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**DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GOVERNANCE—
LEARNING, EVALUATION, AND RESEARCH II ACTIVITY**

**WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND
LEADERSHIP FINAL REPORT**

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ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil Society Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FIDA-K	Federation of Women Lawyers—Kenya
FPTP	First-Past-the-Post
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KII	Key Informant Interview
MCA	Member of the County Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement Party
ORPP	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties
PWD	Persons with Disabilities
TFGBV	Technology-Facilitated Gender-Based Violence
UDA	United Democratic Alliance
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAWP	Violence Against Women in Politics
WPPL	Women’s Political Participation and Leadership

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Patriarchal ideologies and practices run deep in Kenya's leadership and communities and are normalized. In many instances, change is usually rejected blatantly irrespective of what the law states. For example, the Constitutional Two-Thirds Gender rule in relation to elective seats has not been achieved by Parliament, though Parliament has made progress in appointing more women, as have many government ministries, departments, and agencies. There are adequate policies in place addressing this challenge, but they have not been implemented or their implementation has been scuttled and frustrated by some institutions, like the National Assembly. A new development, the Multi-Sectoral Gender Working Group on the Two-Thirds Gender principle, is developing a strategy for its implementation by the government through Parliament.

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) establishes a foundation for conducting elections. Despite this, some gaps remain, with some key legislations that could bolster electoral inclusion and transparency being ignored. For example, the legal framework for campaign financing, the conduct of political campaigns as well as guidance on gender representation in political party lists, exist. But these laws are flouted and no penalties are given for non-compliance. Frequent litigation around electoral issues and late-stage proposals to amend electoral procedures are common, resulting in last-minute changes to the framework and its application.

Affirmative action is poorly understood by some men and women and manipulated by some leaders for political gain. It has become a double-edged sword. When used properly, for example, to nominate women with the right credentials, those who understand that their nomination provides them with an entry point to leadership, it can be very beneficial. But when it is misused (for example, as a reward by party leadership for support given before elections), the nominated women who might not understand its purpose leave the seat with little to show. Some have been known to exit without having made their maiden speech. On the other hand, there are women who have vied for and won the Woman Representative position in successive elections, without aiming for other seats such as Member of Parliament (MP), Senator, or Governor seats. Examples include former and current Women Representatives for Nairobi, Uasin Gishu, Nakuru, and Samburu Counties. Therefore, affirmative action seats have been suboptimal as a means to act as a training ground for women so that they can seek other non-affirmative action seats.

This study investigates the barriers and opportunities to expand women's participation and leadership in the political landscape in Kenya. It uses the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID's) Women's Political Participation and Leadership (WPPL) Assessment Framework to document women's access to and power in politics along sociocultural, institutional, and individual dimensions. The report can be used by the relevant stakeholders to identify priority areas in which their investments in programs and initiatives to support WPPL are likely to have the greatest and most meaningful impact.

The gender representation of the over 22 million registered voters for the 2022 elections was almost equal, according to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) and the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP). Even so, women candidates were way fewer than men candidates and fewer women than men were elected. According to the IEBC, of the 16,100 candidates cleared for the 2022 polls, women represented 12.18 percent (1,962 candidates). Women-led political parties, which appear in the small parties' category, remain weak and transient. They have minimal or no representation in the County Assemblies and Parliament. The status of women in political parties is low because the socialization of women in Kenya's patriarchal culture has continued to undermine women's ascendancy to leadership by confining them to subordinate roles in the public realm, such as political parties, and normalizing this discourse. The outcome of this patriarchal influence is the low representation of elected women. Patriarchal structures still view women as weaker leaders compared to men and have reinforced

traditions and cultures that have resulted in women-hostile actions, such as violence against women during the electoral cycle, to discourage women who challenge these norms.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES TO WPPL

Below is a summary of barriers to and opportunities for WPPL in Kenya, further detailed in the report.

BARRIERS TO WPPL

1. Violence against women, intimidation, and harassment, which includes technology-facilitated gender-based violence (TFGBV) or online harassment, verbal harassment, and physical assault and aggression with verbal and physical violence taking place mainly at the household level.
2. Gendered workload and assigned roles at home and in the community.
3. Backlash against women who dare challenge gender norms and practices.
4. An environment of strong gender stereotypes, especially in some homogenous rural communities.
5. Overt hostility toward affirmative action by male politicians.
6. Perception of affirmative action by politicians as a permanent measure rather than a temporary measure to increase women's numbers.
7. Misuse, and misunderstanding of the concept of affirmative action (for example, believing it is to compensate women who wanted to vie for certain positions but were compelled to step down for male candidates).
8. Hierarchy in party positioning—women are often offered assistant positions in the party hierarchy. For the first time in Kenya's history, a woman holds the chairpersonship of a ruling political party (United Democratic Alliance [UDA]).
9. Little cooperation/consultation between women politicians and women in civil society.
10. Women are excluded by the media due to gender stereotyping by the media.
11. Women exclude themselves from media coverage due to their low media literacy and confidence.
12. Lack of post-election support for both winners and losers after a harrowing electoral period.
13. Fewer women than men are presenting themselves as candidates and even fewer ones being elected despite an almost equal voter registration among women and men.
14. Voters requiring assistance—most of whom (70 percent) are women—are susceptible to manipulation and vote buying.
15. Low numbers of women are presenting themselves as candidates for election.
16. Poor information flow among women due to their limited mobility, exposure, and interaction.
17. Sexual and gender-based violence in its various forms: verbal abuse, physical assault, TFGBV from various sources including family members, political opponents, community members, and traditional authorities, such as elders and ethnic spokespersons. Some institutions perpetrate it by condoning it.
18. Harassment of election workers and institutions for carrying out their mandate relating to electoral processes and refusing to bow to pressure to relax certain compliance measures. Due to misogyny and ingrained prejudice against women irrespective of their cadre, male

politicians perceive women heading institutions such as electoral management bodies as easily manipulatable. In fact, evidence collected in this study indicates that such women have even received subtle threats where they stood their ground.¹

OPPORTUNITIES FOR WPPL

1. Existence of various women caucuses in Parliament (Kenya Women Parliamentarian Association, KEWOSA) and County Assemblies.
2. Existence of women in political leadership and governance courses and research in academic institutions.
3. Increased numbers of women heading/holding senior positions in electoral management bodies such as the Judiciary, ORPP, and IEBC
4. Promise in the youth and teenage population that are challenging conventional patriarchal and cultural discourses and practices, including institutionalized impunity, that do not make sense to them. They have developed a culture that is different from the currently dominant one. For example, associating a name with a tribe...youth in cities do not even know their tribes.
5. Affirmative action as a viable tool to nurture women leadership—affirmative action seats have been pivotal in launching an era of women in leadership. Presently, the ongoing government-initiated Multi-Sectoral Gender Working Group provides an opportunity for actors in WPPL to rally support from donors and civic actors.
6. Engagement of academia in WPPL to build a deeper dataset on women’s participation to support advocacy and policy direction(for example, identifying the link between the number of gazetted women candidates and the eventual number of elected women candidates into various positions).
7. Capacity enhancement of electoral management bodies, including exposure to good practices from other jurisdictions with contextual political realities similar to Kenya’s.
8. Candidate training activities by civil society organizations (CSOs) and women’s organizations such as the Federation of Women Lawyers—Kenya (FIDA-K), the Centre for Rights Education and Awareness, the Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, United Nations (UN) Women, the National Democratic Institute, and the Institute of Education in Democracy, among others.
9. Voter education **and raising civic consciousness.**
10. Other non-financial support to women candidates and politicians (for example, provision of campaign merchandise including *lesos*, posters, billboards, and IEBC materials).

¹ KII woman, EMB.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Below is a summary of the recommendations for action, which are detailed further in the report.

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

19. Engage men (in parties, in elected office, and in families) as allies and demonstrate why gender equality can benefit everyone.
20. Implement awareness campaigns to address the influence and impact of misogyny and political violence on gender equality and women's political rights and demonstrate the importance of women's participation in politics.
21. Conduct training for diverse groups of media workers (regional/national, print, television, digital) to cover WPPL, VAWP, and GBV.
22. Create programs to support expanded coverage of women's experiences, leadership, and political positions.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

1. Support robust, inclusive electoral and political reform processes. At least four features should be reformed:
 - a. Revise the current two-thirds rule to 50 percent for full parity.
 - b. Apply the updated quota mandate to all elected and appointed public positions.
 - c. Codify requirements for parties to 1) spend a portion of their funding to support women's political participation in addition to specific campaign support; 2) include gender equality principles in their bylaws; 3) have a gender and social inclusion policy; and 4) have gender parity in their leadership structures.
 - d. Confirm oversight responsibility within the IEBC or ORPP.
2. Build an evidence base for the value of affirmative action.
3. Develop and resource rigorous monitoring capacity of the IEBC and ORPP with punitive legal and financial measures in the case of non-compliance by parties.
4. Support parties to develop more robust internal structures and outreach efforts to civil society and voters, particularly women.
5. Support political parties to meaningfully promote the participation of women members through training and internal party efforts to support women's participation.
6. Create caregiving structures in parties and institutions to facilitate women's ability to have families and participate in politics.
7. Support procedural reforms to increase women's access to resources and influence.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

1. Provide sustained training for women on a variety of topics, including campaign skills, resilience, strategic communications, conflict mitigation, and negotiation.
2. Support existing networks of women in politics and facilitate regional or global meetings for women to share challenges and best practices.
3. Provide programs that support women's access to and control over financial resources.

