



GENDER AUDIT OF KENYA'S 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Performance, Gains and Challenges



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Netherlands





Our Vision

The vision of CMD-Kenya is to promote the institutionalization of vibrant and democratic political parties capable of enhancing and perpetuating multiparty democracy in Kenya.

Our Mission

The mission of CMD-Kenya is to facilitate the growth of and perpetuate multiparty democracy through capacity building of member political parties in Kenya.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs
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List of Acronyms

ANC	Amani National Congress
CCU	Chama Cha Uzalendo
CMD-Kenya	Centre for Multiparty Democracy
CREAW	Centre for Rights Education and Awareness
CRAWN Trust	Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
ELOG	Elections Observation Group
FIDA-Kenya	Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya
FPK	Federal Party Of Kenya
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
JP	Jubilee Party
KADU Asili	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
KNC	Kenya National Congress
LPK	Labour Party of Kenya
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MDP	Maendeleo Democratic Party
MNA	Member of national Assembly
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NARC-Kenya	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
NVP	National Vision Party
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PDP	People's Democratic Party
PDR	Party of Development and Reforms
PNU	Party of National Unity
PPDT	Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
PPK	Progressive Party of Kenya
TNA	The National Alliance
UN	United Nations
URP	United Republican Party
WDM	WIPER Democratic Movement
WPR	Women Political Rights

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Dr. Carey Francis Onyango

Executive Director,
CMD-Kenya

Preface

This publication was made out of CMD-Kenya's need to audit the performance of women candidates during the 2017 General Elections. The audit was part of CMD-Kenya's four year respect for Women's Political Rights (WPR) implemented with the goal of creating enabling environments in political parties for increased participation of women in the country's political leadership.

The participation of women in political leadership is important for democratic development of any country. Democratic elections have become a central element of many countries across the globe. Only when electoral processes are democratic and representative of all groups in society, women as well as men, minorities as well as majorities, the dispossessed as well as the affluent, is democratic development likely to be achieved.

Demographically, women are the majority gender in the population of Kenya. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 is also very progressive in terms of its gender equality provisions and quotas providing for a 'not more than two thirds' of the same gender in public offices. Despite these, the rise of women to political leadership in Kenya has been limited and met with obstacles. The Kenyan political culture is extremely patriarchal by definition and practice. Women are not taken seriously; they face prejudices in a masculine society, and are seen as extra competition in an already tense and competitive political environment.

This publication documents the journey women aspirants travelled from the party primaries in April 2017 through the August 2017 General Elections. It captures the numbers of women who expressed interest to contest for political office and the ones who won during the elections. The publication also details the challenges that women went through to win the political seats and the enabling factors that facilitated their win. The publication evolved from the desire to document progress made with regard to gender representation in political leadership from 2013 and the 2017 General Elections.

CMD-Kenya understands that gender equality is not about women; it is also about men and the society at large. The gender debate must involve all. It is our responsibility to bring up a balance and equal society. CMD-Kenya will continue working with political parties to strengthen their systems and structures to enhance the levels of women representation at the County and National Assemblies. Our organization will continue seeking partnerships with organizations with similar interest of promoting women participation in political leadership.

I wish to thank all CMD-Kenya Member Parties, Board Members and Secretariat led by the Executive Director, Dr. Carey Onyango and all who participated in various ways in making this publication a reality.

Hon. Omingo Magara, MGH
Chairman, CMD-Kenya

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The journey towards Gender equity has been one of many twists and turns. The Gender Audit of the 2017 General Elections seeks to conduct and audit of the process and the numbers, several questions arise while we try and appraise the numerous efforts made towards gender parity: “Are we creating a favorable environment to enhance gender equity?” “Are all the efforts bearing any fruit?” “What are the lessons we can learn to hasten this process?” “Who are our Most Valuable Players? And how can we make the most of them”. All these questions and more help us to create just the right catalysts and conditions for the change we hope to see.

Through this audit, CMD-K sought to document the performance of women candidates in the 2017 General Election. This is in terms of how many women presented themselves for elective office and at what levels, we will also analyze the 2017 performance against the 2013 performance of the women and establish whether we have an improvement or a reduction of numbers of women elected.

Finally we assess based on the environmental and individual factors what were the enabling factors that contributed to the women’s success in various positions as well as what the drawbacks are. The audit seeks to identify what has worked, why it has worked, what has not worked and why and provide concrete way forward that will guide gender and governance interventions going forward.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

It is an open fact that gender inequalities in Kenya continue to persist across all spectrums of life. In this context, we recognize the slow pace at which progress has been made towards gender parity in the areas of politics and governance; this is despite the presence of advanced arguments, laws and policies that promote gender equality. The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action emphasized that 'women's equal participation in decision making is not only a demand for justice or democracy, but also a necessary condition for integrating women's interests into development agenda. Up and above this, the UN Security Council's Resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security emphasized the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as the need to increase women's role in decision making.

Despite women being 51.4 % of the population, only 47.1% of the voters register comprises of women. The numbers in elective representation unfortunately follow the same trend, with only 7.93% of women represented in Parliament. This falls far behind the Constitutional requirement of not more than two-thirds representation of either gender. As part of strategy to increase the levels of women participation and representation in Kenya's political leadership, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD-Kenya) in partnership with the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and International IDEA have been implementing a four-year (2014-2017) Respect for Women's Political Rights (WPR) Project whose goal is to foster political environments for equal participation and leadership of women in political parties in Colombia, Kenya and Tunisia. The project was implemented with the funding support from the Dutch Foreign Ministry. The gender audit of the 2017 General Elections was conducted under the WPR project framework.

CMD-Kenya is a membership organization of Kenyan political parties including all the parliamentary parties. One of CMD-Kenya key mandates is to strengthen the capacity of political parties to be effective in deepening and consolidating democratic governance in Kenya, as well as to enhance gender equity and effective participation and representation at all levels in the management of political parties. As an institution with the capacity, political capital and skills to promote democratic practices within political party structures and practice in Kenya, CMD-Kenya has been working with political parties to increase the level of women's participation through election, nomination and acquisition of leadership positions in political parties.

I.2 Objectives

The main objective of the undertaking was to establish how women candidates performed during the August 2017 General Elections. The audit was undertaken at the five gender-competitive elective positions namely Presidency, Senate, National Assembly, Gubernatorial and County Assembly. Specifically, the assessment sought to:

- a. Determine the levels of women participation and representation during the 2017 General Elections.
- b. Establish the extent to which the number of women candidates increased or decreased compared to the 2013 General Elections and before.
- c. Evaluate the factors that facilitated or hindered effective participation and representation of women during the General Elections.
- d. Make strategic recommendations on how women participation and representation in Kenya's political leadership can be improved in future.

I.3 Scope & Methodology

The Gender Audit of 2017 General Elections was carried out using a combination of methods including:

a. Literature review: With the voluminous amount of information in the public domain, it was best to review information that has been previously gathered with the same aim of providing and analyzing information on the participation and performance of women in political leadership. Information was drawn from a review of political party instruments, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) data, and various reports on the performance of women in the 2017 General Elections.

b. Key Informant Interviews (KIIs): First hand data was necessary in authenticating information acquired through secondary data. The study conducted a series of KIIs with Political Party Officials, the IEBC; Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP); National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC); Political Parties Dispute Tribunal (PPDT); Elections Observation Group (ELOG), media & women political leaders who participated in the election process. The interviews were guided using a set of prepared questions designed to draw out pertinent information from each of the respondents.

