



THE COUNTY ASSEMBLIES FORUM

GENDER ASSESSMENT REPORT FOR TARGETED COUNTY ASSEMBLIES

2018

A Publication of County Assemblies Forum (CAF)

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ISBN 978-9966-825-64-3

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The County Assemblies Forum (CAF) is the coordinating body of the 47 County Assemblies of the Republic of Kenya. Its mandate is to support the County Assemblies as they perform their three core functions - lawmaking, oversight, and representation, by providing an avenue for coordination, capacity development and networking among the 47 Assemblies and with the executive arm, as well as with the national government. County Assemblies' constitutional mandate is to establish and sustain an enabling environment to advance development. Through its legislative and oversight functions, a democratic assembly reflects the views and interests of the society from which it is drawn and allows those perspectives to shape the society's social, political, and economic future. The County Assemblies Forum is in partnership with UN Women in the implementation of a project titled Capacity Development for Policy and Legislative Effectiveness in County Legislatures, with a particular focus on gender. This is an important collaboration that is building on the work to deepen gender mainstreaming within the devolved structures.

The aim of this Gender Rapid Assessment (GRA) was to help understand the underlying causes of gender marginalization in the legislative roles, allocation of roles in house committees and budgeting processes in County Assemblies in 12 priority Counties of UN Women namely: Vihiga, Bungoma, Kisumu, Kisii, Bomet, Elgeyo Marakwet, Meru, Kirinyaga, Nairobi, Kilifi, Tana River and Kitui) and how they can be addressed. The selection of these counties also ensures that all the county assemblies are represented through the clusters.

A mixed methodology strategy, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, was used. The gender audit targeted mainly key informants (the Clerk and Speaker of County Assemblies), while the survey targeted one staff from each department at the County Assembly. The total sample size was 92 respondents.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this gender audit show that the majority of the 12 County Assemblies under this study have attained the 33% constitutional threshold for gender representation. However, the majority of women MCAs - 70% (162 out of 233) - were nominated. On committee leadership, majority of the Assemblies did not have adequate representation of women chairpersons. For instance, in the Kilifi Assembly 14 of its 20 committees did not meet the 33% required gender representation, with only two having women chairpersons. Tana River County Assembly had 18 house committees and seven of them had less than the 33% threshold for gender representation; only one (5%) committee had a woman chairperson. Meru County Assembly had 17 house committees and seven of them did not meet the 33% gender representation threshold; only one (6%) had a woman chairperson.

Kirinyaga County Assembly had 23 house committees and four of them did not meet the 33% gender representation threshold. Kirinyaga did not have any female chairperson for any of the Assembly committees. Kitui County Assembly had 16 committees, out of which five did not have the 33% required threshold for gender representation. Only two (12%) had a woman chairperson. Elgeyo Marakwet County

Assembly was composed of 18 committees, with only one committee achieving the 33% representation threshold. Bomet County Assembly had 19 committees and 13 (68%) of them did not meet the gender representation threshold. Additionally, only two committees had women chairpersons. Vihiga County Assembly had 22 house committees and only eight of them had attained the 33% gender representation threshold. Only five of Vihiga's committees had women chairpersons, representing 22% of a leadership role.

Bungoma County Assembly had 24 committees and 15 of them achieved 33% gender representation, with seven (30%) women chairpersons. Kisumu County Assembly had 48 members and 27 house committees. Fifteen committees did not attain the 33% gender representation requirement. Kisumu had eight (30%) women committee chairpersons and Kisii County Assembly had 20 committees, out of which 14 (70%) did not meet the required 33% gender representation. Only one (5%) of the committees had a woman chairperson.

This study established that majority of County Assemblies did not demonstrate leadership commitment on gender-related issues, gender equality, gender sensitivity policies, and the code of conduct that is supposed to guide them on gender-related issues and challenges.

Conclusion

The 12 County Assemblies assessed for this study did not have adequate representation of women in their house committees. First, male assembly members dominated almost all the committees. Women were inadequately represented in influential Assembly committees critical to house business, rules and procedures, and budgetary appropriations. Notably, none of the County Assemblies had gender mainstreaming frameworks for infrastructure, gender-responsive budgeting, and gender-responsive committees, so none had sponsored and passed any gender-sensitive bills and motions. Mechanisms for actively promoting gender equality were nascent or missing altogether. Therefore, systematic exclusion of women Members of County Assemblies from influential decision-making processes, both directly and indirectly, was prevalent.

Secondly, cultural and traditional gendered roles in different County Assembly committees will continue to hinder gender inclusivity and equality in political and legislative processes at the County level. If dominant patriarchal societies are not sensitized and re-educated on the importance of women's participation in political and legislative processes, development and Sustainable Development Goals towards 2030 will not be achieved.

Recommendations

Based on the study findings, there is a need for all Counties to conduct Assembly committee membership allocation after nominations have been conducted. This will correct the current situation, where nominated women MCAs get to the Assembly only to find that majority of positions in committees have been allocated and leadership positions distributed.

There is a need to establish gender equality committees to enhance gender lens in everyday County Assembly practices (e.g. debates, questions, committee work). This will ensure that gender equality is at the forefront of County representation.

Majority of the County Assemblies did not have sex-disaggregated data to inform legislation, County policy, and development. There is a need to strengthen data collection and monitoring processes for purposes of policy formulation and legislation.

There is equally a need for institutionalization of gender-sensitive budgeting as a way of addressing gender-related issues in participation and development.

Fundamentally, the study established that previous legislative process training models for women MCAs seem not to have been effective. There is a need for CAF to collaborate with non-state actors to redesign the training as it has not yielded tangible results in the form of bills and motions sponsored by women MCAs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This gender audit report is the fruit of consultative and participatory efforts within the County Assemblies Forum, Speakers, Clerks and staff from 12 targeted County Assemblies. We would like to give special thanks and appreciation to those who made this gender audit successful. Appreciation goes to the Speakers and Clerks of Nairobi, Meru, Kirinyaga, Kitui, Elgeyo Marakwet, Bungoma, Tana River, Kilifi, Kisii, Kisumu, Vihiga and Bomet counties for allowing CAF to conduct the audit in their County Assemblies. Special thanks goes to UN Women for the generous support in funding the County Assemblies Gender Audit. Finally, we would like to thank the team of consultants and research associates that made this particular exercise and production of this report a success.



Ms. Judy Oduma

Chief Executive Officer

County Assemblies Forum

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHADI	Agile and Harmonized Assistance for Devolved Institutions
CA	County Assembly
CAF	County Assemblies Forum
CASB	County Assemblies Service Board
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
GRA	Gender Rapid Assessment
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KII	Key Informant Interview
MCA	Member of County Assembly
ODK	Open Digital Kit
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
WMCA	Woman Member of County Assemblies
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The County Assemblies Forum (CAF) is the coordinating body of the 47 County Assemblies of the Republic of Kenya, whose mandate is to support the County Assemblies in performing their three core functions - lawmaking, oversight, and representation, by providing an avenue for coordination, capacity development, and networking among the 47 Assemblies and with the executive arm, as well as with the national government. The County Assemblies' constitutional mandate is to establish and sustain an enabling environment to advance development. Through its legislative and oversight functions, a democratic assembly reflects the views and interests of the society from which it is drawn and allows those perspectives to shape the society's social, political, and economic future.

To achieve this, the County Assembly members' capacity to influence the legislative agenda from a gender perspective is paramount. This requires a robust capacity development framework that will entail establishing a robust technical team, developing gender mainstreaming tools, sensitizing members by equipping them with gender-related knowledge and practice in governance and policymaking, and developing a comprehensive mentorship program for women legislators. The County Assemblies Forum is in partnership with UN Women in the implementation of a project titled Capacity Development for Policy and Legislative Effectiveness in County Legislatures, with particular focus on gender. This is an important collaboration that is building on the work to deepen gender mainstreaming in the devolved structures.

1.2 Scope of Work

The aim of this Gender Rapid Assessment (GRA) was to help understand the underlying causes of gender marginalization in legislative roles, allocation of roles in house committees and budgeting processes in County Assemblies in 12 priority counties of UN Women namely: Vihiga, Bungoma, Kisumu, Kisii, Bomet, Elgeyo Marakwet, Meru, Kirinyaga, Nairobi, Kilifi, Tana River and Kitui, and how they can be addressed. The audit represents the first step in developing a strategy on gender mainstreaming and provides valuable information for County Assemblies to entrench gender equality and women's empowerment. Improved gender awareness will play a critical role in the improvement of gender-based policies, legislation, and participation in County Assemblies.

1.3 The Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the gender audit were to;

- i. explore the current status of the gender representation in the house committees of various County Assemblies.
- ii. identify urgent problems, gaps and barriers facing women legislators in the undertaking of their roles in the County Assemblies.

- iii. assess the extent to which bills and motions in the various County Assemblies are genders-sensitive.
- iv. analyze and document factors constraining (and/or facilitating) the delivery of the gender functions in County Assemblies with the aim of making recommendations on policy, budgeting, and programming.
- v. recommend practical means to increase gender equality and women's empowerment with a focus on the current and future plans and activities so that they more effectively address disadvantaged women's strategic and practical needs and priorities.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

African parliamentary politics, whether at national or sub-national level, has continually had a masculine identity (InterAction, 2015). The way we think what it is to be a member of the County Assembly, and how a house member should act and relate to others is often gendered. Women Members of County Assemblies and parliamentarians operate within the confines of a gendered institution, often where their work and mode of operation is not valued in the same way as their male counterparts. This is because, in most instances, women often do not start from the same position of power and legitimacy as their male counterparts. Therefore, parliaments and County Assemblies largely need to be understood as institutions saturated with gendered norms that have conferred power and legitimacy upon men and masculinist practices (IPU, 2011). A corollary argument is that if gender equality outcomes are to be achieved through a County Assembly, then this institution requires fundamental transformation. This means transforming masculine dominance of Assemblies to more gender-sensitive institutions that respond to the needs and interests of both men and women in its composition, structures, operations, methods, and work. Gender-sensitive parliaments remove the barriers to women's full participation and offer a positive role model to society (IPU, 2011). They ensure that their operations and resources are used effectively toward promoting gender equality.

A gender audit in a County Assembly or parliament is a process of examining how gender roles and functions have been distributed throughout the Assembly or parliament (InterAction, 2015). The gender audit process uses a framework and theory of change called the Gender Integration Framework (GIF), which suggests that transformation can only occur when four organizational dimensions are ready for gender integration. These four elements are political will, technical capacity, accountability, and organizational culture (InterAction, 2015). Political will constitutes the roots of the tree and is essential to promote and make organizational change possible. In a gender audit, political will provides ways in which leaders use their position of power to communicate and demonstrate their support, leadership, enthusiasm for and commitment to working toward gender equality in the organization.

On the other hand, examining technical capacity under gender audit enables organizations to measure the level of ability, qualifications, and skills individuals in an organization need to carry out the practical aspects of gender integration for enhanced program quality (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2008). To effectively carry out a gender audit, one must examine the level of institutionalization of gender policies, equity in employment, access to resources, and decision-making opportunities (InterAction, 2015; IPU, 2008).

Another major component in examining gender audit for parliaments and County Assemblies is structures of accountability. Accountability is the mechanism by which

an organization determines the extent to which it is ‘walking the talk’ regarding integrating gender equality in its programs and organizational structures (Yoon, 2011). Additionally, organizational culture, which is made up of norms, customs, beliefs and codes of behavior in an organization that supports or undermines gender equality, makes it possible to measure and rate how people relate, what are seen as acceptable ideas, how people are ‘expected to behave’ and what behaviors are rewarded (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2011)

Most studies of female legislative representation have examined obstacles to women’s entry into parliament based on industrialized democracies. Their discussions have centered on inegalitarian culture, household responsibilities, unfavorable electoral systems, and lack of commitment of political parties to nominate women. These variables are interconnected, although the significance of each variable may differ across countries. Culture shapes social attitudes toward gender roles (Yoon, 2004). Social attitudes towards gender roles, in turn, influence not only women’s decision to run for elective office, but also the electorate’s voting decisions (Kunovich & Paxton, 2005). Inegalitarian culture emphasizes traditional attitudes towards women’s roles; that women belong to the private rather than the public. These attitudes slow down the political advancement of women by discouraging them from running because they may perceive themselves as unfit for politics.

Political parties are gatekeepers to parliament and County Assemblies, and they can foster or hinder women’s entry into parliament. According to Boateng and Kosi (2015), party nomination of female candidates is usually influenced by both supply-side and demand-side factors: the supply side deals with whether women come forward to pursue a parliamentary seat and the demand side deals with whether parties select women. Electoral systems, as discussed above, significantly influence the demand side. Even though public relations systems are more ‘women-friendly’, women are less likely to be nominated than men across electoral systems. According to Lovenduski (1993) and Antrosio (2015), there are three incremental party strategies for increasing women’s legislative representation: rhetorical strategies, positive action, and positive discrimination. Rhetorical strategies involve public statements by party leaders that more women should be represented in politics. Positive action involves programs to encourage women to stand for elective office and training for female aspirants. When positive action fails to bring sufficient change, demands for positive discrimination, which allocates a certain percentage of candidate slots for women, are made. The Scandinavian countries and some countries in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America have adopted positive discrimination to increase the number of female candidates as a result of such demands. However, parties in most countries have not gone this far to increase women’s presence in parliament.

Women’s representation in sub-national /County Governments can make a difference, not only in development but also in women’s empowerment across different communities. When women are involved and represented in local government decision-making processes, communities benefit, women issues are adequately addressed, and development initiatives become gender-sensitive as compared to instances where men are the dominant decision-makers in governance processes. For instance, research on *panchayats* (local councils) in India found that

the number of drinking water projects in areas with women-led councils was 62 per cent higher than in those with men-led councils. In Norway, a direct causal relationship between the presence of women in municipal councils and childcare coverage was found (Chattopadhyay & Duflo, 2004). As of June 2017, only two countries had achieved 50 per cent or more women in parliament in single or lower houses: Rwanda with 61.3 per cent and Bolivia with 53.1 per cent. However, many countries have reached 30 per cent or more. As of June 2017, 46 single or lower houses were composed of 30 per cent or more women, including 19 countries in Europe, 13 in sub-Saharan Africa, 11 in Latin America. They had applied some form of quotas - either legislative candidate quotas or reserved seats, thus opening space for women's political participation in national and local Assemblies (UN Women, 2017). Gender balance in political participation and decision-making is the internationally agreed target set in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action¹.