INTRODUCTION

Under the Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance—Learning, Evaluation, and Research II Activity, USAID tasked The Cloudburst Group with implementing three country-level WPPL assessments (in Kenya, Ecuador, and Nigeria) based on the latest iteration of the WPPL Assessment Framework. The WPPL Assessment Framework aims to identify key barriers and opportunities to advance WPPL at the individual, socio-cultural, and structural levels. This report discusses the results of the Kenya WPPL Assessment. These results are intended to guide program strategies, activity design, and allocation of resources aimed at advancing WPPL in Kenya, as well as guide the work of other stakeholders working on gender and democracy in Kenya.

COUNTRY BACKGROUND

ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

All elections in Kenya, including general elections, referenda, and by-elections, are governed by the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, the Elections Act of 2011, the Political Parties Act of 2011, the IEBC Act, and the Election Offences Act of 2016. Kenya has ratified or signed most of the international and regional instruments related to elections, and its electoral legal framework is largely in line with these instruments.² The 2010 Constitution introduced a bicameral Parliament (Senate and National Assembly) and 47 County Assemblies. Equality and freedom from discrimination are recognized in the Constitution. Article 27(1) states that every person is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and equal benefit before the law, adding that the State should implement measures to realize these rights. Article (27)(3) stipulates that "women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres." Affirmative action is captured in Article 27(8), where the State is obligated to "take legislative and other measures to ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender." With regard to elections, the law states in Article 81(b) that "the electoral system shall ensure not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. However, this principle has yet to be fully implemented.

Legal provisions in the Political Parties Act of 2011 expressly provide for the one-third gender representation principle and provides the legal framework for women's participation in political parties across all party processes such as nomination and internal voting processes. Notably, while it requires political parties to uphold and respect women's rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as gender equality consistent with the provisions in the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, Political Parties do not have penalties for non-compliance, leaving implementation to the goodwill of those in party leadership.

Amendments to the Constitution were proposed in 2019 under the banner of the Building Bridges Initiative, which sought to address women's participation, increase the number of seats in the National Assembly, and "resolve issues of divisive elections arising from electoral processes," among other issues.³ However, the Supreme Court found the Building Bridges Initiative process to be unconstitutional in March 2022. Prior to the August 2022 general elections, IEBC proposed amendments to the Elections Act, seeking in part to address the Supreme Court decision nullifying the 2017 elections by allowing for a complementary method of presidential results transmission and detailing the presidential results pathway, among other changes. The proposed amendments also sought to harmonize language with the amended

² Universal Declaration of Human Rights; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities; United Nations Convention against Corruption; African Charter on Democracy, Election and Governance; African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; and African Youth Charter, among others.

³ [Presidential Taskforce on Building Bridges to Unity Advisory \(2019\)](#).

Political Parties Act. While the proposed amendments were approved by the National Assembly in April 2022, the Senate recessed without considering their passage prior to the general elections.⁴ As a result, the IEBC also proposed accompanying amendments to the five election regulations, which were rejected by the National Assembly in June 2022.

In 2012, the Attorney General gave an advisory to the president that Parliament was unconstitutional for not complying with the gender requirement, but the advisory fizzled out in court due to the little influence the judiciary has on the legislature.⁵ In 2022, the Supreme Court made a similar ruling with a similar outcome. There is, therefore, a lack of political will by Kenyan institutions to comply with this requirement. The majority of women MCAs are nominated. There are, however, no clear criteria for women's nomination because political parties have not presented any.

Regarding affirmative action, preliminary analysis indicates that it is currently being deployed, but not as a strategic action toward getting quality women's representation in political leadership. Instead, affirmative action is used to furnish a reward system, whereby political debts are paid. Consequently, some of the women nominated to legislative assemblies in Kenya exhibit neither commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment in politics nor the capacity to engage in the political discourse.

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Kenya has a complex electoral system with voters casting six separate ballots for president and deputy president, members of the National Assembly, women members of the National Assembly, members of the Senate, county governors and deputy governors, and MCAs. Political parties complicate this electoral landscape because elections are also contested among dominant political parties, small political parties, and independent candidates. The president and governors may serve for no more than two five-year terms while all other elective positions have no term limits. The president is elected by obtaining both 50 percent + 1 of the national vote as well as at least 25 percent of the vote in 24 of the 47 counties. If no candidate passes this threshold, a second round of elections is held between the two candidates who received the highest number of votes in the first round.

Of the 349 members of the National Assembly, 290 are elected from single-member constituencies on a first-past-the-post (FPTP) basis. In addition, 47 women members are elected—one from each county, also on an FPTP basis—while 12 special seats for youth, persons with disabilities (PWDs), and workers are allocated proportionally by party based on National Assembly seats. Of the 67 members of the Senate, 47 are elected on an FPTP basis from single-member constituencies. In addition, 16 affirmative action seats for women are allocated proportionally by party Senate seats while two for youth (one man and one woman) and two for PWDs (one man and one woman) are allocated proportionally by party National Assembly seats.

For each of the 47 counties, a governor and deputy governor are elected on a FPTP basis. Members of the 47 County Assemblies are elected from each of the 1,450 wards in the country also on an FPTP basis. Each County Assembly also has special seats for marginalized groups, including youth and PWDs. Further, the Constitution stipulates that each County Assembly will have a sufficient number of special seats for women to ensure that no more than two-thirds of its members are of the same gender.

In addition to IEBC, ORPP plays a critical role in Kenya's political processes. The ORPP has the mandate to oversee party structures that comply with the law, according to the constitution, and ensure that

⁴ Section 109 of the Elections Act No. 24 of 2011.

⁵ [Chief Justice's advice to the President on the dissolution of Parliament for failure to enact the gender rule](#), September 22, 2020. Accessed online July 26, 2022.

internal processes are documented and followed. The ORPP regulates the operations of political parties, reviews the candidate nomination process, and reviews lists of candidates and party lists presented by political parties to the IEBC. In addition to certifying independent candidate lists to the IEBC, the ORPP is also responsible for mediating disputes within parties. An ORPP respondent noted that the office sees its role as supporting and upholding compliance with the two-thirds rule, but does not have practical enforcement powers (IEBC can refuse to accept lists that do not comply with the two-thirds rule).⁶ As a member of the multi-sectoral committee on the two-thirds principle, they are a critical stakeholder in conversations around affirmative action intervention. Given ORPP's mandate to scrutinize party lists before submission to IEBC for gazettelement, it has influenced political parties to include women in their lists in the past, albeit with mixed success. This is because often, and to merely “tick the box,” political parties will give nominations to women in regions where the party is not popular and therefore not likely to win the seat, but reserved the seats with greater potential for a win for men candidates.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

Political leadership in Kenya has long been dynastic, with the key families dominating Kenyan politics since the country secured its independence in 1963. Elections in Kenya have often been highly contentious and, at times, led to widespread violence. In particular, the rejection of the 2007 presidential election results by the main political opposition coalition, combined with the swift inauguration of the incumbent without due consideration of growing questions of legitimacy, caused violence to erupt across Kenya, during which nearly 1,500 people were killed and an estimated 600,000 were displaced.⁷

In focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) with men and women from CSOs, political parties in Kenya were reported to lack ideological foundations and often serve as vehicles for candidate nomination with no clear agenda post-election.⁸ Small parties are easily dissolved and engaged in mergers and coalitions are often fashioned to suit political expediency.⁹ Women are typically excluded from key party decision-making structures and, therefore, are often disproportionately affected by such party decisions and ideological shifts, which are driven by predominantly male leadership.¹⁰

Though most major political parties that have contested presidential elections over the past six decades have historically revolved around four prominent ethnic groups (Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin, Luhya), 2022 saw new and unusual alliances emerge. Political realignments occurring in the run-up to the 2022 elections were characteristic of the shape-shifting nature of Kenyan electoral politics and in some ways rebuked tropes that Kenya's political parties are formed around ethnic lines to expand ethnic representation and coalesce with that objective in mind. For the first time, a presidential candidate from a major political party, the Orange Democratic Movement Party (ODM), selected a woman running mate.

⁶ KII with female participant from EMB.

⁷International Republican Institute/National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. International Observation Mission to Kenya: Final Report of the 2022 General Election. 2022. https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI%20IRI_International%20Election%20Observation%20Mission%20to%20Kenya.pdf

⁸ FGDs and KIIs with men and women from CSOs.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰Omondi (2016); Mitulla, W. (2004). Gender and democratization in Kenya: the unbalanced equation. In Mushi, S, R. Mukandala, and S. Yahya-Othman (eds). Democracy and social transformation in East Africa. East Africa Educational Publishers, (pp 153–178).

STATUS OF WOMEN

Kenya's score on the United Nations Development Programme's Gender Inequality Index scale in 2008 was 0.575 (where a higher number means better performance regarding gender equality), positioning the country 152 out of 191 countries and territories.¹¹ **In comparison, the score was 0.729 in 2022 when Kenya ranked 57th globally and 0.708 in 2023 when it ranked 77th globally.**^{12 13} **Thus, gender equality in Kenya declined in 2023 and might be on the decline.** Harmful cultural and traditional practices such as son preference, diminishing the importance of educating girls, forced marriages, women genital mutilation, bride price collection, widowhood rites, and disinheritance of girls and women constitute some of the sociocultural ills that impede the quest for women's leadership in Kenya.¹⁴ As a norm, women are expected to demonstrate that they are good spouses and housekeepers before they can be selected for elective seats.

