which was enacted into law.

All the respondents, however, agreed that they were present during voting of gender sensitive bill/motions like the Duale (MP Garissa Township) and Chepkonga (Ainabkoi MP) amendment, under the Two-Third Gender Rule Laws (amendment) Bill 2015; The Marriage Bill; The Children's Bill; The Protection against Domestic Violence Bill as well as The Matrimonial Property Bill.

4.5 CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATION PROCESS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

This sub-topic, provides a manifestation of the study variable. The respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements on the challenges facing women in the legislation process in the national assembly of Kenya. Descriptive statistics for each of the research variables were measured using Likert-type scale. A five-point Likert scale was used ranging from (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = neither agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree).

Table 4.7: Summary of means and standard deviation of variation of the study variables.

Factors Under Consideration	Mean	Standard Deviation
Women financing of election campaigns and the influence of money in electoral processes	3.0559	.32863
Gender socialization barrier of the Kenyan patriarchal society	3.5526	.36585
Political parties competition that demands a candidate to effectively contest an election	3.6579	.43664
Women's lack of experience in the legislation process	3.8289	.58073
Women assuming primary parenting responsibilities which is difficult to combine with long hours of legislation process	3.0921	.55581
The negative attitudes towards women's involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalisation and isolation	4.1875	.30444
The government and political parties themselves are not willing to support women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement excludes them from their supremacy in the political arena	4.0000	.56277

Respondents were asked to provide answers on each item that was measured by a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high). From Table 4.7, mean and standard deviation were used to test respondent ideas where Standard deviation is the square root of the variance. It measures the spread of a set of observations. The larger the standard deviation is, the more spread out the observations are, while mean is the arithmetic mean across the observations, it is the most widely used measure of central tendency. It is commonly called the average.

From the findings, the statement that negative attitude towards women's involvement in politics and presence in the National Assembly were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading. It was noted that government as well as political parties were not willing to support women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement excludes them from their supremacy in the political arena as supported with a mean of 4.0000. This means that they are the most significant challenges affecting women in legislation process. Other significant factors were woman's lack of experience in the legislation process by a mean of 3.8289; Political parties competition that demands a candidate to effectively contest an election as shown by a mean of 3.6579 and Gender socialization barrier of the Kenyan patriarchal society as shown by a mean of 3.5526

4.6 DETERMINE HOW WOMEN CAN ADDRESS CHALLENGES FACED WITHIN THE LEGISLATION PROCESS

The respondents were asked to indicate on how women can address challenges faced within the legislation process in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11th parliament. Descriptive statistics for each of the research variables were measured using Likert-type scale. A five-point Likert scale was used ranging from (1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3 = neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree).

Table 4.8: Presents the summary of means and standard deviation of variation of the study variables.

Factors Under Consideration	Mean	Standard deviation
Public funding to provide a level playing field for the funding of political parties should improve equality	3.0	0.5
Reserved seats where a certain number are set aside for women	3.1	0.9732
Legislated party quotas can be constitutionally binding, or legislated in political party and electoral laws	3.2	0.4320
Limit campaign spending to ensure equality of opportunity for all candidates	3.0435	0.8763
Women participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting	3.100	0.5432
Adaption of gender policies that addresses cultural practices that hinder women from participating in political and decision making processes at all levels.	3.2	0.35
Women's civic education and economic empowerment are significant for the empowerment of women in political participation	3.4643	0.7532
Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at changing public misconceptions towards women's political participation as a means that can be used to empower women's legislation abilities	3.3863	0.7833

From the study findings, the statement that women's civic education and economic empowerment are significant for the empowerment of women in political participation was supported with a mean of 3.4643 and awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying

aimed at to change the public misperceptions towards women's political participations rights are another means that can be empowered women's legislation process as supported with a mean of 3.3863 were the most significant factors of that address challenges faced by mowen in the legislation process.

4.6.1 OTHER CHALLENGES FEMALE LEGISLATORS FACE IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

When research participants' were asked to explain other challenges faced by women in legislation processes in the Kenya National Assembly, the following main themes were identified. These were namely social and cultural stereotypes, psychological factor, balancing reproductive and workplace functions and lack of networking and negotiation skills. Other challenges included negative perceptions on competencies of women as leaders among women themselves and lack of confidence among those elected once they get into Parliament. Participants reported that removing socio-cultural stereotypes involves a transformation in the general public' mindsets, parliamentary and election management practices, processes and a general attitudinal change towards women and leadership including gender discrimination.

