

**NAIROBI CITY COUNTY WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE  
REPRESENTATION OF THEIR INTERESTS BY WOMEN MEMBERS OF  
PARLIAMENT**

**TESSY AWINO AURA**

**REG. NO. N69/71706/2014**

**A PROJECT PAPER SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF  
ANTHROPOLOGY, GENDER AND AFRICAN STUDIES IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER  
OF ARTS IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY  
OF NAIROBI**

**NOVEMBER 2015**

**DECLARATION**

This project paper is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signature .....

Date .....

**Tessy Awino Aura**

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

Signature .....

Date.....

**Prof. Simiyu Wandibba**

## **DEDICATION**

To my dear grand mother, Joan Wilkister Odeny and my mother Sarah Odembi Aura; the two of you have taught me through example what it is to be Woman. Over the years, you have laboured through action and lectures to impart on me great wisdom and understanding. Although I may have never shown appreciation for your knowledge, and still could show more, as I am coming into my own womanhood I hear the silent proverbial “I told you so”, that the two of you would never utter, every time I learn a lesson you previously warned me about. You have instilled in me a deep appreciation for education. Your legacy of love, acceptance and generosity is one I hope I can carry on for the rest of my days on earth.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES .....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
ABSTRACT .....	vi
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	vii
CHAPTER ONE .....	1
BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Objectives of the Study .....	4
1.3.1 General Objective.....	4
1.3.2 Specific Objectives .....	4
1.4 Assumptions of the Study .....	4
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	4
1.6 Scope of the Study .....	5
1.7 Limitations of the Study .....	5
1.8 Key Terms and Terminologies.....	6
CHAPTER TWO.....	8
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Women’s Descriptive Representation in Parliament .....	8
2.6.1 The Politics of Presence Theory.....	16
2.6.2 Relevance of the Theory .....	17
CHAPTER THREE.....	19
METHODOLOGY.....	19
3.1 Introduction.....	19
3.2 Research Site.....	19
3.3 Research Design .....	20
3.4 Study Population and Unit of Analysis.....	21
3.5 Sample Population.....	21
3.6 Sampling Procedure.....	21

<b>3.7 Data Collection Methods .....</b>	<b>22</b>
3.7.1 Structured Interviews.....	22
3.7.2 Key Informant Interviews .....	22
3.7.3 Secondary Sources .....	22
<b>3.8 Pilot Study.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>3.9 Data Processing and Analysis .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>3.10 Ethical Considerations.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>CHAPTER FOUR .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>NAIROBI WOMEN’S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATION OF THEIR INTERESTS BY WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>4.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents.....</b>	<b>25</b>
4.2.1 Age of Respondents .....	25
4.2.2 Highest Education Level Completed .....	26
4.2.3 Monthly Income .....	27
4.2.4 Marital Status.....	27
<b>4.3 How Nairobi City County Understand and Prioritize their Interests .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>4.4 The extent to which Nairobi City County women expect women MPs to serve interests compared to men MPs .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>5.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>5.2 Discussion.....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>5.3 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>5.4 Recommendations .....</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Appendix I: Introductory Letter .....</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>Appendix II: Questionnaire .....</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>Appendix III: Key Informant Interview Guide .....</b>	<b>63</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4. 1: Respondents' Age Distribution .....	26
Table 4. 2: Repondents' Educational Levels .....	26
Table 4. 3: Respondents' Monthly Incomes .....	27
Table 4. 4: Respondents' Marital Status.....	27
Table 4. 5: Interests of Importance to Women .....	29
Table 4. 6: Top 5 Women's Interests Based on Age .....	31
Table 4. 7: Top 5 Women's Interests Based on Monthly Income .....	33
Table 4. 8: Top 5 Women's Interests Based on Education Levels .....	35
Table 4. 9: Top 5 Women's Interests Based on Marital Status .....	37
Table 4.10: Additional Women's Interests.....	39

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual Framework .....	18
Figure 3. 1: Nairobi Central Business District.....	20
Figure 4. 1: Importance of Women in Parliament and Policy-making Positions .....	29
Figure 4. 2: Respondents' Attitudes Towards MPs' Goals and Interests in Parliament ....	41
Figure 4. 3: Respondents' Attitudes Towards Representation by Women MPs .....	42
Figure 4. 4: Respondents' Attitudes Towards the Status Quo of Women's Interests' Representation.....	44
Figure 4. 5: Gender Preferences Regarding Women's Interests' Representation .....	46
Figure 4. 6: Respondents' Willingness to Elect Women MPs .....	50

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank God who, after years of believing was a separate entity, I have come to learn is within me and all that surrounds me, which has helped me tap into a Joy, Peace and Love that has always been and will always be.

Secondly, I extend my deepest gratitude to my University Supervisor, Professor Simiyu Wandibba, for his patience, insight and counsel. I once was lost and then I found him and my path has never been clearer. He has shared with me numerous academic and personal lessons that I will forever cherish and apply in all my endeavours.

Next, I would like to thank my family, especially my Aunt, Ruth Aura, for her inputs and guidance and my father, Tom Ojienda whose inquisitiveness and interests in my topic, since day one, has motivated me and sustained my confidence. I am also greatly indebted to my comrades who have been through the trenches with me in this incredible yet stressful journey: Brian Osundwa Olunga, my biggest cheerleader, who celebrated every milestone I hit; Laura Christine Heintzman, my soul sister, whose encouraging words fueled me every time I felt discouraged; and David Christopher Thomas for his stern but friendly reminders to put my academic life together.

I am also appreciative of Joseph Kariuki for listening to me whenever I vented to him for in the end he would meet me with a supportive hug that assured me that I would be okay. And, finally, Michael Pinywuoro for providing me with the sweetest escape I never knew I needed in the midst of all the pandemonium.

The next step is my doctorate degree; I hope to have you all by my side mentally, physically and spiritually when that time comes. In the meantime, we celebrate this accomplishment.



## ABSTRACT

This study set out to explore women's attitudes towards the representation of their interests by women Members of Parliament (MPs) in Nairobi City County. The basic question that the study sought an answer to was, "To what extent are women MPs better at representing women's interests than men MPs"? The main objective of the study was, therefore, to explore Nairobi women's attitudes towards women MPs representation of their interests. The study was done in Nairobi's Central Business District and targeted women who were registered voters. It was cross-sectional and descriptive in design. Data were collected using structured and key informant interviews.

The study makes the general conclusion that within the country, the presence of women descriptively and substantively is influenced by the attitudes of women towards the past and current representation of their interests by women in Parliament. The study reveals that women understand and prioritize interests that directly impact their lives and expect and trust them to be represented primarily by women members of parliament. Thus, the degree to which this occurs influences the number of women elected to parliament. However, this is also influenced by the entrenched socio-cultural traditions and practices that have historically favoured men's interests vis-a-vis women's interests.

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>CBD</b>	Central Business District
<b>FIDA-K</b>	Federation of Women Lawyers Kenya
<b>KNBS</b>	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organization
<b>UNON</b>	United Nations Offices in Nairobi
<b>UoN</b>	University of Nairobi

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction

Women constitute a majority of the world's population; yet only 22 % are in parliament. Only in a few countries has the percentage of women in national legislatures reached the critical mass of at least 30% (Dahlerup, 1988:275), with Rwanda taking the lead with 63.8% in the Lower House. Most countries register far less than the critical mass of women in this sphere. Globally, Nordic countries have the highest representation of women in parliament (41.1%) followed by the Americas (27.4%), Europe, excluding Nordic countries (24.4%), Sub-Saharan Africa (23.4%), Asia (19%), Arab states (19%) and the Pacific (13.1%) (Ipu.org., 2015).

Scholars have differentiated four main arguments to support equal representation of women in parliament. The first argument is that equal representation of women is a democratic right; therefore, a low representation of women in parliament within a country epitomizes a failing democracy (Carroll, 1984). The second argument is that a large representation of women in parliament challenges the common notion that politics is a male domain and thus encourages more women to participate within the sphere (Dahlerup, 1988). The third argument asserts that the experiences women bring into politics due to their biological and gender differences influences their performance and leading styles in public office ergo their increased participation improves the nature of the politics (Stoper & Johnson, 1977). The final argument stresses that men and women have different and conflicting interests and thus men cannot adequately or fairly represent

women, as history dictates. These arguments all highlight the fact that who representatives are and whom they represent is of great significance.

This issue of equal representation of citizens and their interests is the main motivation for the use of gender quotas in parliament. The quotas are the key measures used to palliate the structural and political barriers that often prevent the fair access to parliament by women and other minority groups (Dahlerup, 1988; Chaney, 2006). The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 is a landmark reform within the country, to encourage and achieve equal opportunities for men and women in the political arena. In an effort to resolve the marginalization of women's representation in politics, it mandates that no more than two-thirds of members of elective and appointive governmental bodies should be of the same gender (Republic of Kenya, 2010). However, the current representation of women in parliament still does not meet the threshold set out by the Constitution.

Scholars posit that the implication of this marginal representation of women in parliament is that women's interests will not be substantially represented. However, the increase in the number of women in parliament has not been directly linked to substantial representation of women's interests. Instead, the interests of the women in parliament if, in line with feminist ideals, are more likely to differently influence the political status quo that often marginalizes women (Ford, 2002).

It is expected that Kenyan women members of parliament understand their roles and responsibilities to be to the general population and women; however, very few studies have embarked on what women expect from women MPs with specific regard to their interests and if these expectations are being met. Therefore, this study assessed how

women in Nairobi City County view the representation of their interests by women Members of Parliament (MPs).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In the past 50 years, Kenyan men and women have elected less than 100 women to parliament. Though the Kenyan gender perspective of legislation emphasizes equality between women and men in the political arena, the dismal progression of representation of women in parliament indicates otherwise. The gender disparity persists when women attempt to access parliament as candidates and even as members of parliament their representation of women's interests is impeded. Historically, the monopolization of seats in parliament by men has resulted in women's interests being dismissed to the peripheries of national concerns.

In the recent past, a number of researchers have documented how the increased representation of women in a parliament can influence policies central to women's interests in a way different from previous years in Kenya (Nzomo, 1997; Wanyeki, 2009; Okello, 2010; Barasa, 2011). However, such documentation has not focused on how women define these interests in contemporary times and whether they expect them or perceive them to be addressed by women MPs. Thus, this research sought answers to two main questions, namely:

- a) How do women in Nairobi City County understand and prioritize their interests?
- b) Do women in this County expect women MPs to serve these interests better than men MPs?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

To explore the attitudes of Nairobi women towards the representation of their interests by women MPs.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

- a) To investigate how women in Nairobi City County understand and prioritize their interests.
- b) To determine the extent to which women in this County expect women MPs to serve their interests better than men MPs.

### **1.4 Assumptions of the Study**

- a) Women in Nairobi City County understand and prioritize their interests.
- b) These women expect women MPs to serve their interests better than men MPs.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

In order to increase women's descriptive and substantive representation of women in parliament, it is imperative to understand how women define and prioritize their interests as well as the expected roles and responsibilities of women in parliament in addressing them. This study provides this insight for Kenya. It presents the manner in which women view the issue of having more women in the Kenyan parliament and how they have some clear objectives and understanding regarding women MPs' representation of their interests. On this account, the study is unique in that it links women's understanding of their interests to their descriptive and substantive representation by women parliamentarians.

The findings of this study have, no doubt, contributed to the existing knowledge and research on women's political participation. Moreover, the study should be useful to organizations and institutions that are involved in advancing women's interests and the achievement of equal representation in the political sphere.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This research was carried out among women aged 18 and above living in Nairobi City County registered as voters. The actual location of the study was the Central Business District of the City. The study focused on the descriptive and substantive representation of women's interests in parliament and the challenges associated with them. Further, it sought to conceptualize women's interests as defined and prioritized by Kenyan women living in Nairobi in order to gain an entry point into evaluating whether women feel that their interests would be better represented by women MPs. Finally, the study was guided by the theory of the politics of presence to explain the relationship between the variables that were observed.