According to a study by the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI, 2018) dubbed 'A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya General Elections, the poll represented a step forward for women's representation in Kenya's electoral processes, although in an incremental manner. Compared to the 2013 general election, more women won seats both at the national and local levels of government in 2017, except for the presidential race, which remained exclusively male. Notably, for the first time, women contestants became governors (three) and senators (three) in 2017. Additionally, there was an increase in the number of women elected to the National Assembly and the Senate, and the 47 County Assemblies (23 to the National Assembly in 2017 compared to 16 in 2013, and 96 members of County Assemblies in 2017 compared to 82 in 2013). The increase in women representation is still insignificant, as it only constitutes 9.2% of the 1, 835 elected individuals in 2017 elections.

According to UN Women (2017), Kenya has a legal framework that lays an adequate foundation for gender equality in political representation. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) makes provision that no elective body (both at the National and County levels) should have more than two-thirds of members of the same gender. Unfortunately, this legal framework of gender equality and representation has not been met. In as much as there have been amendments to the Elections Act (2011)² and the Political Parties Act (2010, Revised Edition)³, the improvements have not been adequate and lack meaningful enforcement mechanisms. At the County Assembly level, lack of compliance with the Political Parties Act and the Elections Act have manifested in the nomination process for candidates and representation in County Assembly committees, which is largely below the 33% constitutionally required threshold (FIDA & NDI, 2018).

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Critical Area G 'Women, Power and Decision-Making	1
Elections Act, 2011, Available at: http://kenyalaw.org/kenyalawblog/electoral-process-/in-kenya	2
Political Parties Act, 2010 Revised Edition, Available at: http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/RepealedStatutes/PoliticalPartiesActCap7A.pdf	3

Despite the progress made by the Constitution of Kenya to bring women into political participation and decision-making, weak political parties, politics of patronage, and cultural barriers still inhibit women's effective engagement at the County Assembly level (NDI, 2018). Few studies exist that examine tangible women's involvement in legislative processes in Kenya, particularly their role in Assembly debates, motions, and bills. Additionally, few studies have been conducted to explain the limited role of women MCAs in sponsoring legislative agenda.

Literature, however, does record some of the factors that inhibit women's engagement and participation in political processes, both at the national and County levels. For instance, according to Kabira and Kimani (2012), the violence that is usually associated with political engagement disproportionately disadvantages women. Rather than get subjected to political violence, majority of women will choose not to vie for political positions or disengage altogether. On the other hand, Odhiambo (2016) has argued that one of the glaring impediments to women's participation in legislation, political debates and processes is the way political party units are organized. First, women are hardly elected to lead parties or committees, which makes it difficult for them to push women's legislative agenda. In most instances, political party leadership and County Assembly committees are usually citadels of male privilege and power.

The NDI (2018) gender audit report equally noted that majority of women elected in 2013 and 2017 were venturing into politics and legislative processes for the first time. No doubt navigating political spaces dominated by male colleagues was bound to be a challenge without significant capacity enhancement and training. A review of this literature suggests that though a heightened political profile for women increases high-level political discussions focused on socio-economic development objectives, the impact of their inclusion on development outcomes is mixed at best, and inconclusive for the County Assemblies (Boateng & Kosi, 2015). Additionally, Aoláin, Haynes and Cahn (2011) argue that political factors such as corruption, women's discrimination in key decision-making processes, absence of family-friendly parliamentary and County Assembly schedules, and the perpetual dominance of male political patronage networks inhibit women's effective participation in legislative processes. To this, Htun and Piscopo (2010) have posited that women in elective or political positions soon find their voices and opinions marginalized or drowned by male counterparts because of the patriarchal political systems. Additionally, political party elites, that are mostly male, perpetuate women's discrimination and participation in legislation and political decision-making by the weak roles (soft portfolios - health, tourism, housing, education, culture, youth) they assign them, as opposed to hard portfolios (finance, trade, foreign policy, budget, and oversight) assigned to male legislators. This kind of gendered assignments reinforce cultural perceptions and expectations on women's roles and capabilities (Boateng & Kosi, 2015).

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was adopted to conduct the gender audit. The Assembly evaluation design is presented first, followed by the methodology approaches, sampling strategy, data collection methods, data analysis, and presentation.

3.2 Evaluation Design

A mixed methodology strategy, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques was used. Numerical data findings were triangulated with quantitative findings from key informants to make meaning of the findings.

3.2.1 Quantitative Approach

Quantitative data was used to capture the following: Number of gender representation in the Assemblies; gender representation in County Assembly committees, the number of women members of County Assemblies represented in influential committees, and the number of gender-responsive bills, motions, and policies sponsored and passed by both male and female MCAs in the selected 12 counties.

3.2.2 Qualitative Approach

Qualitative data was collected using key informant interviews. Qualitative data focused on the challenges, gaps, and factors that inhibit the effective participation of women members of County Assemblies in legislative processes in the undertaking of their roles. The qualitative approach also examined factors constraining (and facilitating) the delivery of the gender functions in County Assemblies.

3.3 Sampling Technique

The purposive sampling technique was used for this study. The choice of the technique was informed by the need to engage only staff that are informed on the gender representation dynamics at the County Assemblies, and also those that were available to take part in the study. The gender audit targeted mainly key informants (the Clerk and Speaker of the Assembly), while the survey targeted one staff from each department at the County Assembly. The total sample size was 101 respondents, as highlighted in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Sample Size Distribution

Counties	(KII (Key Staff	Staff Gender Survey
Bomet	1	5
Bungoma	3	7
Elgeyo Marakwet	4	5
Kilifi	4	5
Kirinyaga	1	8
Kisii	1	5
Kisumu	1	4
Kitui	1	5
Meru	1	14
Nairobi	1	3
Tana River	2	7
Vihiga	1	4
Total	21	80

3.4 Data Collection Method

Data was collected using a key informant interview (KII) guide targeting the Speaker and Clerk of County Assemblies and a gender audit survey tool targeting departmental heads. Qualitative data was collected using a semi-structured questionnaire, while quantitative data was collected using Open Digital Kit (ODK).

3.5 Quality Assurance

Data quality assurance was conducted using various methods. First, a literature review of documents was done before data tools were developed. This was to ensure that study questions were relevant to the gender audit and accurately depicted the situation at each of the County Assemblies. A zero draft report was sent to CAF for review and comments. The feedback received was instrumental in developing the final draft report. Additionally, feedback from individual county-specific reports during a validation workshop, including county-specific comments, were adopted for the final report. The final report was reviewed by the CAF Secretariat to ensure the findings were reliable and in line with the study objectives.

3.5.1 Training of Data Collectors

A one-day training of data collectors was conducted to ensure the information collected was conversant with the data collection tools and ODK. The training also focused on research guidelines, ethical issues, ways of asking questions, and documentation.

3.6 Gender Audit Procedure

The gender audit was grouped in three clusters. Each cluster (consisting of four County Assemblies) had a research associate, a research assistant, and a CAF staff. Letters of introduction, including the study tools, were sent to the Assemblies to enable their teams to prepare adequately for the audit. The audit was conducted between November 20, 2018, and November 30, 2018. Each cluster associate was responsible for aggregating a cluster report, from which this report was developed. In most of the County Assemblies, the Speaker and the Assembly Clerk galvanized required resources and provided the study teams with necessary support and documentation. Key informant interviews were conducted mainly on the Speaker and the Clerk, with minimal instant cases where Majority leaders, Whips, and Deputy Speaker sat in the interview. The staff survey was conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire. The survey for each county took approximately two-and-a-half hours (one hour for key informant interviews, one hour for staff survey, and about 30 minutes interacting with County Assembly women's caucus groups). In most counties, the information that was sought was not completely available on the assessment day due to government bureaucracy, where approvals to participate in the survey or to provide the required information took longer than expected. As such, information on the number of bills, motions, and contribution of women leadership in County Assemblies was gathered after the survey day.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Descriptive data was analyzed using MS Excel predefined templates then exported to SPSS Version 24 for final analysis. Qualitative data was analyzed using content analysis to establish emerging themes. The findings have been presented using tables.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 GENDER AUDIT FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The gender audit findings for the 12 County Assemblies under this study are presented in this chapter. This chapter presents the analysis of gender representation for each County Assembly; gender-responsive bills and motions sponsored by the Assemblies; and gaps, challenges, and barriers that inhibit women's effective engagement in the legislative process at the County Assemblies.

4.2 Gender Representation for Select County Assemblies

This study sought to examine the status of gender representation at County Assemblies in Kenya. The findings show that all the 12 counties selected had attained the 33% constitutional threshold for gender representation. However, most women Members of County Assemblies (70%) were nominated and only (30%) were directly elected. To achieve the required constitutional gender required threshold of 33% representation, the 12 counties had to significantly nominate women to the Assemblies. Kilifi had 20 women MCAs, 11 of them nominated; Tana River had five of its eight women MCAs nominated; Meru had 21 of its 23 women MCAs nominated; Kitui had 12 of the 16 women nominated; Bomet had nine out of the 11 women nominated; Vihiga had 12 of the 13 women nominated; Bungoma had 13 of the 23 women nominated; Kisumu had five of the 16 women nominated; Kisii had 22 of the 23 women nominated; while Nairobi had 36 of the 41 women nominated, as summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Members of County Assemblies in the 12 target County Assemblies

The Code	Select Counties	2017		2017	
		Assembly Members		Nominated MCAs	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
03	Kilifi	(71%) 36	(29%) 15	3	15
04	Tana River	(65%)15	(35%)8	0	5
12	Meru	(66%)45	(34%) 23	0	21
15	Kitui	(67%)36	(33%)18	0	12
20	Kirinyaga	(67%)22	(33%)11	0	11
28	Elgeyo Marakwet	(67%)22	(33%)11	0	8
36	Bomet	(65%)20	(35%)11	0	9
38	Vihiga	(66%)25	(34%)13	0	12
39	Bungoma	(62%)37	(38%)23	0	13
42	Kisumu	(77%)32	(33%)16	0	5
45	Kisii	(77%)46	(33%)23	0	22
47	Nairobi	(77%)82	(33%)41	0	36
Total		418	213		169

The findings of the study show an improvement in the County Assemblies' female Speaker representation from three in 2013 to five in 2017. The five women gazetted as County Assembly Speakers after the 2017 elections are

1. Hon. Florence Mwangangi (Machakos).
2. Hon. Catherine Mukenyang (West Pokot).
3. Hon. Hasna Mmbone Mudeizi (Vihiga).
4. Hon. Elizabeth Atieno Ayoo (Homa Bay).
5. Hon. Beatrice Elachi (Nairobi).

However, only Vihiga and Nairobi were examined in this study. The Nairobi County Assembly had suspended its Speaker (Hon. Beatrice Elachi) by the time this study was conducted. However, there is a stay order by the court until the case is heard and determined. The gender-disaggregated County Assembly Speakers' summary is highlighted in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Gender-disaggregated County Assembly Speakers' Summary

Category	Female Speakers	Male Speakers	Total
2013	3	44	47
2017	5	42	47

4.3 Women Representation in County Assembly House Committees

4.3.1 Kilifi County Assembly

4.3.1.1 Committee Membership

Pluralist democracy requires a balanced participation of women and men in political and public decision-making processes⁴. The assessment of Kilifi County Assembly revealed that majority of committees (14 of 20) does not meet the 33% required representation. Women are equally underrepresented in influential committees such as the Speaker's Panel, 22%; Business Committee, 23%; Selection Committee, 22%; Delegated County Legislation Committee, 11%. Committees that had significant women representation included House Procedure and Rules (50%), County PIC/PAC (33%), County Budget Committee (36%), Implementation Committee (38%), as summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Kilifi County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committee	Male	Female	Total
Committee of the Whole House	37	17	54
County Assembly Business Committee	10	3	13
Speaker's Panel	3	1	4
Selection Panel	7	2	9
House Procedures and Rules	3	3	6
Committee on Appointments	8	2	10
County PIC/PAC	6	3	9
County Budget Committee	7	4	11
Liaison Committee	17	2	19
Implementation Committee	5	3	8
Delegated County Legislation Committee	8	1	9
Health Services Committee	7	2	9
Agriculture and Environmental Management Committee	7	2	9
Water, Energy and Sanitation Committee	8	1	9
Planning, Housing and Industrialization Development Committee	7	2	9
ECD, Vocational Training and Adult Education Committee	6	3	9
Children, Gender, Culture and Community Services Committee	7	2	9
Public Works, Roads and Transport Committee	6	3	9
Labor and Social Welfare Committee	7	2	9
Justice and Legal Affairs Committee	7	3	10

4.3.1.2 Kilifi County Assembly Committee Leadership

An assessment of the Kilifi County Assembly committee leadership revealed that only two of its 20 committees are led by women (Culture, Public Entertainment, and Amenities, and Justice and Legal Affairs), while five committees have women vice-chairpersons (Implementation, Delegated Legislation, Health, Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, and ICT and Research).

4.3.1.3 Kilifi County Assembly Bills and Motions

This study sought to examine whether WMCA's actively participated in the legislative process. The study examined the number of bills sponsored and passed by women MCAs as compared to male MCAs. Kilifi County Assembly recorded 11 (7%) motions as sponsored by women compared to 153 (93%) motions sponsored by their male counterparts. Most of the motions focused on education, bursary, health, and notably, the majority of the bills passed by the Assembly did not reach the gender

sensitivity threshold. Additionally, Kilifi County lacks a legislative framework to enable women’s active participation at the Assembly level. The County also lacks a capacity building curriculum to guide structured leadership training courses for WMCA’s.

4.3.2 Tana River County Assembly

4.3.2.1 Committee Membership

The Tana River County Assembly has 18 house committees and seven of them do not have the 33% threshold for gender representation. Compared to other County Assemblies, Tana River has a better standing on gender representation in committees. However, women representation in influential committees is still low: Budget Appropriation, 28%; Powers and Privileges, 25%, and Public Accounts and Investments, 14%. Committees that had significant women representation included Lands and Physical Planning, Agriculture, Fisheries, Livestock and Veterinary Services (44%), Education, Youth, Sports, Gender and Social Services (44%), Delegated County Legislation (57%), Bursary (44%), Implementation, House Rules, and Business (35%), Welfare (57%), as summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Tana River County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committee	Male	Female	Total	
Lands Physical Planning, Agriculture, Fisheries, Livestock and Veterinary Services	5	4	44%	9
Health and Sanitation	4	3	43%	7
Trade, Cooperative Development, Tourism and Industrialization	2	5	71%	7
Education, Youth, Sports, Gender and Social Services	5	4	44%	9
Finance and Economic Planning	5	2	29%	7
Water, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources	5	2	29%	7
Public Service and Administration	7	2	22%	9
Roads and Public Works	6	1	14%	7
Budget Appropriations	11	2	18%	13
Powers and Privileges	6	2	25%	8
Appointments	6	1	14%	7
Delegated County Legislation	3	4	57%	7
Car Loan and Mortgages	4	3	43%	7
Bursary	5	4	44%	9
Public Accounts and Investments	6	1	14%	7
Implementation, House Rules, and Business	11	6	35%	17
Selection	4	3	43%	7
Liaison	13	2	13%	15
Welfare	3	4	57%	7

4.3.2.2 Tana River County Assembly Committee Leadership

An assessment of the Tana River County Assembly committee leadership revealed that only one (5%) of the 18 committees has a woman chairperson (the Welfare Committee), while three women MCAs are vice-chairpersons of Roads and Public Works, Public Accounts and Investments, and Implementation and House Business committees.

