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# **SCENARIOS ON THE STATE OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AHEAD OF KENYA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2022**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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FIDA-K	Federation of International Women Lawyers Kenya Chapter
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The third general election under the COK 2010 is scheduled for August 9<sup>th</sup>, 2022. Women's leadership since the promulgation of the constitution in October 2010 has remained one of the most discussed aspect of constitutional implementation apart from devolution and the role of the judiciary in the governance of the country.

While the numbers of the women in leadership (those who have accessed positions of leadership) has undoubtedly increased over that period several aspects of women's leadership (Agenda setting, effective accountability) calls for review and audit in order to understand the various variables of women's leadership. This rapid study assessed the following variables;

- a) Participation as candidates increased by 29% above the number that participated in 2013 elections.
- b) Membership and leadership of political parties remains dismal especially in the top seven political parties with presence in the National Assembly and Senate with only UDA having a woman Secretary General.
- c) Presence in the National Assembly, Senate and the County Assemblies improved overall by 18% with the total elected increasing from 145 in 2013 to 172 in 2017. Among the 290 constituencies, 23 women were elected directly in the competitive seats.
- d) Leadership in Parliament and the County Assembly
- e) Leadership in Cabinet improved with seven out of the 21 cabinet secretaries being women but this fell short of the 34% minimum mark because cabinet includes the President, the Deputy President and the Secretary to the Cabinet. Seven out of the 24 members constitutes 29.2% of cabinet.
- f) A SWOT analysis of the women's leadership outlined the strengths as the increased presence, better programs by government, improved security, the COK2010 among others; the weaknesses include the relatively poor performance of women in parliament, and the threats include the Affirmative Action backlash due to the women only seats as provided for in the constitution. Finally the opportunities include the expansive vernacular Media in the form FM stations and TV stations that are very popular with the population.

As the country gears for the 2022 general elections certain issues affecting women's participation have become increasingly of concern to the country and women's organizations. These issues will present the country with various scenarios as we work towards the elections; The following Scenarios Vectors are of interest to the overall strategy on women's political Leadership and they have been analyzed in detail;

- a) Preparedness of women candidates
- b) Public attitudes on women's leadership
- c) Preparedness of electoral institutions and Parties
- d) Electoral violence and GBV
- e) The legal framework and women's leadership
- f) The Issues of the 2022 general elections and its impact on women's leadership
- g) COVID-19 and its impact on women's leadership
- h) Corruption, interference and manipulation of the processes

in light of the prevailing situation, it is key that all stakeholders and duty bearers perform their roles responsibly and faithfully in order to ensure that there is progress towards fulfilling the national aspiration of effective women's participation in governance and transformation by focusing on progress on women's leadership

- the CSOs and the Media should focus on preparing women aspirants and candidates apart from engaging the institutions through advocacy to deliver the requisite reforms and conditions according to the constitution and the law.
- Political Parties ought to deliver credible party primaries and implement the Affirmative Action to ensure that women are hand-held to gain a stronger footing in leadership and governance;
- Elections institutions are strongly urged to ensure their independence and competence
- Security agencies are in the report called upon to preparing to deliver fair and free policing that is not influenced by the political players, ensure that women voters and candidates are secure through the process
- Parliament and the AG's Office are urged to enact the necessary legislations, amendments to the laws and the constitution, to ensure the executive and the ministries enforce the policies that assure the country of attaining the gender equality promises and bridge the gender gaps in women's leadership.

# 1.0 A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Women's leadership and participation has come a long in Kenya and especially in the aftermath of the promulgation of the COK 2010. In this section we carry out an analysis of the Status of Women's Political Leadership to date since 2012.

In this chapter we have reviewed six indicators of progress or lack of it of Women's Political leadership in Kenya. We assess