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

Irrespective of this research being well prepared, limitations were evident that affected the quantity and quality of the study and, therefore, may have compromised the validity and reliability of the study. First, the size and make-up of the sample was relatively small compared to the population of women in Nairobi City County. However, the accuracy was not compromised but rather the degree of accuracy would change if the sample size was to be increased.

Second, the study did not account for the perspectives of men. The inclusion of the male perspective would have been beneficial in that men also elect women MPs and thus have

their own expectations for them and the issues they should represent. However, this study's primary aim was to understand women's views of the representation of their own interests given their complexities and differences.

Third, since the research was carried out in an urban setting, the results cannot be generalized to the rural population. However, the findings can be utilized to perform a comparative study in a rural setting. Finally, though women MPs were actively sought out to participate in this study, the researcher was not able to interview them. However, their positions were delimited through secondary data such as media and research interviews that provided insights into their perceptions of what roles they are expected to play.

### **1.8 Key Terms and Terminologies**

**Parliament:** According to Republic of Kenya (2010), Parliament maintains and exercises the legislative authority of the Republic that is derived from the people and at the national level. It is a body that consists of a National Assembly and the Senate that is tasked with representing the will of the people, and exercises their sovereignty.

**Political Representation** refers to the activity of ensuring that the inhabitants of a region's voices, interests and perspectives are visible, put forward and heard in the decision and policy-making process.

**Descriptive Representation** highlights the numerical aspect of representatives in the political sphere and seeks to explain why a certain group may be excluded or marginalized (Pitkin, 1967; Kanter, 1977; Dahlerup, 1988).



**Substantive Representation** refers to the activity of ensuring that the inhabitants of a region's voices, interests and perspectives are visible, put forward and heard in the decision and policy-making process (Pitkin, 1967).

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the research questions. The literature is reviewed using the following sub-headings: women's descriptive representation in parliament, factors influencing women's presence in parliament, women's interest, and women's substantive representation in parliament. The chapter ends with a discussion of the theory that guided this study.

#### **2.2 Women's Descriptive Representation in Parliament**

Since its independence, the number of women in parliament in Kenya has been dismal. In the first general election no women were nominated or elected to Parliament. In the second general election, in 1969, Mrs. Grace Onyango became the first woman to be elected (Kamau, 2010). Prior to the 2013 elections, the highest percentage of parliamentary seats held by women was 9.38%. According to FIDA-Kenya (2013:2) between 1963 and 2012, Kenyan voters had elected less than 50 women to parliament. Currently the percentage of women in parliament is approximately 19%.

Evidently, though the number of Kenyan women in parliament is increasing, the dismal progression indicates that they still experience impediments to accessing parliamentary seats in large numbers (Nzomo, 1997). Extensive literature has been produced detailing the factors that influence women's numerical representation in this sphere (Nzomo, 1997; Karuru, 2001; Afifu, 2008; Okello, 2010). These mainly include: social attitudes, socio-economic factors, political parties and electoral quotas, which are discussed briefly below.

### **2.3 Factors Influencing Women's Presence in Parliament**

Social attitudes regarding women's roles and capabilities are largely culpable for the situation and position of women in society. In Kenya the pervading perception of women is that they are subordinate and beneficiaries of their male counterparts. Moreover, in their development or adult socialization, women are often taught to be less interested in politics than men, deeming it an inappropriate space for women to enter into in many societies given its perceived aggressive nature (Hedlund et al., 1979). O-Makdwallo (2010) found that, generally, Kenyans considered teaching, nursing and sales and marketing as careers best suited for women. Out of a total number of 112 respondents, only three listed politics as a career choice acceptable for women (ibid, 2010:33).

Evidently, in Kenya, the woman's human potential is perceived as best fulfilled in her role as a mother, wife and in jobs that coincide with these roles. Mary Emaase, a single Teso South MP, explained that when she vied for her position the general consensus and fear amongst her community was that she had not been able to "raise a family" and thus she should not be trusted with their votes to be a leader on the basis of her being an unmarried woman (Kenya CitizenTV, 2013). Though she succeeded in changing the minds of many to win the elections, she stated that she still continues to face discrimination and barriers in the political sphere from her male counterparts, including propaganda which largely targets her unmarried-ness and woman-ness.

Kenya is in an interesting case in that since its independence there has been no national legislation barring women from the political realm. However, sex stereotypes often continue to marginalize them in parliament. For instance, in 1992 when MP Phoebe Asiyo tabled the first motion on affirmative action for women's representation in elective

positions, it was denied. The consensus amongst the male leaders was that men were superior to women, especially in leadership and politics, male MPs represented everyone, and that the constitution did not prevent women from coming into parliament. Thus, they needed to be patient and leave things up to nature for a political evolution to occur where their leadership was valued and in demand (Kamau, 2010:12).

Socio-economic factors also influence the presence of women in parliament. The attitudes regarding sex roles often interact with and influence the educational and financial status of women, which further impedes their participation in parliament through electing candidates or seeking positions. Socio-economic backgrounds determine the 'supply' of women eligible for elective and appointive positions in politics and also the 'demand' by the people that women should be in these positions (Kenworthy & Malami, 1999; Paxton & Kunovich, 2003). This includes educational attainments and qualifications, employment experience and political experience. Irrespective of women's interests, experience, adequate qualifications, knowledge or personality traits often these gender biases still influence voter choice (Sanbonmatsu, 2002:32).

Socio-economic achievements often lead to disparity in time, income, knowledge, networks, and skills between men and women. Furthermore, poverty in agrarian societies limits women's resources, which makes them inopportune in competing in national politics with their male counterparts in Kenya (Affifu, 2008; Wanyeki, 2009). According to Ballington and Karam (2005), empowering women economically and increasing their access to education and information will result in freeing women from the household domain to fully participate in politics and elections.

The third factor that influences women's access to parliament is political parties.

Statistics show that parliamentary representation did not surpass the 5% threshold prior to the shift from a single-party system to a multi-party system. The first multi-party general election in 2002 resulted in 7.14% women being elected and nominated to parliament compared to 3.57% of the previous single-party elections (Nzomo, 2003). Under the single-party system, political enlisting and accruing of power by individuals was largely based on self-serving interests and exclusive to men. With the shift to a multi-party system there was an increase in the number of women and political opportunities available to them as it allowed for “freedom of expression, association and assembly for both political parties and various pressure groups including women’s rights groups, space women used to lobby for gender equality in political representation” (Okello, 2010: 18).

Most parties assert that their election rules and regulations are gender sensitive; however, the recent FIDA-Kenya gender audit study of the 10<sup>th</sup> Parliament shows that political parties still denied women positions in the 2013 general elections by:

...[Failing to set] aside nomination to elective seats for women in their strongholds; allowing violations and unscrupulous practices against women candidates, including intimidation and use of unfair tactics by male opponents; marginalization and exclusion of women at party level (e.g., irregular direct nominations, names missing from ballot papers); and ineffective or non-existent dispute resolution mechanisms at the party level (FIDA-Kenya, 2013: 37).

Moreover, the politics within political parties dictate that the leaders of the parties collate the party list. “Therefore, it can result in the nomination of candidates who are partial to the party leadership” (ibid: 10). This has great repercussions in terms of whose interests the women will be serving once nominated.

Finally, gender quotas also largely influence the presence of women in parliament. In an effort to achieve gender equality, gender quotas are used globally as key expedients that

have succeeded in allowing women to overcome structural and political barriers to access parliament. However, when not applied with true intentions of realizing genuine representation, gender quotas may impede gender equality. According to Kabeer (2005:21), quotas that do not work towards the empowerment of women essentially lead to ‘tokenism,’ a process where small numbers of women are assigned seats in order to give the appearance of gender equality within a nation. Thus, quotas are founded upon the realization that an underrepresented group needs a large enough presence to be visible and heard in order to convey the common perspectives, issues and interests of their group.

In the Kenyan context, gender quotas were adopted in 2005 to increase the numerical representation of women in parliament to at least 30% (FIDA-K, 2010). However, the 2007 elections only resulted in 7.14% representation. Furthermore, the Republic of Kenya (2010) mandates that no more than two-thirds of members of elective public bodies should be of the same gender. However, following the 2013 general elections, Kenya’s women’s parliamentary representation increased only to 19.7%, (Ipu.org., 2015). Given this status quo, the Kenya government could be declared unconstitutional as it fails to fulfill the mandated one-third-gender rule. Earlier in 2013, women rights groups and organizations went to court seeking redress on this matter; however, the Supreme Court ruled that the Kenya government is constitutional and that the one-third gender rule could not be realized immediately but rather progressively (Dudley, 2013).

### **2.3 Women’s Interests**

There is difficulty in defining what women’s interests are as they are not a homogenous group. In her conceptualization of women’s interests, Molyneux (1985) prefers to use the

term gender as it confers recognition of the social and economic differences and relations of women. Molyneux (1985:232) defines gender interests as "those that women (or men) may develop by the virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes". Therefore women's interests are bound to be different and complex. Caroline Moser (1989) adds that while women may have particularly shared general interests, it is imperative to enumerate how the disparate groups of women are different and thus affected differently.

Molyneux (1985) further classifies gender interests into two categories, namely, strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. Essentially, the practical gender interests of women are those concerned with the condition of women and their access to resources: food, work, shelter, water, and so forth. According to Moser (1989:1801) they relate to the needs of women associated with their responsibilities and tasks related to their traditional roles or immediate observed necessity. On the contrary, strategic interests are those that are concerned with the position of women in relation to men in any given society. Strategic interests are primarily concerned with power and control over resources and as such are capable of transforming gender roles, stereotypes and relations to ensure gender equality in the long run are met, for instance, control over mobility, access to employment, inheritance and political or social participation (Molyneux, 1985; Moser, 1989).

## **2.5 Women's Substantive Representation in Parliament**

Conventionally, women's interests have been defined as interests that are different from those of men primarily due to their different conditions and positions in society. Various scholars assert that due to women's gender-specific experiences in the household,

community and workplace level, women often triage childcare, health and education (Moser 1989; Phillips, 1998; Ford, 2002; Loveduski & Norris, 2003;). More specifically, women's interests are conceptualized as concerns where any policy interventions or measures would affect "significantly larger numbers of women" more immediately and directly than men (Carroll, 1984:15). Following Carroll's conceptualization, this study takes women's practical and strategic interests in the Kenyan context to include: childcare, domestic violence, health, education, reproductive rights, female genital cutting, sexual and gender-based violence against women, marriage, property, succession and family laws, and environment related resources (Barasa, 2011:9).

Though any changes on policy in any of these issues would impact women more than men, scholars have found the idea of discrete common interests among all women hollow as there are other critical factors that determine the perspectives and priorities of these interests and the representation of them, such as race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic background, age, status and the political climate. For instance, women elected or nominated into parliament tend to come from middle-class backgrounds. Therefore, it is not guaranteed that they will identify with or be amenable to the interests and needs of women living in poverty in comparison to their male counterparts (Kabeer, 2005:22).

Thus, in the context of Kenya, the increase of women in parliament does not necessarily follow that the female representatives will be more responsive to the high population of economically under-privileged women, if a common economic class is not shared (Kabeer, 2005; Barasa, 2011). This shows that while equal representation decrees an increase in the number of women in parliament, it does not necessarily infer substantive representation, gender mainstreaming or gender equality. Therefore, it is not solely an



issue of the presence of women in parliament but also a presence of feminist ideas and their propensity to act or speak in favour of these ideals (Ford, 2002). In the quest for gender equality there are numerous factors that influence women's representation despite their entry and access to the legislative body.

Power and influence are great obstacles to the representation of women's interest in parliament. Although women's issues can and should be addressed at all governmental levels and ministries, the relegating of women to specific positions proves a lack of commitment to gender equality. Furthermore, it is clear that the female MPs believe that having these positions in welfare affairs for women does not necessarily confer their influence on the legislative processes (Barasa, 2011).