4.3.2.3 Tana River County Assembly Bills and Motions

This study sought to examine whether WMCA's actively participated in the legislative process in Tana River County Assembly. Therefore, the number of bills sponsored and passed by women MCAs as compared to male MCAs were examined. The findings show that WMCA's had not sponsored any bill to the Assembly. However, they had participated in drafting 20 motions sponsored by women compared to 70 motions sponsored by their male counterparts over the same period. Additionally, WMCA's had not drafted any policy brief to the House Assembly leadership or the County Government over the same period. This study also established that the Tana River County Assembly had not developed any policies to promote and enhance women's political participation in leadership, nor were any deliberately gender sensitive bills sponsored and passed in the house. Other emerging factors include

- The County lacks a gender-inclusive legislative framework that would enable women to actively participate in leadership.
- Significant training has been offered to WMCA's. However, there is no curriculum that guides content and structure. The training providers determine the training structure.
- The impact of the WMCA's' training is not quite tangible based on the fact that they have sponsored no bill.

4.3.3 Meru County Assembly

4.3.3.1 Committee Membership

The Meru County Assembly has 17 house committees. The findings show that seven of the committees do not meet the 33% gender representation threshold. Additionally, influential committees have the least female representation: Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, 22%; and Public Accounts and Investments committee, 27%. Committees with significant women representation include Committee on Land, Economics, and Physical Planning, 37%; Committee on Education, Technology and Vocational Training, 42%; County Committee on Assembly Procedures and Rules, 45%; Committee on Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries, 39%, as summarized in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Meru County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committee - Meru County	Male	Female	Total
Committee on Water, Environment and Natural Resources	14	5 26%	19
Committee on Labor, Public Service, and Social Welfare	12	7 37%	19
Committee on Land, Economics, and Physical Planning	12	7 37%	19
Committee on Transport and Public Works	14	7 33%	21
Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs	14	4 22%	18
Committee on County Health Services	13	6 32%	19
Committee on Education, Technology and Vocational Training	11	8 42%	19
Trade Tourism Opportunities and Enterprise Development	14	7 33%	21
County Cohesion and Devolved Unit	11	4 27%	15
County Assembly Procedures and Rules	6	5 45%	11
Committee on Implementation	16	7 30%	23
Public Accounts and Investment Committee	8	3 27%	11
County Finance, Budget and Appropriations	7	4 36%	11
Committee on Delegated Legislation	14	7 33%	21
Committee on Powers and Privileges	8	3 27%	11
Committee on Culture, Youth, Gender, Sports, Children and Community Service	13	6 32%	19
Committee on Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries	11	7 39%	18

4.3.3.2 Meru County Assembly Committee Leadership

An assessment of the Meru County Assembly committee leadership reveals that only one (6%) of the 17 committees has a woman chairperson (Sectoral Committee on Cohesion). This means that the majority of decisions at the County Assembly are made by men, with minimal input from women MCAs. The gross under-representation seems to result from certain factors:

- Only two of the 11 women MCAs were elected. This was due to contested party nominations, whose rules and leadership favored male candidates. As such, male MCAs felt that they were the majority and did not have to cede leadership to members who were not elected, but nominated to the house.
- Female MCAs are reluctant to challenge their male counterparts for committee leadership.

4.3.3.3 Meru County Assembly Bills and Motions

This study sought to examine whether WMCAs actively participated in the legislative process in the Meru County Assembly. The study shows that all the 13 bills that were passed in the house were sponsored by the County Executive and not the Assembly. Only eight (12%) of the 65 motions brought to the County Assembly were sponsored by women and focused exclusively on health issues and services. Additionally, the County Assembly does not have any policy briefs drafted and reviewed to promote women’s political participation and leadership. There were equally no policies passed to promote women’s political participation and leadership at the County Assembly level.

4.3.4 Kirinyaga County Assembly

4.3.4.1 Committee Membership

The Kirinyaga County Assembly has 23 house committees. The findings show that only four committees do not meet the 33% gender representation threshold. Kirinyaga is, therefore, one of the few County Assemblies with adequate female representation in influential committees: Budget and Appropriations, 33%; County Assembly Business, 33%; Powers and Privileges, 38%; Public Investments and Accounts 33%. Other committees with significant women representation include Committee on Selection, 43%; Legal, Justice and Delegated County Legislation, 56%; Public Service and Administration, 75%; Gender, Culture, Social Services and Children, 44%; Medical Services, Public Health, and Sanitation, 44%; Youth and Sports, 56%; Speaker’s Panel, 40%, as summarized in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Kirinyaga County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Kirinyaga County - Committees	Male	Female	Total	
Budget and Appropriations	6	3	33%	9
County Assembly Business Committee	6	3	33%	9
Committee on Selection	4	3	43%	7
Committee on Procedure and Rules Committee	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Powers and Privileges	8	3	27%	11
Public Investments and Accounts Committee	6	3	33%	9
Ward Development	6	3	33%	9
Legal, Justice and Delegated County Legislation	4	5	56%	9
Committee on Implementation	6	3	33%	9
Public Service and Administration	2	6	75%	8
County Assembly Members’ Welfare	4	2	33%	6
Finance, Economic Planning, Marketing & ICT	8	1	11%	9
Gender, Culture, Social Services and Children	5	4	44%	9
Physical Planning, Lands, and Housing	7	2	22%	9
Agriculture, Livestock, Veterinary, and Fisheries	6	3	33%	9

Medical Services, Public Health, and Sanitation	5	4	44%	9
Environment, Water and Natural Resources	6	3	33%	9
Cooperative Development, Trade, Tourism, Industry and Enterprise Development	6	3	33%	9
Transport, Roads and Public Works	6	3	33%	9
Education	7	2	22%	9
Youth and Sports	4	5	56%	9
Committee on Appointments	6	3	33%	9
Speaker's Panel	3	2	40%	5

4.3.4.2 Kirinyaga County Assembly Committee Leadership

The Kirinyaga County Assembly did not have any female chairperson for the 23 Assembly committees as they were all chaired by male MCAs. However, 11 vice-chairpersons of various committees are women. Some of the factors explaining women's under-representation in committee leadership include

- All the women MCAs were nominated despite the fact that the governor is a woman. One of the factors explaining this discrepancy was that no woman secured a party ticket. Political horse trading and maneuvering locked out women candidates. Even worse, the few women MCAs who were elected during the 2013 elections were locked out.
- Male MCAs did not feel obliged to cede the leadership responsibilities to nominated members.

4.3.4.3 Kirinyaga County Assembly Bills and Motions

This study sought to examine whether WMCA's actively participated in the legislative process through bills and motions. The findings show that women did not sponsor any bill in the Assembly, compared to nine sponsored by their male counterparts. Women MCAs sponsored seven motions relating to the health and safety of women. The findings also show that

- The County Assembly of Kirinyaga did not have any policy brief drafted to promote women and men political participation and leadership.
- There was no policy or regulation passed to promote women's political participation and leadership at the Secretariat or Assembly level.

The fact that there is a woman governor seems to work against the advancement of women leadership in other positions at the Assembly. As noted earlier, there was no woman chairperson for all the 23 committees. One of the positive things on women's leadership in the County is the adequate female representation in influential committees (at least 33%), as compared to other Assemblies.

4.3.5 Kitui County Assembly

4.3.5.1 Committee Membership

Assessment of the Kitui County Assembly revealed that it has 16 committees and seven of them do not have the 33% required threshold for gender representation. Women are well-represented in influential committees such as budget Appropriations (44%), and Selection Committee (46%). However, women MCAs are not represented in the Procedure and Rules Committee, while the Finance and Economic Planning Committee has 18% women representation. Other significant committees with women representation include Basic Education, Training and Skills Development Committee, 36%; Trade, ICT and Cooperative Development Committee, 36%; Health and Sanitation Committee, 45%; Tourism Committee, 45%; Selection Committee, 46%, as highlighted in Table 4.7

Table 4.7: Kitui County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committee	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
Finance and Economic Planning Committee	9	2	18%	11
Lands, Infrastructure, Housing, and Urban Development Committee	9	2	18%	11
Basic Education, Training and Skills Development Committee	6	5	45%	11
Trade, ICT and Cooperative Development Committee	7	4	36%	11
Agriculture, Water and Irrigation Committee	8	3	27%	11
Health and Sanitation Committee	5	6	45%	11
Environment, Energy and Mineral Investments Development Committee	9	2	18%	11
Tourism Committee	6	5	45%	11
Labor and Social Welfare Committee	8	3	27%	11
Justice and Legal Affairs Committee	8	3	27%	11
Budget and Appropriations Committee	5	4	44%	9
Procedure and Rules Committee	3	0	0%	3
Public Investments and Accounts Committee	4	1	20%	5
Selection Committee	7	6	46%	13
County Assembly Business Committee	14	6	30%	20
Appointments Committee	4	2	33%	6

4.3.5.2 Kitui County Assembly Committee Leadership

Gender representation in committee leadership in the Kitui County Assembly was also below average; only two (12%) of the 17 committees had a woman chairperson. Additionally, only three (18%) of the committees had female vice-chairpersons. Some of the factors that explain the women's representation in the committees

include

- Only six female MCAs of the 54 Assembly members were elected.
- Male dominated politics and shut most women out of leadership roles at the Assembly.

4.3.4.3 Kitui County Assembly Bills and Motions

Just like other counties under this study, the Kitui County Assembly was examined for bills and motions that were sponsored by women MCAs. The finding established that women MCAs in Kitui County had not sponsored any bill in the Assembly. However, this was not unique to the women, since their male counterparts had also not sponsored any bill. All the bills that passed through the house were sponsored by the executive. However, 58 motions had been moved in the house, out of which 51 (88%) were moved by male MCAs, while only seven (12%) were moved by female MCAs. The motions that were tabled by women included a motion on adoption of the report by the Committee on Basic Education, Training and Skills Development on the benchmarking of vocational and ECDE centers. There was no policy brief drafted to promote both women's and men's political participation and leadership in the County Assembly. Factors that contributed to the low engagement of women MCAs on bills, motions, and policies included

- Lack of technical skills and capacity to engage in bill drafting.
- Lack of confidence in the legislative process.
- Lack of effective training and mentorship on legislative processes, motions and policy formulation.

4.3.6 Elgeyo Marakwet County Assembly

4.3.6.1 Committee Membership

The Elgeyo Marakwet County Assembly is composed of 18 committees and has a low gender representation rate compared to other counties. The constitutional threshold of 33% gender representation is implemented in only one committee. An examination of gender representation in influential committees shows that women MCAs are marginally represented, occupying 29% of the seats on the Budget and Appropriations, Public Accounts, Delegated Legislation, Implementation, and the Committee on Appointments, as highlighted in Table 4.8. It was telling that in almost all committees, women representation did not go beyond 29%. The exception was the Health Services Committee, 42%, as summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Elgeyo County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committees	Male	Female		Total
Finance and Economic Planning	5	2	29%	7
Education, ICT and Technical Training Committee	5	2	29%	7
Agriculture and Irrigation Committee	5	2	29%	7
Public Works, Roads and Transport	5	2	29%	7
Liaison Committee	15	2	11%	17
Environment, Physical Planning, and Natural Resources	5	2	29%	7
Tourism, Culture, Commerce, and Industry	5	2	29%	7
Sports, Youth, Gender and Culture and Social Services	5	2	29%	7
Health Services	4	3	42%	7
Budget and Appropriations	5	2	29%	7
Loans Management Committee	4	1	20%	5
Welfare Committee	5	2	29%	7
Administration, Justice, Public Service	5	2	29%	7
Implementation	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Appointments	5	2	29%	7
Public Accounts and Investments	5	2	29%	7
Delegated Legislation	5	2	29%	7
House Business Rules and Privileges	5	2	29%	7

4.3.6.2 Elgeyo Marakwet County Assembly Committee Leadership

Gender representation in committee leadership in Elgeyo Marakwet is minimalist at best. Only one of the 18 committees (Sports, Youth, Gender, Culture and Social Services) has a woman chairperson. Nonetheless, there are eight women vice-chairpersons of various committees. Factors advanced to explain women's underrepresentation included

- No single woman was elected as MCA in the Elgeyo Marakwet Assembly
- Nine (9) women were nominated to the Assembly to help realize the two-thirds gender rule. However, their male counterparts do not consider the nominated members as having the people's mandate to engage in committee leadership roles.

As such, one of the ways to enhance women's engagement in leadership positions is through direct election. There is a need to promote women in leadership and decision-making roles at all levels, including at political party nominations and gender-responsive leadership pathways to help bring more girls and women into the political sphere.

4.3.6.3 Elgeyo Marakwet Assembly Bills and Motions

All the legislative bills brought to the house in the current Assembly have emanated from the executive. No single bill has been sponsored by Assembly members and passed by the house. However, by the time of the study, six bills had been drafted and were at various stages in the Assembly for debate, approval, and voting. These bills are Cultural Heritage Bill, Sports Development Bill, Water Service Bill, Tourism Bill, Enforcement Bill, and Cess Bill, all sponsored by male MCAs. Notably, women MCAs had not drafted or presented any bill to the current Assembly save the Women, Youth, and Persons with Disability Revolving Fund bill sponsored by a nominated woman MCA and was defeated in the Assembly. Following are some of the factors attributable to the less-than-average legislative bills formulation at the Assembly:

- The defeat of the nominated woman MCAs bills was largely based on the fact that she was a nominated member. Male counterparts have perceptible biases on allowing nominated women MCAs to engage in legislative bills' formulation. The bone of contention is that nominated MCAs (largely women) lack a direct mandate from the people.
- Lack of understanding of the legislative mandate of the Assembly.
- Capacity challenges on the drafting of the bills and the legislative process.
- Lack of initiative on issues affecting the community.
- Poor lobbying and political consensus building in a male-dominated legislature.