Traditional institutions like the ethnic-based council of elders are usually unwilling to back women and often discourage them from vying for public roles including elected positions due to patriarchal norms and stereotypes.¹⁵¹⁶ Further, even when women are the majority of voters, they tend to vote for men and sometimes against women candidates.¹⁷ This reflects women's socialization to view men as leaders and themselves as caregivers.¹⁸ Thus, systemic exclusion of women from politics has been normalized, and measures to discourage those who challenge these norms, in the form of backlash, are firmly in place in most communities.

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of the assessment is to understand the current state of WPPL and pinpoint challenges and opportunities for advancing WPPL in Kenya. This study adopted a mixed-method design combining quantitative and qualitative methods and a review of existing documents and takes an intersectional approach to the topic.

The team conducted interviews face-to-face or virtually by phone or internet-based communication.

For this study, the team conducted a total of nine FGDs, taking into consideration saturation factors. Each FGD was composed of six to eight discussants. To ensure that participants had the type of experiences and perspectives the discussions sought to capture, the team organized the FGDs according to participants' backgrounds and activities. The team recruited FGD participants mainly through referrals by asking local stakeholders and community leaders to assist in identifying potential participants. The researchers worked together, in close consultation with local liaisons and gatekeepers (actors in positions of influence), to identify and recruit participants for each group. The researchers adopted an approach that involved homogeneity within FGDs and heterogeneity among different groups to allow for unique characteristics within groups and nuances among the groups (see Annex A, Table 3).

¹¹<https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/thematic-composite-indices/gender-inequality-index#/indices/GII>

¹² https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2022.pdf

¹³<https://www.weforum.org/publications/global-gender-gap-report-2023/in-full/benchmarking-gender-gaps-2023/>

¹⁴Omtatah, 2008.

¹⁵ Tripp, et al., 2014.

¹⁶ Patriarchal norms are social norms that sustain a social system in which men hold primary power and predominate in roles of political leadership, moral authority, and social privilege. In patriarchal stereotypes, traits such as domination, control, assertiveness, and aggression are perceived as masculine, and relation-oriented and dependent traits are regarded as feminine.

¹⁷ FGD, men in CSOs,

¹⁸Kenyatta, 2023.

While global indicators of WPPL largely focus on the numbers of women in elected and appointed political positions, this assessment methodology expands the definition of WPPL in two key ways. First, it divides this concept into two interrelated, yet distinct, components: **political participation**, referring to electioneering, voting and other activities women can engage pursuant to their civic duty as citizens, and **political leadership**, referring to activities women can engage in as elected and non-elected political representatives. Second, it recognizes that simply being granted political rights is not the same as exercising those rights to the fullest extent. A complete assessment of WPPL must therefore look at both **access**, women's ability to take part in the political process, and **power**, women's voice and agency as political actors.

Three interacting sets of factors shape opportunities for women to participate substantively in every aspect of political life. **Socio-cultural factors** involve assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. They include gender stereotypes, prevailing views on gender roles, and cultural ideas about gender equality. **Institutional factors** structure the political environment, establishing the formal and informal rules and systems in which political actors operate. They include the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. **Individual factors** refer to considerations shaping individual women's decisions and abilities to participate in politics. These include levels of political ambition, as well as resources and support for their political engagement.

Understanding these factors as an “ecosystem” emphasizes how they work together and inform one another to create environments supporting or undermining WPPL. Focusing only on one set of factors to the exclusion of the others is likely to lead to misinterpretations of the current situation and, in turn, to the adoption of only partially effective solutions to expand WPPL. In contrast, an ecosystem approach suggests the need to consider more holistic strategies, combining a focus on norm change, institutional reforms, and individual shifts in thinking. Because gender-based violence and violence against women in politics (VAWP) cut across all these factors, findings about violence are integrated throughout these sections.

The primary data consisted of three components: i) a questionnaire survey; ii) FGDs; and iii) KIs.

The researchers collected primary data from selected counties across Kenya, including areas of interest to the USAID Mission in Nairobi. The Mission prioritized Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, and Uasin Gishu counties. One other county, Kajiado, was identified by the researchers and added as a suitable representative of the Maa-speaking community where a good number of women have entered Parliament through election and nomination, despite the strong cultural and social relations-based gender stereotypes.

The politician survey (composed of 63 respondents) included both elected and unsuccessful candidates. In line with the scope of the assessment, and considering the elements of the target populations, a non-probability sampling approach was used to distribute the sample in a 50:50 men-to-women balance.

The political party sample of the survey is described in Table I. The research team also spoke with independent candidates.

Table 1. Political Parties Included in Sample

PARTY STRENGTH	PARTY SIZE	
	LARGE	SMALL
Strong representation, including of elected women, of the party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ODM • UDA 	N/A
Weak or no representation, including of elected women, of the party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wiper Democratic Movement—Kenya • Jubilee Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amani National Congress • Forum for the Restoration of Democracy—Kenya • United Democratic Movement • Safina

The team collected politician survey data face-to-face or virtually, with telephone and online tools, from 63 participants—29 men and 34 women (Annex A, Table 1). While administering the tool in person, some respondents would begin providing additional information, responding to issues relevant to them but not included in the politician survey tool. In five instances, the interview expanded into a KII. Due to time limitations from having already completed the survey, several respondents could only answer selected questions in the KII.

The team identified KII respondents through initial purposive sampling and the use of the snowball sampling technique. The initial purposive sample kept expanding to replace unavailable respondents with alternatives with similar, but sometimes less distinct, qualities. The researchers then screened those referrals for eligibility prior to interviewing them. The KIIs involved a sample of 30 respondents, comprising experts or practitioners with special knowledge useful for this assessment (see Annex A Table 2).

- i. The range of selected stakeholder categories for KIIs focused on producing specialized in-depth data for the study.
- ii. The information collected could have been susceptible to the risk of social desirability bias, but the researchers prevented this by conducting more than one KII per stakeholder category and including a diverse group of participants to ensure multiple sources of information.

Researchers used a deliberate strategy to include a large number of CSO and political actor categories to draw from their lived experience as relates to the current status and issues of women’s political participation. The researchers considered CSOs and political actors, with their particular knowledge and understanding, to be well placed to provide insight into the nature of problems of WPPL and give recommendations for solutions.

LIMITATIONS

The researchers did have some limitations in putting together a representative sample of stakeholders for the politician survey, KIIs, and the FGDs. First, the tools themselves presented challenges for data collection. Repetition across the tools resulted in duplicative data and, in some cases, the tool did not include intersectional issues such as age, disability, ethnic group, etc., resulting in an analysis that cannot account for the impact of these diverse identities. Second, the two-week period initially available for fieldwork proved challenging given the parliamentary schedule, which included a recess, meaning politicians were highly mobile and hesitant to confirm meetings.

Finally, the researchers relied on their own contacts and connections to recruit study participants, and while this meant that the team was able to interview a wide variety of stakeholders and women from high-level positions (including elected officials, party leaders, election administration, etc.), it also meant that it was sometimes difficult to recruit individuals, in particular for FGDs. Despite this challenge, the researchers were able to leverage contacts of contacts to ensure diverse participation and used other creative ways to recruit participants. So, despite some limitations, the researchers were still able to recruit a diverse group of participants for the study.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

CURRENT STATE

THE 2022 ELECTION RESULTS DEMONSTRATE SLOW PROGRESS

The IEBC Post-Election Evaluation Report for the 2022 general elections noted that women represented 49.12 percent of the total registered voters (22,120,458). Positively, more women ran for elective positions in 2022 than in 2013 or 2017, both in absolute numbers and as a share of the total number of candidates.¹⁹ According to the IEBC, of the 16,100 candidates cleared for the 2022 polls, women represented 12.18 percent or 1,962 candidates. Three of the four presidential candidates nominated a woman as a running mate, and there was a significant increase in the number of women candidates for the five other elective positions. For example, 23 of 266 gubernatorial candidates and 62 out of 266 deputy gubernatorial candidates were women, representing a 156 percent and a 94 percent increase compared to 2017. However, women's representation in Parliament is still below one-third of the total elected, nominated, and appointed leaders (see Table 2a).²⁰

¹⁹International Republican Institute/National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. International Observation Mission to Kenya: Final Report of the 2022 General Election. 2022.
https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/NDI%20IRI_International%20Election%20Observation%20Mission%20to%20Kenya.pdf

²⁰ CNN 2022. A record number of women are running in Kenya's elections but many face harassment and abuse.
<https://edition.cnn.com/2022/08/06/africa/kenya-elections-women-candidates-intl/index.html>

Table 2a: Election and Nomination of Women in the Years 2013, 2017, and 2022²¹

ELECTORAL SEAT	GAZETTED			ELECTED/NOMINATED WOMEN		
	2013	2017	2022	2013	2017	2022
Governor	6	9	22	0	3	7
Senator	17	20	44	0	3	3
MP	129	131	207	16	23	29
MCA	623	900	1136	82	96	115

Source: Kenya Parliament, Kenya Women Parliamentary Association

Election and nomination of women since independence has been extremely slow. The women numbers only increased after institutionalizing affirmative action seats from the 11th Parliament (Table 2b).

²¹UN Women. Summary analysis of women's performance in Kenya's 2022 election. Brief available here; IEBC (2020). Data Report of 2017 Elections, available here.