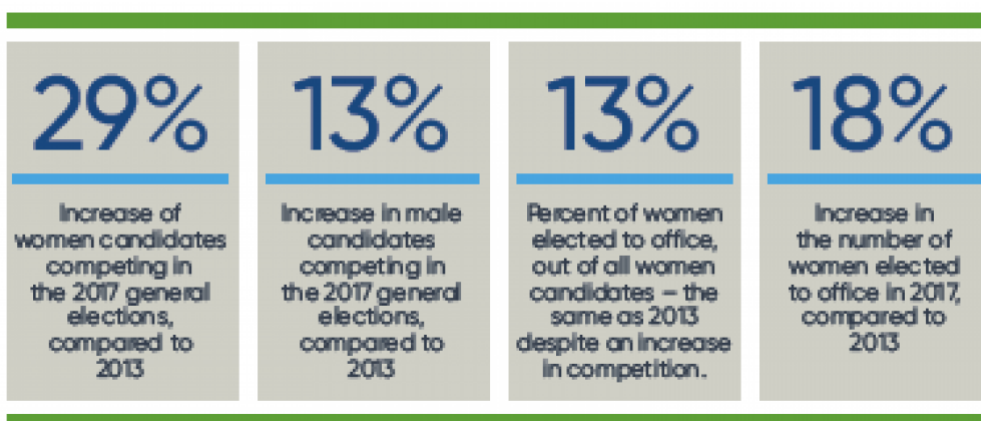
- ↳ The women's interest to vie for political seats, Participation as candidates
- ↳ Membership and leadership of political parties
- ↳ Presence in the National Assembly, Senate and the County Assemblies
- ↳ Leadership in Parliament and the County Assembly
- ↳ Leadership in Cabinet and other important commissions and independent office
- ↳ Summary of Key achievements of Women's leadership
- ↳ A SWOT analysis of the women's leadership

## 1.1 Vying As Candidates Of Political Parties and Independent Candidates

In this section we assess the Women candidature in 2013 and 2017 compared.

- ↳ 29 percent more women ran for office than in the previous election – a fact that led to the largest number of women ever seated at all levels of the Kenyan government<sup>1</sup>.

The number of women vying as candidates in the 2017 increased by 29% above the number that contested for seats in 2013. This is very crucial because the number of candidates greatly increases the chances of women who get elected in the end.



<sup>1</sup> See the NDI-FIDAK report <https://www.ndi.org/our-stories/record-number-women-elected-kenya-s-2017-general-elections-women-s-representation>

One of the candidates narrated her story to the NDI-FIDAK research team as follows “I had to put up with a lot of gender-based insults,” remarked one female candidate quoted in the report. “My family and my children especially suffered very intrusive public attention.”

These experiences most of the time discourage women from running for political offices. Most women especially those who have not experienced the terrain before give up when they encounter with such dehumanizing experiences.

## 1.2 Membership and Leadership of Political Parties

Out of the top seven registered political parties in the country with significant presence in Parliament namely Jubilee, ODM, now UDA, ANC, Wiper, Ford Kenya and KANU, it will be noted that there is none with a woman Party leaders. Only UDA has a woman Secretary General of the Party.

The fact that major political Parties are NOT women led is of great concern and it indeed affects how political party primaries are conducted and if more women will win the tickets to represent their parties from constituencies where the parties are strong.

There is need to make a very strong case for the key Party leadership positions to be shared on a gender basis in order to avoid the tokenism of just filling the political Party organs with women as vices and deputies or committee members to meet the requirement of not more than two thirds of one gender.

## 1.3 Presence in the National Assembly, Senate and the County Assemblies in Kenya

According to the NDI and the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya) report, a number of important political gains were made by women during the 2017 general elections.

- ↳ For the first time in Kenya’s history, women were elected to serve as governors and
- ↳ senators, and
- ↳ Women now hold 172 of the 1,883 elected seats in Kenya, up from 145 after the 2013 elections.
- ↳ For those women who were elected, prior experience in politics was a major factor in their success. In this sense, a Kenyan policy that appoints women from party lists to special seats in parliament and local legislatures has led to longer term political success because it affords them the opportunity to gain political experience.
- ↳ Of the 18 women appointed to the Senate in 2013, 14 went on to run for elected positions in 2017 and had a 35 percent success rate in gaining office. Ongoing efforts from civil society organizations to train candidates helped to inspire more candidates to run for office, while regulatory improvements better incentivized political parties to recruit and elevate women into leadership positions. These are important gains that should encourage and inspire women leaders and those committed to the full realization of the promise of our progressive constitution

Source: NDI-FIDAK Report 2018

#### **1.4 Presence in the Cabinet and in other Critical Political and Policy organs of State**

The President continues to flout the not more than two thirds of one gender in elective or appointive positions. There are seven women Cabinet Secretaries in a Cabinet of twenty one Cabinet Secretary, a President and a Deputy President and a Secretary to the Cabinet.

This is technically seven out of twenty four members of the Cabinet which is 29.2% not the minimum of 34% as required by the Constitution.

A study needs to be commissioned to assess the effectiveness of all the Cabinet Secretaries- both male and female- in the various dockets so that it is established how effective the women Cabinet Secretaries have been in their dockets.