4.3.7 Bomet County Assembly

4.3.7.1 Committee Membership

Bomet County Assembly has 18 committees. Most of the committees (68% - 13) do not meet the threshold of 33% gender representation. Significantly, influential committees such as Procedures and Rules, Budget and Appropriations, Delegated Legislation, and Committee on Appointments, have less than 33% women representation. By inference, this model of representation does not only inhibit women's voices in decision-making processes, it also limits the extent to which gender-responsive development agenda is formulated. The Bomet County Assembly had significant women representation in several committees: committee on Trade, Tourism, and Cooperatives, 43%; Committee on Administration, Peace, Justice and Legal Affairs, 43%; Committee on Gender, Culture and Social Services, 43%; Public Investments/Accounts Committee (PIC/PAC), 43%; Committee on Implementation, 44%, as highlighted in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Bomet County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committee	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
Committee on Education, Youth, and Sports	6	1	14%	7
Committee on Agriculture, Fisheries, and Livestock	6	1	14%	7
Committee on Trade, Tourism, and Cooperatives	4	3	43%	7
Committee on Administration, Peace, Justice and Legal Affairs	4	3	43%	7
Committee on Urban Planning, Land and Housing	6	1	14%	7
Committee on Health Services	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Finance, ICT and Economic Planning	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Labor and Public Services	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Energy, Water, Environment and Natural Resources	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Gender, Culture and Social Services	4	3	43%	7
Committee on Infrastructure (Roads, Transport and Public Works)	6	1	14%	7
Privileges Committee	6	1	14%	7
Procedure and Rules Committee	5	2	29%	7
Budget and Appropriations Committee	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Appointments	6	1	14%	7
(Public Investments/Accounts Committee (PIC/PAC	4	3	43%	7
Committee on Delegated Legislation	5	2	29%	7
Committee on Implementation	5	4	44%	9

4.3.7.2 Committee Leadership

The findings on committee leadership in the County Assembly show that male MCAs are chairpersons of 17 committees, compared to two committees (Implementation and Gender, Culture and Social Services) chaired by female MCAs. This represents 11% of County Assembly committee leadership. Notably, 10 committee vice-chairpersons are women. The Privileges Committee has 14% women representation; Procedure and Rules, Committee on Delegated Legislation, and Budget and Appropriations Committee all have 29% women representation each. As discussed in previous segments, underrepresentation of women MCAs in general committee leadership and influential committees inhibits gender development in political spaces, which is tantamount to progressive underdevelopment.

4.3.7.3 Bomet Assembly Bills and Motions

The current Assembly has not sponsored or passed any independent bill other than the five bills by the executive. The County Reinforcement Bill by the Assembly is still in the approval stage before the Committee on Administration. The County Assembly has not recorded any motion sponsored by the current Assembly members. This study did not establish any influence of the County’s governor, a woman, on

women MCAs’ active engagement in bill formulation on matters that affect women or children.

4.3.8 Vihiga County Assembly

4.3.8.1 Committee Membership

The Vihiga County Assembly has 22 house committees. Only eight of them have attained the 33% gender representation threshold. This means that male MCAs dominate the Assembly committees. Representation in influential committees is equally inadequate: Appointments Committee (17%), Budget and Appropriations (18%); and Finance and Planning Committee (31%). The Ward Development Committee does not have any women representation. The Vihiga County Assembly had six committees that had significant women representation - Delegated County Legislation, 36%; Public Accounts and Investments Committee, 36%; Committee on Health Services, 38%, Committee on Youth, Sports, Social Welfare and Children, 38%; Committee on Early Childhood and Vocational Training, 46%; Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, 38%; Select Committee, 46%, as highlighted in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Vihiga County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Name of Committee	Male	Female	Total	
Appointments Committee	5	1	17%	6
Budget and Appropriation	9	2	18%	11
Delegated County Legislation	7	4	36%	11
Public Accounts and Investment Committee	7	4	36%	11
Rules, Procedures, Powers and Privileges	6	3	33%	9
Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries	9	4	31%	13
Committee on Health Services	8	5	38%	13
Committee on Youth, Sports, Social Welfare and Children	8	5	38%	13
Committee on Early Childhood and Vocational Training	7	6	46%	13
Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs	8	5	38%	13
Committee on Finance and Planning	9	4	31%	13
Committee on Transport and Public works	11	2	15%	13
Land Housing and Urban Planning Committee	9	4	31%	13
Environment, Water and Natural Resources	10	3	23%	13
Public Service and Administration	9	4	31%	13
Committee on Trade, Tourism and Entrepreneurship	9	4	31%	13
Liaison Committee	14	5	26%	19
Selection Committee	7	6	46%	13
Cars, Loans and Mortgages Committee	8	1	11%	9
Ward Development Committee	11	0	0%	11
Implementation Committee	7	4	31%	11
House Business Committee	9	4	31%	13

4.3.8.2 Committee Leadership

Vihiga County Assembly is among the few with a woman Speaker. From the findings, women chair only five of the 22 committees, representing 22% of the leadership role. The committees chaired by women are Implementation Committee, Land Housing, and Urban Planning Committee; Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs; Agriculture, Committee on Livestock and Fisheries, and Appointments Committee. Vihiga has a fair representation of women vice-chairpersons (45% - 10) of various committees. Ultimately, the equitable representation goal is to have 50:50 gender parity in County Assembly leadership roles.

4.3.8.3 Vihiga Assembly Bills and Motions

The current Assembly has not sponsored or passed any independent bill other than the five bills by the executive. An Assembly bill is still at the approval stage. The County Assembly has not recorded any motion sponsored by the current members. One of the reasons provided for this poor performance is that;

- Most of the women MCAs are nominated. As such, most feel they lack the direct mandate to engage legislatively.
- Male MCAs equally have not provided adequate support and leadership positions and enabling environment to nurture women MCAs on bills and policy formulation processes.
- Lack of confidence and adequate legislative capacity to translate society challenges into motions, policies, and bills.

4.3.9 Bungoma County Assembly

4.3.9.1 Committee Membership

Bungoma County Assembly has 24 house committees. Of the 47 County Assemblies, Bungoma is the only one with a woman Majority Leader in the house. Fifteen (15) of the committees have achieved the 33% gender representation membership, while nine have not. This means that 62% of committees have adequate representation. However, women are still under-represented in influential Assembly committees: Appointments Committee, 27%; Selection Committee, 18%; Implementation Committee, 18%; Public Accounts Committee, 27%; and Speaker's Panel, 20%. The Roads, Transport, Infrastructure, and Public Works Committee is the most under-represented, at 13%. However, Bungoma had other committees where women were very well represented, above the 33% minimum threshold. This included the Delegated Committee (45%); House and Business Committee (55%); Public Investment Committee (36%); Justice and Legal Affairs Committee (45%); Labor and Social Affairs Committee (36%); Powers and Privileges Committee (55%); Education Youth and Sports Committee (40%); Gender and Culture Committee (47%), and Health Committee (40%), as summarized in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Bungoma County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Committees	Male	Female	Total	
Appointments Committee	8	3	27%	11
Selection Committee	9	2	18%	11
Budget and Appropriation Committee	7	4	36%	11
House and Business Committee	9	6	55%	11
Delegated Committee	6	5	45%	11
Implementation Committee	9	2	18%	11
PAC Committee	8	3	27%	11
Speaker's Panel	4	1	20%	5
Public Investments Committee	7	4	36%	11
Justice and Legal Affairs Committee	6	5	45%	11
Labor and Social Affairs Committee	7	4	36%	11
Rules and Procedures Committee	5	2	29%	7
Powers and Privileges Committee	5	6	55%	11
Liaison Committee	14	6	30%	20
Finance and Economic Planning Committee	10	5	33%	15
Education, Youth and Sports Committee	9	6	40%	15
Gender and Culture Committee	8	7	47%	15
Roads, Transport, Infrastructure, and Public Works Committee	13	2	13%	15
Housing and Sanitation Committee	10	5	33%	15
Tourism, Environment, Water and Natural Resources Committee	10	5	33%	15
Lands, Urban, Physical Planning, Trade, Energy and Industrialization	11	4	27%	15
Health Committee	9	6	40%	15
Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries, Irrigation and Cooperative Development Committee	10	5	33%	15
Public Administration and ICT Committee	10	5	33%	15

4.3.9.2 Committee Leadership

Bungoma is one of the leading counties in electing a large number of women MCAs (11), in addition to 12 nominated women MCAs, making the total number of female members 23 out of 60 house members. The committee leadership in the Bungoma Assembly is largely in favor of men, 75% (18 chairmen), compared to 25% female (six). The committees with women leaders include Health Committee, Gender and Culture Committee, Education, Youth and Sports Committee, and Justice and Legal Affairs Committee. Therefore, having 25% women in a committee leadership

position is a great attempt at gender proportional representation. The number of committees with female vice-chairpersons was not availed for analysis during the study.

4.3.9.3 Bills and Motions

Under the current Assembly, the Disaster Management Bill, sponsored by women MCAs, was passed. In 2014 one Assembly bill, Bungoma County Education Bursary Bill, was also sponsored by a woman MCA and was subsequently passed by the Assembly. However, over the same period, male MCAs sponsored 11 bills that were passed by the assembly. Importantly, the current house, being 2017-2022, Assembly has not recorded any policy document sponsored by women MCAs. Challenges in bill sponsorship by women MCAs was attributed to several factors:

- The defeat of the bills sponsored by a woman MCAs was largely based on the fact that she was a nominated member. Male counterparts have perceptive biases on allowing nominated women MCAs to engage in legislative bills formulation. The bone of contention is that nominated MCAs (largely women) lack a direct mandate from the people.
- Lack of understanding of the legislative mandate of the Assembly.
- Capacity challenges on the drafting of bill and the legislative processes.
- Lack of initiative on issues affecting the community.
- Poor lobbying and political consensus building in a male-dominated legislature.

4.3.10 Kisumu County Assembly

4.3.10.1 Committee Membership

The Kisumu County Assembly is composed of 48 members out of which 32 are elected and 16 are nominated. Only three of the elected members are women. The Kisumu County Assembly has 27 house committees. Fifteen (15) fall short of the required 33% gender representation. This means that majority (56%) of the committees are not gender-sensitive, nor have equality in representation. An examination of gender distribution within the committees reveals that women are underrepresented in most influential committees including House Procedures and Rules (31%); Committee on Appointments (31%); Public Investments and Accounts Committee (13%); Budget and Appropriations Committee (27%); Committee on Ward Development Fund (20%); and Finance Committee (20%). The Public Investments and Accounts Committee is the most under-represented in terms of women. Committees that had above-average women's representation included County Assembly House Business Committee, 36%; House Powers and Privileges Committee, 38%; Tourism, Wildlife and Heritage Committee, 40%; Labor, Welfare and Social Services Committee, Health Services, Housing and Sanitation Committee, 40%, Culture, Children, Youth and Community Services Committee, 40%, as summarized in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Kisumu County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Name of Committee	Male	Female		Total
Committee of the Whole House	32	16	33%	48
County Assembly House Business Committee	9	5	36%	14
House Powers and Privileges Committee	10	6	38%	16
House Procedures and Rules Committee	11	5	31%	16
Committee on Appointments	9	4	31%	13
County PIC/PAC Committee	13	2	13%	15
County Budget and Appropriations Committee	11	4	27%	15
Liaison Committee	18	9	33%	27
Committee on Implementation	10	5	33%	15
Committee on Ward Development Fund	12	3	20%	15
General Oversight Committee	32	16	33%	48
Tourism, Wildlife and Heritage Committee	9	6	40%	15
Cooperatives, Trade and Enterprise Committee	12	3	20%	15
County Delegated Legislation Committee	10	5	33%	15
Labor, Welfare and Social Services Committee	9	6	40%	15
Health Services, Housing and Sanitation Committee	9	6	40%	15
Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries Committee	11	4	27%	15
Planning and Industrialization Committee	11	4	27%	15
ECD and Vocational Training Committee	11	4	27%	15
Culture, Children, Youth and Community Services Committee	9	6	40%	15
Public Works, Roads and Transport Committee	13	3	19%	16
ICT and E-Governance Committee	11	4	27%	15
Administration of Law, Justice, and Governance Committee	13	2	13%	15
Water, Environment and Natural Resources Committee	11	4	27%	15
Welfare Committee	10	5	33%	15
Finance Committee	12	3	20%	15
Committee on Selection	9	4	31%	13

4.3.10.2 Committee Leadership

The constitution of the committees was examined to establish whether women MCAs had access to leadership positions on an equal basis as their male counterparts. The findings show that 18 committees in the Assembly are chaired by male MCAs compared to eight (30%) chaired by women MCAs. Data on gender distribution on committee vice-chairpersons positions were not available during the study.

4.3.10.3 Bills and Motions

In the current Assembly, several bills have been debated and passed in the house. These include the Kisumu County Economic and Social Council Bill, 2018, the Kisumu County Emergency Fund Bill, 2018, and the Kisumu County Lake Region Economic Block, 2018. However, none of the bills were sponsored by the Assembly members, but rather, the executive. This means that both men and women MCAs have not actively participated in the formulation and drafting of legislative bills brought to the floor of the house. Additionally, the study findings show that members of the current house have not presented any motion or policy paper to the floor or to the committees for action. The earlier Assembly presented two motions: Communications and Public Relations Motion, 2015; and a motion on discrimination against elderly women and girls with disabilities in Kisumu County in 2014. Based on these findings, women MCAs have not actively participated in the formulation, drafting, and presentation of bills to the house. The challenge of bill formulation and drafting is not limited to women MCAs; male MCAs equally have not drafted or presented any bills, motions, or policy papers in the current Assembly. Here are some of the factors attributed to the lack of active legislative mandate by the Assembly:

- The presumption that the work of formulating bills is the preserve of the executive branch.
- Poor lobbying and political consensus building in a male-dominated the legislature.
- Delegated leadership to male MCAs on matters to do with legislative bill formulation and drafting. The technical nature and aspects of policies and legislative bills are inhibitive, particularly to the majority of nominated women MCAs, who are new to the political and legislative processes.