Table 2b: Women Members of Kenya National Assembly 1963–2023

PARLIAMENT	PERIOD	NO. OF CONSTITUENCIES	WOMEN ELECTED	NOMINATED WOMEN	WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES (47 COUNTIES)	TOTAL NUMBER OF WOMEN
1st	1963–1969	158	0	0	-	0
2nd	1969–1974	158	1	1	-	1
3rd	1974–1979	158	4	2	-	6
4th	1979–1983	158	5	1	-	6
5th	1983–1988	158	2	4	-	6
6th	1988–1992	188	2	0	-	2
7th	1992–1997	188	6	1	-	7
8th	1997–2002	210	4	5	-	9
9th	2002–2007	210	10	8	-	18
10th	2007–2013	210	16	6	-	22

11th	2013–2017	290	16	5	47	68
12th	2017–2022	290	23	6	47	86
13th	2022–2027	290	29	6	47	82

There was a general agreement across academics and WPPL experts engaged in this study that despite the immense challenges faced by women politicians seeking political leadership in Kenya, there has been a gradual increase in the numbers of both nominated and elected women, between 2013 and 2022. A respondent from ORPP has asserted that one way to increase the possibility of more women securing elected seats is by having more of them on the ballot.

Women-led political parties, like the Martha Karua-led National Rainbow Coalition—Kenya and Charity Ngilu-led National Rainbow Coalition), remain weak and transient. They have minimal or no representation in the County Assemblies and the National Parliament. One explanation for the status of women-led political parties is that the socialization of women in the patriarchal culture has continued to undermine women’s ascendancy to leadership by confining them to subordinate roles in the public realm, such as political parties, and normalizing this discourse.

PERVASIVE PATRIARCHAL STEREOTYPES DEFINE WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Patriarchal ideologies and practices run deep in Kenya’s leadership and communities and are normalized. In many instances, change is usually rejected blatantly irrespective of what the law states. For example, the Constitutional Two-Thirds Gender Rule has not been achieved by Parliament. Progress has, however, been made in some government ministries, departments, and agencies. There are adequate policies in place addressing this challenge, but they have not been implemented or their implementation has been scuttled and frustrated by these institutions. A new development, the Multi-Sectoral Gender Working Group on the two-thirds principle, is developing a strategy for implementation by the government through Parliament.

Affirmative action is poorly understood by some men and women and manipulated by some leaders for political gain. It has become a double-edged sword—when used properly by nominating women with the right credentials, women who understand that their appointment provides them an entry point to leadership, and women who spend their time learning how to exit leadership through nomination and enter through election, it can be very beneficial.

Negotiated democracy involves the persuasion of aspirants to step down and support only one mutually agreed upon candidate to improve the prospect of the party winning the seat.²² Women candidates are especially susceptible to being asked to step down for a preferred man candidate, thus affecting the progress of women’s political leadership in mixed-gender political parties.

Women contestants are intimidated and beaten, and this has a significant influence on their participation.²³ The violence is intended to make these women withdraw from politics. Even after they are elected, violence continues even while they are in office.^{24,25} Violence against women through social media is on the increase, but it is poorly documented. Domestic violence may occur against women voters with different political opinions from their husbands.

In several rural communities in Kenya (particularly those in pastoralist regions) and for some recently married women, women’s documents such as identity and voter’s cards are kept by their husbands and only produced on voting day. Some of these women have to vote according to their husband’s wishes or face backlash. Violence against women may be persistent because it is often ignored by political parties and is rarely punished by the state, despite legal frameworks such as electoral standards and procedures, the penal code, and party penalties. This unchecked violence is a deterrent to women voting and

²² Daud, Yussuf. (2021). Contributions of Negotiated Democracy and Transformational Leadership in Devolved Systems in Kenya: A Research Agenda. <https://ijecm.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/917.pdf>

²³ Tripp, A., Lott, C., and Khabure, L. 2014. Women’s Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment: Kenya Case Study. South Arlington: Management Systems International.

²⁴ Krook, M. L., and Sanin, J. R. 2016. “Violence Against Women in Politics: A Defence of the Concept.” *Politica y Gobierno*, 23(2), 459–490.

²⁵ FGD men and women from political parties.

competing in an election.²⁶ Intimidation, harassment, and violence against women contribute to the low numbers of elected women in Parliament in addition to the decision, by women, not to vie and failure to be elected when they vie. Without meaningful affirmative action, therefore, gender parity in the Kenyan Parliament may not be achieved through elections alone.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

Socio-cultural factors embody assumptions about appropriate norms and practices, shaping social expectations as well as personal attitudes and behaviors. In the case of WPPL, these factors reinforce an association between political power and men and masculinity, making it difficult for women to be seen and accepted as legitimate political actors.

These gender stereotypes, ideas about gender roles, and cultural views are formed as children, and it was clear from interviews that particularly men with more progressive parents (or men whose mothers were activists or elected leaders) had more progressive views about women's leadership, some even identifying as feminists.

“...it is very hard for a woman from my ethnic group to make any headway in politics in Kenya. I was cursed by elders who had tried to compel me to step down for her opponent.”²⁷

PERSISTENT GENDER STEREOTYPES LIMIT WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Existing gender stereotypes can impact women's ability to participate in politics and political leadership. These stereotypes can affect whether or not citizens consider women to be qualified to hold political office or be decision-makers in political parties. Opinions from interviewees and focus group participants were mixed on whether or not voters would vote for women candidates. Some interviewees cautioned that voters do not want to elect women, especially in times of insecurity. Male political leaders regularly undermine women's public and political participation. One respondent stated that his party could not identify a woman party leader because all women in the party were single and did not understand what it meant to be submissive to men.²⁸

Women from communities with strong gender stereotypes, like northern Kenya and other rural—and often culturally homogenous—communities can be guided by men elders and other men community gatekeepers on who to vote for as a clan-block. In other instances, and informed by societal gender norms (for example, that men are better leaders than women) women eliminate fellow women during mixed-gender elections, denying fellow women opportunities to lead,

“At a school committee election, a man who barely attended meetings—and in that instance sat silently at the back of the meeting—was elected to the school committee by the women at the meeting. The man

²⁶ Kenyatta, Gloria Nyambura. 2023. "The Political Participation of Women in Kenya," *Journal of International Women's Studies*: Vol. 25: Iss. 2, Article 5. Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol25/iss2/5>.

²⁷ KII respondent, politician.

²⁸ PS, male politician, Nairobi.

defeated women who regularly attended the school meetings and had demonstrated leadership qualities.”²⁹

Narratives denigrating women are available in all manner of circumstances. For example, excelling women are perceived as deviating from the norm and are given labels like iron-lady, ndume (alpha male), and a man. Others bear sexist-derived labels like malaya (prostitute), divorcee, and home-breaker. In other instances, married women with supportive husbands are said to be sitting on their husbands. While older women are respected in party leadership, they are shunned as candidates, whereby they are given the label grandmother and asked to “go home and play with their grandchildren.” Younger women are targeted for sexual violence and are constantly accused of getting into positions of leadership (especially nominations) through the “bedroom.”³⁰

GENDER ROLES CONSTRAIN WOMEN’S ABILITY TO PARTICIPATE

While affirmative action measures have accelerated and increased women's access to elected and appointed positions, there are still restrictive, harmful gender roles that affect women's power in Kenyan politics. One of the main factors related to gender roles that limit women’s ability to participate is the unequal distribution of caregiving responsibilities, which are predominantly performed by women, including at the community level. On average, women and girls in Kenya over the age of fifteen years spend three hours every day on unpaid domestic and care work.³¹ Nationally, women spend approximately five hours on unpaid domestic and care work per day compared to men, who spend about one hour daily on this work.³²

Despite its importance, this unpaid work remains invisible, underestimated, and neglected in the design of economic and social policies in Kenya and there is no legal framework to promote a more equal distribution of caregiving tasks. The stereotype of caregiving as a “natural” role assigned almost exclusively to women and girls creates an overload of work. This limits their opportunities and choices, undermines their rights, and becomes a fundamental obstacle to gender equality, empowerment, and women's autonomy. In many cases, this hinders their ability, time, and resources to participate in political and public life, especially in electoral processes and holding elected or appointed positions at all levels of government.³³³⁴ The fact that it is difficult for women to perform this role at home as well as be part of public life means that women feel like they have to choose between politics and their families.³⁵ They also cite feelings of guilt for not being home as much as they would be if they did not participate.³⁶

Politics, on the other hand, are ranked as important, with high stakes and about power—traits that cultural norms view as forbidden for women. So when women make efforts to run for political seats, the public perceives them to be trespassers violating socially accepted norms. Hence a question asked of women on the campaign trail: “Who is looking after her home, husband, and children?”³⁷

²⁹ FGD, man from CSO, Nairobi.

³⁰ KII, woman WPPL Expert, Nairobi.

³¹ UN Women. Women’s Contribution to Kenya’s Socio-Economic Achievements Under-Reported. 2023. <https://africa.unwomen.org/en/stories/press-release/2023/10/womens-contribution-to-kenyas-socio-economic-achievements-under-reported#:~:text=On%20average%2C%20women%20and%20girls%20in%20Kenya%20over.spend%20about%20one%20hour%20daily%20on%20this%20work>.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ KII with various women politicians.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ KII male politician, Nakuru.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL CONTEXTS IS PERVASIVE

During the 2022 electoral period, dozens of women candidates were harassed online and on the campaign trail, which hampered their ability to move freely and interact with voters. Many women candidates were also subjected to verbal abuse and other acts of psychological violence from both men and women opponents and their supporters, who often criticized their physical appearance or marital status (politician survey, KII, and FGDs). Some respondents indicated that the 2022 elections were marked by a reduction in physical assault and aggression compared to previous general elections; however, some candidates still reported theft and destruction of property such as campaign vehicles and businesses. One respondent reported that a fellow woman candidate who was vying for an MCA seat faced a scenario in which the opponent sent goons to undress her during a public rally where she was addressing potential voters. Her security detail and supporters shielded her and secured her safety. Without security details, women are left exposed to violence.

