

**DEBUNKING MYTHS: WOMEN CONTRIBUTIONS IN  
KENYA'S 11TH PARLIAMENT**

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## DEFINITION OF TERMS

- 1) **MNA** - Members Of The National Assembly and Women County Representatives
- 2) **MPs** -Both MNAs and Senators
- 3) **WCR** -Women County Representatives
- 4) **WP** - Women Parliamentarians
- 5) **ASAL AREAS** -Arid and Semi-Arid Areas
- 6) **CDF** - Constituency Development Fund
- 7) **TNA** - The National Alliance Party
- 8) **ODM** -Orange Democratic Movement
- 9) **URP** -United Republican Party
- 10) **WDP-K** - Wiper Democratic Party Kenya
- 11) **KANU** -Kenya National African Union
- 12) **FORD-K** - Forum For The Restoration of Democracy Kenya
- 13) **NFK** -New Forum for The Restoration of Democracy
- 14) **APK** -Alliance Party of Kenya
- 15) **UDF** -United Democratic Forum Party



## **THE ROLE OF MPs IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

The National Assembly:

- i) Represents the people of the Constituencies and special interests in the National Assembly;
- ii) Deliberates on and resolves issues of concern to the people;
- iii) Enacts legislation in accordance with the Constitution;
- iv) Exercises budgetary oversight - especially the
  - a) Allocation of national revenue between the levels of government; and
  - b) Appropriation of funds for expenditure by the national government and other national State organs;
- v) Reviews the conduct in office of the President and his Deputy and other State officers and initiates the process of removing them from office as well as oversight over State organs; and
- vi) Approves declarations of war and extensions of states of emergency.

## **THE ROLE OF SENATORS**

The Senate:

- i) Represents the counties and protects their interests;
- ii) Considers, debates and approves Bills concerning counties, as provided in Articles 109 to 113;
- iii) Determines the allocation of national revenue among counties, as provided in Article 217;
- iv) Exercises oversight over national revenue allocated to the county governments; and
- iv) Participates in the oversight of State officers by considering and determining any resolution to remove the President or Deputy President from office in accordance with Article 145.



## **OVERVIEW**

The report primarily focuses on contributions made by Women Parliamentarians (WP) as recorded in The Hansard, which is the official verbatim record of debates in the Kenyan Parliament. The scope of the report is the period between March 2013 when the 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament had its first sitting and 30<sup>th</sup> June 2015 when this report was commissioned. Contributions prior to and after the dates indicated have been left out. A few secondary sources will be used for additional information.

It is important to note that there is no difference between the work carried out by the WP and the male MPs. Analysis will be conducted per county for each of the 47 Women County Representatives (WCR) and at a constituency level for the elected MPs. For the nominated MNAs and the Senators, analysis will be based on general qualitative contributions to debate in both houses.



## INTRODUCTION

With the March 2013 general elections, 86 women took leadership positions in The National Assembly and The Senate. The 47 women's representatives were elected to fulfill the affirmative action principle popularly known as the two thirds gender principle. The same rule also saw the nomination of 18 women to serve in The Senate. Globally, women are sidelined in politics and Kenya is no exception. The nature of the patriarchal Kenyan society is reflected through the election of political leaders where, men have dominated by numbers in the National Assembly over the years. For example, in The Senate, a house reintroduced in the new constitution, no woman was elected directly in 2013 elections. Women in Kenya continue to be sidelined when it comes to politics, and their ability to assume leadership positions questioned.

Where they take up women take up Parliamentary positions whether through elective seats or affirmative action, they are subjected to stereotypes, sexism and accusations of incompetence. This underrepresentation of women in matters politics and governance necessitated the formulation of the two thirds gender quota to ensure that women have a say in matters legislation, considering the fact that they represent half the population. However, the general reception towards the implementation of this quota has been less than warm, with most people terming the WCR in particular, a waste of taxpayer's money in the wake of an inflated wage bill.

Of the three categories of Women Parliamentarians, the 47 WCRs have been subject to the most scrutiny and criticism. Their being in power has largely been attributed to tokenism and their tenures so far have been marked by accusations of ineptitude both in terms of their parliamentary contributions and in terms of actual groundwork. There have been numerous calls for the scrapping off of their positions. With an extended August 27<sup>th</sup> 2016 deadline for the full implementation of the two thirds gender principle, the relevance of these WP once again comes into serious scrutiny.

This report attempts to dismantle these biases, stereotypes and accusations by deconstructing and showing the participation of women leaders in Kenya's 11<sup>th</sup> parliament. It examines the nature of contributions made by the WP as well as a qualitative analysis of their contributions and how relevant these contributions are to their represented constituencies, counties and at a national level. The report shows that WP are avid contributors to debate in both The Senate and The National Assembly. The objective of these insights is to instill a sense of confidence in the ability of women to successfully undertake leadership positions in politics both now and in the future.



## **SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES ACROSS THE BOARD**

The report found out that most of the issues on which WP were vocal and passionate about cut across the board for the 47 WCR, the 21 women MNAs (both elected and nominated) and the 18 nominated women senators. In both the National Assembly and the Senate, topics that were of interest to women leaders were almost similar. The topics were also timely and relevant to the ongoing house debates.

The WP not only contributed to debate but also moved motions, requested statements and served as chairperson to various House committees. In the National Assembly, a woman, deputy speaker (Dr. Joyce Laboso) was elected for the first time in the history of the house. In the Senate, women were elected for the first time as; Majority Chief whip (Beatrice Elachi) and Minority deputy chief whip (Janet Ongeru). WP had shared viewpoints and generally supported each other's views when it came to the Family Bills. In the National Assembly, there was no great disparity between the elected/nominated women MPs and the 47 WCR in terms of quality and nature of contributions.