I.4 Study Limitations

a. Availability of consolidated data: While it is the responsibility of the IEBC to receive and process all election data, we found it unreasonably difficult to access said data while it should be accessible by all as public information. That said, we were able to go about gathering data from individual sources such as the political parties and candidates themselves.

b. Access & Openness of some key informants: It was particularly difficult to gain access to respondents, mainly in IEBC who could speak freely on the electoral process and provide requisite data to compare with what political parties submitted.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NUMBERS: FROM PRIMARIES TO ELECTIVE OFFICE

2.1 Status of Women in Politics: How We Got Here

Since the convening of Kenya's first post-independence parliament only 142 women have served as elected representatives; this pales in comparison with the 2,115 men that have since served in Parliament. According to the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Kenya, 2013), this number is actually lower when taking into consideration the number of women re-elected. The constitutions of the last 12 Parliaments have seen the percentage of elected women represented increase from 0% in the first parliament to 20.77% in the 12th Parliament (current 2017-2022 Parliament). This figure falls short of the requisite one-third gender threshold as mandated by the Constitution of Kenya. In comparison, Kenya is also far behind its regional counterparts when it comes to women representation in Parliament. Rwanda stands at 56% women representation in Parliament whilst, Tanzania, Uganda & Burundi stand at 36%, 35% and 30% respectively.

This begs the question, where did Kenya go wrong? According to Prof Nzomo (2014), the objective of majority of women that seek elective office is not only to gain power but also use the leadership position to advance the group (women) which she represents, thus elective office is a tool towards that advancement with the end goal being fulfillment the issues the woman supports. In summary, the representation of women in decision making positions is a question of Access; to the tools (Agenda-setting) that will enable her to deliver the collective goal to her representative constituents (Accountability). Unfortunately, the quest for the 3-As for women has been met with many obstacles that have left their representation imbalanced. The core barrier to women's ascent to political leadership is the patriarchal nature of our society; this social practice has consciously and unconsciously relegated women to positions of followers with little or no input in decision making. Despite global advancements in bridging the gender gap, Kenyan society is yet to fully appreciate the rights and abilities of women as leaders. Political contests in Kenya require enormous amounts of social capital; however the processes of economic, cultural and political capital accumulation are still tilted in favor of men more than women.

Efforts towards gaining gender parity have included both legal & policy reform to ensure that the environment promotes women in leadership & governance. Articles 27 (8) and 81 of the Constitution of Kenya (CoK) 2010 amply provide for a not more than two-thirds principle in all houses of legislation and appointive bodies. Full implementation of the principle essentially would mean not less than 1/3 of women would be represented in parliament; as it is, this has only been realized in the county assemblies. The CoK 2010 did not provide a clear mechanism to implement the same at the parliamentary level. Upon a request for an advisory opinion was filed at the Supreme Court by the Attorney General, the court determined that the principle was to be attained progressively with parliament passing the requisite legislation for implementation by 2015. Several attempts were made in drafting bills that would implement the 2/3 rule amongst them the Chepkonga¹ and Duale² Bills; both of which failed to get requisite support to pass in Parliament. Parliament failed yet again to deliver a mechanism for implementation despite the 60 day extension granted by the court in March 2017.

Representation of women in appointive positions however, seems to have taken a turn closer to the desired 2/3 principle. In 2013 President Kenyatta appointed a record 6 women to the position of Cabinet Secretaries representing 1/3 of his cabinet; more so he appointed women to positions that were previously the preserve of men such as the Ministry of Defense. A historical examination of previous cabinet composition reveals that there was no female post holder until Dr. Julia Ojiambo's appointment as an Assistant Minister in 1974; in 1995, Hon Nyiva Mwendwa was appointed as the first woman Minister, this trend improved with President Kibaki's government where 3 women served as cabinet ministers and subsequently President Uhuru's government with 6 post holders.

¹Chepkonga Bill - The said bill challenged article 81 (b) of the Constitution by stating that the “**progressive implementation**” of the legislation to ensure not more than two thirds gender principle is realized **without providing for a clear timeframe**. This is in total disregard of the principle of equality and freedom from discrimination as entrenched in the Constitution in article 27 of the Bill of Rights and Article 10 on national values and principles of governance as the bill attempts to dilute the gains women have attained under the Constitution rather than implementing it. The sponsor of the Bill was the then Chairperson of the Justice and Legal Affairs Committee of the national Assembly, Samuel Chepkonga.

²Duale Bill - The Duale Bill proposed meeting the 2/3 gender requirement through the top up mechanisms, whereas based on the number of women elected in any given General Election then parliament would nominate the remaining number to meet this requirement. The Bill was lost in a vote of 195 for yes against 28 for no while 20 abstained. The vote required 233 votes to pass. The sponsor of the Bill was the Leader of Majority in the national Assembly, Aden Duale

2.2 CMD-Kenya and the WPR Framework

For the last four years, CMD-Kenya in partnership with the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and International IDEA has been implementing the WPR project. The goal is to advocate for enhanced participation of women in the political processes and the actualization of the constitutional provisions on affirmative action. The program was informed by a Gender Ranking Survey in political parties conducted by CMD-Kenya in 2014 in order to understand the situation of women in political parties. The survey established that despite the far reaching constitutional, policy and legal gains that have expanded space for increasing women's representation in public and political spheres in Kenya, women's representation in political parties and also parliament remain low.

Through the WPR project, CMD-Kenya supported political parties in developing party-specific action plans detailing measures that political parties would put in place to ensure increased levels of women participation and representation in political leadership. Support was given to political parties' women caucuses to follow through and ensure actualization of the action plans. Advocacy towards realization of the Constitutional provisions on affirmative action, mainly the not more than two-thirds gender principle was undertaken through the project. Besides, knowledge materials were developed to guide the political discourses and processes in the country key among them the Nomination Strategy for Gender Equality in Candidates Nomination in Kenya; gender and party financing among others. All these efforts sought to contribute towards increasing representation of women in the country's political leadership.

2.3 The 2017 General Elections

The 2017 General Elections were held at a time when the WPR project was coming to an end. The Elections were unique in that it posted the highest number of independent candidates to ever vie in a Kenyan election; 3,752 according to IEBC. However, it is still clear that the largest political vehicle remains to be political parties who collectively fielded 11,330 candidates to the ballot. Political parties selected candidates for the ballot either through competitive process or direct nomination (38%) and often both (62%). Parties tended to give direct nominations in areas they enjoyed limited support whilst it was competitive primaries in their stronghold regions.

2.3.1 The Party Primaries

An analysis of the various candidates who contested in the party primaries reveals that majority of the female aspirants favored the Member of County Assembly position, followed by Member of National Assembly and finally gubernatorial positions. Table 1 below presents a summary of the female aspirants according to the political party and position vied for during the party primaries.