Moreover, political parties and men in general control the access to political candidacy and power (Pharr, 1981) and so influence the degree to which women's interests are represented in parliament (Tremblay, 1998). This is evident in Uganda where "the majority of the female Parliamentarians are in fact wives of powerful men in the same government, who exercise absolute power over the women, and so makes it very difficult for women there to drive their own agendas" (Barasa, 2011). Furthermore, ties to political parties often dictate the voting benchmark of female MPs (Duverger, 1955; Chaney, 2006).

With all this in mind, the following questions arise: whose interests do female MPs act and speak on? Are they accountable to a wider community of women or the general population of their constituencies and electors? Studies reveal that, surprisingly, in some circumstances women in the political sphere do not feel accountable to women or obligated to represent their issues (Lovenduski & Hills, 1981). This is the trend in Kenya

where “female MPs do not necessarily feel accountable to women particularly because female voters discriminate against them” (Barasa, 2011:35). Franceschet and Krook (2008:16) note that there are different phases to substantive representation of women’s interests: 1) the promotion of women’s interests through the introduction of bills and laws; 2) soliciting and mobilizing support for the latter; and 3) voting, passing and implementing legislations that protect and promote women’s rights. At these stages, it is not only the mass and acts of women that matter in changing policy but rather the mass and acts of the collective in support of women’s interests. Furthermore, women are diverse and their experiences are not uniform in character and thus it cannot be assumed that simply because an MP is female, she shares the same ideals as other women. On the contrary, it is likely that the perspectives and how women MPs prioritize women’s interests will differ.

## **2.6 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.6.1 The Politics of Presence Theory**

This study was guided by the politics of presence theory propounded by Anne Phillips (1995, 1998). The theory posits that though the numerical presence of women within parliament is usually juxtaposed with their representation of women’s interests and concerns in policy, the direct link between the two is not overt, as changes or lack of changes in policy cannot be exclusively attributed to the presence, ideas and efforts of women but rather the presence of ideas and individuals who support women’s interests. In the representation of women’s interests, Phillips argues that it is not imperative to “establish a unified interest of all women” but rather it is vitally important to establish the points of divergence between the interests of women and men (Phillips, 1995:68). It is

these gender interests that lead to a change in the political status quo when more women enter into the legislature.

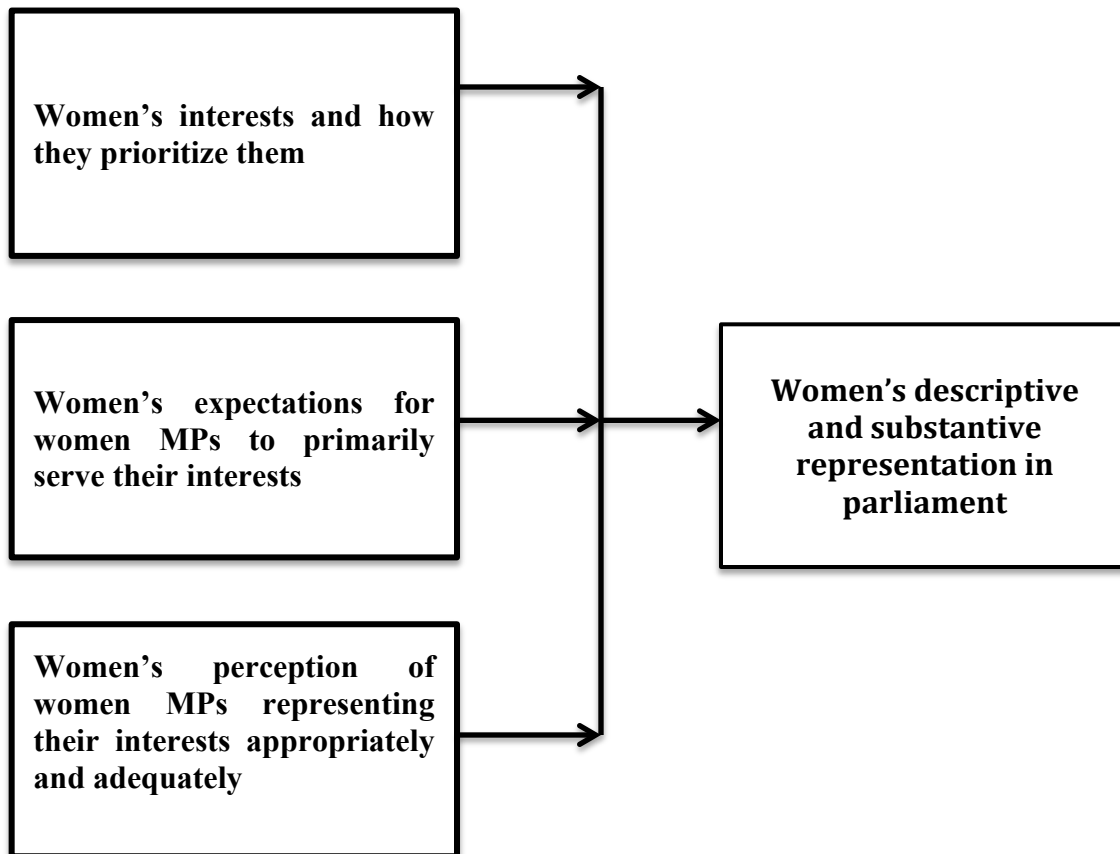
Subsequently, the generally accepted pattern of experiment in this area is measuring women and men politicians' views on women's issues and interests. For instance, Lovenduski and Norris (2003: 89) tested out the politics of presence theory in Westminster, by examining the difference between the attitudes and values of men and women politicians by measuring "(i) the legislative voting record of MPs; (ii) the roles and activities of backbenchers; and (iii) the underlying cultural attitudes and ideological values of politicians." They found that policies to redress women's issues could only be changed or implemented if the women entering into the legislature prioritize women's issues such as emphasizing "public spending on education rather than defense, or if they raise more parliamentary questions about childcare than about Europe, or if they pay more attention to constituency service rather than parliamentary debate" (Lovenduski and Norris, 2003:97). Wangnerud (2000) also found that in the Swedish Riksgad, female politicians, more than their male counterparts, represent the concerns and interests of women. Evidently, descriptive representation only leads to substantive representation if the women elected into politics have different views and values than their male counterparts.

### **2.6.2 Relevance of the Theory**

It is important to note that Phillips (1995, 1998) also contends that women are not a homogenous group and thus their interests on issues such as childcare, or equal opportunities in employment and education will differ. Thus, the manner in which they

are defended and represented heavily relies on the distinctive group and background women political leaders identify with. This study uses this as a point of departure.

While the theory of political presence has usually been used to measure women and men MPs' views on equality and women's issues, the parameters of this study differ from this in that it measures the subjects of the said representation in order to determine if there is a relationship between women's attitudes towards women in parliament and the levels at which women in parliament are present descriptively and substantively (See Figure 2.1 below).



**Fig. 2.1: Conceptual Framework**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methodology that will be used in this study. It begins with describing the research site, research design, study population and unit of analysis, sample population, sample procedure, data collection, processing and analysis, and culminates with a discussion of the ethical considerations that guided this study.

#### **3.2 Research Site**

This study was conducted in Nairobi City County, which hosts Kenya's capital city. The country's urbanization is largely centralized in Nairobi (Wanyeki, 2009:171). Nairobi City County is divided into 17 constituencies: Westlands, Dagoretti (North and South), Lang'ata, Kibra, Roysambu, Kasarani, Ruaraka, Embakasi (South, North, East, West, and Central), Madaraka, Kamukunji, Starehe and Mathare, and has a total population of 3,138,369 million people according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS, 2009). Approximately 49% of these are female. Evidently, it was difficult and impractical to include all women living in Nairobi City County in this study. Thus, this study was carried out in the Central Business District (CBD) of Nairobi (Figure 3.1). The Central Business District is the hub of the city and is comprised of numerous business, commercial and government offices (Muiruri, 2010:35).



**Figure 3.1: Nairobi Central Business District**

**(Source: Google Maps)**

### **3.3 Research Design**

This study was descriptive in nature as it observed and described the perceptions of women without influencing them in any way. It was also cross-sectional in that it observed the phenomenon at just one point in time. This research design was suitable for this study as it helped determine the perceptions of Nairobi women regarding the representation of their interests by women MPs. In an effort to explore the causes of the present state of women’s substantive and descriptive representation in Kenya, two types of data were used, primary and secondary data. Structured and key informant interviews

were utilized to collect primary data while secondary data were derived from existing literature to corroborate the observations made from the field.

Additionally, the study employed a mixed methods research, integrating both quantitative and qualitative approaches in an effort to mitigate the limitations of using each of them exclusively (Driscoll et al., 2007:19-21). The quantitative approach was used to collect numerical findings, which were analysed using Microsoft Excel, and the findings presented using descriptive statistics and frequency distributions. On the other hand, the qualitative approach focused on the personal insights and descriptions provided by the informants. The deductive approach was utilized to analyse the qualitative data; the answers were grouped according to the research questions, evaluated for similarities and differences and then presented thematically.

### **3.4 Study Population and Unit of Analysis**

The study population consisted of all women above the age of 18 in Nairobi City County who are registered voters. The unit of analysis was the individual woman registered as a voter.

### **3.5 Sample Population**

The sample population consisted of 72 women obtained from the above population in the Central Business District.

### **3.6 Sampling Procedure**

Convenient sampling techniques were utilized to select the women in Nairobi CBD present on the main streets, large markets, bus stages, open spaces, and private and public offices to who the questionnaire was administered. The inclusion criterion was that one

had to be a registered voter to be selected. This means that women who were not registered as voters were excluded from the study.

### **3.7 Data Collection Methods**

#### **3.7.1 Structured Interviews**

This study utilized a questionnaire (Appendix II) to obtain identity specific information, and also the respondents' general knowledge of the issues central to this study. The questionnaire consisted of closed-ended and open-ended questions. The Lickert-type Scale was also utilized. The questions were written in English but translated into Kiswahili for those who did not understand English.

#### **3.7.2 Key Informant Interviews**

The study also utilized key informant interviews to gain more information and provide in-depth analysis of the topic. The key informants were professionals working in Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that deal with civic education and advocacy of women's interests and issues in the political sphere. A total of 6 key informants were purposively sampled. The interviews were facilitated using a key informant interview guide (Appendix III) and administered face-to-face or electronically for those who were not able to participate in face-to-face interviews. This method was used to gather data on various issues pertaining to the interests of women and their representation in parliament.

#### **3.7.3 Secondary Sources**

Secondary data were obtained from relevant libraries and documentation/resource centres, i.e., University of Nairobi Library Services, the United Nations Offices of Nairobi (UNON) and NGOs. Newspapers with material pertinent to the objectives of the



study were also reviewed. Finally, Internet searches were used to gather relevant data. The secondary data provided background to the study and were subsequently used as a frame of reference for interpretation and discussion of the study findings.

### **3.8 Pilot Study**

Following the development of the questionnaire, a pilot study was undertaken to test the effectiveness of the questionnaires. During this phase, the questionnaire was administered to 5 women conveniently sampled in Lang'ata Constituency. This pilot study allowed for improving on the validity and reliability of the questions by enhancing their consistency and clarity. The researcher averaged how long it would take the respondents to complete the study and the questions that posed challenges. Based on this feedback, the questionnaire was revised by shortening some questions and omitting some questions entirely.

### **3.9 Data Processing and Analysis**

Before analysing the responses, the completed questionnaires were edited for completeness and consistency. All incomplete questionnaires were excluded from the analysis. Subsequently, the data were compiled manually to allow for the inclusion of open-ended questions. Microsoft Excel was used to tally and compute means and variations in responses to questions 1-8, 11, 12, 14, 16 and 22, and then were analysed using descriptive statistics.

Through content analysis, the qualitative data provided in questions 9, 10, 13, 15, 17-21 and 23, and questions 1-5 in the key informant interviews were organized and grouped manually according to their similarities and differences in terms of the research questions asked then presented thematically to complement the findings from the survey.