In the Senate, besides participating in the formulation and legislation of various laws, the nominated women Senators also played an active role contributing to issues that pertain to oversight. The two nominated women Senators representing Persons with Disabilities and Youth were also very articulate in ensuring that the relevant Bills and Motions took into consideration the interests of the two groups.

## **CHAIRING OF HOUSE COMMITTEES**

From the contributions recorded in The Hansard, it is clear that the WP are active members of their respective committees. Contributions made in both houses by the WP indicate a good understanding of committee proceedings and resolutions passed. There is also a good number of WP sitting in chair and vice chair positions of the house committees. They have demonstrated ability to steer the operations of these committees in terms of carrying out investigations necessitated by the various clarifications and statements requests sought during house business sessions.

The table below outlines committees headed by WP.

## IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Table 1

	<u>COMMITTEE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
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

Women in the NA hold 7 out of 28 chair positions available this represents 25% of the total positions. They also hold 3 vice chair positions which translate to 10.7%. Women 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. A good example includes Sabina Chege and Roselinda Soipan who have continuously made significant contributions in the Education and Constitution Implementation dockets which they chair respectively. Chairing committees has also enabled them to steer their committees into sponsoring related Bills. Examples here are Rachael Nyamai who has sponsored a number of health related bills (see table 3 ) and Amina Abdalla who sponsored the Water Bill.

## SENATE COMMITTEES CHAIRED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS

Table 2

	<u>COMMITTEE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
1	JOINT COMMITTEE ON PARLIAMENTARY BROADCASTING AND LIBRARY SERVICES	NAISULA LESUUDA	CHAIR
2	COMMITTEE ON DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT	NAISULA LESUUDA	VICE CHAIR
3	COMMITTEE ON DELEGATED LEGISLATION	JUDITH SIJENY	VICE CHAIR
4	COMMITTEE ON HEALTH	ZIPPORAH KITONY	VICE CHAIR
5	COMMITTEE ON ROADS AND TRANSPORT	JUDITH SIJENY	VICE CHAIR
6	COMMITTEE ON LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE	MARTHA WANGARI	VICE CHAIR
7	COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS	FATUMA DULLO	VICE CHAIR

In the Senate, the WP hold 1 chair position out of 18 which translates to 5.5%. For vice chair positions they hold 6 positions which represent 33.3% of the total committees. They have demonstrated the ability to contribute to debates in the committees and a good understanding of the issues that their respective committees handle. They have also been able to table Bills relevant to these committees. An example of this is Martha Wangari on the Employment (Amendment) Bill.

## WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE BILLS THEY SPONSORED

WP in The National Assembly and the Senate moved several important motions and various amendments on areas including: 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.

Not only have the WP moved motions but they also managed to successfully sponsor various Bills. These Bills spanned across a number of interests and topics, disproving the notion that most WP only cover issues related to women. This is especially so for the 47 WCRs. The numbers of Bills sponsored by WP in both houses are outlined in the tables below.

### THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BILLS

Table 3

	<u>BILL</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>	<u>STATUS</u>
1	THE VICTIM PROTECTION BILL 2013	MILLIE ODHIAMBO	2 <sup>ND</sup> READING
2	THE PERSONS WITH DISABILITY (AMENDMENT) 2013	WANJIKU MUHIA	3 <sup>RD</sup> READING
3	THE DIABETES MANAGEMENT BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
4	THE TRADITIONAL HEALTH PRACTITIONERS BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
5	THE KENYA AIDS CONTROL AUTHORITY 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI:	MATURITY 25/04/2014
6	THE PHARMACY PRACTITIONERS BILL 2014	RACHAEL NYAMAI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
7	THE IN-VITRO FERTILIZATION BILL 2014	MILLIE ODHIAMBO	2 <sup>ND</sup> READING
8	THE ENGINEERING TECHNOLOGISTS AND TECHNICIANS BILL 2015	CECILIA NGETICH:	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
9	THE ACCESS TO INFORMATION BILL 2015	PRISCILLA NYOKABI	1 <sup>ST</sup> MENTION

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 SENATE BILLS

Table 4

<u>BILL</u>	<u>SPONSOR</u>	<u>STATE</u>
1 THE PUBLIC FINANCE MANAGEMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	BEATRICE ELACHI & OTHERS	3 <sup>RD</sup> READING PASSED
2 THE REPRODUCTIVE HEALTHCARE BILL 2014	JUDITH SIJENNY	2 <sup>ND</sup> READING PASSED
3 THE FOOD SECURITY BILL 2014	BEATRICE ELACHI	2 <sup>ND</sup> READING PASSED
4 THE UNIVERSITIES (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	HALIMA ABDILLE	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
5 THE NATURAL RESOURCES (BENEFITS AND SHARING) (AMENDMENT) BILL 2014	AGNES ZANI	3 <sup>RD</sup> READING PASSED
6 THE EMPLOYMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL 2015	MARTHA WANGARI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
7 THE SELF HELP ASSOCIATIONS BILL 2015	MARTHA WANGARI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
8 THE COUNTY LIBRARY SERVICES BILL 2015	JOY GWENDO	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING
9 THE NATIONAL HOSPITAL INSURANCE FUND (AMENDMENT) BILL 2015	MARTHA WANGARI	1 <sup>ST</sup> READING

In the Senate, women sponsored 9 out of 49 Bills between March 2013 and June 2015. This represents approximately 18% of the total Bills.



## **SAMPLE OF PROMINENT TOPICS/SUBJECTS COVERED BY WOMEN PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND SENATE**

Discussed below are some of the major issues and topics where WP contributed significantly.