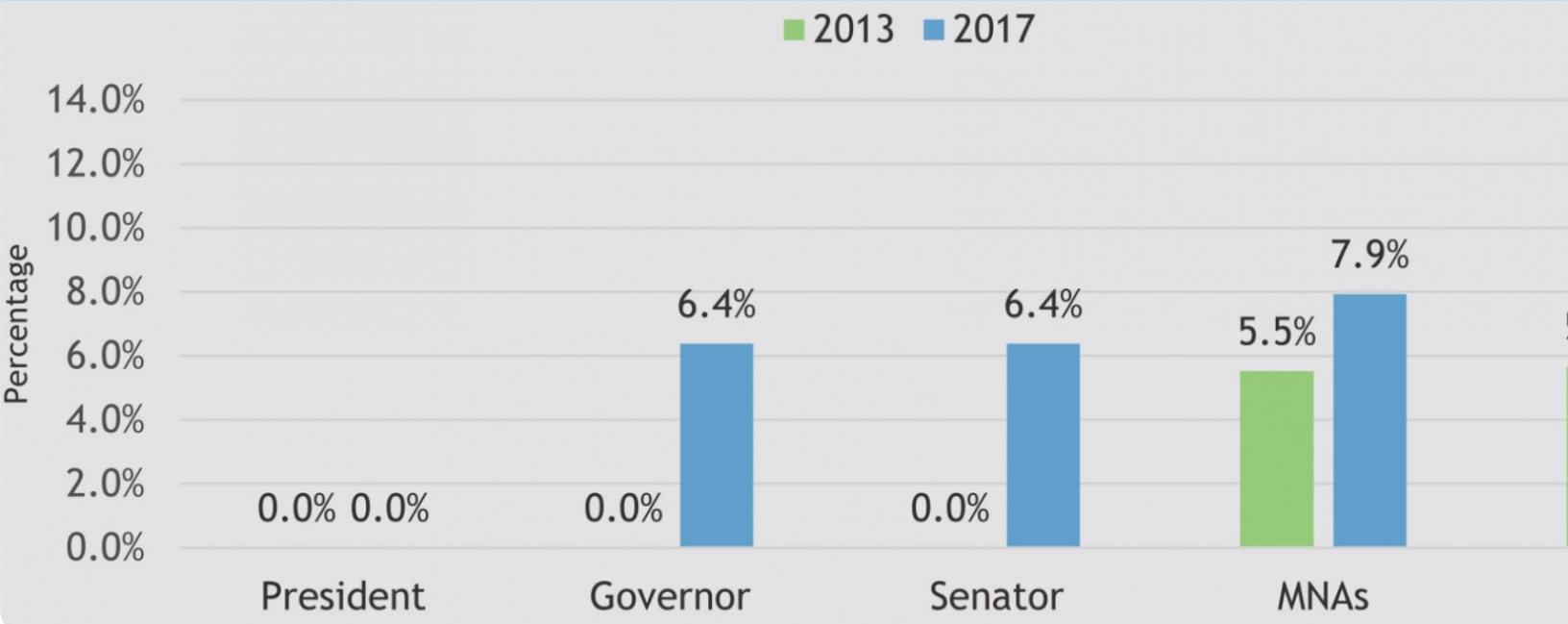
The women's movement should sponsor this kind of a study to use it as a key tool for advocacy for more women Cabinet Secretaries, Prime Ministers, Deputy Presidents and Presidents in future;

There is also need for undertaking a comprehensive study to determine the presence and effectiveness of women in the leadership of Constitutional Commissions and Independent offices such as the ODPP, the DCI, the NPS leadership among others.

In the Caribbean countries, according to a very seminal Common Wealth Study eight years ago, it was shown that more women were appointed to head ministries as Ministers and Principal Secretaries only for the Ministries to be made powerless through the creation of powerful and well-resourced Parastatals. A Kenyan equivalent would be to have a woman Minister for energy but then appoint men to head the Kenya Power, the Kengen, the KPLC and other powerful regulatory and service delivery agencies within the ministries.



Fig 7. Women as Percent of Elected Seats  
2013-2017



#### 1.5 Leadership in Parliament and the County Assemblies

The Leadership of the National Assembly and the Senate continues to be male dominated vide the Speakership, Deputy Speakers, Committee Chairpersons in Senate and the National Assembly.