Online harassment, often through fake news or smear campaigns, has a chilling effect on women's political participation generally and specifically suppresses voter turnout during elections. Former candidates who participated in this study indicated that hired party operatives will dig up anything from a candidate's past or their relatives and use it against them, regardless of the authenticity of the content. These forms of collective punishment and shame tactics are directed at women, who also tend to face greater challenges mobilizing resources for data and physical security providers. Existing laws against online harassment are poorly enforced and are, hence, not a deterrent to the perpetrators.

CULTURAL NORMS AND PRACTICES HINDER WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Women in public life are often questioned about their capabilities and face unrealistic expectations. Multiple interviewees noted that women are often asked to prove their qualifications, while men's qualifications are taken at face value. They are judged based on appearance, personal matters, and age—judgments to which men are not subjected: “We are in the spotlight every day,” said one woman politician in Nairobi. Women themselves may internalize limiting beliefs due to societal pressures.

There is a perception that certain attributes traditionally associated with masculinity, such as strength, rationality, ambition, and competitiveness, are positively valued in men—but not in women—when it comes to leadership. Women in politics also have the feeling that one's ethnicity or region of origin impacts their ability to participate in public life.

A respondent from one pastoralist region lamented that “...it is very hard for a woman from my ethnic group to make any headway in politics in Kenya.” At one point she was cursed by elders who had tried to compel her to step down for her opponent (a man), but she refused. This “curse” from elders was taken very seriously by voters, some of whom feared that they might face the wrath of the curse by supporting a cursed person. Once it became clear that the curse did not affect the candidate, her voters trooped back in her support, and she was elected to a parliamentary seat.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

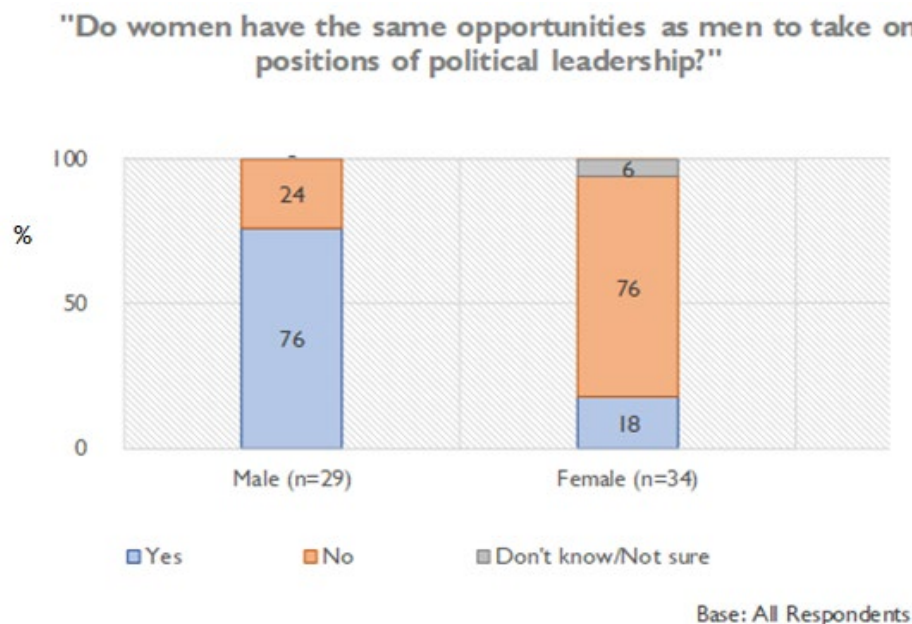
Institutional factors structure the political environment, establishing the rules and systems in which political actors operate and the formal and informal dynamics of political life. These factors interact with socio-cultural norms and individual-level characteristics and decisions to shape opportunities for women and men to become politically engaged and exercise political influence. Institutional factors shaping WPPL include features of the electoral system, the political party system, and the broader political and legal context. Elite behaviors in the face of these opportunities and constraints can also be considered

institutional factors, with elites serving as gatekeepers to women’s entry to political institutions and, in turn, diminishers of their political voices.

MISPLACED PERCEPTION, MISUSE AND MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

It is notable from the respondents across this study that the concept of “affirmative action seats” was pivotal in launching an era of women in leadership. Affirmative action seats have provided avenues to launch the political leadership of women, including MishiMboko in Mombasa, Cecily Mbarire—the present Governor for Embu County, Beatrice Elachi, Susan Kihika, and others. However, women and men had divergent views of the equality of women’s and men’s opportunities in taking up leadership positions in political parties: 76 percent of the men perceived equal opportunities for women and men, whereas 76 percent of women perceived unequal opportunities for leadership between women and men. Only 18 percent of women perceived equal opportunities for leadership between women and men (Figure 1.1). Such divergent views in gender-related opportunities are not uncommon between women and men.

Figure 1.1. Perception of equality of opportunity between women and men to take on positions of leadership in political parties



Affirmative action may not have gained traction due to its misuse at various levels. The perception by political parties, men politicians, and other stakeholders that it is the main pathway for women to get into political leadership, and not competitive politics, along with men politicians is misplaced.³⁸ Some male leaders in party leadership misuse the affirmative action positions as “compensation” for women who had wanted to vie for the positions but were compelled to step down for a man candidate (for example, Peris Tobiko). The seats are also used to compensate men candidates who financed the political party or a

³⁸ KII.s.

candidate, and hence his wife, daughter, sister, or girlfriend is given a nomination when they might have no political interest or conviction to utilize the seat to pursue gender equality and women empowerment.

The “nominated women’s seat” is often referred to as:³⁹

- “Child support” seat, where men who fathered children outside wedlock give these seats to the mother of the children.
- “Flower girl” seat, for the girlfriends of key politicians.
- “Token” seat for compensation.

Some statements associated with critics of affirmative action:⁴⁰

- “Women should just fight it out with the men and not expect freebies.”
- “Look at the women that have been nominated; they have no morals. [redacted] just got separated from her husband after she started sleeping around. She had to pay for her seat, you know...”
- “Let women go for the woman rep seat; they should leave the rest to us. The country cannot afford all these seats.”

IMPUNITY AROUND CAMPAIGN FINANCE PRACTICES DISADVANTAGES WOMEN

Money occupies a central role in Kenyan politics, particularly during the campaign period. Given the Election Campaign Financing Act (2013) has never been applied and there were no provisions regulating fund contributions, expenditures, or disclosure requirements for registered candidates in 2022, the playing field for electoral contestants was not level and favored men gubernatorial and parliamentary candidates from ODM and UDA who were more likely to raise funds from businesses and other professional networks with the assistance of their party. The lack of campaign finance regulations also disadvantaged candidates from marginalized groups, including women, youth, and PWDs, who lacked access to networks of donors and suffered from low visibility.⁴¹

The issue of financing was identified as one of the most difficult aspects for most women candidates in the electoral process. The study to analyze candidate expenditure for the Senate, National Assembly, and County Assembly levels in 2017 showed that the average expenditures ranged from 3.1 million Kenyan shillings (US\$ 31,000) to 35.5 million Kenyan shillings (US\$ 350,000).⁴² Funds are predominantly raised from personal savings or the support of friends or family, making this an important access barrier. Political parties can fund candidates from their own resource base but often choose not to support women’s campaigns because they are seen as less likely to win elections, and in some circumstances issue women loans that force them to go into debt. Private funds come from the candidate’s own assets or their families, bank loans, and donations from companies or Kenyan citizens.

³⁹ PS, male, Nakuru.

⁴⁰ FGD, elected women, Nakuri.

⁴¹ International Republican Institute/National Democratic Institute for International Affairs’ Election report.

⁴² FIDA 2018.

There are banks offering loans that women can take on by putting their assets as collateral. However, the lack of support to repay these loans puts the financial security of already impoverished candidates at risk, further contributing to a cycle of economic violence against women.

WOMEN'S COLLABORATION ACROSS SECTORS PRESENTS OPPORTUNITY FOR ACCOUNTABILITY

One expert informant noted that the dynamics of concerted, collaborative action between women in civil society and women politicians is important in enhancing women's access to political offices and state institutions. Civil society, and specifically women-led organizations, have been pivotal in promoting democratic values, including women's equal participation and leadership in political life. This is now lacking. For many years now, there has been a disconnect between elected women and women CSOs; thus, there is slow implementation of the constitutional provisions, which are critical for women. It is important that the women within Parliament have independence and be open to working with those outside Parliament, ideally because those outside have the time to reflect on what is not going right.⁴³ In the recent past, civil society—particularly legal CSOs—have supported efforts toward the two-third gender rule in political representation by advocating for the enactment of laws to give effect to existing legislation and also seeking to pursue change through strategic litigation. Katiba Institute is successful in this kind of approach—it has been at the heart of judicial happenings around the two-thirds gender rule through the case it has filed in 2017 seeking to compel a political party list of candidates for elections to comply with the two-thirds gender principle. Organizations like FIDA-K and many others would also lay a claim on giving women a voice and putting issues of women on the agenda in the context of the search for a higher rate of women's political representation.⁴⁴

POLITICAL PARTIES AS CRITICAL GATEKEEPERS FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political parties were reported to be a “game changer” for women politicians, either as a critical *launch pad* for political careers or as the *death bed* for some, as revealed through FGDs with women politicians. One respondent indicated that “It is at the political party that the fate of women candidates is defined, decided, and sealed.”⁴⁵ Political parties are formal institutions that are often subjected to informal patronage systems whereby founders (also referred to as owners), often men, dictate party processes including nominations, financing, candidate contributions to the party, enforcement, disciplinary measures, etc.). Despite having some form of documented ideology, most do not follow any value systems and operate at the whims of the party owners. Women who are not financiers or founders, or who do not hold any leadership roles in parties, are often left out of the party decision-making processes.