4.3.11 Kisii County Assembly

4.3.11.1 Committee Membership

The Kisii County Assembly has 45 elected members and 24 nominated ones, making the total of 69 members. The Assembly has 20 committees. Gender representation in the committees is skewed towards male domination. Fourteen (70%) of the committees do not meet the required 33% gender representation threshold. The findings show gender representation in influential committees falls below the required threshold. For instance, the House Business Committee has 29% women representation, House Powers and Privileges Committee, 24%; House Procedures and rules, 15%; PIC/PAC Committee, 29%; Budget and Appropriations Committee, 30%, and Committee on Implementation, 25%. Significant women's representation in other committees included Labor and Social Welfare Committee, 42%; Trade Tourism and Industry, 42%; Sports, Youth and Social Services Committee, 42%; Justice and Legal Affairs Committee, 57%; Water, Environment and Natural Resources Committee, 43%, as summarized in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Kisii County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

Name of Committee	M	F	Total	
Committee of the Whole House	46	23	33%	69
House Business Committee	15	6	29%	21
House Powers and Privileges Committee	11	4	24%	17
House Procedures and Rules Committee	11	2	15%	13
Committee on Appointments	12	4	25%	16
County PIC/PAC Committee	9	4	30%	13
County Budget and Appropriations Committee	15	6	29%	21
Liaison Committee	13	4	30%	17
Committee on Implementation	9	5	25%	14
County Delegated Legislation Committee	9	4	30%	13
Labor and Social Welfare Committee	4	3	42%	7
Health Services	6	1	14%	7
Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries Committee	6	1	14%	7
Trade Tourism and Industry	4	3	42%	7
ECD and Vocational Training Committee	5	2	29%	7
Sports, Youth and Social Services Committee	4	3	42%	7
Roads, Transport, Housing, and Public Works	6	1	14%	7
Lands, Physical Planning and Urban Development	5	2	29%	7
Justice and Legal Affairs Committee	3	4	57%	7
Water, Environment and Natural Resources Committee	4	3	43%	7

4.3.11.2 Committee Leadership

The leadership structure of the Assembly committees is less than desirable in terms of women’s representation. For instance, only 5% (one) of the committees have a woman chairperson (Trade, Tourism, and Industry). Additionally, only 20% (four) committees have women vice-chairpersons. Unsurprisingly, the Assembly has a male leadership dominance of more than 80%. Women leadership in the Kisii County Assembly, in essence, can be described as paltry and a case of tokenism. Some of the factors behind the leadership representation structure are

- The Kisii Assembly has only two elected women MCAs. During distribution of committee leadership positions, elected members are mostly considered, which disenfranchises the majority nominated women MCAs.
- The aggressive nature of male-dominated politics, with men lobbying and cutting deals with their colleagues, guarantees leadership support compared to their female counterparts.

4.3.11.3 Bills and Motions

The current members of the Kisii County Assembly have not sponsored any bill through the house. The three bills that have been tabled, debated, and passed (Lake Region Economic Bloc 2018, Budget Appropriations Bill 2018, and Finance Bill 2018) by the house were drafted and sponsored by the executive. Notably, women MCAs sponsored five bills to the house. This includes a motion on the establishment of smoking zones in the County; a motion on 50:50 gender equality (which was rejected by the County Assembly); a motion on amendment of the standing orders; a motion on the establishment of amenity wards for the treatment and management of cancer patients; and a motion on spatial plan allocation and allocation of facilities. Under the current Assembly, there has been no policy document formulated by either male or female MCAs. Some of the factors advanced for inactivity by women MCAs in policies, motions, and bills legislation are stated as follows;

- Inadequate capacity to formulate and draft bills.
- Under-representation of women in leadership positions and committees, where critical decisions on community issues are made.
- Lack of mentorship and support from male colleagues.

4.3.12 Nairobi County Assembly

4.3.12.1 Committee Membership

The Nairobi County Assembly has 85 elected and 35 nominated members, constituting a house of 120 members. The County Assembly is composed of 24 committees. Seventeen (17) committees do not meet the required 33% gender representation threshold. This constitutes 71% of the committees that are not compliant. The assessment also noted that women are grossly under-represented in influential Assembly committees such as the Chairperson's Panel (17%); Public Investments Committee (21%); County Public Accounts Committee (21%); Implementation Committee (26%); and House Business Committee (22%). This means that most important house decisions that set the legislative agenda, and influence Assembly traditions, practices, and procedures are made with minimal women representation. There is no doubt that the uneven gender representation limits the potential for women's effective and influential participation in the County Assembly. It is conceded that women's low representation in the various committees is attributed to the relatively low number of women legislators in the Assembly. However, the selection process to various committees should have been sensitive and ensured adequate representation. The following committees had significant representation of women: Labor and Social Welfare, 47%; Justice and Legal Affairs, 37%; Culture and Community Services, 42%; and Powers and Privileges, 36%. The summary of Nairobi's gender representation in committees is provided in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Nairobi County Assembly Committee Gender Representation

COMMITTEE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	
Children, Early Childhood Education, and Vocational Training	15	4	21%	19
Labor and Social Welfare	10	9	47%	19
Water and Sanitation	13	6	32%	19
Justice and Legal Affairs	12	7	37%	19
Energy and Information, Communications and Technology	14	5	26%	19
Culture and Community Services	11	8	42%	19
Environment and Natural Resources	14	5	26%	19
Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries	13	6	32%	19
Planning and Housing	14	5	26%	19
Transport and Public Works	16	3	16%	19
Health Services	13	6	32%	19
Trade Tourism and Cooperatives	12	5	29%	17
Chairperson's Panel	5	1	17%	6
Powers and Privileges	7	4	36%	11
Selection	9	4	31%	13
Liaison	14	2	13%	16
Appointments	7	2	22%	9
Ward Development Fund	8	3	27%	11
Assembly Business	14	4	22%	18
Delegated County Legislation	11	8	42%	19
County Public Investments Committee	15	4	21%	19
County Public Accounts Committee	15	4	21%	19
County Finance, Budget and Appropriation	12	7	37%	19
Implementation Committee	14	5	26%	19

4.3.12.2 Committee Leadership

Committee leadership at the County Assembly is not representative - 22 (92%) of the 24 committees are chaired by male MCAs, while two (8%) are chaired by female MCAs. Among vice-chairpersons, 92% are represented by men and only 8% by women MCAs. Majority of the women were nominated, making it difficult for them to be elected to head the committees.

4.3.12.3 Bills and Motions

There were no bills or motions sponsored by the current Assembly members by the time of this study. All the bills that had gone through the house were sponsored by the executive (the exact number of the bills was not made available). This means that both male and female MCAs have not effectively engaged in formulating and drafting bills in the current Assembly. However, it was noted that 94 motions had been sponsored by the current Assembly, and 93 were passed. None of the motions were placed before the house by a female MCA.

Additionally, no policy paper has been drafted or presented to the house by the female MCAs. For the Nairobi County Assembly, several factors explain women's under-representation in leadership positions:

- Majority of political parties nominate male legislators as leaders of committees. There is no deliberate attempt by the political parties to put women at the forefront of house leadership.
- Political brinkmanship within parties relegates women to the periphery.
- Fewer women are willing to fight it out with men in political arenas, the scenes of the visceral and unhealthy 'win at all costs' competition.
- Impeachment of the Speaker (female) compounded the challenges facing women legislators in Nairobi County.

4.4 County Assembly Organizational Culture

4.4.1 Demonstration of Leadership on Gender issues

This study sought to examine whether leaders in senior positions at County Assemblies had demonstrated commitment on gender-related issues. The study's findings show that counties that had women governors had the highest rating in terms of commitment to leadership issues by their respective County Assemblies. For instance, Bomet had the highest score (80%) of those who indicated the County Assembly had to a great extent demonstrated leadership on gender issues. It was followed by Kitui (60%), and Kirinyaga (50%). Counties that had a problem with leadership on gender issues included Nairobi (33%) and Kisii (20%), where respondents indicated the Assembly had not made any significant progress on gender issues. Other counties with moderate engagement on gender issues included Kilifi (80%); Bungoma (71%); Kisumu and Vihiga (50%). Overall, only 41% of the counties surveyed demonstrated leadership on gender issues to a moderate extent. Some of the explanations for this finding were that women governors had significant influence in Assembly committee representation as opposed to their male counterparts. Male governors and by extension male Speakers, did not play a significant role in advancing the case for women's substantive inclusion in committees and committee leadership. Similarly, most counties with female leadership had substantive numbers of women represented in influential committees, as summarized in Table 4.15. Other reasons provided for lack of adequate commitment to leadership on gender issues included

- Very few women were elected in the County Assemblies. Attaining gender

parity or adequate representation both at committee level and in committee leadership was not possible.

- There exists a perception that since majority of women were nominated, the nominations in themselves are adequate and the women should learn to be content with the situation and not fight for committee leadership.
- The concept of leadership on gender issues is not clearly understood, nor are efforts made to try to elevate the concept. For instance, almost all County Assemblies do not have a gender policy or guidelines on inclusive leadership, making it difficult to elevate gender issues.

Table 4.15: Demonstrated Leadership on Gender Issues

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't know	Grand Total
Bomet	0%	0%	80%	20%	0%	100%
Bungoma	0%	71%	14%	25%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	40%	40%	20%	0%	100%
Kilifi	0%	80%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
Kisii	20%	80%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	50%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Kitui	0%	20%	60%	20%	0%	100%
Meru	14%	29%	14%	29%	14%	100%
Nairobi	33%	67%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	14%	43%	43%	0%	0%	100%
Vihiga	0%	50%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Grand Total	6%	41%	30%	20%	3%	100%

4.4.2 Demonstration of Gender Equality

The question on whether Counties had demonstrated gender equality within their Assemblies revealed that the Elgeyo Marakwet County Assembly demonstrate the lowest degree, with 30% of respondents indicating gender equality was not demonstrated at all. Other Assemblies with more respondents indicating least attention to gender equality were Vihiga (25%), and Kisii and Kitui (20%). However, most County Assemblies demonstrated a commitment to gender equality 'to a moderate extent' - Kisii (80%), Kilifi (60%), Kisumu (50%), Elgeyo Marakwet (50%), Bungoma and Meru (43%), Kitui and Bomet (40%). When we combined the respondents who indicated that their Assembly demonstrated to a 'great extent' and 'to the fullest extent' on gender equality, Kirinyaga County had the highest score (75%), followed by Tana River (72%), Nairobi (67%), Bomet (60%), Kisumu and Vihiga (50%). Overall, 39% of the County Assemblies had 'to a moderate

extent' demonstrated gender equality, 31% had 'to a great extent', 20% had 'to fullest extent', while 10% of Counties had least demonstration of commitment to gender equality, as summarize in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Demonstrated Gender Equality

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Grand Total
Bomet	0%	40%	40%	20%	100%
Bungoma	14%	43%	43%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	30%	50%	20%	0%	100%
Kilifi	0%	60%	40%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	25%	0%	75%	100%
Kisii	20%	80%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	50%	25%	25%	100%
Kitui	20%	40%	20%	20%	100%
Meru	14%	43%	14%	29%	100%
Nairobi	0%	33%	67%	0%	100%
Tana River	0%	29%	43%	29%	100%
Vihiga	25%	25%	50%	0%	100%
Grand Total	10%	39%	31%	20%	100%

4.4.3 Open Discussion of Gender Issues

This study sought to examine whether gender issues were discussed openly within County Assemblies and Secretariats. The findings show that despite significant improvements in gender equality, discussion on gender issues was still a challenge. Counties where respondents indicated least open discussion on gender issues include Kilifi, Kisii, and Kitui (40%). Counties engaged in moderate discussions on gender issues include Bomet (80%), Nairobi (67%), Elgeyo Marakwet and Kisii (60%), and Bungoma (58%). The counties that had done the most to engage in open gender discussion ('to a great extent' and 'to fullest extent') included Kirinyaga and Vihiga (75%), and Kisumu (50%). On average, (18%) of the study respondents (across all counties) noted that County Assemblies did not engage in open gender discussions, (41%) noted that the engagement was to a moderate extent, while 40% of the respondents indicated that 'to a great extent' and 'to a fullest extent', County Assemblies were engaging in open discussions on gender issues, as summarized in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Open Discussion on Gender Issues

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Do not know	Grand Total
Bomet	0%	80%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Bungoma	14%	58%	14%	14%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	60%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kilifi	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	25%	0%	50%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	40%	60%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	50%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Kitui	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Meru	29%	43%	0%	29%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	14%	43%	29%	0%	14%	100%
Vihiga	0%	25%	75%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	18%	41%	29%	11%	1%	100%

4.4.4 Gender Sensitivity Policy

To determine whether County Assemblies had gender sensitivity policies or codes of conduct to give guidance on gender-related issues or challenges, majority (80%) of respondents from Kilifi indicated that their Assembly did not have gender sensitivity policy at all, followed by Meru (43%), Kisii (40%), Bungoma (29%), and Bomet (20%). However, when respondents who indicated their County had a gender sensitivity policy (moderate extent, great extent, and fullest extent) were combined, (100%) of Nairobi Assembly respondents indicated this to be the case, Bomet County had (80%) of respondents who thought this was the case, followed by Kirinyaga, Vihiga, Kitui (75%), Kisii and Elgeyo Marakwet (60%); Kisumu (50%), Tana River (43%); Bungoma (29%), and Kilifi (20%), as summarized in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: Gender Sensitivity Policy

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Do not know	Total
Bomet	20.00%	80.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
Bungoma	28.57%	28.57%	0.00%	0.00%	42.86%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	40.00%	20.00%	20.00%	20.00%	0.00%	100%
Kilifi	80.00%	0.00%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	100%
Kirinyaga	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	25.00%	25.00%	100%
Kisii	40.00%	20.00%	40.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100%

Kisumu	25.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%	25.00%	100%
Kitui	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	100%
Meru	42.86%	14.29%	14.29%	14.29%	14.29%	100%
Nairobi	0.00%	33.33%	66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
Tana River	42.86%	42.86%	0.00%	0.00%	14.29%	100%
Vihiga	25.00%	0.00%	75.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
Grand Total	80%	23%	24%	9%	14%	100%

4.4.5 Opportunities to Promote Gender Equity

County Assemblies were examined on whether they had opportunities to promote gender equity. The majority (76%) of the Assemblies' respondents indicated this to be the case to a great extent and to a full extent, (16%) indicated this was the case to a moderate extent, while (1%) indicated this was not the case at all. Only (6%) of respondents were not aware whether they Assemblies had any opportunities to promote gender equity within their operations as summarized in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Opportunities to Promote Gender Equity

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Do not know	Total
Bomet	0%	60%	0%	40%	0%	100%
Bungoma	0%	14%	71%	0%	14%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	0%	40%	60%	0%	100%
Kilifi	0%	20%	60%	20%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	50%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	0%	20%	80%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	0%	0%	75%	25%	100%
Kitui	20%	0%	40%	40%	0%	100%
Meru	0%	14%	71%	14%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	0%	14%	43%	14%	29%	100%
Vihiga	0%	0%	75%	25%	0%	100%
Grand Total	1%	16%	50%	26%	6%	100%

4.5 Gender in Human Resource Function at the Assemblies

4.5.1 Women on County Assembly Service Boards

- The study sought to determine whether County Assemblies had taken action to recruit and retain women in the County Assembly public service boards.