This is of great concern to the agenda of women's political leadership in Kenya. The same is replicated in the 47 County Assemblies where we only have four women Speakers out of the forty seven Speakers were elected in September 2017<sup>2</sup>. Two of the Speakers have since been ousted and are not serving as Speakers including former Nairobi Speaker Beatrice Elachi and Elizabeth Ayoo of Homa Bay County Assembly.

#### 1.6 A SWOT Analysis Of Women's Political Leadership

In this section we carry out a rapid summary of the enabling and or spoiler factors for womens leadership in Kenya so far;

##### Strengths of the Women's Political Leadership agenda

- Constitution of Kenya 2010 and the various laws that are enabling for women's political leadership
- Improved security for women across the country
- More women role models are now serving as CJ, Deputy CJ, Cabinet ministers, Commission heads, MPs, Ambassadors etc
- Increased numbers of women in elective, appointed and nominative positions

##### Weaknesses for Women's Political Leadership

<sup>2</sup> See the Story carried in the Dailies <https://www.tuko.co.ke/251387-meet-4-women-elected-county-assembly-speakersphotos.html>

- Women not offering themselves as candidates in the proportions needed
- Women candidates lacking the financial muscle they need to mount successful campaigns
- Seeming lack of cohesiveness among women in parliament and in leadership to advance the women's agenda beyond the numbers
- The increase in numbers has not produced very tangible outcomes for Kenyan women and the Kenyans nation and society
- Women's successes are not well documented and given prominent visibility
- Poor branding of women leadership in the media and in society
- The Women's Charter and its agenda has not been mainstreamed by women leaders sufficiently
- The lack of strong women political caucuses as it was the case in the 1990s and early 2000s to harmonize and give direction to the gender agenda

### **Threats/ external Limitations**

- The persistence of GBV as a tool against women leaders and gender equality in society generally
- The Affirmative Action backlash: the women seats are causing a backlash when it comes to the other competitive seats
- Political Parties still controlled by wealthy and or well-connected men hence making the political landscape not favourable to progress in women's political leadership
- Men still control the ethnic bases and therefore which Party shall have a say in the area etc
- Persistence of gender myths and stereotypes as well as cultural traditions and practices that create an environment that is against women's leadership.

### **Opportunities**

- Political party coalitions particularly the UDA which has appointed women leaders as its key leaders in several counties<sup>3</sup>
- Expanding media outlets especially the more than 17 strong vernacular FM stations and several regional TV Stations
- Government programs including economic and social empowerment programs that are driving an improving rural women's economy
- Civic education partnership with Non-state actors including Faith Based institutions
- Emerging issue based as opposed ethnic driven politics will be a great advantage for women politicians

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<sup>3</sup> Senator Kihika for Nakuru, Kiambu Women Rep as its leader in Kiambu, Hon. Alice Wahome for Muranga, Hon Ngirici and Governor Anne Waiguru as the leaders in Kirinyaga, Hon Mbarire in Embu etc

## 2.0 SCENARIOS ANALYSIS- WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TOWARDS THE 2022 GENERAL ELECTIONS

There are several factors or vectors that drive the scenarios that are currently prevailing eight months to the August 2022 general elections we have conducted an analysis of the scenarios around each of the vectors as follows;

### 2.1 Preparedness of Women Candidates

The progress, stagnation or regression in the women's leadership is determined by the preparedness of women candidates to vie competitively in the elections. Candidate readiness or preparedness is influenced by several factors including

- The level of civic education, training and skilling women candidates receive
- The quality of mentorship available
- The quality of connectivity and orientation to political party
- Structures on the ground to assist women set up campaign structures and plans
- Financial literacy and financial planning to make women aspirants approach the party primaries with confidence and efficacy
- The presence of a network and support ecology for women to be convinced that political candidature will not destroy their careers and expose them to vagaries of political competition that is male dominated and violence prone;

The scenarios that women politicians will find themselves in will be three:

- a) Good number of women offering to be aspirants and candidates increasing candidature by more than 35% of the 2017 candidature
- b) Totally unprepared women chicken out and the number of women candidates in the election dips below the 2017 levels
- c) Intervention by stakeholders hurriedly encourages women aspirants to offer themselves but most do not make it past the Party Primaries and those who make it through the party primaries suffer a beating in the elections proper bringing the number of elected women below 172

### 2.2 Public attitudes on Women's Leadership

How do the voters view women leaders and women's leadership generally in Kenya at the moment and as we draw towards the 2022 general elections

One of the factors informing this view is how the women in the National Assembly and Senate have performed in the constituency, House and Party roles.