### **3.10 Ethical Considerations**

As a general rule, all research subjects should take part in research as volunteers of their own free will as per their human right to self-determination. Thus, prospective respondents for this study decided of their own free will if they wished to participate; no pressure was applied. At the beginning of the study, they were made aware that they could forfeit the study at any time and that no force would be used to convince them to stay or complete the questionnaire. If a respondent chose to leave she was given the choice to have her data removed from the project records.

A written consent form was the next stage to completing the survey questionnaire. Respondents were provided with information to ensure that they had sufficient understanding to make an informed decision about joining the study. They were informed that, ultimately, the study findings would be made available to them upon request and that the project paper will be available at the University of Nairobi Library. They were also notified that later, attempts would be made to publish the findings in journals for the wider scientific and scholastic community to enhance research and scholarship.

Finally, the study protected respondents from being identified through the use of pseudonyms. Study subjects were not named or otherwise identified in the presentation and discussion of the findings. Their names and other identifiers were recorded on the data collection sheet. However, only the researcher had access to data collection records with names or other identifiers on them. These records were kept in a securely locked location.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **NAIROBI WOMEN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATION OF THEIR INTERESTS BY WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to examine Nairobi City County women's attitudes towards the representation of their interests by women members of parliament. This chapter presents the findings obtained from the field research. It first presents the demographic characteristics of the 72 respondents by age, income, education level and marital status. It further incorporates other characteristics such as how Nairobi City County women understand and prioritize their interests, and whether they expect women MPs to represent these interests more effectively than men.

#### **4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents**

The study targeted a sample size of 100 women 72 of whom completed the questionnaire, providing a response rate of 72%, which allowed for a representative analysis and reporting. The questionnaire requested that respondents indicate their age group, marital status, monthly income and highest education level. These were considered to be general information about the respondents that could influence discrepancies in regard to the research problem.

##### **4.2.1 Age of Respondents**

For the purpose of analysis respondents were divided into 5 age cohorts, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54 and Over 55 (Table 4. 1).

**Table 4.1: Respondents age distribution**

<b>Age Cohorts</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>18-24</b>	28	38.9
<b>25-34</b>	18	25.0
<b>35-44</b>	18	25.0
<b>45-54</b>	6	8.3
<b>55+</b>	2	2.8
<b>Total</b>	72	100

The study found a majority of the respondents to be between the ages of 18 and 24 years. Twenty-five per cent were in the age group of 25-34 and 35-44 each. Finally, 8.3% were between the ages of 45 and 54 and the remaining 2.8% in the 55 and above age group. This illustrates that the respondents represented all age groups though not equally distributed as those between the ages of 18 and 24 were slightly oversampled and those over 55+ largely under sampled.

#### **4.2.2 Highest Education Level Completed**

**Table 4.2: Respondents educational level**

<b>Educational Level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>No formal education</b>	0	0
<b>Secondary education</b>	10	13.8
<b>Bachelor's degree</b>	54	75.0
<b>Master's degree</b>	4	5.6
<b>Doctorate degree</b>	4	5.6
<b>Total</b>	72	100

The respondents had different academic qualifications, though most were well educated and informed enough to answer the questions with ease. Table 4.2 indicates that 75% of

the sample was comprised of women with a bachelor’s degree as their highest education qualification, 13.9% by women who had only obtained a secondary education, while women with master’s and doctorate degrees comprised 5.6%, respectively. Evidently, there is an imbalance between women respondents with bachelor’s degrees and those without or those who have higher qualifications. The small percentages of respondents with qualifications that are not above or below a bachelor’s degree will make it difficult to apply the results to all women in Nairobi City County.

#### 4.2.3 Monthly Income

**Table 4.3: Respondents monthly income**

Monthly Income (In KES)	Frequency	Percentage
0 – 10, 000	12	16.7
10, 0001 – 30, 000	8	11.0
30, 001 – 50, 000	20	27.8
50, 001 – 70, 000	12	16.7
Above 70, 001	20	27.8
<b>Total</b>	72	100

Table 4.3 indicates the distribution of respondents based on their monthly salaries. While all income cohorts are represented the data demonstrates that most of the respondents (55.5%) earned less than KES 50,000, thus the study findings will reflect this bias.

#### 4.2.4 Marital Status

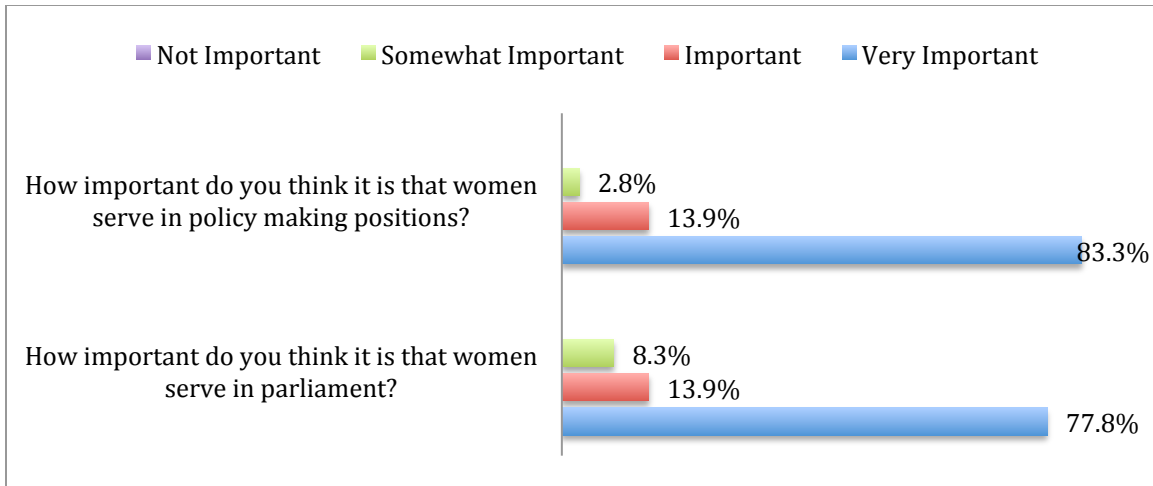
**Table 4.4: Respondents marital status**

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	46	63.9
Divorced	2	2.8
Married	24	33.3

<b>Separated</b>	0	0
<b>Widowed</b>	0	0
<b>Total</b>	72	100

The respondents who participated in this study fell into the categories of single, married and divorced women. It should be clear that the sample mostly consists of single women and married women, whilst the other marital categories are clearly under-represented. This implies that most of the results will be generalized to the single women category or married women group.

Figure 4.1 below depicts the percentage of the respondents who provided responses to the question that inquired about the degree of importance of women serving in parliament. The majority (83.3%) of the respondents indicated that it was very important, 13.9 noted it was important and 2.8% somewhat important. The follow-up question, sought to measure the degree of importance of women in policy-making positions. The majority (77.8%) of respondents indicated that it was very important, 13.9% important and (8.3%) somewhat important. This implies that though parliament is a policy-making body, there is a slight inconsistency on the part of the respondents when it comes to the knowledge of the duties of parliamentarians.



**Figure 4.1: Respondents' views on the importance of women in parliament and policy making positions**

### 4.3 How Nairobi City County Understand and Prioritize their Interests

The questionnaire provided for the respondents to choose from items that had been selected as issues that are valued differently by or when addressed or not, have different effects on women than men. These issues included, childcare, domestic violence, health, education, reproductive rights, female genital cutting, sexual and gender-based violence against women, marriage, property, succession laws, family laws and environment related resources. Each respondent was asked to list five issues they thought were most important to them. The results were then compiled according to how frequent each issue appeared in the respondents' top five as presented in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5: Interests of importance to women**

Women's Interests	Frequency*	Percentage
Health	48	66.7
Education	40	55.6
Childcare	40	55.6
Sexual and gender-based	36	50.0

<b>violence against women</b>		
<b>Domestic violence</b>	24	33.3
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	24	33.3
<b>Marriage</b>	22	30.6
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	20	27.8
<b>Family laws</b>	18	25.0
<b>Property</b>	14	19.4
<b>Succession laws</b>	10	13.9
<b>Environment related resources</b>	2	2.8

\*Multiple responses were provided by respondents

As depicted in Table 4.5, a majority (66.7%) of the respondents noted health as an important issue, followed by 55.6% each for education and childcare. One of the respondents noted, “Education is the foundation of all human beings as it provides knowledge and contributes to development. Additionally, health is equally important as the future and development of the human race strongly hinges on its ability to survive.”

Subsequently, for 50% and 33% of the respondents, sexual and gender-based violence against women and reproductive rights rounded up the top five most important issues, respectively. Most respondents noted that these top five issues, health, education, childcare, sexual and gender-based violence against women and reproductive rights, were interrelated and that one could not be resolved without having a positive influence on the other four issues.

Subsequently, the responses provided as to what interests comprised the respondents’ top five were tabulated according to age cohorts. The top five in each age group are presented below in Table 4.6.



**Table 4.6: Top 5 Women’s interests based on age**

<b>Women’s Interests (18-24)</b>	<b>Count</b>		<b>Percentage</b>
	<b>Listed</b>	<b>Total Respondents</b>	<b>(of Listed)</b>
<b>Health</b>	24	28	85.7
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence against women</b>	20	28	71.4
<b>Education</b>	18	28	64.3
<b>Childcare</b>	18	28	64.3
<b>Domestic violence</b>	14	28	50.0
<b>25-34</b>			
<b>Health</b>	12	18	66.7
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	10	18	55.6
<b>Domestic violence</b>	8	18	44.4
<b>Childcare</b>	8	18	44.4
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	8	18	44.4
<b>35-44</b>			
<b>Education</b>	12	18	66.7
<b>Family Laws</b>	10	18	55.6
<b>Marriage</b>	10	18	55.6
<b>Succession laws</b>	4	18	22.2
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	4	18	22.2
<b>45-54</b>			
<b>Education</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Family laws</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Property</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Marriage</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Environment related resources</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>55+</b>			

<b>Environment related resources</b>	2	2	100
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	2	2	100
<b>Education</b>	2	2	100
<b>Health</b>	2	2	100
<b>Marriage</b>	2	2	100

Evidently, education and health were still the main interests viewed as important in the plight of equality for women by a majority of the respondents in all age groups followed by family laws and sexual and gender-based violence against women. Though childcare had high importance to those under 54, those above 55 did not list this as an issue that was a priority for them. Reproductive rights also were an issue rated as important solely by women under the age of 44, though largely (42.9%) by women between the ages of 18 and 24. A woman respondent in this age group (18-24) stated that matters of reproductive rights have the propensity to “influence the well being of women at a very primary level.” Therefore, the conclusion can be made that childcare and reproductive rights interests are mainly important to women in the reproductive age. Another respondent echoed this sentiment by adding that marriage and family laws were not relevant to her current situation and so she did not view them as a priority of interests that she needed represented in parliament.

Furthermore, only those under the age of 34 cited domestic violence and female genital cutting as issues of concern to them that required greater representation in parliament. Additionally, the issues of marriage, succession laws and property seemed to be more of a concern for women in the age cohort of 45-54 than they were for women under 44 years

of age. A respondent in the 25-34 age group stipulated that “obstacles around the issues of property and marriage can be easily overcome by an educated woman compared to other issues, such as education and health.” Other sentiments expressed by respondents under the age of 24 were that succession of property is often determined by and varies given the traditional beliefs held by the parties involved. This is symbolic of the value systems of an individual, a family unit, community or society that continue to be upheld and accepted as norms, though they may contradict laws that are in place to mitigate inequality and marginalization.

Table 4.7 presents responses on what interests comprised the respondents’ top five tabulated according to the respondents’ monthly income. The top five in each age group are outlined below.