Women candidates who had vied and lost or won shared the same views of political parties as “making it very hard for women aspirants. Examples were given of sexual harassment while seeking party nominations, with women often referred to as ‘*mrembo*’ (beautiful one), or ‘flowers,’ often viewed through prisms of their sexuality and femininity and not by their currency as a worthy opponent.”⁴⁶

Parties were reported by women politicians to be oppressive of women candidates; indeed, it is notable that it is from this “oppression” that the concept of “independent candidates” emerged, whereby aspirants who feel short-changed are allowed to hop from the party and vie independently due to unfair party practices that typically disadvantage women. The discrimination against women is founded on patriarchal

⁴³ KII woman academic, Nairobi.

⁴⁴ KII man academic, Nairobi.

⁴⁵ FGD woman politician, Nairobi.

⁴⁶ From consultations with women politicians.

ideologies that dictate men's dominance in politics, and thus men candidates often receive preference from the party if pitted against women candidates.

One woman politician indicated that despite having greater grassroots support for the governor's seat she was vying for, a man opponent was preferred by the political party with the explanation that she had "a lot of baggage that the party did not need." The "baggage" was in reference to the fact that she had defied her family by being in a different political party from the one supported by her husband and her brother. Additionally, community leaders did not support her candidature for the gubernatorial seat, perceiving it to be "too big for a woman."⁴⁷

Women leagues were reported across many respondents of the politician survey and KIs to be weak and without adequate resources to carry out their mandate. In these surveys, they were reported to be merely "token structures" within which women and all their concerns could be boxed and shelved, as the men handled more profound matters relating to the party.⁴⁸ This implies that women's issues and leadership are not taken to be part of mainstream party concerns but side issues. On paper in most political party bylaws, women's leagues are created to handle women's concerns in the party. But often, concerns such as discrimination within parties during party primaries or decision-making on which women should be nominated are handled by men and not the women's leagues, rendering them mere token structures of little benefit to women candidates.

Moreover, both quantitative and qualitative data indicated that women's leagues in political parties were as good as dead and women were mainly assigned the role of mobilization for the party. Eighteen percent of women interviewed stated that women do not have the same opportunity as men to take party leadership. From their responses in interviews, men stated that women's role in political parties was to address gender roles.

This marginalization of women can be addressed by allowing women's leagues to have more decision-making power in parties, such as giving women the role of nominating during nominations of women from the political parties. This is especially because political parties get funding from the treasury and some of this money should be used to enhance women's decision-making power within the structures of political parties.

WOMEN AND THE MEDIA

The media are critical gatekeepers for candidates, as they possess the power to determine the content delivered to audiences. With this power, the media influences political attitudes and electoral outcomes. As enablers of access, the media is seen to influence women's access to political power structures and processes in three main ways: i) women receive less media coverage than their men counterparts and a lack of resources prevents women from breaking through into the media; ii) when women do attract the attention of the media, they are generally tagged with more negative news as compared to men; and iii) the media reinforces gender stereotypes and stigma in the coverage of women political leaders (FIDA, 2018).

An academic informant noted that women in media organizations have historically played a crucial role in supporting the advancement and empowerment of women politically. The women's movement had the support of prominent women journalists such as Lucy Oriang and Njeri Rugene during the constitution-making process, who deliberately played their roles in championing issues of gender equality by covering women's issues and providing guidance on strategies for advocating for gender equality in the law. This

⁴⁷ From politician survey data.

⁴⁸ From KIs.

paved the way for more women in the political arena.⁴⁹ Yet an enduring and important element in conversations is the issue of marginalization of women in media output. According to one key informant interviewed, this is both by default and by design. By default because of the traditional chores of women, which make it harder for women to engage with the media than for men because of time constraints. By design because of coverage bias based on what the media chooses to report. Where men will be running toward crises and scandals for publicity's sake, the majority of women would avoid the pitfall of controversies such actions may create.⁵⁰

Social media provides opportunities for, but can also be a strong barrier to WPPL. To its credit, women were able to mobilize and inform large numbers of supporters through their Facebook and WhatsApp and other electronic media pages and handles. It disenfranchised women seeking political leadership in the last election. One of the respondents was concerned that while social media was an ideal platform for women politicians to engage with their constituencies, it had proved to be a nightmare for some candidates as *"hired online armies/goons spreading hate, misinformation, mal-information and disinformation had pushed some women out of the race."*⁵¹ When compared to mainstream media, which has been regulated by the Constitution (Art 33) and the Media Council of Kenya (Media Council Act 2013), social media has gone rogue despite the existence of the Computer and Cybercrimes Act, which provides a limitation on the freedom of expression to oppose the abuse of other rights such as freedom of privacy and human dignity. This respondent identified WhatsApp, Tik Tok, and Facebook as the new warfronts for women politicians. While the media had a bias against women, women themselves shunned or were afraid of the media: "Women need to be guided on how to deal with all media...social media, especially, is very important as a party/candidate needs to have a social media presence 24/7."⁵²

Further, media actor respondents reported that women journalists faced violence while on duty. One media respondent recalled a recent incident in which a woman journalist got a lecture from a top politician's mother on how to dress: "The mother of the politician called her out, saying she was badly dressed. This was, to say the least, intimidating."⁵³ Women journalists who work in the electronic media (especially TV) were said to be more prone to attacks. This is because they were easily identified due to their appearance on TV screens and, while reporting (or on the beat), in the presence of microphones. "If a certain political party's supporters perceived a certain media house as being against them, they would find an easy target to attack in the form of a woman journalist on the political beat."⁵⁴

On a positive note, though, bias against women politicians may be mostly decreasing as there is better coverage related to leadership in the media. Women candidates overall felt that the quality of coverage of women politicians and candidates (and the issues that they feel passionate about) has improved significantly since 2013, attributing this to the fact that journalists now have a better understanding of the need for giving women more space in a political landscape dominated by men (FIDA, 2018).

An analysis of responses of women and men politicians on barriers for women in politics revealed that men's and women's views converged in certain ways and diverged in others (Figure 1.2).

⁴⁹ KII woman academia, Nairobi.

⁵⁰ KII political party actor, Nairobi.

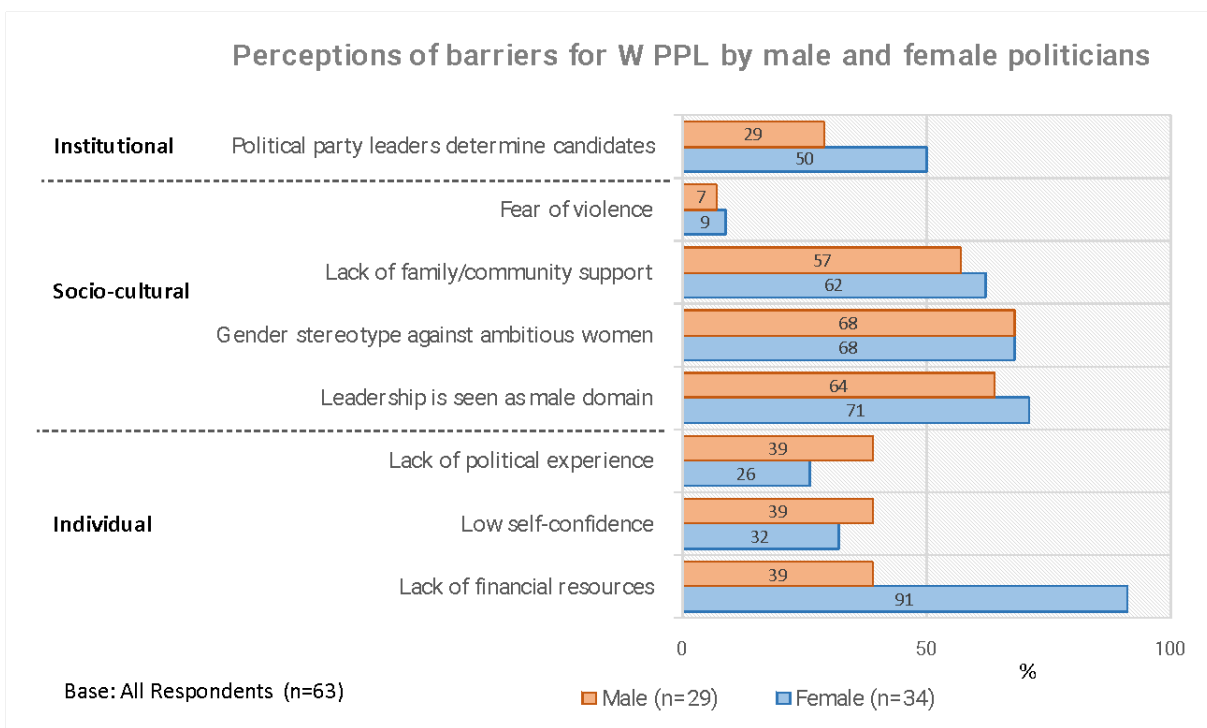
⁵¹ KII woman media actor, Nairobi.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ KII, woman journalist, Nairobi