The second factor is the kind of civic and democracy education that has been provided to the voters to inform and influence their view of leadership and women's leadership thereto.

There are various scenarios on this particular vector;

- a) Public attitudes on women’s leadership has improved greatly since 2017 hence helping women vying and winning elections to increase beyond 172 elected women
- b) Public attitudes have gotten worse due to the less than satisfactory performance of women elected to serve in various roles in a patriarchal political terrain; also due to negative cultural norms, practices and traditions, beliefs etc and an affirmative Action backlash leading to women suffering regrettable losses in the party primaries and in the final elections;

### 2.3 Preparedness of Electoral institutions and Parties

The electoral institutions here include the following

	What preparedness entails	Impact on women’s leadership
a) The IEBC	Voter registration, voter register, campaigns management, ensuring transparent use of campaign funds,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A credible and well prepared IEBC with reliable processes is key for women candidates performing well by avoiding bribery and processes prone to manipulation.</li> <li>- Avoiding expensive petitions and election disputes is in the advantage of women candidates</li> </ul>
b) The ORPP	Regulated and properly governed political parties, that have membership rolls/registers, leading to clean and transparent Political Party Primaries that favor women aspirants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Credible party primaries will favour women aspirants</li> <li>- Shambolic nominations shall disadvantage women aspirants</li> </ul>
c) Political Parties	Political Parties that have women officials in significant positions, women in the election boards across the country, carry out credible party primaries, have rules that uphold Affirmative Action for women including young women, have structures to support candidates including women candidates in the main election;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- If parties do not carry out credible primaries, do not have women as leaders and as Party Primaries election managers will lead to the usual rigging out of women upfront, invite violence to the process and scare off women from the exercise;</li> </ul>
d) Courts and Tribunals	Preparedness shall entail tribunals and courts determining and resolving party, nomination and electoral disputes fairly and expeditiously;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Effective dispute resolution is key to ensuring that women get justice in the party primaries and in the</li> </ul>

		petitions after the main election itself
e) Election observers and monitors both	Election observers and Long-term monitors shall help with Early warning and course correction that leading to avoidance of violence and gerrymandering, corruption and unfair practices	- Peaceful primaries, that are credible and credible free and fair elections will give women aspirants and candidates a big boost in the elections; the opposite will disadvantage women aspirants and candidates

The preparedness of electoral institutions shall be so crucial in this elections where NCIC has predicted that the potential for violence is quite high<sup>4</sup>. According to ELOG in their August 2021 report, the level of confidence in institutions including electoral institutions has really plummeted even with new Commissioners at the IEBC. The public confidence in institutions across the board is generally low. With the confidence in the IEBC standing at only 32% and in the NCIC standing at only 26%<sup>5</sup>.

#### 2.4 Electoral Violence and GBV

Electoral violence is a key determinant to the performance of women in election contests or even entering those election contests in the first place;

Electoral violence that takes the form of Gender Based Violence (GBV) is debilitating impact on women’s political leadership. Some of the factors that are driving election security or violence include the following

- i) The quality of policing: The fairness, impartiality and preparedness of the National Police Service
- ii) Ethnic and political incitement, hate speech, insults and open provocation of groups and communities;
- iii) A subculture of violence in Kenya that has been adopted by our own secondary school children. NCIC has noted this in their Blue Print for “A violence free 2022 Election”
- iv) The fall out between the President and the Deputy President and its impact among communities (grievances of dishonored MOUs, betrayal of loyalists in Jubilee)
- v) Perceived use of the deep state or system in favouring certain candidates or aspirants close to the president
- vi) Many unemployed youth who are forming and joining gangs and militia groups
- vii) Social media impact and fake news that is pervasive and poses a really danger in 2022
- viii) The pervasive poverty and famine, drought and the general vulnerability in the semi-arid and arid areas in the country driving resource conflicts in about 19 counties; women voters and candidates in these counties will face difficulties participating in the

<sup>4</sup> See the NCIC Blue Print for A violence Free 2022 elections and the Peace Actors Forum November 2021 report

<sup>5</sup> The ELOG report prepared by South Consulting Africa at various scenario building Sessions between August and November 2021.

party primaries and main elections amidst cattle rustling, resource conflicts that are normally ethnically defined;

- ix) Management of campaigns and the problem of impunity<sup>6</sup>- as was seen in Matungu and Kabuchai where election officials were beaten and no serious consequences followed

**The Scenarios here may include the following;**

- a) The police, are prepared, drilled and deployed to work closely with communities hence enforcing security across the country with women candidates, officials, voters being assured of their security hence an excellent and free environment for women to vie as aspirants in political party primaries and in the main election
- b) Biased Police action invites provocation and reaction from sections of the country and parties creating a violent driven party primaries and elections that drive women away from active involvement in the electioneering period leading to their suppressed numbers leading to a worse off performance and results than 2013 and 2017.