The Kirinyaga and Kisumu Assemblies indicated this was the case (75%), followed by Bomet and Kilifi (60%), Vihiga (50%), while Kitui, Kisii, and Elgeyo Marakwet had 40% of respondents indicating their Assemblies had taken action to recruit and retain women in the boards. The Nairobi and Tana River Assemblies had the highest number of respondents (33% and 29% respectively) who indicated they did not know whether their Assemblies had recruited and retained women in their public service boards. On average, 45% of all County Assemblies' respondents noted that ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent'), their Assemblies had recruited and retained women on their public service boards, 33% noted that this was the case 'to a moderate extent', while 18% indicated this was not the case at all, as summarized in Table 4.20. The reasons advanced for fewer women on County Assembly service boards included.

- Male dominance of County political processes. In most instances, almost all counties surveyed have male dominance within Assembly committees. The committees are largely responsible for approving the nominees to the Assembly service boards. The committees have not made any demand that appointments reflect the spirit of the two-thirds gender rule.
- Lack of executive and Assembly commitment to women leadership has contributed to fewer women appointees to the service boards.
- Horse trading among political players at the County level, clannism, and nepotism have largely favored men as compared to women seeking to serve on the County service boards.

Table 4.20: Women in County Assembly Service Boards

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't know	Total
Bomet	0%	40%	40%	20%	0%	100%
Bungoma	14%	57%	14%	0%	14%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	20%	40%	20%	20%	0%	100%
Kilifi	20%	20%	60%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	25%	75%	0%	0%	100%
Kisii	20%	40%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	25%	0%	75%	0%	100%
Kitui	20%	40%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Meru	43%	29%	14%	14%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	33%	33%	0%	33%	100%
Tana River	43%	0%	14%	14%	29%	100%
Vihiga	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	18%	33%	31%	14%	5%	100%

4.5.2 Strategies to Promote Women to Senior Management

One of the goals of this gender audit was to measure whether Assemblies had proactive strategies to recruit and promote women to senior management positions. The findings show that ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent') Bomet was leading in this mandate (80%), followed by Kirinyaga (75%), Elgeyo Marakwet and Kitui (60%), and Vihiga (50%). Respondents who indicated that their County Assemblies had 'to a moderate extent' developed strategies to promote women in senior management included Kisumu (75%), Nairobi (67%), and Tana River (57%). Respondents who indicated their County Assemblies had not developed strategies at all to promote women to senior management positions included Kilifi (60%), Kisii (60%) and Meru (43%), as indicated in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: Strategies to Promote Women in Senior Management Positions

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't know	Total
Bomet	0%	20%	40%	40%	0%	100%
Bungoma	14%	29%	0%	29%	29%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	40%	20%	40%	0%	100%
Kilifi	60%	0%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	0%	50%	25%	25%	100%
Kisii	60%	20%	0%	20%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	75%	0%	0%	25%	100%
Kitui	40%	0%	60%	0%	0%	100%
Meru	43%	14%	43%	0%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	0%	57%	29%	0%	14%	100%
Vihiga	25%	25%	50%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	21%	28%	31%	11%	9%	100%

4.5.3 Career Training and Development Opportunities

On the question of whether there were adequate career training and development opportunities for women at the Assemblies, respondents from the Kirinyaga County Assembly (100%) indicated that ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent') this opportunity existed. It was followed by Kisumu (75%), Elgeyo Marakwet (60%), and Vihiga (50%). Respondents who indicated career training and development opportunities for women existed to a moderate extent included Bomet (80%), Nairobi (67%), and Bungoma (43%). On the other hand, respondents who indicated career training and development opportunities for women did not exist to all included Kilifi (40%), Kisii (40%), Tana River (43%) and Kitui (40%), as highlighted in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22: Career Training and Development Opportunities

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't know	Total
Bomet	0%	80%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Bungoma	29%	43%	29%	0%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	40%	20%	40%	0%	100%
Kilifi	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	0%	75%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	40%	40%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	25%	0%	75%	0%	100%
Kitui	40%	20%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Meru	29%	29%	29%	0%	14%	100%
Nairobi	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	43%	14%	14%	0%	29%	100%
Vihiga	25%	25%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Grand Total	21%	30%	29%	15%	5%	100%

4.5.4 Access to Leadership Training

This study examined whether both male and female staff at the County Assemblies had equal access to leadership and management training opportunities. Respondents indicated that the Kirinyaga Assembly provided equal access ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent') to leadership training (100%), followed by Elgeyo Marakwet (80%), Kisumu, Kitui and Vihiga (75%), Nairobi (67%). Respondents who indicated their Assemblies had 'to a moderate extent' provided equal access to leadership training included Kisii (80%), Tana River (50%), Bungoma (43%), and Bomet (40%), as summarized in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: Access to Leadership Training

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Total
Bomet	20%	40%	20%	20%	100%
Bungoma	14%	43%	43%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	20%	60%	20%	100%
Kilifi	60%	0%	0%	40%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	0%	75%	25%	100%
Kisii	20%	80%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	25%	25%	50%	100%
Kitui	25%	0%	75%	0%	100%
Meru	14%	29%	43%	14%	100%
Nairobi	0%	33%	67%	0%	100%
Tana River	17%	50%	17%	17%	100%
Vihiga	0%	25%	75%	0%	100%
Grand Total	13%	28%	42%	17%	100%

4.5.5 Increase of Women Representation in Leadership

This study examined whether the current Assemblies had enhanced women leadership representation over the previous two years. Kirinyaga Assembly respondents indicated ‘to a great extent’ and ‘to the fullest extent’ (100%), followed by Vihiga (75%), Nairobi (67%), and Kisumu (50%). Respondents who noted an increase in women’s representation in leadership was ‘to a moderate extent’ included Elgeyo Marakwet (60%), Tana River (43%), Bomet, and Kisii (40%). On the other hand, respondents from Bungoma (43%), Kilifi (60%), Kitui (80%), and Meru (29%) noted that there had been no increase in women representation in leadership in the previous two years, as summarized in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24: Increase in Women Representation in Leadership

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't Know	Total
Bomet	20%	40%	20%	20%	0%	100%
Bungoma	43%	0%	29%	14%	14%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	60%	20%	20%	0%	100%
Kilifi	60%	0%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Kirinyaga	0%	0%	75%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	40%	40%	0%	0%	20%	100%
Kisumu	0%	25%	0%	50%	25%	100%
Kitui	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Meru	29%	29%	29%	0%	14%	100%
Nairobi	0%	33%	67%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	29%	43%	29%	0%	0%	100%
Vihiga	25%	0%	75%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	26%	23%	33%	11%	8%	100%

4.6 County Assembly Projects, Programs, and Services

4.6.1 Availability of Gender-Disaggregated Planning Data

This study sought to determine whether counties had reliable data on gender when planning projects and programs. Respondents who indicated this to be the case in their counties ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent') included Elgeyo Marakwet (60%) and Vihiga (50%). County Assemblies utilizing gender-disaggregated data 'to a moderate extent' included Bomet (60%), Bungoma (57%), Kilifi (40%), Tana River (43%) and Nairobi (33%). On the other hand, 100% of respondents from the Kirinyaga County Assembly were not aware whether gender-disaggregated data was being used, same as Nairobi (33%). On average, only 25% of respondents ('to a great extent' and 'to the fullest extent') indicated that County Assemblies were utilizing gender-disaggregated data, as indicated in Table 4.25. Other factors and reasons attributed to lack of gender-disaggregated data included

- Inadequate training for teams within the research departments in the County Assembly offices.
- Lack of effective monitoring and evaluation framework. Most counties did not have an M&E policy or a framework for tracking gender-disaggregated data.
- County Assembly programs and projects were not designed or informed by gender-disaggregated data, and thus the need to collect and utilize this data was not prioritized.

Table 4.25: Availability of Gender-Disaggregated Planning Data

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't Know	Total
Bomet	20%	60%	0%	0%	20%	100%
Bungoma	14%	57%	14%	14%	0%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	20%	20%	60%	0%	0%	100%
Kilifi	20%	40%	20%	0%	20%	100%
Kirinyaga	25%	25%	0%	25%	25%	100%
Kisii	80%	0%	0%	0%	20%	100%
Kisumu	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Kitui	40%	20%	20%	0%	20%	100%
Meru	57%	14%	14%	14%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	33%	33%	0%	33%	100%
Tana River	14%	43%	0%	14%	29%	100%
Vihiga	25%	0%	25%	25%	25%	100%
Grand Total	29%	24%	14%	10%	24%	100%

4.6.2 Gender Equity Goals and Objectives

An examination of gender equity goals and objectives was done to establish whether County Assemblies were keen on entrenching gender equity in their programs, projects, and services. The findings show that the majority of respondents who indicated ‘to a great extent’ and ‘to the fullest extent’ included Elgeyo Marakwet (60%), and Kisumu and Kirinyaga (50%). Respondents who indicated gender goals and objectives were utilized ‘to a moderate extent’ in programs included Kisii (100%), Bomet (60%), Bungoma and Tana River (57%), and Vihiga 50%. On average, 45% of respondents indicated the counties had gender goals and objectives in programs ‘to a moderate extent’; 33% indicated this was the case ‘to a great extent’ and ‘to the fullest extent’, while 13% indicated that counties did not incorporate gender goals and objectives in programs at all, as summarized in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Gender Equity Goals and Objectives

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Don't know	Total
Bomet	0%	60%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Bungoma	0%	57%	29%	0%	14%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	0%	40%	20%	40%	0%	100%
Kilifi	20%	40%	20%	0%	20%	100%
Kirinyaga	25%	25%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
Kitui	0%	40%	20%	0%	40%	100%
Meru	29%	43%	0%	29%	0%	100%
Nairobi	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	100%
Tana River	14%	57%	29%	0%	0%	100%
Vihiga	25%	50%	25%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	13%	45%	23%	10%	10%	100%

4.6.3 Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) of Gender Programs

On the issue of effective monitoring and evaluation of gender programs, Elgeyo Marakwet respondents indicated this was the case in their Assembly ‘to a great extent’, followed by Kirinyaga and Kisumu (50%), who indicated ‘to a great extent’ and ‘to the fullest extent’. Respondents who indicated their Counties had monitoring and evaluation of gender programs in place ‘to a moderate extent’ included Vihiga (75%), Bomet, Kilifi, and Kisii (60%), Bungoma (57%), and Tana River (43%). However, on average, Counties performed poorly as only 27% had monitoring and evaluation of gender programs ‘to a great extent’ and ‘to the fullest extent’, 32% had ‘to a moderate extent’, while 27% did not have M&E of gender programs at all, as indicated in Table 4.27.

Table 4.27: Gender Equity Goals and Objectives

County Name	Not at all	To a moderate extent	To a great extent	To the fullest extent	Do not know	Grand Total
Bomet	20%	60%	0%	0%	20%	100%
Bungoma	0%	57%	14%	14%	14%	100%
Elgeyo Marakwet	20%	20%	60%	0%	0%	100%
Kilifi	0%	60%	0%	0%	40%	100%
Kirinyaga	50%	0%	25%	25%	0%	100%
Kisii	40%	60%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Kisumu	0%	0%	50%	0%	50%	100%
Kitui	60%	0%	20%	0%	20%	100%
Meru	43%	14%	14%	29%	0%	100%
Nairobi	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%	100%
Tana River	14%	43%	0%	29%	14%	100%
Vihiga	25%	75%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total	27%	32%	16%	11%	14%	100%

4.7 Barriers to Women’s Involvement in Legislative Processes

4.7.1 Political Obstacles

The findings of this study established the obstacles that women face in the political and legislative processes at the County Assemblies:

- The prevalence of the ‘masculine model’ of political life to be elected in government bodies.
- Lack of party support, for example, limited financial support for women candidates, limited access to political networks, and more stringent standards and qualifications applied to women.
- Lack of sustained contact and cooperation with other public organizations such as trade (labor) unions and organized women’s groups.
- Lack of access to well-developed education and training systems for women’s leadership in general, and for orienting young women in political life.
- The nature of abusive politics and campaigns may not be favorable to women candidates.

Despite the political obstacles highlighted above, some counties have done well.

(A). The Masculine Model of Politics

Men dominate the political arena. They largely formulate the rules of the political game and often define the standards for evaluation. Furthermore, political life is organized according to male norms and values, and in some cases even male lifestyles. For instance, politics is often based on the idea of ‘winners and losers’, competition and confrontation rather than systematic collaboration and consensus, especially across party lines. It often results in women either rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics. Thus, when women participate in politics, they tend to do so in small numbers.

Differences between men and women at the Assemblies were apparent concerning the content and priorities of decision-making, which is determined by the interests, backgrounds and working patterns of both sexes. Women tended to give priority to societal concerns such as social security, national health care, and children’s issues. The male-dominated working pattern was further reflected in the Assemblies’ work schedule, which was often characterized by lack of supportive structures for working mothers in general and women MPs in particular. In addition to their party and sub-county work, and serving on different committees, women parliamentarians are called upon to network within their parties, at multi-party level and with women outside the Assemblies. Furthermore, they have to play the socially prescribed nurturing roles of mother, wife, sister, and grandmother. Most Assemblies’ programs and sitting times have not been adjusted to take into consideration this dual burden that women carry. Many women MCAs struggled to balance family life with the demands of their work.

Comparative Case: Bungoma Vs. Elgeyo Marakwet

Bungoma is one of the County Assemblies that has done well in navigating the masculine model of politics. Bungoma has a large number of women MCAs (11) elected to the Assembly compared to Elgeyo Marakwet, which has none. Bungoma is the only County Assembly with a woman as a Majority Leader. Additionally, Bungoma has six committees with women as chairpersons, while Elgeyo Marakwet has only one. Bungoma politics is more receptive of women leadership and women in politics when compared to Elgeyo Marakwet, which is heavily patriarchal. Cultural freedoms for women in Bungoma have evolved, enabling women to square it out with men on an equal political footing. In as much as the County is still male dominated, it has made significant strides, particularly in creating gender responsive spaces for women to engage in political processes.

(B). Lack of Party Support

Women play important roles in campaigning and mobilizing support for their parties, yet they rarely occupy decision-making positions in these structures. Less than 11 per cent of party leaders worldwide are women. Although political parties possess resources for conducting election campaigns, women rarely benefit from them. For example, in Kenya, political parties do not provide financial support for women candidates running for County Assembly positions. Research indicates that a large pool of women candidates, if given sufficient financial resources, can significantly

increase the number of females elected. The selection and nomination process within political parties is also biased against women in that ‘male characteristics’ are emphasized and often become the criteria in selecting candidates. Political parties have always been an ‘old boys’ club’, which to a great extent inhibits and prevents women from integrating into their party’s work. For instance, in Kirinyaga, Kisumu, and Nairobi, there was a vast outcry of women candidates who felt that their party nomination process was skewed in favor of men, while others expressed concern that they were denied party nominations due to flawed processes. Most regions where Jubilee Party held 2017 primaries were marred with conflict among candidates, their supporters and officials. In as much as the process was cancelled and repeated, the ensuing violence against women participants, aided by poor implementation of party nomination rules, disenfranchised women candidates. Similarly, party nominations in Kisumu and Nairobi, among other counties, had poor procedures which were not gender-sensitive enough to protect women candidates.