Table 1: Number of women who offered themselves for various seats during the party primaries

No.	Party	Position				
		Pres.	Gov.	Sen.	MNA	MCA
1.	Agano Party	-	-	-	-	6
2.	Amani National Congress (ANC)	-	-	-	5	78
3.	Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)	-	-	-	1	5
4.	Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)	-	-	-	1	23
5.	Ford-Kenya	-	-	4	6	94
6.	Chama Mwangaza Daima (FORUM)	-	1	2	8	32
7.	Federal Party Of Kenya (FPK)	-	-	4	6	12
8.	Jubilee Party	-	5	19	92	478
9.	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili (KADU ASILI)	-	-	-	6	7
10.	KANU	-	-	-	8	23
11.	Kenya National Congress (KNC)	-	-	-	6	20
12.	Labour Party of Kenya (LPK)	-	-	1	2	9
13.	Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)	-	-	-	2	1
14.	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	-	1	-	-	6
15.	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya)	-	1	-	12	31
16.	National Vision Party (NVP)	-	-	-	2	8
17.	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	-	1	3	34	376
18.	People's Democratic Party (PDP)	-	-	-	-	15
19.	Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK)	-	-	-	1	6
20.	SAFINA	-	-	-	3	9
21.	WIPER Democratic Movement	-	2	0	8	70
22.	Others					21
	Total	0	11	33	203	1330

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

A total of 1,577 women contested in the party primaries; this reflects 11% of the 12,000+ candidates who contested in the party primaries (IEBC, 2017).

2.3.1.1 The Gubernatorial Race

The Gubernatorial race attracted a total of 156 aspirants across all parties, 11 of whom were women candidates. This reflects only 7% of the total number of aspirants seeking a party ticket for the gubernatorial race³. A gender breakdown of the gubernatorial candidates is presented in Table 2 Below.

Table 2: Gender Breakdown of Gubernatorial Aspirants During the 2017 Party Primaries

PARTY	All Aspirants	Women Aspirants	% of Women Aspirants
Jubilee	78	5	6.4%
ODM	49	1	2.0%
ANC	8	0	0.0%
WDM	5	2	20.0%
FORD K	4	1	25.0%
PNU	2	0	0.0%
Maendeleo Chap Chap	2	0	0.0%
NARC	1	1	100%
Chama Cha Mashinani	2	0	0.0%
Chama Mwangaza Daima	3	1	50%
KADU ASILI	2	0	0.0%
Total	156	11	7.0%

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

³Maendeleo Chap Chap, Chama Cha Mashinani and PNU were not members of CMD-kenya at the time of the assessment. They were included in the assessment for purposes of information only.

2.3.1.2 The senatorial Race

The Senatorial race attracted a total of 236 aspirants, 23 of whom were women aspirants. This reflected 9.7% of the aspirants that expressed interest to vie for a senatorial party ticket. A gender breakdown of Senatorial Aspirants is presented in table 3 below.

Table 3: Gender Breakdown of Senatorial Aspirants During the 2017 Party Primaries

PARTY	All Aspirants	Women Aspirants	% of Women Aspirants
NARC KENYA	4	1	25.00%
Jubilee	154	19	12.30%
ODM	60	3	5.00%
ANC	9	0	0.00%
WDM	6	0	0.00%
Chama Cha Mashinani	3	0	0.00%
Total	236	23	9.70%

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.1.3 The National Assembly Race

The single constituency seats attracted a total of 1,779 aspirants across all parties, 141 women contested in the party primaries for the MNA position, reflecting 8% of the total number of aspirants. A gender breakdown of Member of National Assembly (MNA) aspirants is presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Gender Breakdown of MNA Aspirants During the 2017 Party Primaries

PARTY	All Aspirants	Female Aspirants	% of Female Aspirants
Jubilee	1004	92	9.20%
Wiper Democratic Movement	100	8	8.00%
ODM	447	34	7.60%
Chama Cha Mashinani	17	1	5.90%
Amani National Congress	136	5	3.70%
FORD K	45	1	2.20%
Maendeleo Chap Chap	12	0	0.00%
PNU	8	0	0.00%
Progressive party Of Kenya	3	0	0.00%
Kenya National Progress	3	0	0.00%
NARC	2	0	0.00%
Kadu Asili	2	0	0.00%
Total	1,779	141	8.00%

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.1.4 Member of County Assembly Race

The MCAs race attracted a total of 1,330 aspirants across all parties, reflecting 11% of the total number of aspirants. A party breakdown of female MCA Aspirants is presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Female MCA Aspirants During the 2017 Party Primaries

No.	Party	MCA Position
1.	Agano Party	6
2.	Amani National Congress (ANC)	76
3.	Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)	5
4.	Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)	21
5.	Ford-Kenya	92
6.	Chama Mwangaza Daima (FORUM)	32
7.	Federal Party Of Kenya (FPK)	12
8.	Jubilee Party	476
9.	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili (KADU ASILI)	7
10.	KANU	21
11.	Kenya National Congress (KNC)	1
12.	Labour Party of Kenya (LPK)	1
13.	Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)	1
14.	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	2
15.	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya)	29
16.	National Vision Party (NVP)	8
17.	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	373
18.	People's Democratic Party (PDP)	13
19.	Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK)	3
20.	SAFINA	7
21.	WIPER Democratic Movement	67
22.	Social Democratic Party	1
23.	Chama Cha Mashinani	21
24.	Maendeleo Chap Chap	46
25.	Party of National Unity	9
26.	Vibrant Democratic Party	0
27.	Citizens Convention Party	0
	Total	1,330

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.1.5 The County Women Representative Race

This proved to be the most popular seat attracting many women vis-a-viz the number of seats available. This race attracted 276 women to contest in the party primaries. A breakdown of Women County Representatives position per party is summarized in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Distribution of WCR aspirants Across Political Parties

PARTY	Total Number of Candidates
Jubilee	165
ODM	63
Amani National Congress	14
Wiper Democratic Movement	11
FORD K	7
Chama Cha Mashinani	3
Maendeleo Chap Chap	2
Kadu Asili	2
TOTAL	267

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.1.6 Performance of Women in the Top Five Political Parties

An analysis of the party primaries data revealed the top 5 political parties that attracted the highest number women in the party primaries. The most attractive was Jubilee closely followed by ODM and ANC and the top 5 being rounded off by WDM and Ford-Kenya. Collectively the top 5 parties attracted 1,496 women to party primaries contest as captured in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Number of women who presented themselves for nomination in the top 5 political parties

Party	Senate	MNA	Governor	MCA	WCR	Total Women	# Contestants	% of Women
Jubilee	19	92	5	478	165	759	5265	14.4%
ODM	3	34	1	376	63	477	3705	12.9%
ANC	0	5	0	78	14	97	996	9.7%
WDM	0	8	1	70	11	90	942	9.6%
FORD K	0	1	1	64	7	73	534	13.7%

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.1.7 Summary of Performance of Women Candidates During the Party Primaries

A summary of the number of Women who won the Primaries is presented in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Number of Women Candidates Who Won Party Primaries

No.	Party	Position				
		Pres.	Gov.	Sen.	MNA	MCA
1.	Agano Party	-	-	-	-	6
2.	Amani National Congress (ANC)	-	1	1	7	57
3.	Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)	-	-	-	1	5
4.	Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)	-	-	-	1	23
5.	Ford-Kenya	-	-	2	1	31
6.	Chama Mwangaza Daima (FORUM)	-	-	2	8	32
7.	Federal Party Of Kenya (FPK)	-	-	2	6	12
8.	Jubilee Party	-	4	5	24	114
9.	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili (KADU ASILI)	-	-	-	6	7
10.	KANU	-	-	3	8	23
11.	Kenya National Congress (KNC)	-	-	-	4	17
12.	Labour Party of Kenya (LPK)	-	-	1	2	9
13.	Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)	-	-	-	-	1
14.	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)	-	1	-	-	6
15.	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya)	-	1	-	3	31
16.	National Vision Party (NVP)	-	-	-	2	8
17.	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	-	-	1	14	82
18.	People's Democratic Party (PDP)	-	-	-	-	15
19.	Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK)	-	-	-	1	6
20.	SAFINA	-	-	-	3	9
21.	WIPER Democratic Movement	-	2	-	6	40
	Others	-	-	6	18	123
	Total		9	23	115	657