## **2.5 The Legal Framework and Women's leadership**

If the 'Not more than two thirds of one gender' was to be operationalized to help women not only vie but be brought in through the special elections in the party lists/ nomination this will greatly impact on the elections 2022. Other laws that deal with party primaries, to ensure each party upholds a higher of women candidates on its party tickets especially in areas where the party is strong and laws that govern campaign financing ought to be put in place as ELOG and other CSOs have outlined.

Under this vector there are various scenarios

- a. The legal reforms are enacted leading to enhanced election of women to avoid a large number of nominated/ top up seats for women;
- b. The legal reforms are not enacted leading to a very stifling environment for women aspirants and candidates in the 2022 general elections
- c. The reforms are enacted leading to a more devastating Affirmative Action backlash in the elective seats like the 290 constituencies, senatorial, gubernatorial

## **2.6 The Issues of the 2022 General Election and Women's leadership**

Will the 2022 elections be issue driven or it will be the same old ethnic and religious mobilization driven elections where male political party leaders are the determinants who get the ticket, normally given to the highest bidder.

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<sup>6</sup> The NDI FIDA-K report observed as follows "examples of the intimidation, harassment and violence women faced while campaigning. More common than acts of physical violence was the widespread utilization of psychological abuse aimed at making life unacceptably difficult and uncomfortable for women who chose to enter the political arena".

The Women's Movement in 2012 published the Women's Charter which has not been mainstreamed across the country therefore denying the women's movement a strong platform for offering candidates across the parties and regions.

The leading political formations mobilizing around the 'Bottom Up' economic model (Tanga Tanga formation), the 'Azimio La Umoja' ( the 'Handshake' formation) and the yet to be articulate OKA formation have not seen women politicians given prominent spokespersons roles therein.

The Scenarios under this vector will consist of;

- a) Issue based 2022 election around issues of empowerment, economy, families and livelihoods where women are more trustworthy to deliver than their male counterparts hence giving women a upper hand in the party primaries and the main election;
- b) Ethnic and religious sexist mobilization where women do not have a strong grip over the narrative hence suffering heavy losses in the party primaries and the eventual main election;
- c) A mixture of the two giving women an advantage if they are given a say in their political parties and also leading to many women losing in the elections hence returning a stagnant outcome in the 2022 election

## **2.7 COVID-19 and Women's Political Leadership**

Under this vector we assess the impact of COVID

- The COVID-19 pandemic and reality has impacted the political scene
- The socio cultural and economic impacts including increased poverty, limited incomes for families, increased dependency, increased incidences of failing mental health crisis, increased GBV at the family front,;
- Legal political aspects include COVID restrictions, exposure to members of the public, indoor meetings risks;
- **The Scenarios under the COVID-19 vector include**
  - A. Women take advantage of their social networks especially in churches, use ICT to coordinate and network better, work with the Youth, spend less and increase victories;
  - B. The increased poverty, insecurity, demand for handouts and insecurity make the context very difficult for most women aspirants leading to very poor performance in both the Party primaries and in the main election
  - C. The COVID-19 pandemic worsens in 2022 forcing the government to lock down and limit meetings, worsened economic situation

## **2.8 Corruption, interference and Manipulation of the Processes**

Women's Political Leadership is heavily affected by the context campaigns and if integrity is upheld or not. Corruption, bribery, interference of processes and manipulation of the democratic and political processes badly affects women's leadership and the effectiveness of leadership, institutions and governance in Kenya.