**Table 4.7: Top 5 Women’s interests based on monthly income**

<b>Women’s Interests (KES0 – 10, 000)</b>	<b>Count</b>		<b>Percentage</b>
	<b>Listed</b>	<b>Total Respondents</b>	<b>(of Listed)</b>
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence against women</b>	12	12	100
<b>Domestic violence</b>	10	12	83.3
<b>Health</b>	8	12	66.7
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	8	12	66.7
<b>Education</b>	6	12	50.0
<b>Childcare</b>	6	12	50.0
<b>KES10, 001 – 30,000</b>			
<b>Education</b>	8	8	100
<b>Health</b>	8	8	100
<b>Childcare</b>	8	8	100
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	4	4	50.0

<b>Reproductive rights</b>	4	4	50.0
<b>Property</b>	4	4	50.0
<b>Domestic violence</b>	4	4	50.0
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	4	4	50.0
<b>KES 30, 001 – 50,000</b>			
<b>Childcare</b>	14	18	70.0
<b>Health</b>	14	18	70.0
<b>Education</b>	12	18	60.0
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	10	18	50.0
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	8	18	40.0
<b>KES50, 001 – KES70, 000</b>			
<b>Education</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Family laws</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Property</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Marriage</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Environment related resources</b>	4	6	66.7
<b>Above 70, 001</b>			
<b>Environment related resources</b>	2	2	100
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	2	2	100
<b>Education</b>	2	2	100
<b>Health</b>	2	2	100
<b>Marriage</b>	2	2	100

For women in all income groups, education, childcare, sexual and gender-based violence against women and reproductive rights ranked as the five most important issues that they need represented in parliament. It is worth noting that in the cases of childcare, education

and health, all respondents earning an income between KES10, 000 and KES30, 000 marked them as top priorities. Further, for women earning KES 0 – KES10, 000, domestic violence, sexual gender-based violence and reproductive rights were issues most relevant to them that they felt required the most representation.

Consequently, the responses provided as to what interests comprised the respondents’ top five were tabulated according to the respondents’ highest education level completed. The top five in each age group are presented in Table 4.8.

**Table 4.8: Top 5 Women’s interests based on educational levels**

<b>Women’s Interests (Secondary Education)</b>	<b>Count</b>		<b>Percentage</b>
	<b>Listed</b>	<b>Total Respondents</b>	<b>(of Listed)</b>
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence against women</b>	8	10	80.0
<b>Health</b>	8	10	80.0
<b>Education</b>	6	10	60.0
<b>Childcare</b>	6	10	60.0
<b>Marriage</b>	4	10	40.0
<b>Property</b>	4	10	40.0
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	4	10	40.0
<b>Family laws</b>	4	10	40.0
<b>Bachelors Degree</b>			
<b>Health</b>	38	54	70.4
<b>Childcare</b>	38	54	70.4
<b>Education</b>	32	54	59.3
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	22	54	40.7
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	20	54	37.0
<b>Masters Degree</b>			

<b>Education</b>	4	4	100
<b>Childcare</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Environmental related resources</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Family Laws</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Education</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Health</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Female genital cutting</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Domestic violence</b>	2	4	50.0
<b>Doctorate Degree</b>			
<b>Education</b>	2	2	100
<b>Marriage</b>	2	2	100
<b>Property</b>	2	2	100
<b>Succession laws</b>	2	2	100
<b>Environment related resources</b>	2	2	100

For all the respondents, irrespective of their academic qualifications, all perceived sexual and gender-based violence and education were the issues most important to them that required representation in parliament. Women with doctorate degrees maintained that marriage, property and succession laws completed their top five interests. For those with bachelor's degrees, childcare, health and domestic violence comprised their top five women's interests. However, those with master's degrees viewed all other issues as being equally important apart from sexual-gender-based violence which was valued by the groups above. Those who had only completed a secondary education valued health followed by female genital cutting, property and family laws as having equal importance; 40% of them observed that these were issues central to their lives.

Further, the responses provided as to what interests comprised the respondents' top five were tabulated according to the respondents' marital status. The top five in each age group are outline below in Table 4.9.

**Table 4.9: Top 5 Women's interests based on marital status**

<b>Women's Interests (Married)</b>	<b>Count</b>		<b>Percentage</b>
	<b>Listed</b>	<b>Total Respondents</b>	<b>(of Listed)</b>
<b>Education</b>	12	24	50.0
<b>Health</b>	10	24	41.7
<b>Childcare</b>	10	24	41.7
<b>Marriage</b>	10	24	41.7
<b>Property</b>	8	24	33.3
<b>Family laws</b>	8	24	33.3
<b>Single</b>			
<b>Health</b>	36	46	78.3
<b>Childcare</b>	30	46	65.2
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	32	46	60.9
<b>Education</b>	26	46	56.5
<b>Reproductive rights</b>	20	46	43.5
<b>Divorced</b>			
<b>Sexual and gender-based violence</b>	2	2	100
<b>Environmental related resources</b>	2	2	100
<b>Family Laws</b>	2	2	100
<b>Education</b>	2	2	100
<b>Health</b>	2	2	100

Married, single and divorced women considered health, education and sexual and gender-based violence against women as being important issues. Single women as a cohort, prioritized health, childcare, sexual and gender-based violence followed by education, domestic violence and reproductive rights. On the other hand, married women, prioritized education, health, childcare, family laws and property as important interests to be represented in parliament. Finally, the respondents who were divorced stated that sexual and gender-based violence, environment related resources, family laws, education and health were important issues that needed to be addressed. To this effect, a female key informant stipulated:

I work with numerous women who suffer from domestic violence and sexual and gender-based violence. One thing you will find is that women, especially the married ones, do not easily open up the abuse they endure in their relationships. There is a culture that persists amongst them about personal issues within the home should not be discussed. This is why there is major under reporting of violent and sexual crimes against women. This makes it more difficult to address these issues at the policy making levels for women MPs.

This account explains why the issue of domestic violence does not appear in the top five when the responses are separated by marital status. According to one married respondent, “domestic violence should not be an issue addressed in parliament,” while another married respondent added, “domestic violence is a non-issue. It should be dealt with in a marriage not announced to everyone.” These statements corroborated the key informant’s observations.

Respondents were then asked if there were any other issues that were not included in the questionnaire. The most common responses were tallied and grouped into the common themes summarized below in Table 4.10.



**Table 4.10: Additional women’s interests**

Additional Women’s Interests	Frequency*
Employment opportunities for women	20
Equal pay as male counterparts	8
Alcohol and Drug abuse	13
Devolution	17
Gender equality	20
Sexual minority rights	3
Security	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>86</b>

\*Multiple responses were provided by respondents

#### **4.4 The extent to which Nairobi City County women expect women MPs to serve interests compared to men MPs**

Respondents were asked their level of agreement with certain statements regarding their perceptions of the attributes of women MPs, their capability to represent them and their interests and factors influencing the latter and former. They were asked to choose one of five options, ‘Strongly agree’, ‘Somewhat agree’, ‘Strongly Disagree’, ‘Somewhat disagree’, or ‘None of the above’. The option for explanations of stances was not provided; however, if respondents volunteered one this was recorded.

First, respondents were asked to state if they believed that women were better suited to represent women’s interests compared to men MPs (See Figure 4. 2 below). About fifty-seven per cent (55.6) of them strongly agreed with this statement and 25% noted that they somewhat agreed. On the other hand, 11.1% strongly disagreed and 8.3% somewhat disagreed. Subsequently, respondents were asked to state their position on whether women MPs and men MPs are equally qualified to make decisions concerning women’s

issues and interests. The findings indicate that 44.4% of respondents noted that they strongly agreed and 13.9% somewhat agreed. On the other hand, 27.8% strongly disagreed and 11.1% somewhat disagreed. Finally, 2.8% gave none of the above as their response. A female key informant added that while she believes that:

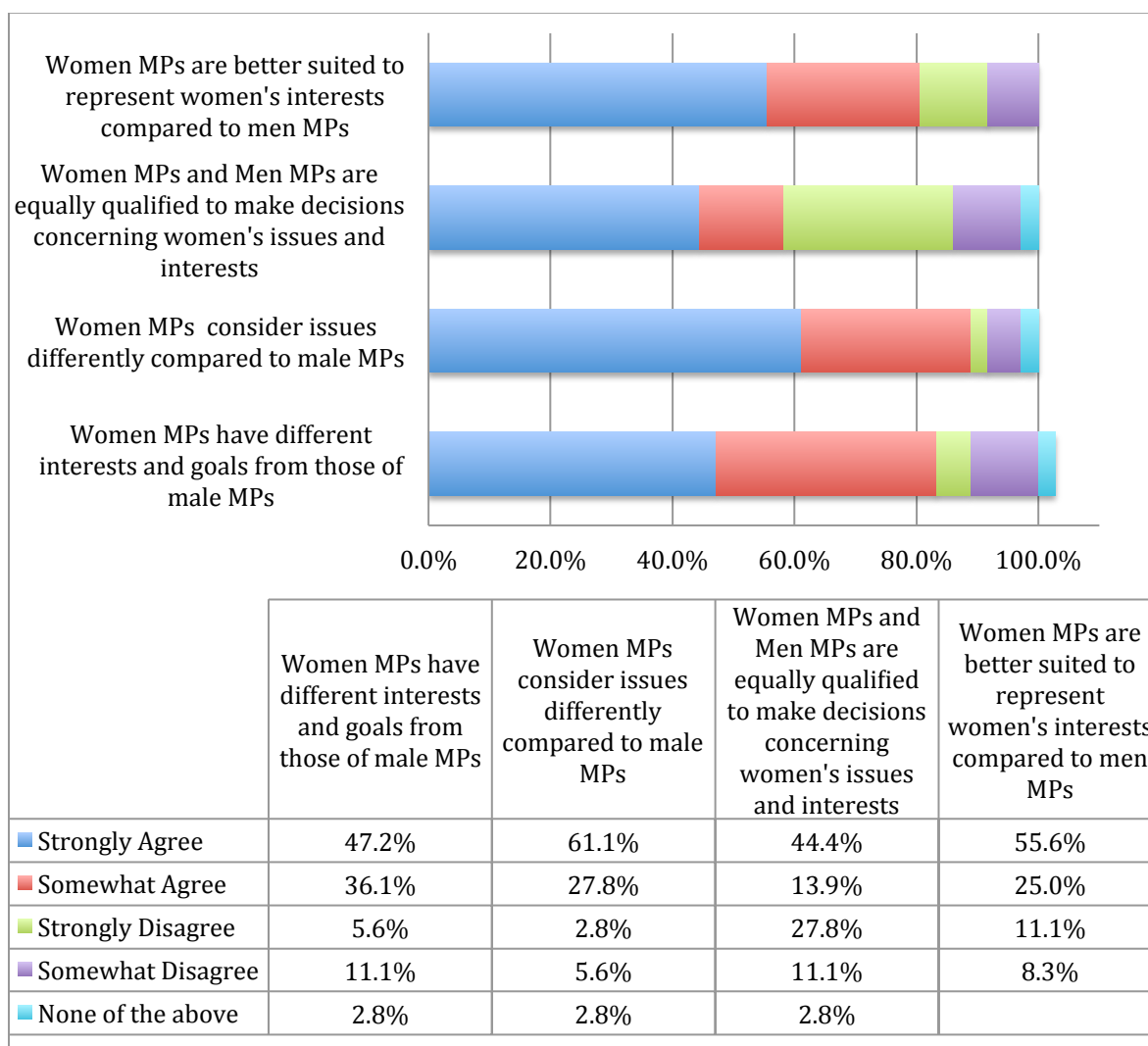
Some women MPs and men MPs are equally yoked in terms of intelligence and education qualifications, some women do not voice their opinions in parliament. It is not necessarily because they lack the capability to do so, but rather they have not built their confidence to a level where they can ignore the rejection and the intimidation they experience. Men have had years and years in parliament to build their confidence; they have it even if they are spouting ignorant statements.

This suggests that while women may have the same qualifications as men they lag behind in experience within parliament, especially when it comes to how to manoeuvre the patriarchal nature of it and thus fail to substantively represent women's interests.