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Figure 1.2. Gendered perceptions of individual, socio-cultural, and institutional barriers for WPPL as causes of the low proportion of women in elective positions⁵⁵



There was a general convergence of perceptions of socioeconomic barriers for women between men and women. The lowest proportion of women (9 percent) and men (7 percent) perceived fear of violence as a barrier to women’s election. Issues associated with gender stereotypes—family and community support, an aversion to ambitious women, and a perception of leadership as a man’s domain—were perceived as barriers for women by 57–68 percent of the men and 62–71 percent of the women.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

VAWP remains a major barrier to women’s leadership in Kenya and institutions have played a role in mitigating it as well as perpetuating it. Violence is often committed against women in political parties by men in their own parties. The forms of violent behaviors experienced were most frequently mentioned in relation to online violence, more particularly with respect to harassment online (76 percent), and the spread of fake news that is gendered in nature (74 percent). The study also revealed that experiences of material violence involving the destruction of campaign materials were distinctly higher (68 percent). Physical violence was categorized into three forms: 15 percent of the women reported being prevented from leaving the house, murder attempts were reported by 21 percent, and 24 percent reported assaults including being beaten. Sexual violence, in the form of unwanted sexual advances, was reported by 50 percent of the women respondents, whereas 59 percent reported that fake news of a sexual nature was spread about them.

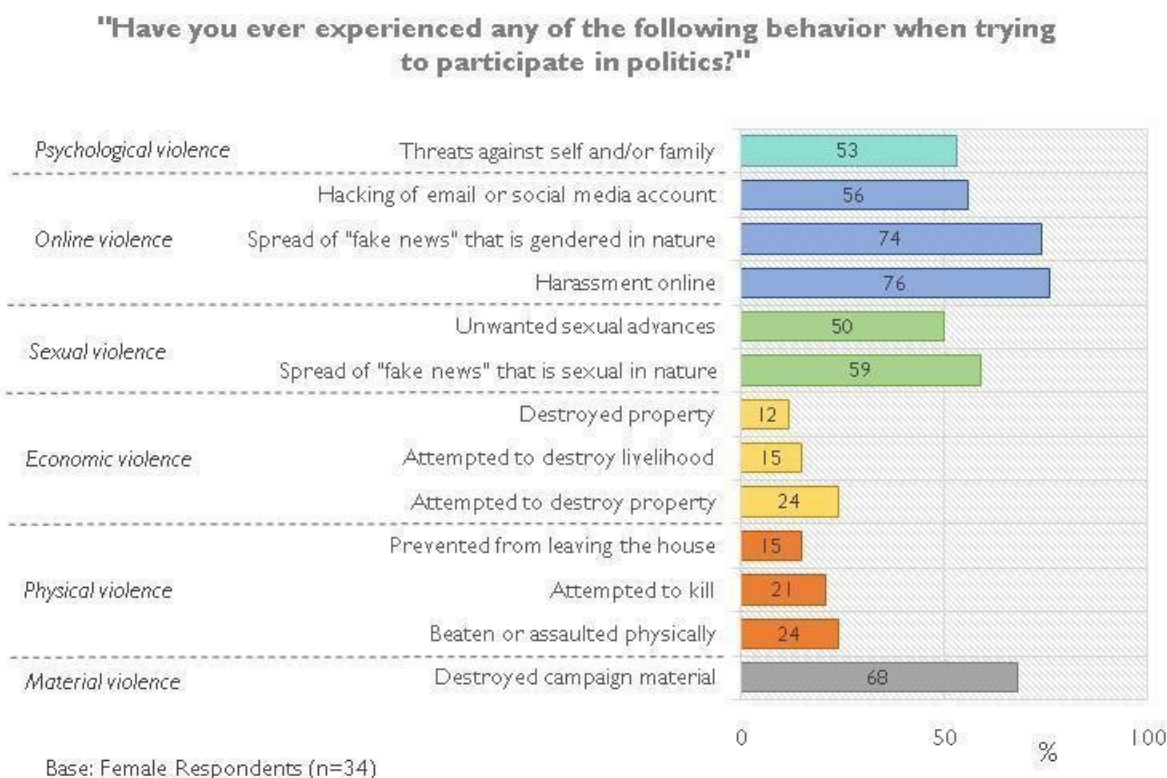
The findings in this report were confirmed by interviewees, who—when asked about violence from their own party members—almost universally identified it as one of the most common barriers to women’s participation. In particular, psychosocial violence (name-calling, threats, harassment, and attempts to discredit them and their expertise) was the most prominent type of violence women cited, with rarer

⁵⁵ Politician survey.

instances of sexual harassment and physical violence. There are laws in place that both define and spell out sanctions for perpetrators of VAWP. Further, when these instances of violence fall outside the jurisdiction of these institutions, the Kenyan judicial system is not well-equipped to effectively and efficiently handle cases, nor is it trusted by citizens to bring about a swift and fair resolution. Respondents expressed concerns about the “normalization of electoral violence, intimidation, and harassment,” including by women. One respondent quipped, “Violence in politics in Kenya is an extreme sport.”⁵⁶

The general observation that pertains to the way election-related violence is perpetrated is that TFGBV or online GBV is becoming more commonplace. TFGBV is a fairly new concept that emerged a decade ago during the 2013 elections and appeared to dominate the violence component of the 2022 elections. It is an increasingly pervasive, barely visible and psychologically very damaging form of violence as competitors hire “keyboard warriors” who post fake information on social media.⁵⁷

Figure 1.3. Women candidates’ and leaders’ accounts of experiences of VAWP



“It is not just about ‘who incited or who is the competitor?’—it is about ‘who has the power to condone or stop that?’ That is how we should assess perpetration of violence.”⁵⁸
 —Political parties KII respondent

⁵⁶ KII woman CSO, Nairobi.

⁵⁷ FGD, men in political parties, Nakuru.

⁵⁸ KII, political actors.

Respondents indicated having faced some form of harassment because of carrying out their mandate relating to electoral processes and refusing to bow to pressure to relax certain compliance measures. These included threats, the spread of fake information about their moral and personal integrity, threats to their families, and intimidation. Respondents indicated that to survive in this field of public service, women need to be above board when it comes to ethical issues. They also need to have high academic credentials, be extremely hardworking, have a sound understanding of their role and mandate, and generally “tick all the boxes” needed to qualify for their job, as they are judged much more harshly than men.⁵⁹

“It is not easy for women in the Judiciary, IEBC, or ORPP. It is a tough terrain. I have often had to take the bullet for my staff. I cannot be manipulated. I ensure I am above board in all aspects of my life; no dirt can be thrown at me based on my morals, corruption, or any unethical practices. They have nothing on me. So, I dare them to air their fake news. They just back off.”

—Woman ORPP employee, Nairobi

Women politicians who participated in this study were concerned that no institutions had taken an interest in their plight after the elections, including those that won or have been nominated into legislative institutions (National Assembly, Senate, or County Assemblies).

The following real-life scenarios were shared by respondents across different regions and political situations. Most election losers (both men and women) are often left financially broke after the draining campaigns and with a deep feeling of loss and betrayal by voters, their political parties, or fellow politicians. Many reported having current bank loans and other significant forms of debt, having sold their property such as homes and vehicles or having lost their sources of livelihoods for those who resigned from their jobs or abandoned their businesses to join the campaign.⁶⁰

Due to abandonment and sudden loss of interest in their plight, many have suffered depression, with some reported to have committed suicide. One candidate reported that they formed a “caucus of women who vied and lost” in the 2022 general election, intending to provide a support system around them.⁶¹ This group has at least 1,200 members who vied for either MCA, MP, Senator, governor, or women representative positions. Out of the 1,200, two were reported to have committed suicide, with one of them having been assaulted by hired goons during the campaigns.

Multiple interviewees agree that there is a general *disconnect* between efforts to enable women politicians and the outcome of these efforts. Women politicians’ access to training was marred by the overloaded number and duration of training by CSOs during the campaign period. Trainings took away women politicians’ opportunities to meet, and speak to, voters. The trainers and the content of the training were usually not aligned with the women politicians’ needs and expectations. Some electoral candidates received campaign materials after the official campaign period. Similarly, quantitative data from the politician survey seem to call out the failure of decision-making in political party leadership to enable women to conduct duties that may interest them. Fifty percent of the duties identified for women by party leaders did not match women’s interests. Figure 1.4 demonstrates the disconnect in roles assigned to women in political parties and the party leadership priorities for women political party members. 79 percent of women party members interviewed identified economic and social welfare issues as their highest priority. However,

⁵⁹ Multiple KIIs.