### **1. SECURITY**

The deteriorating state of security in our country is an issue that WP have highlighted and discussed extensively. They have repeatedly called for reforms in the security area and demanded that the government address the issue of insecurity in the country. The case of our permeable borders was one of the ways in which this concern was articulated, as women called for better reinforcement of vulnerable entry points in the country. The women leaders also called for the improvement of the capacity of security agents asking the government to better equip them so as to enable them deal with and neutralize terror attacks. The welfare of police officers has also been brought up with calls for better salaries and improved livelihoods to boost morale and performance of the officers. WP also highlighted the need to train and regulate private security officers who act as a buttress to the currently understaffed national security service. WP representing ASAL areas, specifically Northern Kenyan region were the most vocal about security criticizing government for the chronic insecurity that plagues these areas and the effect this has on the livelihoods of residents especially girls and women. They further called for better security representation through deployment of more Kenya Police Reservists to support the overworked police officers presently in hotspot areas.

### **2. WATER**

The Water Bill has seen numerous contributions from WP especially those representing the rural and arid areas continuously highlighting the impact of constant water shortage and drought on the lives of women who are forced to spend majority of their lifetimes trekking in search of water. They have called on the government to address this issue by setting up of multiple water harvesting dams in the country to store rain water for future use as opposed to the current situation where flood waters go to waste. They emphasized on the importance of educating people on best methods and practices to save water at a local level to mitigate the effects of drought. They also pointed out the need to ensure equitable water distribution in the country with most agreeing that water distribution should remain a function of the National government. The Water Bill 2014 was sponsored by Amina Abdalla.



### **3. HEALTH RELATED CONCERNS**

When it comes to matters health, WP covered diverse areas. The devolution of health services and the challenges it presents at the county levels has been subjected to a lot of debate. On the elimination of maternity fees, WP urged the government to fully equip maternity wards in the counties, to set up more hospitals in order to prevent cases of women walking for kilometers to give birth, to establish ambulance services for the transportation of women to hospital and to staff hospitals with more medical practitioners. Training and placement of more nurses and clinical officers in most parts of the county was also proposed. Another area where they contributed was the establishment of Cancer and Renal wards in all the counties. Those representing the rural areas were keen to point out how much resources their constituents use to travel to big towns to seek these services which were already stretched. The In-Vitro Fertilization Bill though not under the Health Bill per se, was also mentioned extensively with many of the WP calling for regulation of the practice. The NHIF Bill amendment proposal was also an area that was mentioned severally as well as the Insurance Bill. The Reproductive Health Bill also saw numerous contributions.

### **4. MARRIAGE BILL/PROTECTION AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE/CHILDREN'S BILL/MATRIMONIAL PROPERTY BILL/MOTIONS ON GENDER BASED VIOLENCE**

Family Bills are another area where women contributed significantly. Rising cases of violence against women and children and cases of sexual assault against both were discussed and tabled by WP. Various Bills and Motions on the same were moved and supported by the women calling on government to do more in terms of enhancing security for women nationally. The Protection against Domestic Violence Bill also received massive support from the women members who called for improved avenues of legal redress for victims of domestic violence. On the Victim Protection Bill, they highlighted the need to set up centre where such victims could be sheltered. They called for training of police officers to better prepare them to handle cases of rape and violence perpetrated on women. WP were also vocal on the urgency of capping Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and other harmful cultural practices forced on women. They also tabled motions seeking the establishment on boarding schools for girls in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) in order to keep girls in school and away from such harmful practices. There was general support on the Marriage Bill with many WP parliamentarians appreciating the fact that the issue of polygamy was now properly recognized in the law with proper avenues to be followed. On the Matrimonial property Bill, there was general support as most WP stated that now women would also be recognized for their contribution in a marriage and would be able to be get equal share of marital property. The Children's Bill was also discussed extensively.

## 5. EDUCATION

When it comes to the issue of education there were numerous calls to abolish examination fees at the KCPE and KCSE levels to enable needy students to sit for the exams. Women representatives pointed out that the fees were standing in the way of students furthering their education. There was also support for the establishment of a database for needy students and the call for increased funding in terms of bursaries. WP also called for the strengthening of technical colleges in the counties to cater for the many form four leavers who were unable to join National Universities. They emphasized on the need to train youth to be able to venture into self-employment especially in the *juakali* sector and the setting up of a database to capture information about all the youth for purposes of tracking unemployment. A proposal to set up universities in all counties and to provide a graduate fund was also put forward. Another area that received great attention was the provision of sanitary towels to school girls. They called on the government to improve this program to enable girls to stay in school. They asked for transparency in the distribution of sanitary towels. Representatives from Northern Kenya also raised the issue of shortage of teachers to regions following security concerns and the need to set up boarding schools for girls to enable them stay in school. Payment of teachers dues was raised severally too. Nomination and vetting of various people to serve in the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) is also an area women contributed towards.

## 6. AGRICULTURE/FISHING/LIVESTOCK

The need to boost Agricultural production for food security and commercial purposes was a key area WP addressed. The need to have water for farming was emphasized. The setting up of a local fertilizer factory and board to oversee these functions was also brought up as a means to reduce farmer's costs from fertilizer imports. Creating markets and support from government in selling produce was also encouraged. WP representing regions with fishing bodies also emphasized the need for the formulation of a fishing management board to oversee all fishing activities including equipment of fishermen, setting up of freezers and access to markets. When it comes to Livestock, WP representing pastoral regions and areas where people rely on livestock supported the setting up of a Livestock Insurance plan. This is to ensure that farmers do not go back to zero when they lose their animals to severe drought and disease. The Food Security Bill was sponsored by Beatrice Elachi to mitigate the effects of famine in Kenya



## **7. DISABILITY**

WP both in the Senate and National assembly contributed on the issue of improving the lives of people living with disabilities. Challenges faced by people living with disabilities in accessing quality education, healthcare and access to information are some of the many issues raised during these contributions. The nominated senator (Godliver Nanjira) who represents persons with disabilities was also very vocal in championing the rights of these special groups.