Source: CMD-Kenya, May 2017

2.3.2 Performance of Women Candidates in the 2017 General Elections

According to IEBC, only 9% of the 14,523 cleared candidates were women. Of the 9%, 124 women were elected through the ballot. The breakdown is as follows:

2.3.2.1 Governor

For the first time, 3 women were elected governors; these are Dr. Joyce Laboso in Bomet County; Hon. Charity Ngilu in Kitui County and Hon. Anne Waiguru in Kirinyaga County. This was against a backdrop of 211 candidates who offered themselves for the 47 gubernatorial positions. Of the 211 candidates, only 9 were women. The election of the 3 women governors represents 6.38% of the elected candidates at that level. A summary of the figures is presented in Figure 1 below

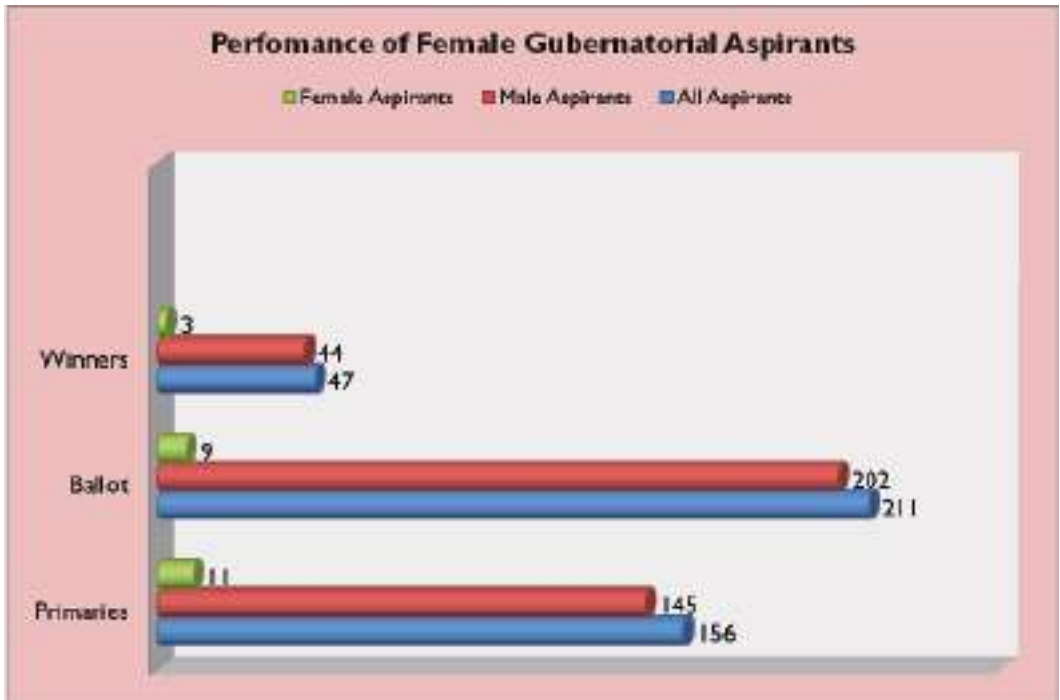


Figure 1: Performance of Female Gubernatorial Aspirants in 2017 General Elections

2.3.2.1.1 Deputy Governors

The 2017 General Election saw a decrease in the number of deputy governors elected. There were 9 elected deputy governors in 2013 compared to 7 in 2017. This could be due to the gravity of the 2/3 requirement at the time that prompted male aspirants to be accommodative and select women running mates. The importance of the 2/3 is gradually losing its hold due to the numerous times parliament has disregarded the timelines of implementation with no sanctions. On the other hand too, male aspirants may have settled on women deputies to

appeal to the women voters in 2013. The changing political dynamics in the Counties may have led to the dropping of the women deputy governors in 2017.

2.3.2.2 Senators

Additionally, 3 women were elected to the position of senate; Susan Kihika in Nakuru County, Margaret Kamar in Uasin Gishu county and Fatuma Dullo in Isiolo county. The 3 emerged victorious among 256 candidates, 20 of whom were women; this represents 6.38% of the total women elected to senate. The data is summarized in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Performance of women in the 2017 Senatorial Race

Level of Contest	Female Aspirants	Male Aspirants	All Aspirants
Primaries	23	233	256
Ballot	20	237	257
Winners	3	44	47

2.3.2.3 Member of National Assembly

Meanwhile, women representatives from single member constituency (MNA) in the National Assembly garnered 22 seats. The 22 members got elected from a possible pool of 1,761 candidates vying for 290 positions. This brought the percentage of women elected for MNA to 7.59%. Out of the 23 elected women MNAs, 16 were newly elected; the remaining 7 were retained from the 11th Parliament. This indicates that the retention rate for women in 2017 stood at 50%. There was evident conversion of affirmative action seats to elected seats as 9 out of the 22 women previously held nominative positions in the 11th Parliament as summarized in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Performance of Women in the MNA Race 2017

Level of Contest	Primaries	Ballot	Elected
All Aspirants	1,779	1,761	290
Male Aspirants	1,638	1,630	268
Female Aspirants	141	131	22

Women registered gains by shattering stereotypes in communities where elective office was traditionally known to be the preserve of the men. The Northern Kenya frontier and the pastoralist communities of the Maasai and Samburu made history by electing 1 woman Senator⁴ and 5 women MNAs⁵. The regions of Baringo, Samburu and Laikipia that faced a lot of insecurity prior and during the elections period, and were classified as conflict hot spot areas, still managed to secure 3 women MNA seats (Hon. Naisula Lesuuda, Hon. Sarah Korere and Hon. Grace Kipchoim). In Laikipia, MNA candidate Sarah Korere faced open intimidation and hostility and still managed to clinch the MNA seat. Table 11 below summarizes the information.

Table 11: Summary of women Elected as Governor, Senator, & MNAs

	Governor			Senator			MNA		
	Vying	Elected	% Elected	Vying	Elected	% Elected	Vying	Elected	% Elected
Men	202	44	21.78%	236	44	18.64%	1,761	268	15.16%
Women	9	3	33.33%	20	3	15%	131	22	17.56%
Total	211	47		256	47		1,892	290	
%Men	95.73%	93.62%		92.19%	93.62%		93.08%	92.41%	
%Women	4.27%	6.38%		7.81%	6.38%		6.92%	7.59%	

2.3.2.4 Member of County Assembly

Of the 12,060 candidates cleared to vie for Member of County Assembly positions, 96 women were able to clinch the various ward positioned they vied for. This represents 6.62% of the composition of County Assembly compared to 93.38% (1,354) men elected. This shortfall in electing women representatives to County Assembly according to the National Gender & Equality Commission (NGEC) will cost Kenyans close to Kshs. 2.19 Billion to finance the gender top-up to meet the constitutional not more than 2/3 threshold for the counties.