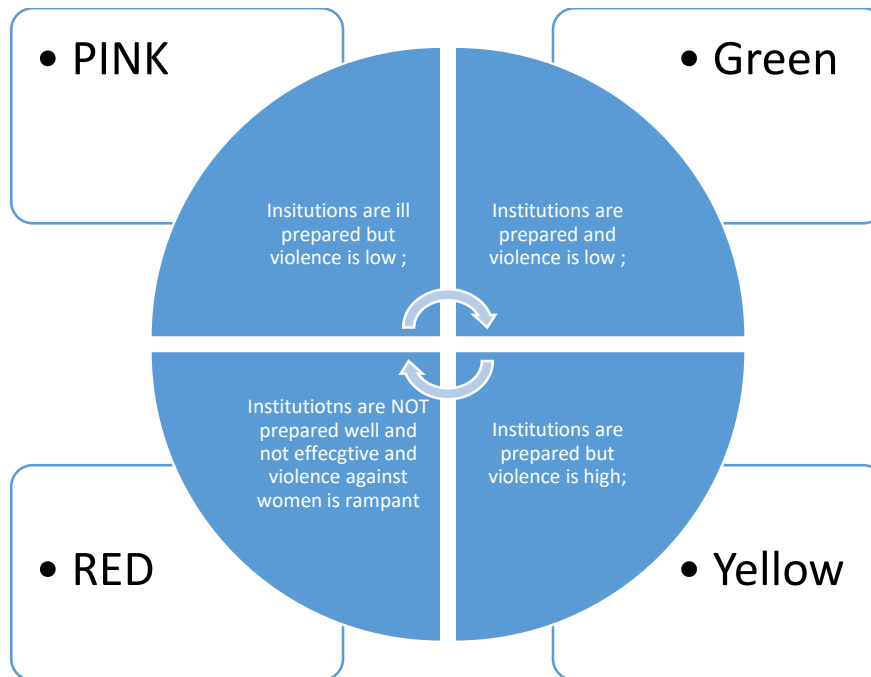
- The need to effectively enforce the campaign financing regulations is key to creating the favourable environment of integrity
- Ensuring that political parties nominations and processes are not manipulated is key
- Ensuring that the IEBC officials and processes are not interfered with even by security agencies as it has been the case before in Kenya is a prerequisite to sustaining gains in women’s leadership;

Scenarios

- A. Campaign finance regulations enforced to curb bribery of voters, institutions conduct processes with integrity, the Security agencies do not interfere with IEBC and elections agencies; This mostly a credible election which will mostly favours women candidates.
- B. Corruption, interference, and manipulation of processes is unpunished and the bribery of voters to vote for the most monied candidates goes on in a rampant manner and this greatly disadvantages women candidates most of whom do not have political cash to dish out in large amounts.

Summary of the Scenarios

Of the eight vectors, the two most critical ones are election security and preparedness of electoral institutions;





## 3.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON BRIDGING GENDER GAPS

In this chapter we draw conclusions and make recommendations for bridging the gender gaps in Kenya's political landscape.

### Conclusions

We make several conclusions from this analysis

Firstly, it is clear that there has been progress in all platforms of the Women's Political leadership since the promulgation of the COK2010. However this seems to be headed for a very difficult political season due to the refusal to fully implement the constitution by the National government. Political Parties have not helped matters in the Kenyan women's political leadership landscape. Parties do not seem to be giving women leaders' greater roles in the governance and steering of political parties. This has left the terrain still largely anti-women.

Secondly, the country seems to be caught in a cycle of being unprepared to conduct credible elections or lacks the good will to pass progressive legislations, policies and programs as is required in Article 28 of the Constitution to enable women participate at an equal footing with men in the electoral process. This is of great concern and it inordinately disadvantages women's participation in governance processes but particularly in enhancing women's leadership in the country.

Thirdly the threat of violence against women as the more disturbing form of Gender Based violence (GBV) noted in elections cycles remains unmitigated in a satisfactory manner. It keeps rearing its ugly head in every electoral cycle. As it has been noted many times in the past, it seems that the more things change for Kenyan women, the more they remain the same.

### Recommendations

We make the following recommendations to the various policy makers, duty bearers and key advocacy champion

#### 3.1 CSOs Women Serving Organizations and the Media

CSOs and Women Serving Organizations will need to activate a robust program aimed at making many women leaders election-ready or election-prepared even as time is fast running out. Also ensure that all the six vector identified above are properly addressed in favour of the best case scenarios identified. Key strategies will include the following;

- i) Map the whole country to identify women politicians showing interest to vie to encourage them, offer them mentorship, and networking
- ii) Use ICT platform to train, coach, mentor and track progress for more aspirants and eventually candidates
- iii) Create platforms for women aspirants and candidates to use The Media that is most effective in their areas of political interests
- iv) Partnership with Faith Based Organizations and leaders, cultural entities with influence and others should be courted in conducting Gender sensitive civic, political and democracy education across the country using the least resource outlay.