## **8. THE PUBLIC PROCUREMENT AND ASSET DISPOSAL BILL/UWEZO FUND**

This follows the Bill's provision for 30% of government tenders being awarded to women and youth. The WP supported this Bill and called for clear policies on how this was going to be attained. They also asked for training and capacity building for women and youth in the grassroots levels in order for them to better understand the processes involved and to qualify in the big tenders as well. WP demanded that proper mechanisms be put in place so that funds set out for special groups could be invested successfully. They also successfully demanded to be allowed to manage the Uwezo Fund.

## **9. NOMINATIONS AND VETTING**

WP were active in the vetting and nomination of members to various committees and commissions. Examples include the appointment of Gen. Tumbo as Kenya's ambassador to Somalia, the nomination of Judicial Service Commissioners, the nominations of commissioners to the Teachers Service Commission, appointment of cabinet secretaries and the nomination of independent members to some house committees.

## **10. REVENUE BILL/PUBLIC AUDIT/FINANCE BILL/VAT BILL**

There were many varied contributions on monetary related Bills and motions discussed in both houses. One of the things WP called for was a crackdown on corruption and reduction on wastage on funds. The WCR also asked to be given funds of their own to run projects in their counties.

## SPECIAL MENTION

It is important to highlight that WP championed a number of crucial Bills and motions which affect many Kenyans at a national level and some that have a more significant impact on women. Without the WP, most of these issues would not have been highlighted. They include:

- **The Food Security Bill 2014** sponsored by Beatrice Elachi. 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
- **The Water Bill** by Amina Abdalla was another important Bill sponsored by WP. 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 WP called for the setting up of multiple water harvesting dams in all counties to address the issue of drought during dry seasons.
- **In the Mining Bill**, Joyce Lay highlighted the issue of welfare of mine workers especially women, calling for improved working conditions. Agnes Zani supported the Natural Resources (Benefits and Sharing) Amendment Bill that regulated how mining/exploration benefits would be shared. Other WP also contributed to the two Bills.
- Another area that received attention from women was **Older Person Cash Transfer System**. Women are forced to take care of the old and aged in society which is a huge financial burden. Having WP call for creating 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
- **Devolution on Marriage Services**. This is another area that women championed calling 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

## REPRESENTATION OF ISSUES BY REGION

This section briefly looks at issues represented in each region. There are 6 regions in total; Coastal Region, South Eastern Region, Mt. Kenya Region, Northern Region, North Rift Valley Region and Western Region. The regions were clustered according to their Agroclimatic zones and their Socio-Economic power to be able to identify common challenges across the divide.

MAP OF KENYAN COUNTIES





## A) AGROCLIMATIC ZONES

Agroclimatic zones refer to a combination of the climatic conditions of each region and Kenya's rural and agriculture-based economy. The Socio Economic Atlas of Kenya divides Kenya into 7 Agroclimatic Zones with regional climate determining the scope of agriculture that can be undertaken. They are;

- a) Zone I : Humid
- b) Zone II: Sub Humid
- c) Zone III: Semi-humid
- d) Zone IV: Semi humid/Semi Arid
- e) Zone V: Semi Arid
- f) Zone VI: Arid
- g) Zone VII: Very Arid

This report fits the 47 counties and their respective constituencies into 6 of these zones as some areas have climates ranging from Semi Arid to very Arid while others fall between humid and semi-humid. It's important to note that no region is entirely composed of one type of climatic zone. The report considers the dominant climate of each zone in the groupings. The regions are as follows:

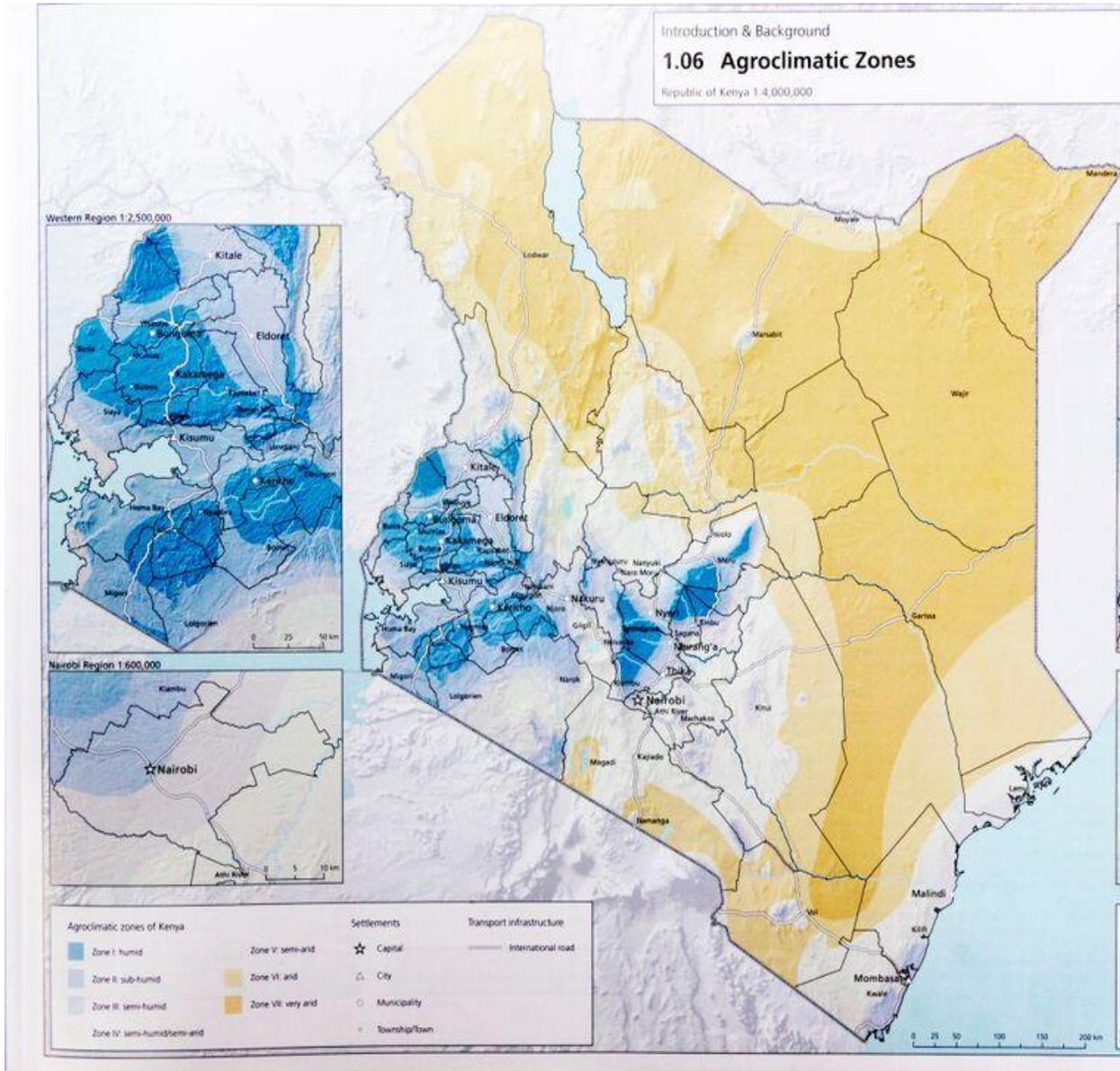
**A) Agriculturally High Potential Area** which are suitable for any kind of farming during both seasons They include: i) Mt. Kenya Region ii) Western Region iii) North Rift Region and iv) most parts of the Western Region.