⁴Senator Fatuma Dullo of Isiolo County

⁵Including Hon. Sophia Abdi of Ijara Constituency on PDR ticket; Hon. Naisula Lesuuda of Samburu West on KANU ticket; Hon. Sarah Korere of Laikipia North Constituency on Jubilee Party ticket; Hon. Grace Kipchoim of Baringo South on Jubilee Party ticket and Hon. Peris Tobiko of Kajiado East on Jubilee Party ticket.

The MCA race also registered a number of firsts; in Turkana region I woman MCA was the first woman to be elected to any position (aside from Women Representative). Also 7 women were elected as MCAs on an independent ticket across the country. Table 12 below presents the number of MCAs elected in 2017 General Elections.

Table 12: Number of MCAs Elected in 2017 Elections

Gender	MCA	
	Vying	Elected
Men	11,107	1354
Women	953	96
Total	12,060	1450
%Men	92.09%	93.38%
%Women	7.9%	6.62%

2.3.2.5 Breakdown of Women Candidates Based on Political Parties

The 2017 General Election saw candidates vying from political parties as well as independents. Jubilee Party performed the best in women participation in representation in comparison to other parties; the party produced 2 out of the 3 women Governors, 2 out of the 3 women senators, 13 MNAs and 32 women MCAs out of the 96. ODM followed closely with 5 women MNAs and 26 women MCAs. Wiper, Kenya African National Union (KANU), Party of Development and Reforms (PDR) parties produced one woman MNA each. In a show of might, 7 out of 96 women got elected to MCA positions on Independent Candidate tickets while one (1) woman MNA was elected on an independent candidate ticket. Table 13 below presents a breakdown of women elected per party in 2017 and 2013.

Table 13: Breakdown of Women Candidates Based on Political Parties

Party	2013	2017	% Change
Jubilee Party (<i>TNA & URP in 2013</i>)	11	13	18%
ODM	1	5	400%
KANU	1	1	0%
WDM	2	1	-50%
PDR	-	1	100%
Independents	-	1	100%
NARC	1	-	-100%
Total	16	22	37.5%

It is important to note that ODM party registered the highest improvement in terms of women representation at the National Assembly in 2013 compared to 2017.

2.3.2.6 Number of Women Elected as Speakers

Besides the elective seats, women were also elected as speakers of the various County Assemblies as presented in Table 14 below:

Table 14: Number of Women Elected as Speakers

	Speaker
Senate	0
National Assembly	0
County Assembly	5

Post the election, the various legislative houses set about the first order of business, electing a house Speaker. Unfortunately both Senate and National Assembly did not elect a female speaker. At the County Assembly 5 women were elected speakers. These are:

1. Hon. Beatrice Elachi, who served as nominated senator in the 11th Parliament and will now serve as speaker of the Nairobi County Assembly following a win by an outstanding majority. Elachi was unsuccessfully in her bid for the Dagoretti North Parliamentary seat.

2. Florence Mwangangi, will be serving as the Machakos County Assembly House Speaker; she is a former member of the Judicial Service Commission.

3. Catherine Mukenyang will lead the West Pokot County Assembly. Before her election as a speaker Mukenyang vied for the women representative seat but lost. Mukenyang had also served as a member of the County Executive Committee in charge of Health in West Pokot County.

4. In Vihiga County, Mudeizi Mbone was elected Speaker of County Assembly.

5. In Homabay County, Elizabeth Ayoo beat her closest male competitor with 31 out of 61 votes to clinch leadership of Homa Bay County Assembly.

The Speaker of the House is a position of great influence; it is close to the seat of power and also allows the individual to have control over the tone of the debate. The election of these 5 women as county speakers provides a good foundation for their continued leadership. As house speakers, these women can raise their profile and visibility increasing their prospects either at retention or election to other positions. Newly elected Nakuru County Senator Susan Kihika initiated her political journey as the Speaker of Nakuru County Assembly. Bomet County Governor Dr. Joyce Laboso, served as Deputy Speaker of the 11th Parliament (National Assembly).

2.3.2.7 Nomination of Women By Political Parties

Nomination of women to the legislative houses through the party lists saw a total of 652 women nominated by the various political parties. Jubilee Party sponsored the highest number of women to the various houses at 287; 8 to the Senate; 6 to the National Assembly and 273 to the County Assemblies. This was followed closely by ODM who sponsored 176 women; 5 to the Senate; 3 to the National Assembly and 168 to County Assemblies as captured in table 15 below.

Table 15: Nomination of women to various houses by political parties

House	No. Of Women Nominated
Senate	16
National Assembly	6
County Assemblies	630
Total	652

CHAPTER THREE

THE SCORECARD: 2013 VS 2017- AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S PERFORMANCE IN THE LAST TWO ELECTIONS

3.1 Introduction

The quest to end unequal gender orientations has over the last number of years honed us in on targeted efforts to increase women's spaces and opportunities in decision making. Efforts made towards affirmative action can only be measured with progress of women coming full circle and competing on equal footing with their male counterparts. The comparison below will illustrate the performance of women in the 2017 General Election compared to the 2013 General Election.

3.2 Party Primaries

3.2.1 Governors

According to IEBC, the number of women who expressed interest in vying in the General Election rose to 13% of the total candidates compared to 11% in 2013. In the Gubernatorial race there was an increase in the women who expressed interest in the seat; rising to 7% of the total number of gubernatorial candidates compared to 2.5% in 2013.

3.2.2 Senate

The senatorial race also saw a rise in interest from the women candidates where 23 women candidates offered themselves for the race in 2017 compared to 17 women in 2013; this represents 9.7% in 2017 compared to 7% in 2013. This is indicative that if more women offered themselves for election then we would stand a better chance at increasing the number of women elected.

3.2.3 The Member of National Assembly

A total of 141 women expressed interest in the Member of National Assembly out of a total of 1,779 candidates this represents 8% of the total candidates. This again is an increase compared to only 129 (6%) who declared interest in 2013.

3.2.4 Member of County Assembly

Out of 10,021 candidates presented themselves for the MCA seat 1,161 were women, this represents 11.60% of the total candidates. This is an increase compared to 2013 where only 623 women expressed interest; that is only 62%. We see a double digit increase in the number of women in this race.

3.3 The 2017 General Election

In 2017 General Elections, 124 women were elected to the various positions compared to 98 in 2013. Across the various positions, we see a correlation in the number of women presenting themselves for party primaries and the number of women elected. There is a general increase in the number of women that got elected. Table 16 below summarizes the overall performance of women candidates in 2017 general Elections compared to 2013.

Table 16: Overall Performance of Women Candidates in the 2017 General Elections Compared to 2013

Position	2013	2017	% Increase
Governor	0	3	300%
Senator	0	3	300%
Member of National Assembly	16	22	37.5%
Member of County Assembly	84	96	14.29%
Total	98	124	26.53%

However there was a drop in the number of women elected as deputy Governors; 7 women were elected to this position compared to 9 in 2013 indicative of a 4.16% drop. The numbers of nominated women to the various houses in 2017 reduced to 652 women from 703 women in 2013. This could be attributed to the increased number of women who were elected through a competitive process.