When asked if women MPs consider issues differently from men MPs, 61.1% of the respondents strongly agreed and 27.8% somewhat agreed. Only a few respondents (2.8%) strongly disagreed and 5.6% somewhat disagreed. The other 2.8% responded that none of the above applicable. To this effect, a male key informant noted that there is a satisfactory level of coordination, participation and effort by both men and women MPs; however, "there is a different perspective that women MPs have brought to the table concerning the issues of education, child care and health that otherwise would have gone under the radar and not been addressed."

Further, women were asked their level of agreement to 'Women MPs having different interests and goals from those of men MPs'. The findings indicate that 47.2% of the respondents strongly agreed, 36.1% somewhat agreed while 5.6% strongly disagreed and

11.1% somewhat disagreed. Lastly, 2.8% neither agreed nor disagreed and selected none of the above as a response. These findings are summarized in Figure 4.2.

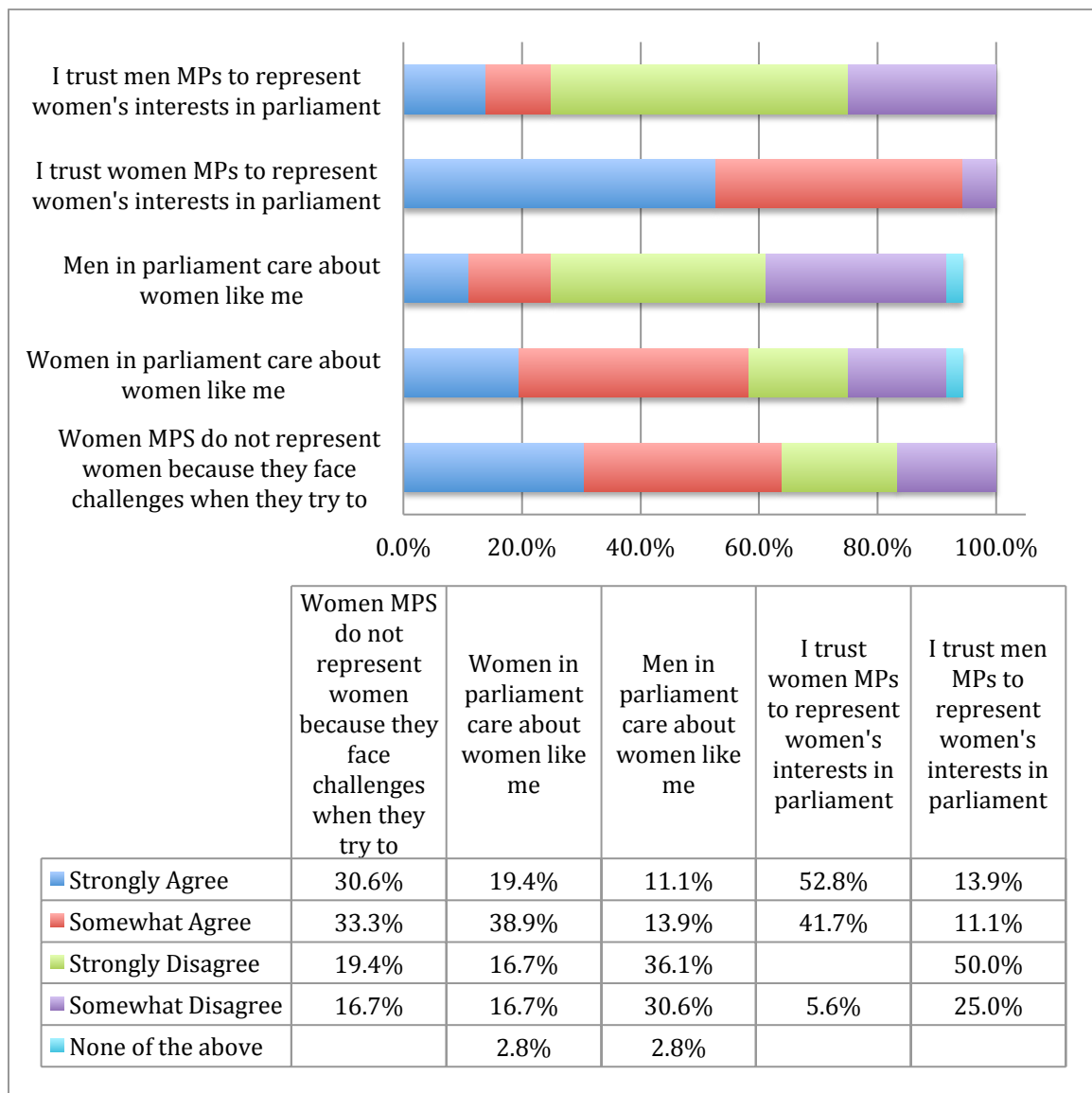


**Figure 4.2: Respondents' attitudes towards MPs' goals and interests in parliament**

Figure 4.3 summarizes responses on women's attitudes towards their being represented by women MPs. On the statement that "I trust men MPs to represent women's interests in parliament," 50% of the respondents strongly disagreed while 25% somewhat agreed. Only 13.9% strongly agreed with the statement and 11.1% somewhat agreed. On the contrary, 52.8% of the respondents noted that they trust women MPs to represent

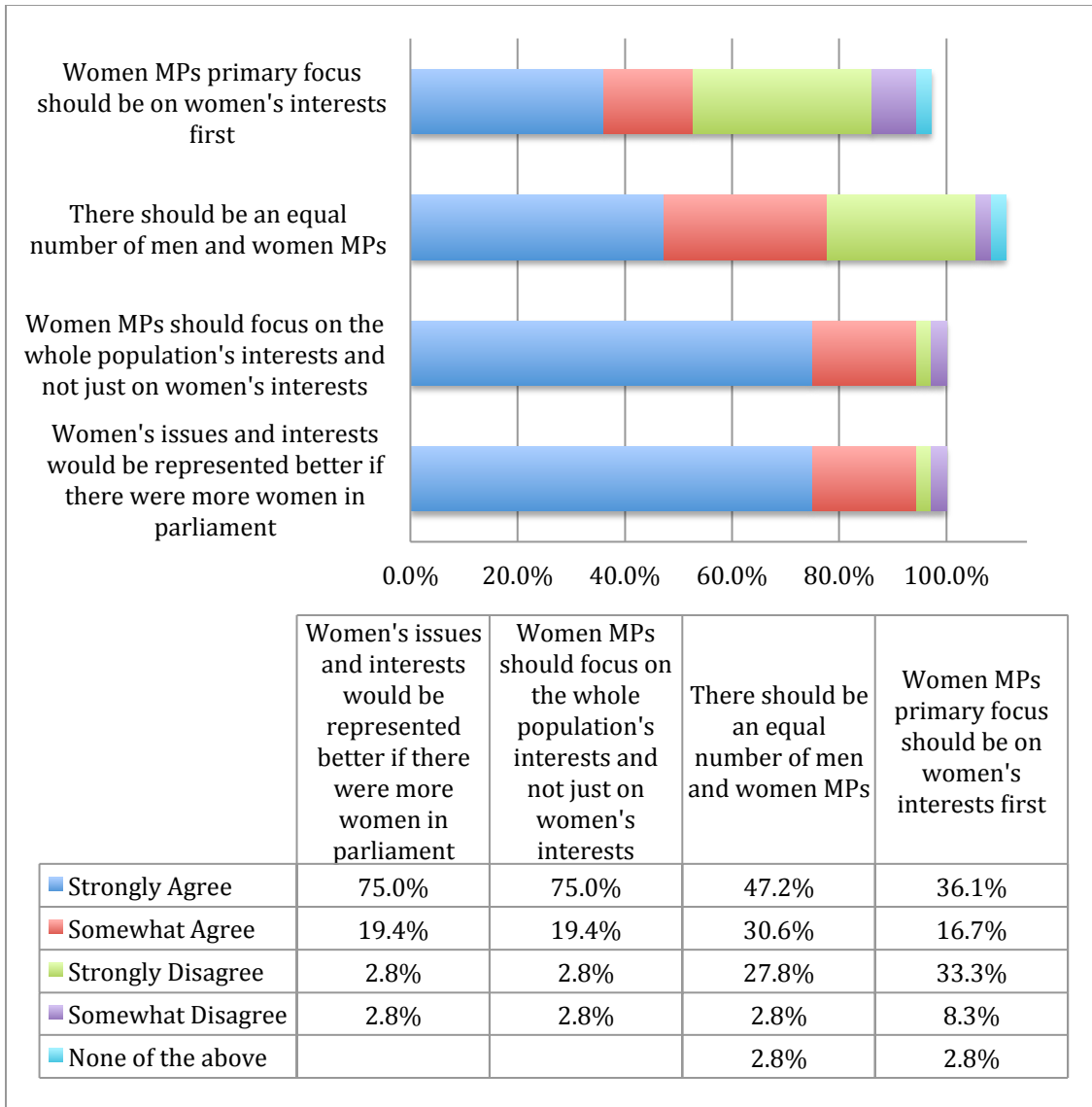
women’s interests in parliament and 41.7 somewhat agreed. No respondents strongly disagreed; however, 5.6% somewhat disagreed.

Additionally, 36.1% of the respondents stated that they strongly disagreed with the statement “men in parliament care about women like me” and 30.6% somewhat disagreed. Only 11.1% strongly agreed with the statement while 13.9% somewhat agreed. Finally, 2.8% neither agreed nor disagreed and selected ‘none of the above’.



**Figure 4.3: Respondents’ attitudes towards representation by MPs**

Finally, to the statement ‘Women MPs do not represent women because they face challenges when they try to’ 30.6% of respondents strongly agreed and 33.3% somewhat agreed. However, 19.4% expressed that they strongly disagreed and 16.7% somewhat disagreed with the statement. A female key informant added, “one of the biggest challenges currently affecting the lobbying and advocacy efforts of women is the prevailing tyranny of numbers, as women are few in parliament and this further limits and makes them more susceptible to political interference and influence”.



**Figure 4.4: Respondents’ attitudes towards the status quo of women’s interests’ representation**

To the statement “there should be an equal number of men and women MPs”, 47.2% strongly agreed, 30.6% somewhat agreed, 27.8% strongly disagreed and 2,8 somewhat disagreed (Figure 4. 4). On the other hand, 2.8% responded that none of the above as a response. A majority (75%) of the respondents strongly agreed and 19.4% somewhat agreed that women’s interests would be better represented if there were more women in

parliament. On the other hand, 2.8% strongly disagreed with this statement and 2.8% somewhat disagreed. However, one respondent added that she believed that there should be more men than women in parliament.

Next, the respondents were asked about their level of agreement as to whether women MPs' primary focus should be women's interests. The findings indicate that 36.1% strongly agreed, 16.7% somewhat agreed, 33.3% strongly disagreed and 16.7% somewhat disagreed. On the other hand, 2.8% neither agreed nor disagreed and selected 'none of the above'. Finally, to the statement, "women MPs should focus on the whole population's interest and not just on women's interests", 75% of the respondents strongly agreed, 19.4% somewhat agreed, 2.8% strongly disagreed and 2.8% somewhat disagreed.

Respondents were further asked of their opinion on which issues they felt women MPs would men be best at representing their stances on women's interests in parliament than men MPs or if there was no difference between the efforts of the two. The issues posed were the initial 12 women were asked to prioritize: childcare, domestic violence, health, education, reproductive rights, female genital cutting, sexual and gender-based violence, marriage, property, succession laws, family laws and environment related resources (Figure 4. 5).