- v) Engage donor agencies and development partners in realizing that the offer investment in the supply side of policy while down-scaling invest in the work of the advocacy and demand driven actors in the CSOs and other non-state agencies has created an imbalance that is not good for progress in the long run. CSOs have become weaker and less articulate because of this shift.
- vi) Work with other legal, governance and rights CSOs and networks such as ANGAZA Movement to advocate strongly for more prepared and responsive elections and elections security institutions
- vii) Conduct research to demonstrate and document the value of women leaders that is necessary to reversal the Affirmative Action backlash that has gained ground across the country. This research is very strategic in building and sustaining positive narratives in favor of women's Political leadership.

### **3.2 Political Parties**

Political Parties are key organs and institutions in a democracy. Unfortunately, Parties are not taken seriously or governed as important institutions of our democracy in Kenya. They are seen as mere Matatus that are used to take selfish politicians to their destinations not to build and safeguard our nascent democracy. In order to obtain the best scenarios for women's political leadership the following recommendations are necessary as regards Political Parties;

- a) Be supported by EACC, NCIC and other agencies responsible for integrity and peace and Security to ensure that the Political Party Primaries are conducted credibly and are free of violence and irregularity.
- b) Be assisted by ORPP to establish credible membership registers that will be used to conduct Party Primaries
- c) Enforce the code of conduct that governs all their members, aspirants and candidates and the code of conduct be enforced faithfully and rigorously.
- d) Ensure that their members are not involved in incitement, hate speech of any kind and do not perpetrate provocative insults and sexist slurs as it has become the norm in the Kenyan political terrain;
- e) That Political Parties make rules that promote and enhance the participation of women in the elections as candidates
- f) Parties should support the passage of enabling constitutional, legislative and other administrative reforms that will make the conduct of election fair, free and credible. In this regard, Parties should mobilize their members in the National Assembly and in the Senate to enact reforms that make it possible for the realization of the gender quota.

### **3.3 IEBC and election related agencies**

IEBC, ORPP and other election facilitating institutions such as the Judiciary, Data Commission, and the Communication Authority of Kenya ought to be engaged to ensure that t

- i) Communicate openly about their roles and responsibility in elections, their preparedness, limitations and challenges being faced. This communication must be regular and responsive

- ii) IEBC must take steps to ensure that it is fully prepared to deliver an Article 81 standard of election that meets international standards. These preparations must be verified and confirmed by stakeholders to attract confidence in the IEBC
- iii) ORPP will play a critical role in the elections by ensuring that only Parties that meet the basic threshold of a credible election participate in the elections. In places where party primaries are conducted in a violent, clumsy and shambolic manner, ORPP must deregister or penalize such parties very severely in order to bring sanity to the political governance and processes in Kenya.
- iv) Severe penalties for those who engage in bribery, corruption, and incitement including barring them from vying in the elections should be enforced by the IEBC;
- v) Refuse to clear those who violate Chapter 6 prerequisite to send a very clear message that violence, bribery, discrimination against others and interference in the process

### **3.4 Security Agencies**

Security agencies should be engaged by all stakeholders;

- a. To provide and ensure the security for women candidates and their campaigns is guaranteed
- b. Create an environment of safety and security for all voters across the country without profiling certain areas which
- c. Curbing cyber bullying and the use of electronic media and other media outlets to harass and demean women candidates and candidates generally
- d. Disband all gangs and militia across the country by utilizing the available and credible intelligence that is available.

### **3.5 Parliament and the AG's Office**

This Parliament and the AGs office have particular leadership roles to play in making the playing ground level for women's participation and leadership.

- g) Parliament still has the time to effect the necessary constitutional, legal and administrative reforms needed particularly to operationalize the not more than two thirds gender quota. The Attorney General's office as Minister for Justice and constitutional Affairs has failed to activate the executive to galvanize the political parties and parliament to pass the necessary legislation.
- h) The Attorney general should lead the country in putting in place the programs and policies needed to contain and respond to the threat of GBV especially election related violence against women. The Attorney General should operationalize all the ministries including the ministry of Gender to put in place such measures as are required to implement the Women's agenda as was formulated in 2020 under the Minister of Gender's guidance and coordination even if the BBI process seem to have ended in limbo.
- i) Parliament and the Executive should specifically plan with the IEBC how to safely hold the 2022 general election within the COVID-19 context and if the situation worsened.