**B) Agricultural Medium Potential Areas** (high potential and low potential) which mark a transitional area between the semi humid to semi arid. They include i) Eastern Region and Coastal Region

**C) Agriculturally Low Potential Areas** which are the semi arid to very arid areas where The Northern Region lies.

==

**Agroclimatic Zones Kenya 1**





## **B) THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POWER**

This bit focuses mainly on poverty incidence/rate levels in each of the counties. Poverty incidence is determined by indicating the number of poor people in an area as a percentage of the total population found there. The climatic conditions of a county will determine its agricultural capabilities. Counties with high potential agricultural areas have better economies than counties in the arid areas. This means that the former areas will have a lower poverty rate than latter.

Low poverty areas can be found around the central high –potential areas between Nairobi, Nakuru and Meru. Low poverty rates may also be found in and around the economic centers of Kenya’s coastal region, in Ukambani and in western Kenya. Medium poverty rates –ranging between 30%-70% -may be found in large parts of the highly-potential areas outside of central Kenya. Historical factors may play a role in these patterns. Overall, the visible pattern indicate that agricultural potential plays a role in poverty, but that having links and access to economic centers and non-agricultural economic sectors also contributes towards reducing poverty incidences .When moving from High potential areas to the semi arid parts of Kenya, a steep gradient becomes visible along which poverty incidences increase to 70% or more. However these high rates of poverty are not confined to pastoralist areas , as might be anticipated, but also occur in agro pastoral and smallholder areas of the semi-arid lands that link Kenya’s high-potential and low-potential areas. Poverty is especially high in certain parts of these transition areas where mixed land use systems are common e.g. in the hinterland, along the Tana River, in parts of Makueni and Mwingi and in north western Kenya. (Wiesmann, Kiteme, Mwangi,2014)

Once again, no region falls solely into one economic zone but the regions can be subdivided as follows:

### **A) High Poverty Rate areas:**

- i) Northern Region (60% >90%)
- ii) Coastal Region (40%-90%)