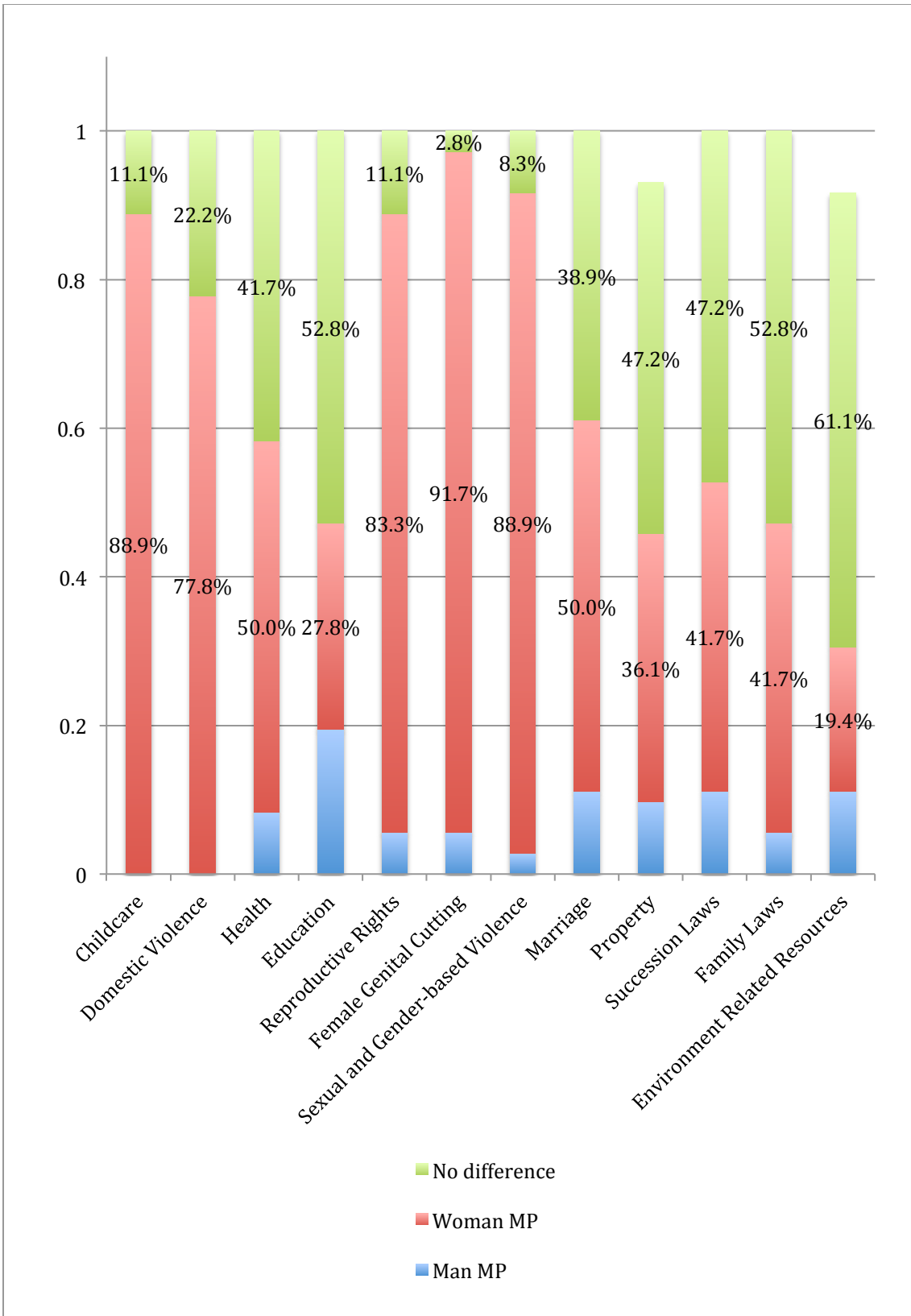


Figure 4.5: Gender preferences regarding women's interests' representation



For childcare, 88.9% of the respondents stated that a woman parliamentarian would be better suited at representing women's interests. The remaining 11.1% stated that they perceived no difference in the capability for women and men parliamentarians to represent women's interests regarding childcare in parliament. Similar accounts were evident for domestic violence, with 77.8% of the respondents noting that a woman MP would better represent women's interests, while 22.2% observed that there was no difference between the genders with respect to representing women's interests regarding this issue in parliament.

On health, only 8.3% of the respondents found that men MPs would be better suited to represent women's interests, 50% thought that women MPs would be better while 41.7% noted no difference between the ability of the two genders representing these interests.

On education, 19.4% of the sample believed that men MPs would be better at representing women's interests, 50% thought women would and the majority (52.8%) stated that they would both be equally suitable in representing women's interests in this sector.

On the issue of reproductive rights, only 5.6% of the respondents found that men MPs would be suited to represent women's interests, while 83.3% noted women and 11.1% selected no difference as a response. Female genital cutting also was perceived as an issue that would be mainly better represented by women MPs, by 91.7% of respondents. Only 5.6% believed men would be while 2.8% noted that there would be no difference amongst the gender in representing women's interests on the issue of female genital cutting in parliament.

Further, 88.9% of the respondents believed that women would be better suited to represent women's interests on the issue of sexual and gender-based violence against women. On the other hand, 2.8% believed men would be better while 8.3% noted no difference in suitability. On the issue of marriage, 50% of the respondents believed that women would be better suited to ensure women's interests were represented. On the other hand, 16.7 % of the respondents asserted that men would be better at representing their interests in property issues, while 36.1% were of the view that women would, while 47.2% opined that there would be no difference in representation between the two genders. Similar sentiments were expressed with regard to succession laws, with slightly less than half (47.2%) of the respondents saying that there is no difference between men MPs and women MPs. However, 11.1% of the respondents felt that men MPs would represent their interests while 41.7% felt that a woman MP would be more suitable.

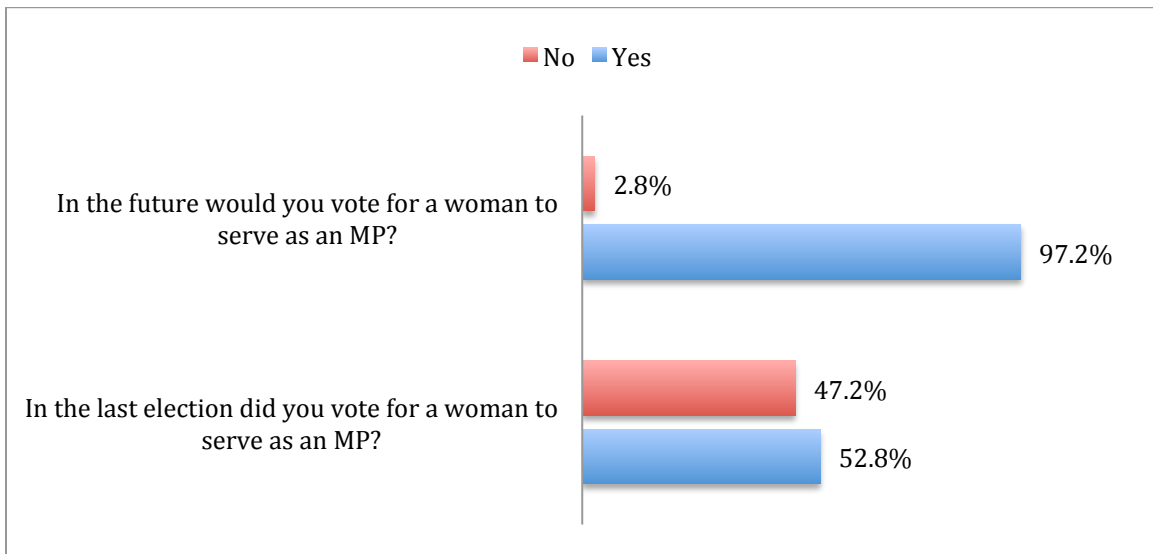
Additionally, only 5.6% of the respondents said that men MPs would better represent their interests on the issue of family laws. However, 41.7% of the respondents were of the view that women would be better representatives. The remaining 52.7% stated that there was no difference with regard to how men and women MPs represented their interests on this matter. Lastly, while a majority (61.1%) of the respondents indicated that there was no difference between how men and women MPs represent their interests in parliament as regards to environmental related resources, 19.4% of them observed that men would and the other 19.4% believed women would.

The data collected from the final two questions illustrated that a majority of the respondents, 52.8% voted for a woman MP in the last election while still a considerable amount, 47.2% noted that they did not (Figure 4. 6). Those who did not cited the lack of

candidates in their constituencies, and the qualifications of women running and not voting, as reasons as to why they did not vote for women in the last election. A few of the respondents who did vote for a woman in the last election stated they did not do so due to the women MP candidates' qualifications, agenda, personality and perceived potential to make a difference in parliament. This suggests that though the need to have women in parliament is recognized, it does not mean that the standards they have to meet to get elect will be different. According to one respondent, "they will and should undergo the same scrutiny as the male candidates".

Subsequently, the respondents were asked if they would vote for a woman to serve as an MP in future elections. A majority (97.2%) responded with a yes, observing that there should be more women in parliament and that they believed that women were equally qualified as men to be in parliament. One respondent noted that she would vote for a woman in the next elections because "women are more understanding of women related issues and are in a better position to interpret and implement solutions to issues barring the development of a society as a whole than male MPs are." Generally, most of the respondents were enthusiastic in their responses. One of them stated thus: "Of course I would vote for a woman! A man cannot do what a woman can do and anything a man can do a woman can do better." The remaining 2.8% responded in the negative, with most of them saying that they were disappointed by the level of representation of interests by the women they voted for in the last election, while others noted that they would not vote on the basis of gender but rather on the qualifications and political agenda of the candidates.

When asked, “What would influence you to vote for a woman MP,” leadership qualities were considered to be extremely important. One respondent noted that: “In as much as there are many men who do a good job as MPs, I would vote for a woman MP; however, she must have proven leadership skills and be of good moral standing to the best of my knowledge”. Other respondents echoed similar sentiments, while others specifically mentioned “lobbying and advocacy capabilities” and “extensive work experience.”



**Figure 4.6: Respondents’ willingness to elect women MPs**

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the main findings, the conclusions drawn and recommendations made.

#### 5.2 Discussion

Phillips (1995) asserts that it is futile to establish common interests for women and rather more significant to establish the differences between men and women's interests. It is on this premise that this study diverges. While it concedes that women have interests that differ from those of men, this study found that the manner in which women prioritize their interests largely differ from other women based on discrepancies in age, marital status, and socio-economic and education background. This study further demonstrates that these differences have an impact on the historical dismal presence of women in parliament and concludes that the increase of women's descriptive and substantive representation in the Kenyan parliament is largely dependent on the attitudes of women towards their capabilities, potential and past efforts to represent women and their interests.

In lieu of this, the picture that has emerged from the data analysis is that women from Nairobi City County value equal representation of women in parliament, not only on the basis of achieving gender equality in parliament but also due to the propensity for the female population's voices and opinions to be present in decision-making and policy-making positions. These findings, however, are at variance with O-Makdwallo's (2010), who found that the general population did not consider politics to be a career choice

acceptable for women (33-35). On the contrary, the data presented illustrated that majority of the respondents feel that there are certain aspects of developmental issues within the nation that can only be represented by women. Thus the views of the women who participated in this study are consistent with findings that suggest that the inclusion of women in the political sphere is imperative in changing the patriarchal status quo that has historically been eminent in policies (Nzomo, 1997; Wanyeki, 2009; Okello, 2010).

Finally, the evidence surmised from the data collected is that Nairobi City County women generally expect women MPs to represent women and their interests. This is supported by their conveyed mistrust and the low expectations expressed for the men MPs to represent them and the general consensus that women in parliament can make a direct impact on the lives of their women constituents. This, however, has great implications in that Kenyan women in parliament do not necessarily feel accountable to women or obligated to represent their issues particularly because they feel as though female voters are prejudice against them (Barasa, 2011:35). In this study, though a few respondents expressed disappointments in the current efforts of women MPs to represent their interests, overall, women expressed strong willingness to vote for women MPs in the future elections. Thus, the results compared with Barasa's (2010) seem to suggest an improvement in the attitudes of the general population of women towards women in parliament. Where shortcomings were cited regarding women MPs fulfillment of their responsibilities, respondents seemed to understand that other factors, explored by numerous studies, influenced this, including, social attitudes, socio-economic factors, political parties and electoral quotas and not necessarily women's MPs capabilities, intelligence or efforts (Karuru, 2001; Nzomo, 2003; Afifu, 2008; FIDA-K, 2010).