4.6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FEMALE LEGISLATORS

Since some of the women in the political arena are afraid of failure, especially those who at the beginning of their leadership journey, there is need to encourage women by building their capacity and confidence as well as self-esteem, and getting them out of the comfort zone so they can make tough decsions and be able to speak as women leaders. Second, they should not try to act like men to guarantee success nor allow their "feminine" qualities to stand in the way of getting things done.

Women who have gone to the National Assembly should view themselves as leaders, and perform their role of developing and enacting laws without fear or favour but most importantly be able to stand up for their rights.

4.7 REVIEW OF SECONDARY DATA

4.7.1 REVIEW OF BILL AND MOTION TRACKERS FROM HANSARD

Mzalendo, an organisation that tracks how parliamentarians perform notes women parliamentarians provide just as much value as their male counterparts in the National Assembly. It also notes that women parliamentarians contributions span in a wider variety of interests and topics disapproving the notion that they only cover women related issues (Mzalendo, 2017).

In the review of the Hansard, looking at the Fifth Session of the 11th Parliament indicates that women were not very active. The Bills Tracker 2017, which provides an overview of the current status of all bills before the National Assembly during the year indicates that as of June 2017 out of 110 bills presented in the National Assembly women only sponsored nine (9) (Bills Tracker, 2017). The Motions Tracker 2017 which provides an overview of the status of motions before the National Assembly within the year notes that out of 77 motions brought to the floor of the August House only four (4) women were proposers and only four (4) women were seconders (Motions Tracker, 2017).

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations of the study. It provides an introduction to the overall topic explored in this project and an introduction to the study itself. The purpose of the study was to analyse the challenges facing women in legislation process in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11th Parliament 2013-2017. This chapter analyses whether the study accomplished what it set out to investigate.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

First, the study intended to identify challenges facing women in the legislation process in the National Assembly. The study found out that women's under-representation in the National Assembly is a serious issue if the country aims for gender equality. Women's participation in legislation process is necessary in a modern democracy because adequate representation is essential for proper government and parliamentary functioning. One element of representative democracy is that all citizens, regardless of gender, have equal opportunity to participate in the role of representing people, oversight and enacting legislation. Moreover, the low number of women in the Kenya National Assembly of the 11th Parliament is a far cry from one-third gender rule that is entrenched in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The gender principle guides the minimum percentage required to ensure a critical mass of women who can influence legislation and decision-making processes in the National Assembly.

Women elected into political position should be considered successful in respect to women's increased numbers in Parliament. While it is clear that political factors have posed obstacles to women interested in politics, there is discriminatory, male driven and patriarchal system within the political arena that has played a great role in the outcome of women's lack of representation in parliament. This was also noted by some of the respondents who noted the need to build the capacity of men into changing attitudes and appreciating women in politics.

The legislation processes is important because it provides a platform for those elected to act on behalf of the electorate and for women particularly, it allows them to enact gender sensitive laws. In the contrary, women's disproportionate absence from the political process could mean that the concerns of half the population cannot be sufficiently attended to or acted upon as it denies their viewpoints sufficient opportunity to be integrated into the parliamentary system.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Based on research, it could be concluded that a combination of factors influence women's participation in the legislation process. These include the patriarchal system which has been extended to the National Assembly, woman's lack of experience in the legislation process and negative attitude towards women's participation in politics. These have led to problems of marginalisation from the political party level to political coalitions and the Parliamentary system itself. Political supremacy in the political arena, culture and socio-political factors remain key determinants that affect women's performance in the legislative processes in the National Assembly of Kenya's 11th Parliament.

Without the introduction of political reforms as well as social transformation in attitude and perception towards women and political leadership, progress towards greater gender equality in the National Assembly as well as the entire parliamentary system will not happen soon. Socialisation needs to start early so that both boys and girls grow up as men and women who appreciate the position of women in political process. This will also enable women gain more confidence as they pursue political careers.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Women in the political arena are afraid of failure especially when they are starting their leadership journey. There is a need to encourage them to work through the moments of self-doubt to build their self esteem and encourage them to speak up and get out of their comfort zone.

The presence of women in the legislative process is a conduit for interest and needs to be treated as a matter of utmost urgency. There is need to help women to be in an amicable environment in which they can demonstrate their political strengths. Undertaking constitutional amendments and introducing quota system to facilitate women's membership in the National Assembly would be most ideal as they would be security in numbers. There is also need to build the capacity of men and create awareness on the importance of supporting women and getting a change in attitude and perceptions towards women in leadership.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT CERTIFICATE

My name is Jane Godia. I am a student of the University of Nairobi, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies (IAGAS) pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in Gender and Development. Thank you again for your willingness to be a part of this research. I am looking forward to hearing your thoughts on the questions I will ask you. I am going to ask you questions about challenges facing women legislators in the National Assembly. Your answers will help identify that could be addressed to make the legislation process easier and more successful for women in the National Assembly.