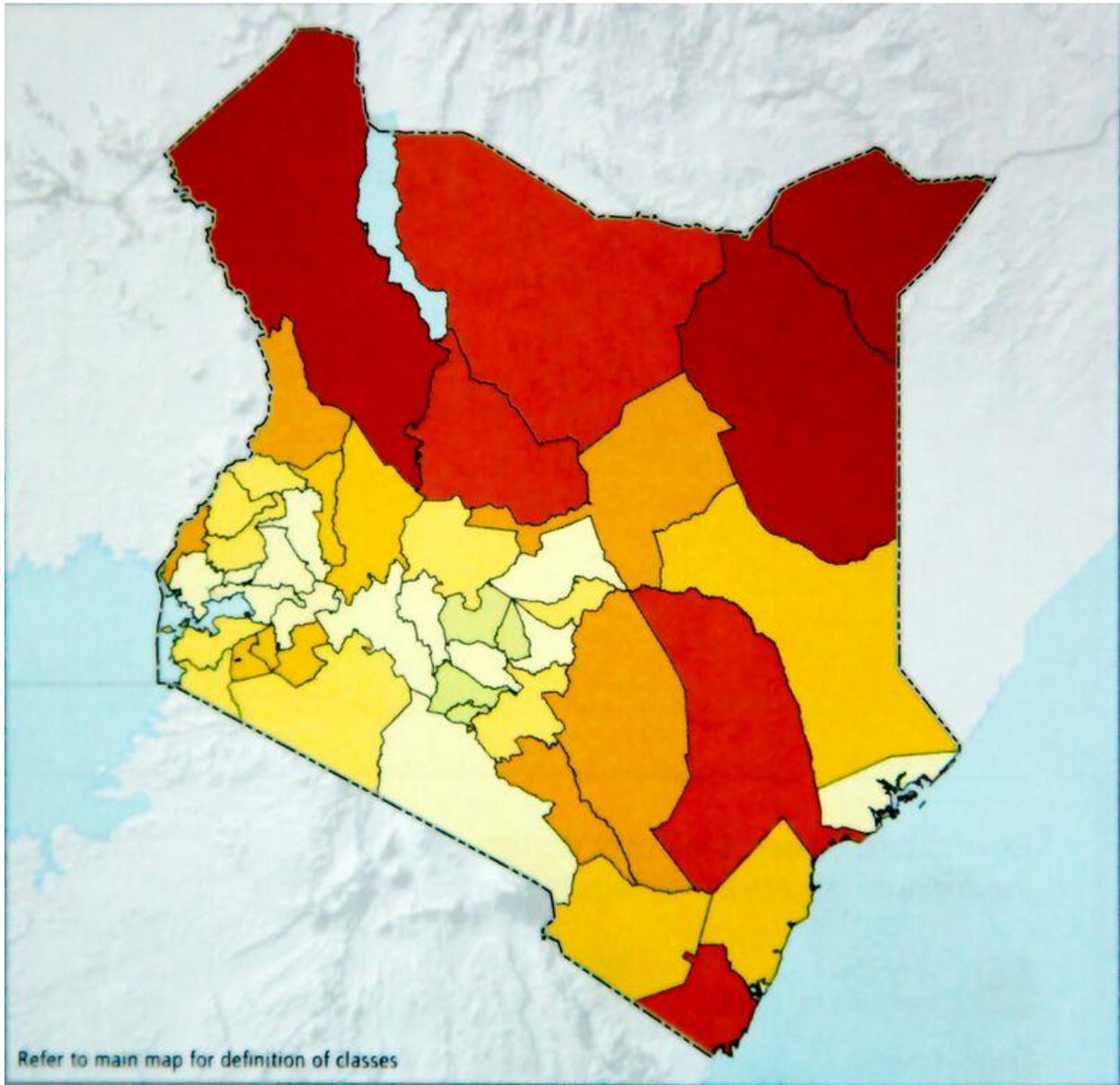
### **B) Medium Poverty Rate Areas:**

- i) Eastern Region (30%-70%)
- ii) North Rift Region (30%-60%)
- iii) Western Region (30%-60%)

### **C) Low Poverty Rate Areas:**

- i) Mt. Kenya Region (10%-50%)

The Socio-Economic Map of Kenya



Counties and constituencies under each of these regions will be discussed in detail below.



## 1. COASTAL COUNTIES

Table 5

	REPRESENTATIVE	COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY	POSITION
1	AISHA KATANA	KILIFI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
2	ZAINAB CHIDZUGA	KWALE COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
3	SHAKILA MOHAMMED	LAMU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
4	MISHI JUMA	MOMBASA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
5	HALIMA DURI	TANA RIVER COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE

This region is represented 5 women representatives. Some of the issues WP in this group focused on include Land, Water harvesting and prevention of flooding, Wildlife-Human contact and compensations, translation of laws into Kiswahili, Insecurity in the region, mining related issues , setting up of boarding schools for girls in the region and healthcare .

In this region those that stood out were **Zainab Chidzuga** who was vocal on the Standard Gauge Railway and land issues, **Mishi Juma** and **Halima Duri** for their contributions on Security and extra-judicial killings.

## 2. SOUTH EASTERN COUNTIES

Table 6

	REPRESENTATIVE	COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY	POSITION
1	NYIVA MWENDWA	KITUI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
2	MARY SENETA	KAJIADO COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
3	SUSAN MUSYOKA	MACHAKOS COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
4	ROSE MUSEO	MAKUENI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
5	ROSELINDA SOIPAN	NAROK COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
6	JOYCE LAY	TAITA TAVETA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
7	PERIS TOBIKO	KAJIADO EAST CONSTITUENCT	MP
8	JESSICA MBALU	KIBWEZI EAST CONSTITUENCY	MP
9	REGINA NTHAMBI	KILOME CONSTITUENCY	MP
10	RACHAEL NYAMAI	KITUI SOUTH CONSTITUENCY	MP
11	NAOMI SHABAAN	TAVETA	MP

This region is represented by 6 women representatives and 5 elected women MPs. The nature of contributions from these regions were wide but some of the common issues raised include Water, Land, health devolution, gender based violence, marriage and matrimonial property , mining, education related issues , wildlife human conflict and conservation, procurement issues and security. In this region, **Rachael Nyamai** who has sponsored 4 Bills on health related issues and **Dr. Susan Musyoka** stand out for their contributions on matters relating to health. **Joyce Lay** stood out especially on contributions towards the issue of mining and the welfare of miners. She also moved a motion for translation of Kenyan laws into Kiswahili considering the vast usage of the language in the coastal region and contributed on the In-Vitro fertilization Bill. **Jessica Mbalu** (who also temporarily sits as deputy speaker) also made immense contributions on a number of motions and Bills.

### 3. Mt. KENYA REGION COUNTIES

Table 7

	<b>REPRESENTATIVE</b>	<b>COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>
<b>1</b>	ANNAH GATHECA	KIAMBU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>2</b>	WINNIE NJUGUNA	KIRINYAGA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>3</b>	SABINA CHEGE	MURANG'A COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>4</b>	WANJIKU MUHIA	NYANDARUA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>5</b>	PRISCILLA NYOKABI	NYERI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>6</b>	RACHAEL SHEBESH	NAIROBI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>7</b>	JANE MACHIRA	LAIKIPIA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>8</b>	FLORENCE KAJUJU	MERU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>9</b>	ROSE MITARU	EMBU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>10</b>	BEATRICE NYAGA	THARAKA NITHI	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
<b>11</b>	ALICE NG'ANG'A	THIKA TOWN	MP
<b>12</b>	ALICE WAHOME	KANDARA	MP
<b>13</b>	ESTHER GATHOGO	RUIRU	MP
<b>14</b>	ESTHER MURUGI	NYERI TOWN	MP
<b>15</b>	MARY WAMBUI	OTHAYA	MP
<b>16</b>	CECILY MBARIRE	RUNYENJES CONSTITUENCY	MP



The Mt. Kenya region is represented in the NA by 10 Women Representatives and 6 elected women MPs. The members of parliament representing this region contributed to various motions and Bills. They focused on areas such as public procurement, health, domestic violence and gender based violence, matrimonial property sharing, sanitary towel provisions, fertilizers, education, Judiciary related functions, agriculture and security. In this region, **Sabina Chege** of Murang'a chairs the education committee which has made constant, significant contributions in the NA on matters education.