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This study investigated women's attitudes towards the representation of their interests by women MPs in Nairobi City County. Based on its findings, it makes the general conclusion that the increase of women's descriptive and substantive representation in the Kenyan parliament is largely influenced by the attitudes of women towards women MPs. This conclusion was derived from the manner in which women understand and prioritize their interests and their expectations for women parliamentarians to represent them. The data presented and interpreted corroborate the assumptions of the study by illustrating the degree to which the latter occurs influences the number of women elected to parliament. Finally, the study reveals that there is overall a positive view of women MPs and their efforts to represent women and that women are substantially aware of the issues pertinent to their lives that could be resolved through policy intervention.

### **5.4 Recommendations**

This study that has been embarked on for this project has highlighted a number of topics on which further research would be valuable. In particular, supplementary study is needed to include the perspectives of men in the target responses. Additionally, similar methods utilized for this study would need to be applied in the rural setting in order to give a holistic view of the current attitudes of women toward the representation of their interests by women MPs in the national context. These measures would be very useful in determining the extensiveness of the results.

## REFERENCES

- Afifu, T. (2008). *Party Clearance: Women in Kenya Politics*. Nairobi: Women's Shadow Parliament-Kenya.
- Barasa, V. (2011). *More Women in the Kenyan Parliament: Do Numbers Really Matter?* University of Hull & Utrecht University.
- Carroll, S. (1984). Woman Candidates and Support for Feminist Concerns: The Closet Feminist Syndrome. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 37(2): 307-323.
- Chaney, P. (2006). Critical Mass, Deliberation and the Substantive Representation of Women: Evidence from the UK's Devolution Programme. *Political Studies*, 54(4): 691-714.
- Dahlerup, D. (1988). From a Small to a Large Minority: Women in Scandinavian Politics. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 11(4): 275-298.
- Driscoll, D., A.Appiah-Yeboah, P.Salib and D. Rupert (2007). Merging Qualitative and Quantitative Data in Mixed Methods Research: How To and Why Not. *Ecological and Environmental Anthropology*, 3(1): 19-28. Available at <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1012&context=icwdmeea>. Retrieved on 9 June, 2015.
- Duverger, M. (1955). *The Political Role of Women*, 1st ed. Paris: UNESCO. Available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0005/000566/056649eo.pdf>. Retrieved on 23 May, 2015.
- Dudley, O. (2013). *Gender Rights and Wrongs: Critique of the Supreme Court Decision on the One-Third Gender Principle*. Available at <http://kenyalaw.org/kenyalawblog/gender-rights-and-wrongs-critique-of-the-supreme-court-decision/>. Retrieved on 23 May, 2015.
- Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya (2010). *Gender Audit Study of the 10th Parliament*. Nairobi: FIDA-Kenya.
- Ford, L. (2002). *Women and Politics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Franceschet, S., and Krook, M. (2008). "Measuring the Impact of Quotas on Women's Substantive Representation: Toward a Conceptual Framework". Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31, 2008. Available at



- [http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet\\_Krook\\_APSA\\_2008.pdf](http://mlkrook.org/pdf/Franceschet_Krook_APSA_2008.pdf). Retrieved on 9 June, 2015.
- Hedlund, R., P. Freeman, K. Hamm and R. Stein (1979). The Electability of Women Candidates: The Effects of Sex Role Stereotypes. *Journal of Politics*, 41(02): 513-524.
- Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal. *Gender and Development*, 13 (1): 13–24.
- Kamau, N. (2010). *Women and Political Leadership in Kenya*, 1st ed. Nairobi: Henrich Böll Stiftung. Available at [https://ke.boell.org/sites/default/files/women\\_in\\_leadership\\_study.pdf](https://ke.boell.org/sites/default/files/women_in_leadership_study.pdf). Retrieved on 3 February, 2015.
- Kanter, R. (1977). Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(5): 965-990.
- Karuru, L. (2001). *Factors Influencing Women's Political Participation in Kibera Division*, Master of Arts Thesis, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Kenworthy, L., and Malami, M. (1999). Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis. *Social Forces*, 78(1): 235-268.
- Kenya CitizenTV (2013). *Strength of a Woman*. Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wC88W9Y\\_27U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wC88W9Y_27U). Retrieved on 9 March, 2015.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2009). *Population Distribution by Age, Sex and Administrative Units*. Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. Available at [http://www.knbs.or.ke/index.php?option=com\\_phocadownload&view=category&id=109:population-and-housing-census-2009&Itemid=599](http://www.knbs.or.ke/index.php?option=com_phocadownload&view=category&id=109:population-and-housing-census-2009&Itemid=599). Retrieved on 9 May, 2015.
- Lovenduski, J. and Hills, J. (1981). *The Politics of the Second Electorate*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Lovenduski, J. and Norris, P. (2003). Westminster Women: The Politics of Presence. *Political Studies*, 51 (1): 84–102.
- Molyneux, M. (1985). Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State, and Revolution in Nicaragua. *Feminist Studies* 11 (2): 227–254.
- Moser, Caroline O.N. (1989). Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs. *World Development*, 17 (11): 1799-1825.
- Migowa, C. (2012). *Challenges Facing Women's Participation in Elective Politics in Gwassi Constituency, Homa Bay County, Western Kenya*. MA Project Paper, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Muiruri, P. (2010). *Women Street Vendors in Nairobi, Kenya*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.
- Nzomo, M. (1997). Kenyan Women in Politics and Public Decision Making. In G. Mikell (Ed.). *African Feminism*, pp. 232-255. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nzomo, M. (2003). *Women and Politics in Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.
- O-Makdwallo, A. (2010). *Gender and Politics: Participation of the Kenyan Woman*. MA Project Paper, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Okello, R. (2010). *Beyond Numbers: Narrating the Impact of Women's Leadership in Eastern Africa*. Nairobi: African Woman & Child Feature Services.
- Paxton, P. and Kunovich, S. (2003). Women's Political Representation: The Importance of Ideology. *Social Forces*, 82(1): 87-113.
- Pharr, S. J. (1981). *Political Women in Japan: The Search for a Place in Political Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Phillips, A. (1998). Democracy and representation: Or, Why Should It Matter Who Our Representatives are? In A. Phillips (Ed.). *Feminism and Politics*, pp. 224-240. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pitkin, H. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Republic of Kenya (2010). *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*. Nairobi: The National Council for Law Reporting.
- Sanbonmatsu, K. (2002). Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(1): 20-34.
- Stoper, E., and Johnson, R. (1977). The Weaker Sex & the Better Half: The Idea of Women's Moral Superiority in the American Feminist Movement. *Polity*, 10(2): 192.
- Tremblay, M. (1998). Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 31: 435-466.
- Wangnerud, L. (2000). Testing the Politics of Presence: Women's Representation in the Swedish Riksdag. *Scand Pol. Studs*, 23(1): 67-91.
- Wanyeki, M. (2009). *Can Women Deliver? Interrogating the Kenyan Parliament?* Nairobi: Pangolin.
- Ipu.org. (2015). *Women in Parliaments: World and Regional Averages*. Available at <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>. Retrieved on 9 September, 2015.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Introductory Letter

Dear Respondent,

I request your participation in a research study entitled: *Nairobi City County Women's Attitudes towards the Representation of their Interests by Women Members of Parliament*. I am currently enrolled in the Gender and Development studies program at the University of Nairobi and I am in the process of writing my Master's project paper . The purpose of the research is to determine: how women define and prioritize their interests as well as the expected roles and responsibilities of women in parliament in addressing them. The interview questions have been designed to collect this information.

Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You may decline altogether, or skip any questions you don't wish to answer. There are no known risks to participation beyond those encountered in everyday life. Your responses will remain confidential and anonymous. Data from this research will be kept under lock and key and reported only as a collective combined total. No one other than the researchers will know your individual answers to this questionnaire.

Participating in this research, entails answering the questions asked as best as you can. It should take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete.

Thank you for your assistance in this important endeavour.

## Appendix II: Questionnaire

Please circle your response to the following questions:

**1. Age Group:**

1. 18-24
2. 25-34
3. 35-44
4. 45-54
5. 55+

**2. Monthly income is (KES):**

1. 0 – 10,000
2. 10,001 – 30,000
3. 30,001 – 50,000
4. 50,001 – 70,000
5. Above 70,001

**3. Highest educational level:**

1. No formal education
2. Secondary Education
3. Bachelors Degree
4. Masters Degree
5. Doctorate Degree

**4. Marital status:**

1. Single
2. Divorced
3. Married
4. Separated
5. Widowed

**5. How important do you think it is that women serve in parliament?**

1. Very important
2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important

**6. How important do you think it is that women serve in policy-making positions?**

1. Very important

2. Important
3. Somewhat important
4. Not important

**7. Please rate your responses to the following questions using the scale below:**

1. Strongly agree
  2. Somewhat agree
  3. Strongly disagree
  4. Somewhat disagree
  5. None of the above
- a. **Women MPs have different interests and goals from those of male MPs \_\_\_\_.**
  - b. **Women MPs consider issues differently compared to male MPs \_\_\_\_.**
  - c. **Women MPs and men MPs are equally qualified to make decisions concerning women's issues and interests \_\_\_\_.**
  - d. **Women's issues and interests would be represented better if there were more women in parliament \_\_\_\_.**
  - e. **Women MPs should focus on the whole populations' interests and not just on women's interests \_\_\_\_.**
  - f. **Women MPs do not represent women because they face challenges when they try to \_\_\_\_.**
  - g. **Women in parliament care about women like me \_\_\_\_.**
  - h. **Men in parliament care about women like me \_\_\_\_.**
  - i. **Women MPs are better suited to represent women's interests compared to men MPs \_\_\_\_.**
  - j. **There should be an equal number of men and women MPs \_\_\_\_.**
  - k. **I trust women MPs to represent women's interests in parliament \_\_\_\_.**
  - l. **I trust men MPs to represent women's interests in parliament \_\_\_\_.**
  - m. **Women MPs primary focus should be on women's interests first \_\_\_\_.**
- 8. Using the scale below, please state whether a male MP or female MP would most of the time do a better job in representing your position on these issues in parliament**
1. Male MP

- 2. Female MP
- 3. No difference

- a) **Childcare** \_\_\_\_.
- b) **Domestic violence** \_\_\_\_.
- c) **Health** \_\_\_\_.
- d) **Education** \_\_\_\_.
- e) **Reproductive rights** \_\_\_\_.
- f) **Female genital cutting** \_\_\_\_.
- g) **Sexual and gender- based violence against women** \_\_\_\_.
- h) **Marriage** \_\_\_\_.
- i) **Property** \_\_\_\_.
- j) **Succession laws** \_\_\_\_.
- k) **Family laws** \_\_\_\_.
- l) **Environment related resources** \_\_\_\_.

**9. From the list above in question 11, please list the 5 most important issues to you.**

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_.
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_.
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_.
- 5. \_\_\_\_\_.

**10. Please state why you listed the above (in question 10) are of importance to you.**

---

---

---

**11. Are there any another issues that are important to you but not listed above in question 10?**

---

---

---

**12. In the last election did you vote for a woman to serve as an MP? Explain.**

1. Yes
2. No

---

---

---

**13. In the future would you vote for a woman to serve as an MP?**

1. Yes
2. No

**14. What would influence you to vote for a woman to serve as an MP?**

---

---

---

**Thank you**



**Appendix III: Key Informant Interview Guide**

**1. Women's issues working with/on?**

---

---

---

**2. What do these women express as the central interests and concerns that need to be addressed in parliament?**

---

---

---

**3. Can the issues only be addressed by women in parliament as opposed to men MPs? Explain.**

---

---

---

**4. In your experience have women MPs been open to addressing these interests in parliament?**

---

---

---

**5. Suggest practical ways to improve the advocacy of these women's interests and concerns in parliament**

---

---

---

**Thank you**