You have been selected to take part in this interview because you are a woman legislator in the 11th Parliament or a woman who has served in previous parliaments.

Before we begin I'd like to confirm that you have given your voluntary consent to participate to answers the questions as raised in the questionnaire.

In case of any questions feel free to call Jane Godia on 0724275000

Name of interviewee and signature	
Name and signature of researcher:	

APPENDIX 2: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is being administered for the sole purpose of collecting data for academic purposes. The study seeks to examine the challenges faced by women legislators in the National Assembly. All the information disclosed will be treated as strictly confidential. Kindly answer the questions below by either filling in the blank spaces or ticking the option that is appropriate for you.

1. Marital status

Single () Married ()

Widowed () Divorced ()

Qualifications Under Education Discipline (Please Specify):

Secondary School () Vocational Training ()

Secondary () Diploma ()

University Degree () Post Graduate ()

Other, Specify _____

Are you nominated?

Yes () No ()

4.0 Are you an elected Member of a political party Yes No

5.0 Is your party part of a coalition, if so which one :

Jubilee Cord Amani Other None

6.0 Is this your first time in the National Assembly? Yes No

7.0 If this is not your first time, please indicate how many terms have you served as a legislator

8.0 Have you ever made a maiden speech in the Assembly Yes No

9.0 If yes, how was it for you? Was it easy or difficult? Please explain

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.....

10.0 Are you a member of a Parliamentary Committee? Yes No

Is so which Committee (Committees) do you sit on?

.....

11.0 Are you a chairperson of the committee? Yes No

12.0 Are you a vice chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee? Yes No

13.0 Have you ever developed a Motion or Bill? Yes No

If yes, please indicate which one

PART B: EXAMINE CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATION PROCESS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with 1 being ‘to no extent at all’, 2 being ‘to a small extent’ 3 being ‘to some extent’, 4 being ‘to a high extent’ and 5 being ‘to a very high extent’, to what extent were the following factors examine challenges facing women in the legislation process in the national assembly? Please tick (✓) all as appropriate

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Women financing of election campaigns and the influence of money in electoral processes					
Is gender socialization a barrier of the Kenyan patriarchal society					
Do political parties competition demands that a candidate effectively contests an election					

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Woman's lack of experience in the legislation process					
Women assuming primary parenting responsibilities which is difficult to combine with long hours of legislation process					
The negative attitudes towards women's involvement in politics were noted to be deeply entrenched, leading to problems of marginalisation and isolation					
The government and the political parties themselves are not willing women's political participation, because they believe that women's political involvement are excluded them from their supremacy in the political arena					

SECTION I: DETERMINE HOW WOMEN CAN ADDRESS CHALLENGES FACED WITHIN THE LEGISLATION PROCESS

1. What role did you play with regards to legislation process?

- a. Sponsor your campaign []
- b. Give you technical assistance []
- c. Provided you with Security []
- d. Gave you a direct nominations []

Using a Likert 1-5 scale, with one (1) being 'to no extent at all', two (2) being 'to a small extent', three (3) being 'to some extent', four (4) being 'to a high extent' and five (5) being 'to a very high extent', to what extent were the following factors considered important in addressing challenges faced by women within the legislation process? Please mark (✓) all as is appropriate.

Factors Under Consideration	1	2	3	4	5
Public funding to provide a level playing field for the funding of political parties should improve the equality					
Reserved Seats where a certain number of seats are set aside for women					
Legislated Party Quotas can be constitutionally binding, or legislated in political party and electoral laws					
Limit campaign spending to ensure equality of opportunity for all candidates					
Women participation in electoral processes involves much more than just voting					
Adaption of gender policies that addresses the customs and practices hindering women to participate in the politics and decision making processes at all levels.					
Women's civic education and economic empowerment are significant for the empowerment of women in political participation					
Awareness raising, advocacy and lobbying aimed at to change the public misperceptions towards women's political participations rights are another means that can be empowered women's legislation process					

14.0 What other challenges do you think female legislators face in the National Assembly? Please give a short explanation for each challenge.

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15.0 As a female legislator, what recommendations can you give to help deal with the challenges indicated above?

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