**Wanjiku Muhia** sponsored the Persons with Disability (Amendment) Bill and **Priscilla Nyokabi** has contributed extensively on The Election Financing Bill as well as sponsoring The Access to Information Bill. **Florence Kajuju** stands out for her contributions towards the miraa issue as well as her vast contributions on matters of regional integration, a committee which she chairs. **Rachel Shebesh**, (who temporarily sits on the deputy speaker's chair) has been vocal articulating a number of issues facing Nairobi City county. Some of these issues include security at the airport, terror attacks, house demolitions in Langata estate, education and the need to improve schools, the Uwezo fund and the welfare of students in Nairobi. **Annah Gathecha** made insightful contributions of issues related to financial legislation. **Cecile Mbarire** also made numerous contributions to a number of topics.

#### 4. NORTHERN REGION

Table 8

	REPRESENTATIVE	COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY	POSITION
1	TIYAH GALGALO	ISIOLO COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
2	SHUKRAN GURE	GARISSA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
3	FATHIA MAHBUB	MANDERA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
4	NASRA IBREN	MARSABIT COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
5	JOYCE EMANIKOR	TURKANA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
6	FATUMA IBRAHIM	WAJIR COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
7	MAISON LESHOOMO	SAMBURU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
8	REGINA NYESIS	WEST POKOT COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE

This region is represented by 8 women representatives. One of the major issues raised by representatives from this region is Insecurity which has been a major challenge in most of these counties and the deployment of Kenya police reservists for additional security to these areas. The issue of terrorism and cattle rustling specifically in Turkana was raised repeatedly. Other issues include: lack of water, persistent famine, the state of roads, disaster preparedness, domestic violence and gender based violence meted on girls and women including FGM, teacher shortages in some of the counties and the general underdevelopment of the region. **Joyce Emanikor** of Turkana County stood out in this region for vast contributions on a number of issues including the Prohibition of Anti Personnel mines Bill, teacher shortages in Turkana, Mining, Equalization Fund, Corruption, Fishing micro finance loans and Youth employment. **Fatuma Ibrahim** of Wajir County also contributed, immensely on insecurity, domestic violence, corruption, deployment of police reservists, water challenges and issues related to education. **Maison Leshoomo** of Samburu also stands out for her passionate representation of issues facing Samburu County including cattle rustling and insecurity. **Shukran Gure** and **Tiyah Galgalo** also contributed significantly

## 5. NORTH RIFT REGION COUNTIES

Table 9

	REPRESENTATIVE	COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY	POSITION
1	GRACE KIPTUI	BARINGO COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
2	CECILIA NGETICH	BOMET COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
3	HELLEN CHEPKWONY	KERICHO COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
4	ZIPPORAH KERING	NANDI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
5	SUSAN CHEBET	MARAKWET COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
6	JANET NANGABO	TRANS NZOIA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
7	EUSILAH NGENY	UASIN GISHU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
8	GRACE KIPCHOIM	BARINGO SOUTH CONSTITUENCY	MP
9	HELLEN SAMBILI	MOGOTIO CONSTITUENCY	MP
10	JOYCE LABOSO	SOTIK CONSTITUENCY	MP

This region is represented by 7 women representatives and 3 elected women MPs. Some of the issues highlighted in this region include: Water, devolved health services (equipping of hospitals, staffing, setting up of ICU/renal centers), marriage related issues, water harvesting, drought and famine relief programs, mining, security in some areas, cattle rustling and deployment of police reservists. **Cecilia Ngetich** who sponsored the Engineering Technicians and Technologists Bill stands out in this region. **Dr, Joyce Laboso** is a key figure to note not just because of her immense contributions but also because she is the first woman deputy speaker in Kenya's parliament. Others who stand out are **Grace Kiptui, Grace Kipchoim**.

## 6. WESTERN REGION COUNTIES

Table 10

	REPRESENTATIVE	COUNTY/ CONSTITUENCY	POSITION
1	REGINALDA WANYONYI	BUNGOMA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
2	FLORENCE MUTUA	BUSIA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
3	GLADYS WANGA	HOMABAY COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
4	RACHEL AMESO	KAKAMEGA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
5	MARY KERAA	KISII COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
6	ROSE OGENDO	KISUMU COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
7	DENNITAH GHATI	MIGORI COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
8	ALICE CHAE	NYAMIRA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
9	CHRISTINE OMBAKA	SIAYA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
10	DORCAS KEDOGO	VIHIGA COUNTY	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVE
11	MILLIE ODHIAMBO	MBITA CONSTITUENCY	MP
12	MARY EMAASE	TESO SOUTH CONSTITUENCY	MP

This region is represented by 10 women representatives and 2 elected woman MP. Some of the issues raised in this region include: devolved health services, public procurement fund, marriage related issues, domestic violence and other gender based forms of violence, fishing, water, education related concerns including teachers dues and capitation in primary schools, provision of sanitary towels, uwezo fund, youth funds, public procurement, insecurity in some regions and water harvesting and the disbursement of the constituency development fund. **Millie Odhiambo** stands out in this category with various contributions. She has also sponsored two Bills: the Victim Protection Bill and the In-Vitro Fertilization Bill. Others who have contributed significantly on a varied number of topics including youth employment, disability, laptop project, the Uwezo fund and so on are: **Gladys Wanga, Rose Nyamunga , Dennitah Ghati, Christine Ombaka, Alice Chae, Mary Emaase , Florence Mutua and Rachel Amesso .**