Additionally, majority of women are disenfranchised in the nominations since they do not financially support party election campaigns, as compared to their male counterparts. It was noted that money in Kenyan politics buys influence. Whoever has more money wields influence over party leadership and nomination processes. Area women are disadvantaged. Also, women are often not placed in winning positions on party lists. Women’s participation is, therefore, better realized when there are quotas with a placement mandate. In Sweden, for instance, most political parties use ‘zipper’ lists where women’s and men’s names alternate on the party lists, resulting in 45.3% women in parliament. This model should be emulated in Kenya’s County Assemblies to overcome the barrier of lack of party support.

4.7.2 Socio-Economic Obstacles

Socio-economic conditions play a significant role in the recruitment of women into County Assemblies. The social and economic status of women has a direct influence on their participation in political institutions and elected bodies. In Kenya and County Assembly communities in particular, men largely control financial resources and means of production such as access to land. Therefore, men enjoy more stable financial fortitude to marshal political campaign than women. Other socio-economic factors impacting women’s participation in County Assemblies include

- illiteracy and limited access to education and choice of profession; and
- the dual burden of domestic tasks and professional obligations.

Additionally, despite the increase in women’s employment rates in Kenya and at the County level, most are derailed by domestic unpaid labor activities, which is not the case for their male counterparts.

In almost all the County Assemblies assessed, women carried a disproportionate share of domestic work. It was also noted that poverty and lack of education and access to information were among the major socio-economic obstacles constraining women’s engagement in County-level politics. It must be recognized that it is difficult for women to participate in political life when their major concern is survival, and

they have no choice but to spend much of their time trying to meet the basic needs of their families. Lack of access to equal opportunities to get an education has placed women at a greater disadvantage than men. In as much as concerted efforts have been made to enhance girls' education, it will take time to achieve gender parity in education and thus translate this into a level playing ground in political processes. The common understanding of the concerns of women, gendered political awareness raising, lobbying skills, and networking are some of the important processes of training women for political careers. To this end, women's leadership programs should be established as they play a special role. Special attention should also be given to the involvement of young women and the importance of collaborating with male politicians.

Comparative Case: Kisumu Vs. Kilifi

Based on the respondents' feedback, Kilifi County is affected most by illiteracy due to the high level of girls' dropout rate, teenage pregnancies, and cultural practices among the Mijikenda that promote teenage marriages. When women drop out of school, they cannot effectively compete with men in political spaces later in life. This has been and continues to be the case in Kilifi County. Comparatively, as much as Kisumu has experienced an increase in teenage pregnancy and school dropout, women have long been active in politics and female politicians or aspirants do not have cultural traditions curtailing their engagement in competitive politics. As such, women in Kisumu have been more successful in political agenda setting than in Kilifi.

4.7.3 Ideological and Psychological Hindrances

The ideological and psychological hindrances for women in entering County Assemblies identified under this study include

- traditional roles;
- women's lack of the confidence to stand for election; and
- women's perception of politics as a 'dirty' game.

a) Traditional Roles

In most of the counties surveyed, cultural traditions continue to emphasize women's primary role as mothers and housewives. This restricts women from active engagement in political processes at the County Assembly level. Most of the Counties still have a strong traditional and patriarchal value system that favors sexually segregated roles and traditional cultural values that inhibit women's participation in political processes. For instance, Kisii, Kilifi, Tana River, Elgeyo Marakwet, Kirinyaga are all beset by constraints of gendered traditional roles that inhibit female participation in elections. Kirinyaga has a contrasting irony: a female governor with no elected woman MCA. Therefore, it could be premature to celebrate women's elevation to higher offices in Counties when none (as in Kirinyaga) is elected to the Assembly. In Tana River, clannism defines who gets the elders nod to vie for a political seat. Unsurprisingly, the largest sub-tribes (Pokomo and Orma) subscribe to this style of community leadership. The challenge lies in the fact that the elders' court is male,

with cultural obligation to support and propagate the strong patriarchal culture. For majority of women to have a chance of winning an election, they have to get the blessing and endorsement of the elders' court. Since the culture is already patriarchal and tilted towards general acceptance of male leadership, women prefer to remain in the shadows and respect the established culture and traditional precedents. This culture was also notable in Elgeyo Marakwet.

Majority of women play the role of working mother, which is generally low-paid and apolitical. Also, in some households, men tell their wife's how to vote. As such, the image of a woman leader requires that she be asexual in her speech and manners, someone who can be identified as a woman only through non-sexual characteristics. Often it is supposed to be unacceptable or even shameful in the mass consciousness for women to be open about their feminine nature. The more authoritative and 'manly' a woman is, the more she corresponds to the undeclared male rules of the game. That is why some women politicians have to overcome the difficulty of feeling uncomfortable in the political field, as though they are somewhere where they do not belong, behaving in ways that are not natural to them. Often women internalize many of these ideas and end up frustrated when they cannot match this almost impossible image imposed on them by cultural roles.

b) Lack of Confidence

Lack of confidence is one of the main reasons for women's under-representation in formal political institutions, whether County Assemblies, chief officers at County level, or leaders in political parties. With confidence and determination, women can reach the highest levels in the political process. That is why women should believe in themselves and do away with the widespread perception that men have to be their leaders. Women are equal to and have the same potential as men, but only they can fight for their rights. Women are good campaigners, organizers, and support mobilizers, but fear sometimes prevents women from contesting elections and participating in political life. A glance at the political landscape for all the 12 counties shows that majority of those running for Assembly elective positions are male. A female member of the Bungoma County Assembly (Majority Leader) noted that women feared to participate in politics as it is perceived as ruthless and heartless, where men and their political supporters are willing to win at any cost, even through violence. These attributes of Kenya's political landscape do not spur confidence in women to participate. As noted earlier, majority of cultures subjugate women to male leadership. This is reflected in political spaces, when women cede the spaces to men by choosing not to contest for positions. In Elgeyo Marakwet and Kilifi, in addition to society's lack of confidence in women's leadership, majority of women lack adequate education and political competence and skills to compete with men.

c) The Perception of Politics as 'Dirty'

In Kenya, just like in other countries, women perceive politics as a 'dirty' game. This has jarred their confidence in their ability to participate in political processes at County and National Assemblies. Unfortunately, this perception reflects the reality in many County Assemblies. As noted earlier, during party nominations

there was significant violence against aspirants in Kirinyaga, Kilifi, Kisumu, Nairobi and some wards in Kisii. The violence was majorly associated with different party factions seeking to eliminate opponents from the contest. Women were caught up in the political tumbles that could be described as uncivilized and out of tune with democratic ideals. In other cases, women, just like their male counterparts, experienced various degrees of political hitmen from opposing camps hell-bent on distracting or eliminating opposition. These political dirty games are largely detestable to women seeking elective positions both at the County Assembly and national level.

Another emerging theme in the perception of politics as a dirty game is corruption. This is where party leaders sell or hand party nominations to the highest bidder or contributor to the party's causes. In most instances, men contribute more to party political campaigns than women and thus have greater opportunities to influence political decisions, nomination processes, and even preferred candidates. In addition to this, a significant increase in the cost of running an election campaigning has become obvious, which has increased the temptation to use any resources available. Bribery and extortion in the public sector, as well as procurement of goods and services are key manifestations the corruption. Graft has spread from the national to the County level through the process of political and economic transformation where the market economy has become enmeshed in the 'law of the jungle,' the cartels of corruption. These factors combine to scare away women and provoke their fears of losing members of their families. This works against the involvement of women in politics. Although the perception of corruption may not always be a fair reflection of the actual state of affairs, it has an impact on women's attitude towards a political career.

4.8 Chapter Summary

The findings of this gender audit as presented in this chapter show that the majority of the 12 County Assemblies under this study attained the 33% constitutional threshold for gender representation. However, 70% (162 of 233 women MCAs) were nominated. On committee leadership, the majority of the Assemblies did not have adequate numbers of women chairpersons.

Finally, this study has established that majority of County Assemblies have not demonstrated leadership commitment on gender-related issues and gender equality by setting up gender sensitivity policies or a code of conduct to guide the Assemblies on gender-related issues or challenges.

BOX 5.1: Case Study – Political Gender Quota in Rwanda

Rwanda was the first country in the world to impose a political gender quota at all levels of governance (Burnet in Franceshet et al 2012). Prior to the 1994 genocide, women constituted 10-15% of parliament. However, following the genocide, Rwanda saw significant changes in gender roles and ideologies, and in the representation of women in government and civil society. This was partly enforced as women comprised as much as 70% of the population after the genocide. The adopted policies can primarily be attributed to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which since seizing power following the genocide has consistently pursued gender policies and continues to increase the participation of women in politics. The RPF is still the political ruling party in Rwanda (Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion 2011). Other enactments by the RPF include the creation of the Ministry of Gender, organizing women's councils at all levels of government (cell, sector, district and provincial), and simultaneously pursuing all three types of quotas: party quotas, reserved seats and legislative quotas. The RPF has since its origin in 1987, consistently emphasized gender equality as a means to improve society (Burnet 2008). It shows the undivided political will and commitment of the Rwandan Government to address women's empowerment and sexual violence against women (Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion 2011). Today, Rwanda is one of the few countries to have achieved a gender-balanced parliament, with women holding 61.3% of the Chamber of Deputy's seats, which enables not only fair representation, but also active participation in legislative processes.

(Source: Jessica Hansén (2018). *Political Gender Quota in Rwanda Has increased female inclusion in politics lead to a decrease in domestic gender-based violence?*)

[http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/
download?func=downloadFile&recordId=8918957&fileId=8918958](http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordId=8918957&fileId=8918958)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study summary, discussion, conclusion, and recommendations on the findings of the gender audit. Thematic discussions are presented first, followed by the conclusion, and finally the recommendations.

5.2 Gender Audit Summary

The aim of this Gender Rapid Assessment (GRA) was to understand the underlying causes of gender marginalization in the legislative roles, allocation of roles in the house committees, and gender budgeting processes in 12 County Assemblies, and how they can be addressed. The specific objectives were to explore the current gender representation status in house committees; identify urgent problems, gaps and barriers facing women legislators in the undertaking of their roles in the County Assemblies; assess the extent to which bills and motions in the various County Assemblies are gender-sensitive; and analyze the factors constraining (and/or facilitating) the delivery of the gender functions in County Assemblies with the aim of making recommendations on policy, budgeting, and programming.

A mixed methodology strategy combining qualitative and quantitative techniques was used. The quantitative method was used to capture the numbers in gender representation in house committees, the leadership of the committees, the number of bills and motions passed by both male and female MCAs, and gender-responsive policies adopted at the Assemblies. On the other hand, a qualitative approach was used to record factors, problems, gaps and barriers facing women legislators in the undertaking of their roles in the County Assemblies. Data were collected using two tools: (i). Key Informant Tool, and (ii). General staff gender audit tool. Descriptive data will be analyzed using MS Excel predefined templates then exported to SPSS for final analysis, while qualitative data were analyzed using thematic content analysis.

On the gender representation status in County committees, the audit has revealed that all the Assemblies under this study have achieved the 33% gender representation. However, the counties had to do significant nomination of women representatives to achieve the constitutional threshold. The study has established that most of the 12 counties did not meet the 33% gender representation in house committees. Attempts have been made to include women in Assembly committees, but the committees remain male-dominated. Unsparingly, all significant and influential committees are male-dominated.

Further, this audit revealed that women MCAs are insignificantly represented in committee leadership as the majority of chairpersons and vice-chairpersons are male. On the objective of examining urgent problems, gaps and barriers facing women legislators in the undertaking of their roles in the County Assemblies, the findings show that gender ideology, cultural patterns, and predetermined social roles assigned to women and men were a major inhibition to women's participation in political processes at the County Assemblies. Additionally, lack of legislative capabilities,

confidence in legislative processes, lack of adequate training on parliamentary processes, the perception of politics as a ‘dirty’ game, and lack of gender strategy and policy are major barriers that inhibit women MCAs’ engagement in the legislative process at the County Assemblies. Finally, the study established that the majority of bills passed in the Assemblies emanated from the executive and not the house. In all the 12 counties, there was no bill that was sponsored by a woman MCA and passed in the house. Additionally, the majority of motions passed in the Assemblies were moved by male MCAs.

5.3 Discussion

5.3.1 Gender Representation in County Assemblies

As established by the finding of this study, the majority of County Assembly committees are male-dominated. Women representation in committees largely falls below the 33% desirable gender-sensitive representation. Worse still, gender representation in committee leadership is abysmal. Across all the County Assemblies, committee leadership was male-dominated. Women were sidelined from chairing most of the influential committees (select committees). In the few County Assemblies with women committee chairpersons, the committees were either concerned with gender, sports, youth, and education. Lack of gender representation was largely attributed to the patriarchal nature of Kenyan politics, citadels of male privilege in political party processes, poor participation of women in elective positions, and prescribed gender roles within the society. Kenyan patriarchal culture, household responsibilities, unfavorable electoral systems, and lack of commitment of political parties to nominate women are interconnected. In as much as these variables differ across the Counties, they nonetheless have significant impact on gender representation. One of the emerging themes from this study is how different cultures across counties shape individual attitudes towards women’s leadership and participation in political processes. Highly patriarchal communities have low women’s engagement in politics, which continues to inhibit the quest for women representation in most Kenyan counties.

Another emerging theme from this study is the majorly hostile environment in which politics in Kenya is conducted. In the 2017 elections, political party primaries were marred with irregularities and fighting. This resulted in majority of women candidates vying for various positions both at the County and national level being locked out. This was the case in several counties including Kiambu, Nairobi, and Kirinyaga. As the findings of the study have indicated, women are less willing to engage in political processes that are violent or whose results are not protected.

Lack of adequate, constant and consistent training has also contributed to women MCAs’ inadequate capacity to formulate policies, bills and motions at the County Assembly. To the extent possible, training and capacity building should be continuous to enable women MCAs to draft or participate in the drafting of a third of the bills presented to the Assemblies.