3.3 Enabling Factors in Women's Effective Participation in the General Election

The progress witnessed in the 2017 General Election in women's participation & representation in leadership and governance can be attributed to a number of factors, these include an enabling environment for women's aspirations to thrive, and political and social good will to have women compete as equals. Interviews with a number of women aspirants that transitioned from one stage to the next revealed the following as some of the reasons behind their success.

1. Political Party Incentives to Women Candidates

Most political parties were able to incentivize women candidates through the reduction of nomination fees, most only requested the women for 50% of the fee that was being paid by male candidates. By so doing the parties made the race accessible to women who traditionally have faced more of a challenge in resource mobilization. Additionally, some parties like ANC and Jubilee went ahead and provided IEC materials for campaign to their candidates.

"...The reduction of the nomination fees helped me greatly; you see one of my biggest challenges was financing my campaign, by reducing the nomination fees by 50% allowed me to channel more money towards the campaign..." Cecilia Ayot, MCA Lindi Ward, Kibra (ODM)

"... The party was able to subsidize my nomination fee as well print a few, lesos and t-shirts for my campaign, this together with the posters I had were able to create visibility for me within the constituency..." Catherine Omanyoo, MP candidate, Matayos, Busia (ANC)

2. Political Party Targeted Efforts Towards Safeguarding Women Candidates

A CMD-Kenya analysis of the results of party primaries in May 2017 showed that a number of political parties made the effort to ensure that their women candidates felt safe enough to participate in the electoral process. For instance, parties like CCU, FORD K, ODM and NARC organized for security at their polling centers especially those centers that had a woman candidate.

For instance Ford Kenya assigned 5 security agents to each polling station to provide security for the election material and the women candidates and voters coming to the polling station to vote; Chama Mwangaza Daima went ahead to establish a disciplinary committee to handle cases of violence against women; the committee provided for serious sanctions against offenders including expulsion from the party.

NARC also created a synergy with local administration where they informed local chiefs of the dates and venues of their party primaries and as such were supplied with administration officers to help keep peace. On its part, NARC-Kenya even went the extra mile to conduct trainings to their female aspirants on how to protect themselves in the event violence erupted during the nomination process.

3.Support from Civil society

Women candidates indicated that support from various intuitions and actors providing political capacity to them were especially helpful. A number of women received capacity building and enhancement in requisite skills such as developing manifestoes and personal branding that enabled them to successfully maneuver the political landscape. A number even cited support in the preparation of IEC materials to aid their campaigns.

A number of organizations such as Youth Agenda, Oxfam, FIDA- K, KEWOPA, Women Empowerment Link, CREAM, CRAWN Trust and many others carried out a number of interventions during the election period to increase the number of women in elective representation.

“...The Vote A Dada initiative was particularly instrumental for me during my campaign period; I was able to build my capacity in writing my manifesto and how to brand myself as a leader. I was able to later launch and share my manifesto with my constituents, which I strongly believe is what got me elected...” Cecilia Ayot, MCA Lindi Ward, Nairobi

4. Successful Nomination by a Dominant Party

Women who were nominated to run on a dominant party ticket attested to the fact that the General Election was generally easier than the party primaries where the competition was stiffer for the party ticket. For instance, in Bomet County, where for the first time a woman governor was elected; it was done on the dominant party ticket (Jubilee). Dr. Laboso was able to clinch the seat despite facing a very popular candidate- the incumbent. Similarly, in Kilifi and Mombasa where Hon Aisha Jumwa and her counterpart Hon Mishi Mboko trounced stiff male competition to clinch the MNA seats on ODM tickets in the ODM strongholds.

In Kasarani, Hon Mercy Gakuya won the seat on a Jubilee ticket, the area is a jubilee zone. Hon Gakuya, had previously vied for the Kasarani MP seat in 2013 on a DP ticket where she came in a close second; in this scenario the party ticket provided the winning votes to secure her the seat.

5. Community Civic Education

The level of ignorance on basic electoral processes, procedures and laws was relatively high particularly in the rural areas. Women who were successfully elected identified civic education on the electoral process as beneficial to them, this helped bring in understanding on the role of the elected officials, how to vote and the belief that women are only to be elected in the women representative position.

“...With onset of the women representative seat, many men opponents have been going around telling the electorate that those are the only seats women are allowed to vie for, this could have worked strongly against us and in some instances it did save from the constant civic education that has been done by NGOs on the various roles of the elected officials; this helped them realize that these seats were open to all provided you could deliver the mandate. IEBC also conducted some civic education to the voters on why they need to register, why the need to vote and how they should vote...” Jeriah Bosibori, MCA Candidate, Motichi Ward, Kisii.

3.4 Key Challenges: A Kenyan Woman's Political Struggle

Through a series of interviews with women candidates in the 2017 General Elections, we were able to identify a series of issues that presented them with the greatest challenges in their quest for political office. Some of the women interviewed emerged as winners and some of them failed to clinch the seats.

I. Intimidation & Violence

This was a headline challenge that was identified by all the women candidates we interviewed. Since women are considered the weaker sex solely due to biology, many male opponents felt that they were easy to bully, threaten and manipulate to dropping out of the race. Most male candidates would threaten and intimidate the women verbally during the campaigns with the more physical violent threats being carried out by their supporters or hired 'goons'. Verbal threats often included derogatory language used to portray the woman candidate while at a campaign activity while physical threats included scenarios that made the woman candidate feel unsafe while some actually amounted to grievous bodily harm.

In Busia County, MNA candidate for Matayos Constituency Catherine Omayo found herself in situation where the male opponent had rallied law enforcement officers to serve her with threats should she persist in 'painting her opponent in bad light'. This persisted to the extent that her male opponent sent hired gangs to threaten her.

"...If your husband does not do anything to tame you then we will rape you and tame you ourselves..." – Catherine Omayo, MNA candidate, Matayos, Busia

In Nairobi, MP aspirant Eunice Wambui faced every woman's worst fear when venturing into politics. She was in Mukuru- Kwa Ruben winding down her campaigns for the Embakasi South parliamentary seat when she was attacked by a group of hired gang members; they were there to pass a message that the area was already 'spoken' for and that she was not welcome there. She and one of her campaign team members were beaten within an inch of their life and she was very nearly raped until one of the gang members realized that her colleague was unconscious at which point they called out to each other to let her live.

"...After that incident, I was not willing to continue with the race, but the constituents in Embakasi came to encourage me to continue with the race which is the only reason why I stayed on..." – Eunice Wambui, MNA Aspirant Embakasi South, Nairobi.

Kasarani MNA Hon. Mercy Gakuya was also not immune to threats and intimidation on the campaign trail, this was not her first time vying for the seat. In the last election, she faced her fair share of threats and election fraud and sabotage, this time it was no different they used every trick in the book including intimidating her supporters to ensure that she was not able to campaign.

“...One time during a team Nairobi road show my opponents ensured that they hired gangs to ensure that I will not be able to speak at any of the scheduled stops in my constituency, this deteriorated and quickly erupted into chaos where one of my female supporters was stripped...” - Hon. Mercy Gakuya, MP Kasarani, Nairobi.