## 7. NOMINATED MNAs

Table 11

	NAME
1	AMINA ABDALLA
2	JANET TEIYAA
3	SARA KORERE
4	SUNJEEV BIRDI
5	ZULEIKHA JUMA

Among the Nominated members of parliaments, topics of discussions were similar to those of their elected counterparts and varied in number and nature. Some of the topics they covered include: healthcare, water, security, waste management, upgrading of roads, setting up of disaster management authorities, procurement and youth funding, wildlife conservation, logging of forests, marriage related issues and many others. **Amina Abdalla** was outstanding in relation to her contributions on The Water Bill which she sponsored. Other issues she covered include; judiciary budget estimates, poaching and wildlife conservation and cabinet secretaries nominations. **Sunjeev Birdi** and **Zuleikha Juma** also made numerous contributions on a various Bills, motions and petitions.

## 8. NOMINATED SENATORS

List of Nominated Women Senators

Table 12

1	AGNES ZANI (DR.)
2	BEATRICE ELACHI
3	BETH WAMBUI MUGO
4	CATHERINE MUKITE NOBWOLA
5	CHELULE LIZA
6	DULLO FATUMA ADAM
7	ELIZABETH ONGORO MASHA
8	EMMA MBURA GERTRUDE
9	GODLIVER NANJIRA
10	HALIMA ABDILLE MOHAMUD
11	JANET ONGERA
12	JOY ADHIAMBO GWENDO
13	JUDITH ACHIENG SIJENY
14	KANAIZA DAISY NYOGEZA
15	MARTHA WANGARI
16	MSHENGGA MVITA KISASA
17	NAISULA LESUUDA
18	ZIPPORAH JEPCHIRCHIR KITTONY

Nominated women senators had great contributions both in terms of quality and quantity. The senate is composed of a relatively young women senators but who have nonetheless participated avidly. The small composition of The Senate allowed these women senators to contribute frequently on the motions and Bills. A total of 9 Bills (see table 4) were sponsored by nominated women senators. Bill sponsors include: **Agnes Zani, Beatrice Elachi, Martha Wangari, Joy Gwendu, Halima Abdille** and **Judith Sijeny**. Majority of the women senators stood out for their continued participation in house debate. Another avid contributor is **Elizabeth Ongoro**.

Beyond the said Bills, other areas where women senators contributed towards include revenue collection, oversight functions in the counties, payment of royalties by foreign investors in the counties, expanding existing infrastructure, health matter especially upgrading of hospitals in the counties, tourism, issues affecting people with disabilities, matters relates to security and terrorist acts, tourism, farming and opportunities for young people among many others.

## KEY FINDINGS

- Women representation in Parliament stands at 21%:19.4% for National Assembly and 26% in the Senate.
- Women County Representatives do not only represent women's agenda but all the challenges faced in their counties including problems that affect men. They not only represented issues in their counties and constituency, but also contributed to issues of national interest including regional integration bodies like The East African Community. 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.
- Women Parliamentarians in the 11<sup>th</sup> House worked towards ensuring the interests represented by special groups i.e. women, children and people with disabilities were well articulated and put into consideration during debates and legislation formulation.
- Women Parliamentarians whether nominated or elected have contributed in both the National Assembly and Senate. They provide just as much value as male parliamentarians.
- Women Parliamentarians 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. Some without an advanced education but with previous experience however had a good understanding of issues in their counties and constituencies.
- Women in 11<sup>th</sup> Parliament are fulfilling their mandate by sponsoring Bills, tabled motions, requesting statements and issuing petitions. One of the core mandates of Members of the National Assembly and The Senate is to enact legislation which they have been part and process of.
- For the 1<sup>st</sup> time in Kenyan history, women were elected to the positions of: deputy speaker's (Dr. Joyce Laboso ), Majority Chief whip (Beatrice Elachi) and Minority deputy Chief whip (Janet Ongera)
- Women Parliamentarians hold 17% of all chair and vice chair committee positions. This represents 17 out of the 92 chair and vice chair positions.
- Women Parliamentarians sponsored 11% of the total Bills. This represents 18 out of 159 Bills in both houses combined.
- Women Parliamentarians have the ability to support each other for influence and to create numbers for leverage on important issues.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN BY POLITICAL PARTIES

Table 13

PARTY	WCR	ELECTED MPS	NOMINATED MPS	SENATORS	TOTAL
TNA	14	7	2	4	27
ODM	15	1	1	6	23
URP	10	3	2	3	18
WDP-K	6	2		1	9
NFK	2				2
FORD-K				1	1
KANU		1		1	2
NARC		1		-	1
APK		-		1	1
UDF				1	1

- Political parties have the capacity to facilitate and support the nomination and election of more women to parliament as opposed to having special slots created for them. In the Senate for example no woman was elected. The same goes for gubernatorial positions which are not covered in this report.
- Political parties can and should empower women parliamentarians from their respective parties by offering sufficient trainings so as to enable these women to serve better in their capacities. This can be through training, workshops, sponsoring specialization through advanced education or exposure to relevant professional experiences. Such opportunities have the potential to greatly improve the performance of these women.
- Women Parliamentarians have proved that they are well qualified to assume leadership roles and participate in the making of laws. They have shown themselves to be as capable as anyone.
- Women politicians have the capacity to support each other for influence and to use their numbers for leverage on important issues. It is safe to conclude that in coming elections we should vote for more women to ensure gender balance, equal representation and implementation of gender specific legislation.



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