Notably, affirmative action (as provided for in the Constitution under the two-thirds gender rule) was intended not only to strengthen and enhance women’s

representation in County Assemblies, but also to present the issues that affect women. However, as noted by the findings of this study, the two-thirds gender representation that has largely been achieved by almost all the Counties has not resulted in active participation of women in legislative processes (bills and policy formulation). This means there is a need for more intervention and capacity building for women to effectively engage in legislative processes. Affirmative action involves programs to encourage women to stand for elective office and training for female aspirants. When positive action fails to bring sufficient change, demands for positive discrimination, which allocates a certain percentage of candidate slots for women, are made. Rwanda, Indonesia and Senegal present the best case studies where positive action was used to increase women's representation in legislative processes, as highlighted in Box 5.1-5.3

Box 5.2: Case Study – Women Representation in Legislative Processes in Indonesia

Patriarchal attitudes about gender roles and the suitability of women for public office are often reinforced by the public statements of religious and traditional (*adat*) leaders who are influential in local communities and in local politics. During election campaigns in Indonesia, it is commonplace for community and religious leaders and for male legislative candidates to publicly question the morality of women running for office. Indeed, despite the successful introduction of a legislative quota, Indonesia's much-lauded process of democratization since 1999 has not resulted in significant expansion in the role of women in the political sphere. Democratization has opened channels for progressive voices, but it has also opened channels for conservative and patriarchal forces to advocate less emancipatory positions. The rising influence of conservative and patriarchal attitudes in Indonesian politics is particularly evident at the local level where an increasing body of laws seeks to regulate women's appearance and conduct. According to the National Commission against Violence toward Women (*Komnas Perempuan*), as of June 2016, there were 422 bylaws that directly or indirectly discriminated against women, compared with 154 such laws in 2009. Laws discriminating against women, typically promoted in the name of religious and moral decency, include dress codes, the public segregation of men and women, and rules curtailing women's mode of travel and movements at night, all of which limit women's mobility and ability to run for office.

(Source: Hillman, B (2017): *Increasing Women's Parliamentary Representation in Asia and the Pacific: The Indonesian Experience*)

Box 5.3: Case Study 3: Gender Parity in Senegal – A Continuing Struggle

The Senegalese women's movement is said to be among the strongest in Africa, and united under the banner of COSEF (Conseil Sénégalais des Femmes), founded in 1994. Many female politicians from across the political spectrum felt heavily marginalized within their own parties and saw the need for a common arena where women's presence in politics could be discussed. These women allied with other women's organizations and trade unions and fought together for the common cause of increased representation. In 2010, the Senegalese women's movement, supported by political elites and international norms, managed to push for the adoption of one of the world's most radical gender quota laws to date. This was achieved without the support of the powerful religious leaders, the marabouts. President Wade adopted a draft legislation of absolute parity between men and women in all elective or semi-elective institutions. The jurists in COSEF proposed an amendment, which included an alternation between men and women. This improved law on parity was passed with immediate application, and its consequences were seen two years later in the national election when the portion of female parliamentarians almost doubled. The women's movement owes much of its success to President Wade. Not everyone was in favor of parity, so having the president on board was of vital importance. The Senegalese Law on Parity:

- Signed in 2010 by the former president of Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade.
- The law obliges all political parties to place women and men in an alternating matter on candidate lists, aiming at a male-female ratio of 50%.
- In cases of non-compliance, the electoral commission (CENA) has the authority to reject lists, and thus exclude parties from competing in elections.
- The 2012 national election saw an increase of women representatives from 22.7% to 42.7% in the National Assembly, and from 16% to 47% in local legislatures in the 2014 local election.

(Source: CMI Insight, 2017. Available at: <https://www.cmi.no/publications/6230-gender-parity-in-senegal-a-continuing-struggle>)

5.3.2 Gender Sensitive Bills and Motions

The findings of this study have established that bills and motions passed within the 12 County Assemblies were not gender-sensitive. Notably, most of the bills were not sponsored by the Assemblies; they were presented by the executive. The executives focused mainly on County mandates, including education, agriculture, health services, budgetary appropriations, and infrastructural development. There were no deliberate attempts to structure bills in a manner to address structural, systematic, or cultural discrimination of women in education, political, or development processes. Significantly, this study has established that majority of women MCAs lacked capacity and confidence to draft and sponsor bills that are gender-sensitive, or those that could address gender-related challenges at the County level. Additionally, the majority of motions moved at the Assemblies were male-dominant. The widespread inactivity of women MCAs in moving motions was also attributed to lack of confidence in the legislative process, lack of capacity, male dominance of the legislative processes, and lack of support from political party structures. Women demonstrate political leadership by working across party lines through parliamentary women's caucuses - even in the most politically combative environments - and by championing issues of gender equality such as the elimination of gender-based violence, parental leave and childcare, pensions, gender equality laws and electoral reform (IPU, 2008)

Other reasons County Assemblies lacked gender-sensitive bills and motions were poor gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting in the Assemblies. The aim of gender budgeting is to bring a gender perspective to economic policymaking. It involves earmarking expenditure for women, but also – and for some, more importantly – analyzing the entire gender budgeting works best when institutionalized. In Sweden, for example, it has been a long established practice to produce a gender-responsive budget bill showing the distribution of economic resources between men and women (IPU, 2011). As noted earlier, poor gender mainstreaming in County Assemblies significantly contributes to the lack of gender-responsive legislation, motions, and policies. Similar challenges have been experienced in other jurisdictions. However, different countries have utilized different approaches to address this issue. For instance, in Croatia, to ensure gender-responsive legislation, a gender equality committee was established as part of parliamentary committees. It has the mandate to address any gender-related discrimination or challenges in legislative bills, motions, and policies, as highlighted in Box 5.4

Box 5.4 Ensuring a Gender Perspective in Legislation: The Gender Equality Committee of Croatia

The Gender Equality Committee is one of 30 committees monitoring the implementation and promotion of gender equality principles in the legislation of the Republic of Croatia.

The committee also;

- promotes the signature of international documents on gender equality and monitors their application;
- participates in the drafting, implementation and analysis of the implementation of the National Gender Equality Policy in the Republic of Croatia;
- cooperates and establishes measures and activities to improve gender equality;
- proposes packages of measures to eliminate discrimination between the sexes;
- promotes equal gender representation on the composition of parliamentary working bodies and delegations;
- participates in the drafting of documents on the integration activities of the Republic of Croatia through the amendment and adaptation of legislation and executive measures to achieve gender equality according to the standards applied in the legislation and programs of the European Union;
- prepares draft legislation and other regulations on gender equality; and
- undertakes efforts to introduce gender equality principles in education, healthcare, public information, social policy, employment, free enterprise, decision-making processes, family relations, etc.

(Source: IPU, 2011)

Case Study 5.4: The Strategic Plan of the Women's Caucus in Peru: The Importance of a Good Road Map

The women's caucus in Peru developed its strategic plan for 2006-2011 with support from international cooperation agencies. It establishes the caucus's mission, vision and three key strategic objectives. The objectives formed the basis of an operating plan for 2006-2007, with five thematic work areas. This led to the adoption of a Legislative Gender Agenda of priorities for that session, as shown below:

Objectives 2006 -2011

- Highlight the role of women, with gender mainstreaming and respect for inter- and multi-cultural aspects;
- Promote and encourage active participation by women as agents of change;
- Solidify the Peruvian Parliamentary Women's Caucus nationally and internationally.

Operating Plan 2006-2007 – Thematic Areas

- Gender, democracy and political participation;
- Gender and poverty: exclusion /discrimination vs. social inclusion;
- Monitoring of compliance with international commitments on women's issues;
- Gender mainstreaming in public policies; national, regional and local plans; state practices; and legal norms; civil society participation in gender mainstreaming.

Legislative Agenda, 2006

- Equal Opportunity Law (that ensured economic provisions in bills were formulated on equality basis for both men and women);
- Electoral system reform;
- Sexual & Reproductive Health Law;
- Elimination of all forms of discrimination;
- Reforms for inclusive, equitable education;
- Criminal Code reforms to eliminate violence against women and children;
- Measures for women's economic integration;
- Gender mainstreaming in national, regional and local budgets;
- Review of the Civic Participation and Oversight Law;

- Law on Living Original Languages;
- Modifications to Integral Health Insurance for women's health care;
- Modifications to penitentiary system to improve conditions for female prisoners and their children;
- Norms to help young women and men enter the labor market;
- Inclusion of gender variables in national statistics;
- Monitoring of Truth Commission recommendations on women.

Case study, Peru

(Source: IPU (2011): Gender-Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Good Practices, *Reports and Document*, No.65, pg. 50

Therefore, adopting simple measures such as gender mainstreaming and gender-responsive budgeting at the County Assemblies can effectively tackle gender sensitivity challenges in Kenya.

5.3.3 Barriers to Effective Legislation by Women Members of County Assemblies

The findings of this study have indicated that numerous factors exist in Kenya that inhibit effective legislation by women members of County Assemblies. The factors include lack of adequate legislative capacity, lack of consistent capacity training and mentorship, inhibitive traditional gendered roles, political cartels and male dominance of political processes, lack of confidence, the perception of politics as 'dirty,' and inadequate media attention on the challenges of women members of County Assemblies. One of the effective ways to address this barrier is the formation of strategic County Assembly women's caucuses with a legislative agenda, as indicated in the case of Peru in Box 5.5.

Women's Assembly caucuses are important in that they can also help to incorporate a gender dimension into the preparation and approval of draft legislations to ensure there is adequate monitoring of public policies directly or indirectly. Particularly, this can be done to ensure women are guaranteed equal treatment and access to resources before bills sail through parliament. Secondly, women's caucuses can be used to promote affirmative action to guarantee equal opportunity and treatment and full enjoyment of rights enshrined in the Constitution and international human rights treaties, and at the County Assembly level. This means that there is a need for the development of a gender equality plan of action with clear objectives and targets to give direction to such efforts in addition to training of women Assembly members on how to caucus or lobby around a specific gender issue. To dismantle citadels of male privilege and dominance of political processes, there is a need to involve men in women's caucuses and committees on gender equity in County Assemblies.

5.4 Conclusion

The 12 County Assemblies assessed for this study do not have adequate representation of women in house committees. First, male Assembly members dominate almost all the committees. Women are inadequately represented in influential Assembly committees that are critical to house business, rules and procedures, and budgetary appropriations. House business membership is composed of chairpersons or various committees. Thus, since majority of women are missing as chairpersons, they are locked out of the house business committees. Most of the committee membership and chairpersons are selected before nominations, locking out women since they have not yet been nominated at this point. There are, unfortunately, very few examples of ‘checklists’ for verifying that legislation has been adequately assessed from a gender perspective. Notably, all County Assemblies did not have gender mainstreaming frameworks of infrastructure, gender-responsive budgeting, gender-responsive committees, and as such, had not sponsored and passed any gender-sensitive bills and motions. Mechanisms for actively promoting gender equality were nascent or missing altogether. Therefore, systematic discrimination of women members of County Assemblies from influential decision-making processes both directly and indirectly was prevalent.

Secondly, cultural and traditional gendered roles within different County Assembly committees will continue to hinder gender inclusivity and equality in political and legislative processes at the County Assembly level. If dominant patriarchal societies are not sensitized and re-educated on the importance of women’s participation in political and legislative processes, development and sustainable development goals towards 2030 will not be achieved. Disenfranchisement and relegation of women to ‘non-influential’ committees will not advance the cause of gender equality, as envisaged in the Constitution of Kenya 2010.

5.5 Recommendations

5.5.1 Non State Actors

Following are recommendations for non-state actors:

- Develop gender-mainstreaming infrastructure at Assemblies. This should include a gender policy, human resources, gender expertise, and gender policy action plan.
- There is a need to help County Assemblies develop a legislative strategic plan and gender equality action plan with clear objectives and targets for women’s caucus groups.
- There is a need for continuous training and capacity building of women MCAs on legislative processes, bill drafting, lobbying, and consensus building.
- Help to dismantle political cartels and male dominance of political processes by ensuring equitable gender representation through gender representation quotas.
- Partner with County Assemblies to offer continuous support and mentorship.

as a way of boosting WMCA's confidence in leadership and legislative processes.

- Deconstructing perception of politics as 'dirty' by showcasing the positive impact of women in political and legislative processes.

5.5.2 Political Parties

Recommendations for political parties:

- Political party leadership structures should include women. This will ensure that women's issues or agenda is considered when formulating party policies on political engagement and nominations.
- Political parties should engage in community sensitization on the importance of women's involvement in political processes.
- Gender representation in County Assemblies should include representation in influential committees (select committees).
- The Political Parties Act should be revised to compel political parties to provide minimum gender representation on electoral lists.

5.5.2 County Assemblies

County Assemblies should consider the following recommendations as a way of enhancing women's participation in political processes:

- County Assemblies should conduct committee membership allocations after nominations have been conducted. This will eliminate the current situation, where nominated women MCAs get to the Assembly only to find majority of committees allocated and leadership positions distributed.
- Establish gender equality committees to normalize a gender lens in everyday County Assembly practices (e.g. debates, questions, or committee work). This will ensure that gender equality is at the forefront of County representation.
- Develop sex-disaggregated data to inform legislation, County policy, and development.
- Mainstream gender equality through Assemblies' work. This should include reorganization of existing Assembly practices such as establishing specific times dedicated to debating gender equality concerns.
- Institutionalize gender-sensitive budgeting as a way of addressing gender-related issues in participation and development.
- The previous training model for women MCAs in legislative processes seems not to be effective. There is a need for CAF to collaborate with non-state actors to redesign the training. Previous training has not yielded any tangible results in bills and motions sponsored by women MCAs.
- There is also a need to find out why Counties run by women governors have not yielded much in terms of gender-sensitive policies and legislation, and gender

mainstreaming both at the executive and Assembly levels.

5.5.4 County Assemblies Forum (CAF)

The recommendations for the County Assemblies Forum:

- There is a need to conduct a gender audit in all the 47 counties. The 12 counties under this study will benefit from the findings, but the other 35 will not.
- CAF should develop mechanisms for scrutinizing women's nomination process to the County Assemblies. This will ensure that the process is not abused through nepotism and favoritism, which have largely led to nomination of persons who cannot perform.
- Advocate the revision of the Political Parties Act to compel political parties to provide minimum gender representation on electoral lists.
- Provide adequate resources in terms of training and capacity building of women MCAs on legislative processes.
- Strengthen women's caucuses through training, and capacity building on legislative processes, drafting of bills, motions, and policies.
- Help County Assemblies establish a legislative framework and manuals for inducting new members.
- Partner with media houses to utilize broadcast, digital and written media in local languages not only to challenge outdated gendered roles but also highlight the challenges and triumphs of women legislators. This should include showcasing the impact of influential male and female legislators

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