2. Fraudulent Actions by Male Opponents

As was the case was with Hon. Gakuya in 2013, many women fell victims to the electoral fraud committed by their male counter parts. Many women, especially during the party primaries stage lost the race due to their male counterparts bribing election and party officials to tamper with the results of the primaries. During this election we saw numerous cases of officials caught with election materials outside of the polling station, cases of candidate agents and observers being denied entry into polling centers and tallying centers. There were incidents where the party ticket was willfully awarded to another candidate despite their losing the primaries and of opponents sending gangs to physically threaten the woman candidate into giving up the nomination certificate in their favor. Some male opponents even went so far as to deceive the voters that they would lose community benefits if they were to vote for the woman candidate. Such was the case with Margaret Kaleeng.

“... My opponents decided to bribe voters while we were on the campaign trail, on E-Day, he went so far as to inform the community members that if they do not vote for him and his party, their names would be deleted from the cash transfers program-The Hunger Safety Net that was being implemented in the community. Due to the ignorance and low levels of literacy many people changed their vote at the last minute...” Margaret Kaleeng, MCA Aspirant, Lapur Ward, Turkana

In Machakos County, one Fridah Wendo saw her win taken from her during the party primaries due to colluding of party officials and her male opponent.

“...After my opponent being declared the party candidate fraudulently, I immediately challenged the declaration at the party dispute tribunal, due to his bribing of party officials, my case was thrown out after which I took it up at the Political Party Dispute Resolution Committee, I won the case and was awarded the party nomination certificate, my name was immediately put up on the party website as the Matungulu West Ward party flag bearer. Shortly after that I realized that the party had gone ahead and submitted to IEBC my failed opponents name as the party candidate, the Gazette notice was my only notice of that action. I filed a case with the High Court, by the time of hearing the case, the judge made a ruling that it was already time bad for any changes since the ballot papers had already been printed. This was one week to the General Election...” Fridah Wendo, MCA Aspirant Matungulu West Ward, Machakos County.

3. Financial Limitations

Running a successful election campaign often requires money to run campaign logistics, develop and circulate campaign materials and pay campaign staffers. Unfortunately, for many women the finances required to run such a campaign is often limited and as such many are unable to effectively get their message out consistently and effectively to the voters. For women, often even the processes entailing their access to finance are often unavailable to them; this is because they often have limited if any access or ownership of resources. As such the men are able to control the resources and use them in full force to tilt the vote in their favor.

This issue was further elevated by the failure of Parliament to operationalize the Campaign Financing Act 2013. The legislation on campaign financing would have eased the burden on women candidates by ensuring that the playground is somewhat even when it comes to the

ceiling on campaign spending. All the women we interviewed identified this as a major challenge in their campaigns.

“... Running a campaign is very expensive, the minute you declare your interest in the race, the electorate will line up at your door expecting you to address their needs as they arise. Campaign expenses are not cheap either, I really struggled to sustain my bid for the seat...”
Sussy Malaki, MCA Aspirant, Sarangombe ward, Kibra, Nairobi

“... As a local community leader, my decision to vie for office was motivated by the community that I work and live in, they encouraged me to seek office and offer them a voice, unfortunately I had no money to run campaign logistics let alone print IEC materials...”
Betty Wambeti, Nakuru.

4. Negative Effect of Affirmative Action

With the provision of the 47 County Woman Representative seats, many proponents of patriarchy have been preaching to the unsuspecting electorate that the 47 positions is all that the women are entitled to have in so far as the leadership positions go. In addition to that, many political parties often put pressure on women who are strong candidates to step aside for their male opponents and vie for the women representative seat or wait for nomination to the legislative house the gender top up nomination.

“...I was promised a nomination, so I stepped aside for my opponent and offered him my support...” Anonymous Candidate, Bungoma County

5. Cultural Stereotypes

The patriarchal nature of the Kenyan society, has long since sustained the perception that women belong in the back seat when it comes to leadership and governance. Many communities do not believe that a woman has any latent or learned abilities to lead as such they should not even be considered for any type of leadership. Many women candidates shared that they had to overcome plenty of prejudice just to keep their campaigns alive. For instance in Kisii County, the women aspirants shared that the men did not entertain the thought of women in any sort of leadership save for the women Representative which is a contest for only women; in as much as this seat is an affirmative action seat, it saw a man from Kisii county attempt to vie for that seat too. According to a baseline conducted by Oxfam, Youth Agenda & FIDA-Kenya (2016) that male candidates were unwilling to vote for female candidates in some Counties more than others and that generally the level of unwillingness increased as the position grew in responsibility, e.g. more men would be unwilling to vote for a woman president than a man.

“... Our democracy is already pre-negotiated, so my going out to campaign is simply refusing to fit in the mold they have crafted around me, I will stay the course...” Ubah Abdisalan, Women Representative Candidate, Wajir

6. Lack of Political Currency

The political party system is such that privileges are accorded to those closest to the seat of power, in this case the party leader. The journey to seek audience with the party leader is plagued with middle men who not only extort women candidates but also sometimes seek sexual favors in exchange for linking the women with ‘higher-ups’ in the party.

“...In the party, it’s very difficult to get through to party leaders even at the constituency level, how can we expect to carry the weight of the party when the people in charge don’t know who you are ?...” Lilian, Kibra, Nairobi

7. Failure to Operationalize & Implement Legal Framework

There are several mechanisms designed to increase the participation and representation of women in leadership and governance that are enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The most relevant being the not more than 2/3 Gender laws; Parliament has failed repeatedly to develop a satisfactory Bill to operationalize the requirement. At the time of the assessment, the case on 2/3 filed by CREAW, CRAWN Trust and Kenya National Commission on Human Rights was still in the courts following Parliament’s failure to adhere to Justice Mativo’s ruling of March 2017 that Parliament enact a Bill 60 days from the date of the ruling. Had Parliament fulfilled its duty, we would already have a sustainable formula to ensure that we have equal representation.

Parliament had again written off the schedule on implementation of the constitution by failing to make operational Articles 55 and 100. These articles promote the representation of women.

In addition to that, we have witnessed unwillingness of IEBC and the police in ensuring that the election laws are enforced. As such we have seen the women suffer aspirants in the hands of lawless candidates, their supporters and gangs for hire that flout the law with no repercussions.

8 Lack of Solidarity Among Women Across The Political Divide

Difficulty in coordinating the women along women's issues in elections proved as a major challenge for the women, they often got side tracked with party positions that they were unable to cut through the glass and work and coordinate bargaining positions for the women's movement.

9. Insufficient Mobilization Of Media Support And/or Poor Media Coverage

It is a well known fact that effective media mobilization and utilization has the power to convert more support for women candidates, unfortunately, many women lack the skill to tap in to the media as a tool to propel them towards the electorate, some of those who are actually able to mobilize members of the press, lack the skill to articulate their message in a concise way that the electorate can receive it. The women also complained that the media was biased in covering of them, only focusing on the controversial stories that paint them in poor light.

“...Media most often than not will not come to cover any stories by us as women candidates unless we pay them to come, neither will they run your story without payment as well...”
Hon. Mary Waiganjo, MCA Subukia, Nakuru.

CHAPTER FOUR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

Conclusion 1

An increase in the number of women who present themselves for political office directly translates to an increase in the number of women elected. Based on the data from the party primaries, we see that increased number of women competing for the same seats as the men increases their odds of getting elected.

Conclusion 2

Affirmative Action works. The notion of introducing women to spaces of leadership to bolster their interest and shape the opinion of the electorate on electing women registers positive outcomes. 9 out of the 23 women elected to parliament were previously nominated in the 11th parliament, 1 woman who was previously a member of parliament in the 11th house was elected to a higher position of governor, and while one (1) formerly nominated Member of Parliament was elected as a speaker in County Assembly. This goes to say that women are good at learning and quickly gaining political skills and can easily excel in these positions given a fair chance.

Conclusion 3

Poor implementation and enforcement of the law has created an unfavorable environment for women to meaningfully participate and engage in politics and decision making. Failure of Parliament to implement the 2/3 principle has dealt a blow to the pace at which gender parity could be achieved. Failure to bring into effect the campaign financing Act has also allowed women candidates to draw the short end of the stick by continuously being on the losing side when it comes to campaign spending. Additionally, failure of IEBC and the security apparatus to fully enforce and apply sanctions to election offenders has created an environment where there is no reprieve for aggrieved women.

Conclusion 4

Political parties play a major role in the advancement of gender parity through the election of women through the ballot. Most political parties are primarily male dominated with little or no input from women members as to how to increase their numbers and deliver gender parity. Parties that presented women candidates to the ballot in their stronghold regions almost certainly delivered the seat with a female representative.

Conclusion 5

Threats, intimidation & violence to date remain a major inhibiting factor to women's full participation in competitive politics. As we consider methods of retaining women's interest in vying for office particularly getting through to the party primary stage, we need to recognize that this is one of the primary deterrents in sustaining the numbers. Many women who express interest in political office barely make it to the party primaries stage simply because they are unable or unwilling to bear the weight of threats, intimidation and harassment of either themselves or family members that comes with the expression of interest in seeking political office.

4.2 Recommendations

Recommendation 1

Political parties to create conducive environment for women to effectively compete in political process. We have witnessed previous efforts by political parties such as the subsidy of nomination fee directly register and increase in the number of women who present themselves for party primaries; parties can do more by putting place affirmative action such as deliberately nominating women candidates for elective positions in party stronghold areas or implementing quota systems to ensure that a minimum number of women vie for elective seats. This will significantly reduce the numbers required through nomination to meet the two thirds principle. Presently, we have registered paltry 13% women candidates on the ballot and as such a number cannot hope to meet the minimum 1/3 requirement. Examples of parties that have implemented this exist across the region in Rwanda, South Africa and Tanzania all of whom are well ahead of us in terms of achieving gender parity.

Recommendation 2

Political Parties and Civil Society actors should invest in women leaders through development of their capacity through timely and requisite skills building. Skills such as resource mobilization, personal branding, campaign management and development and sharing of manifestoes will elevate the women candidates. With the relevant skill in political maneuvering and exposure to the electorate through the party, women's chances at elective seats increase significantly.

Recommendation 3

Fast tracking the implementation of the 2/3 gender requirement. Noting the shortcomings of the 11th parliament in developing legislation to make the requirement operational, the 12th parliament should prioritize the process to ensure that we have legislation in place. In the same vein, IEBC and security apparatus should reform their policies and approach to electoral offenders ensuring that no offender goes unpunished for committing election offences regardless of the individual. Enforcement of the law will serve as a deterrent to future offenders. The result of this will be relatively more even playing field for women to participate without fear of intimidation.

Recommendation 4

The registrar of political parties should work closely with political parties to guide them on the utilization of 30% of the political parties fund to promote the participation of women youth, PWDs and other marginalized groups. Often we realize that members of these special interest groups within the political parties are not even aware of how the funds are utilized within the party. In the same vein, political parties should push for amendments to the political party fund legislation to reduce the threshold for qualification of parties to receive the funds. As it stands, after the recently concluded only 2 parties meet the threshold for financing. As a democratic state, citizens are entitled to elect members from as many parties as they wish, as such instead of entrenching the political party system as envisaged, we are stifling meaningful participation of a majority of the registered political parties.

Recommendation 5

Raising the profile of the elected and nominated women leaders will work towards securing the gains made in the recent elections. Citizens tends to support women who are visible in their work and engagements with the electorate, to them this deems them worthy of their vote 'despite their being a woman' It is critical that a partnership is formed with the media to ensure this whilst urging them to avoid negative reporting on women as this has a far more tragic effect than if the same is done to the men.

Appendix I: Survey Questionnaire

To Political Parties

1. How many women aspirants offered to run for office on your party for the following offices:

- a) **Presidency**.....
- b) **Parliament**
 - I. **Senate**.....
 - II. **National Assembly (MP)**.....
- c) **County Women Representative**.....
- d) **Governor**.....
- e) **MCA**s.....

2. How many women did your party sponsor/field in the just concluded General Election on 8th August 2017 in the following offices:

- a) **Presidency**.....
- b) **Parliament**
 - i. **Senate**.....
 - ii. **National Assembly (MP)**.....
- c) **County Women Representative**.....
- d) **Governor**.....
- e) **MCA**s.....

3. How many women were elected on your party ticket to:

- a) **Governor**
- b) **Senate**
- c) **The National Assembly**.....
- d) **County Assemblies**.....

4. How many women did your party nominate to the following offices:

- a) **The National Assembly**.....
- b) **The Senate**
- c) **The County Assembly**.....

To IEBC & ORPP

- 1. How many women were fielded during the party primaries?
- 2. How many women were on the ballot for
 - i. Governor.....
 - ii. Senate
 - iii. National Assembly.....
 - iv. Women Representative.....
 - v. Member of County Assembly.....
- 3. How many women ran on independent tickets?
- 4. Did all political parties submit party nomination rules?
- 5. Were the nomination rules gender friendly?

To NGEK & ELOG

- 1. Did you receive/observe any reports of intimidation and threats to women candidates and supporters?
- 2. What interventions did you run to ensure to support the participation and representation of women?

To Women Candidates/ Aspirants

- 1. To what level did you make it in your political ambition?
- 2. What challenges did you face in your bid for elective office?
- 3. What do you perceive to have been an enabler for you in your participation in the election process?
- 4. What do you think can be done better to close the gender gap?

Appedix cmd II -Kenya Member Political Parties⁶

No.	Party
1.	Agano Party
2.	Amani National Congress (ANC)
3.	Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCU)
4.	Democratic Party of Kenya (DP)
5.	Ford-Kenya
6.	Forum for non-parliamentary Parties (FORUM)
7.	Federal Party Of Kenya (FPK)
8.	Jubilee Party
9.	Kenya African Democratic Union Asili (KADU ASILI)
10.	KANU
11.	Kenya National Congress (KNC)
12.	Labour Party of Kenya (LPK)
13.	Maendeleo Democratic Party (MDP)
14.	National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)
15.	National Rainbow Coalition-Kenya (NARC-Kenya)
16.	National Vision Party (NVP)
17.	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)
18.	People's Democratic Party (PDP)
19.	Progressive Party of Kenya (PPK)
20.	SAFINA
21.	WIPER Democratic Movement

⁶As of 8th August 2017. This could change during the 12th Parliament.

About CMD-Kenya

The Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD-Kenya) is an organization that seeks to enhance multiparty democracy by building the capacity of member political parties to become strong, structured and well organized capable of carrying the multiparty agenda forward. Guided by the cardinal principles of inclusion, non-partisanship and dialogue, CMD-Kenya through its cross-party and bilateral programmes seeks to ensure that all political parties have equal opportunities to participate in the country's political processes in a healthy, tolerant and accommodative political environment.



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