⁶⁰ FGDs

⁶¹ Politician Survey, turned KII

only 9 percent of women party members have been assigned a role working on these priorities. Mobilization was not a priority to any of the women interviewed (0 percent), but 57 percent of women identified mobilization as a role assigned to women by political parties (Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4. Women’s priorities and roles assigned to them by political parties⁶²



Base: All respondents (n=63)

Most of the women respondents indicated that women, once elected, take on work related to women and youth empowerment and child welfare. However, they also indicated that they preferred to engage in issues such as economic development, which has a transformative impact on Kenyan society.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

The third component of the political ecosystem focuses on decisions made at the individual level by women that block or support women’s access and voice as a group in political spaces. Informed by socio-cultural norms and political institutions, these individual decisions fundamentally shape who participates and has a voice in politics, and thus affect the overall levels of WPPL. Participating in politics is a time-intensive endeavor, so women’s participation in politics often depends on how much time they have available to dedicate to their participation. Because socio-cultural norms dictate that women be responsible for the home, women who also work outside the household have a double working day and even less time to participate in politics.⁶³ Relatedly, the digital gender gap and lack of knowledge about how to properly use social media platforms were also cited as important factors that prevent women from entering political spaces, as technology and social networks are often important resources for campaigns. In particular, while accessing political leadership is often a challenge for women, getting women to choose to stay in politics is a greater challenge.

⁶² Politician survey.

⁶³ According to interviews with WPPL experts such as Omar Cacho Gil, Ivania Padilla, and Ana Ruth Garcia.

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO FUNDS AND AGENCY OVER HOW THEY ARE USED IS LACKING

As with many countries around the globe, participating in politics, especially as candidates, elected officials, and high-level party members, requires a great deal of resources. The global labor force participation in 2021 revealed that 54.5 percent of women of working age are engaged in or actively seeking paid employment, compared to 78.6 percent of men. The gender gap in employment and the poverty rates of some groups of women of ethnic minorities or from rural areas likely means that women have less access and control over resources compared to their men counterparts, making it more difficult for them to participate in politics.

Women also have historically faced difficulties in campaign financing, which hinders their ability to achieve economic autonomy and limits their financial resources for political candidacies. They often have less access to networks of power and less time for fundraising activities. In many cases, men financiers may hold biases regarding the viability of women's candidacies, and women may be unwilling to engage in practices of political clientelism that are sometimes expected in exchange for financial support. Furthermore, electoral campaigns in several countries in the region have very high costs, especially when the electoral systems allow for preferential votes toward candidates and there are no mechanisms for public campaign financing. However, experience has also shown that even when such funds exist, parties have devised strategies to divert them to men candidates, or parties do not distribute them equally among women. As noted in a report from UN Women, "Personal contributions are always necessary for the campaign, and in most cases, women do not have available resources."

POLITICAL PREPAREDNESS TRAINING PROGRAMS DO NOT RESPOND TO WOMEN'S DIVERSE NEEDS

The parties of those interviewed have their own political training programs for women, but it is not clear how many of the party's women candidates come out of these programs. While there is no guarantee that participating in political training will lead to an endorsement by a party, women participate in training programs organized by international organizations, government gender offices, or civil society because of the idea of "women being unprepared to be leaders" resonates heavily among those starting their political careers. Women reported the availability of training from CSOs and women's organizations such as FIDA-K, the Centre for Rights Education and Awareness, the Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust, UN Women, the National Democratic Institute, and the Institute of Education in Democracy, among others.

Political training programs offer information on the structure of the government, campaign finance, communication strategies, and the definition of VAWP. They do not, however, provide guidance on political negotiation, prevention techniques or where to report VAWP cases, or prospects for the aftermath of the election. Additionally, the training does not cover the best campaign strategies for women from underrepresented or discriminated subpopulations. Several CSOs were reported by women politicians to repeatedly carry out similar training programs that focus on the same topics and are "often repeating themselves."⁶⁴

Despite their existence, which serves as an important opportunity for women seeking to enter the political sphere, political training programs do not include an intersectional perspective that would be useful for Kenyan women. They often exclude women from regions affected by conflict but not prioritized by international cooperation. Moreover, experts and implementing partners questioned the relevance of the topics covered by the political training programs, which show a formal panorama of politics but do not prepare women for the informal practices that govern a good part of political campaigns or life after losing

⁶⁴ According to consultations with women politicians and political party activists in Nairobi and Kajiado.

the elections. KII respondents also argued that many of these trainings are scheduled too close to the time of candidate selection and campaigning, which means the new information is received when many women have already invested resources on ineffective political strategies.

CSOs were also reported by women politicians to only focus on women candidates but stopped interacting with them after they “lost the election, even though election losers are potential candidates in the next campaign season.”⁶⁵ As a result, women politicians who lose elections felt ignored by their parties, CSOs, and funding organizations, until the year of the next general elections. Most are left utterly broke financially, and mentally exhausted and fractured, and usually need mental health support, an area that has been grossly ignored. Many women politicians indicated that the post-election trauma is often too great for women and should not be ignored by actors keen to support WPPL.

LACK OF INFORMATION AND ACCESS IN POLITICS

Notably, information flow among women is significantly lower than that among men, largely attributable to limitations in women’s movement beyond the domestic and local community spaces.⁶⁶ Men, on the other hand, are less constrained by care work and domestic chores, which makes their active engagement in social networks outside the domestic space much easier. In addition, due to low literacy levels and lower levels of interactions, women do not go out of their way to access information. Consultations with respondents from election support institutions illustrated this view by explaining that presently, in 2023, men aspirants for the 2027 elections are already visiting their offices seeking information, while there are hardly any inquiries from the women.⁶⁷

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

Several international donors and organizations are working in the area of WPPL in Kenya, and multiple local organizations also operate in this space. Various international donors and implementers that were mentioned during data collection include: USAID, Global Affairs Canada, the European Union, the United Nations Development Programme, the Foreign Commonwealth Development Office, the Danish International Development Agency, and UN Women.

In Kenya, the donor community is coordinated around electoral processes, in designing election-related programming through the donor coordination group currently chaired by USAID. USAID was also reported through KIIs to have taken over the leadership of the Development Partners Gender Group, which is presently supporting the advancement of the two-thirds gender rule. While the partners consulted during this study indicated that the essence of coordinated programming was intended to weed out duplication of efforts, this has not been effectively realized as the work of CSOs and women’s organizations funded through donor funding has struggled with challenges such as concentrated election interventions around Nairobi and cosmopolitan cities like Mombasa, Kisumu, and Nakuru. However, challenges remain, particularly related to duplication of efforts, funding and conducting activities too near to the elections to have a maximum impact, and conducting programs in diverse geographical regions.⁶⁸

Donors consulted noted the greatest impact in program designs focused on women’s leadership development and voter education promoting the value of women’s participation. Areas of less emphasis or success included advocacy for compliance with electoral laws, particularly addressing impunity; compliance in submitting party lists; ensuring women are nominated in areas with higher potential of

⁶⁵ Women politicians in the politician survey, KII, and FGDs.

⁶⁶ Multiple KIIs.

⁶⁷ Multiple KIIs.

⁶⁸ KIIs and FGDs with CSOs.

women being elected; supporting initiatives aimed to build women's economic resources for campaign financing (for example, a women's fund for elections); and building programs in which women trailblazers can support other women as they get into electoral politics as well as profiling good strategies for WPPL.

SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

While socio-cultural factors are often the most difficult barriers to change and overcome, they are often the most important to mitigate in order to see lasting, meaningful change in attitudes toward gender equality, gender roles, and women's participation in politics.

Engage men (in parties, in elected office, and in families) as allies and demonstrate why gender equality can benefit everyone. While women have done the majority of work to promote gender equality, it is important to have men allies supporting women's efforts and demonstrating to other men that supporting women's participation is an important endeavor. These programs work best when they target men who are adjacent to women in politics who are also receiving training; for example, if local elected women are receiving training on the responsibilities of their jobs, public speaking and communications, etc., they could have some joint sessions with local elected men and then break out into single-gender groups. With this type of program design, women's individual capacity is being built (and removing individual-level barriers) while also shifting cultural attitudes and institutional barriers and ensuring that women's men colleagues do not resent them for receiving training support. It is recommended that sessions with men cover issues like power and privilege, intersectionality, and practical ways that men can support women's meaningful participation. These programs work best when they: provide support over a span of time, with regular check-ins with participants; include assignments or projects in between training sessions (and provide funding for those initiatives); and use a local trainer from the same background as participants. Training should not only be at a party level, but should include multiparty workshops, when feasible, that could make it clear that the problem is not only within the party but also affecting every political party for which it could be categorized as a systemic problem.

Another effective strategy to engage men that was recommended by one interviewee is to facilitate these types of workshops with men at similar or higher levels; for example, working with men political party leaders from Ecuador and bringing men from the region at a similar level together would both convey a sense of importance onto the topic (encouraging party leaders to participate) and demonstrate that high-level men can support gender equality initiatives.

Implement awareness campaigns to address the influence and impact of misogyny and political violence on gender equality and women's political rights and demonstrate the importance of women's participation in politics. Respondents noted that programs geared toward behavior change and mindset transformation on WPPL are particularly urgent. Women respondents indicated that to a large extent, key electoral actors cited sociocultural norms as a foil for the lack of political will for women's participation. Awareness campaigns targeted at the population will help to combat the normalization of harassment and VAWP. This campaign should first educate the population on what is considered to be VAWP and its impact on women's political participation. Design campaigns seeking to cause behavior change akin to those used during the HIV/AIDs programs of the 1990s, which were proven effective in stopping the progression of HIV and reversing the trends in rates of infection. Use art and music to expose high school students to politics through drama and school governance; for example, building political systems in schools that resemble the national systems—cabinet secretaries, governors, women representatives, and other MPs are other creative pathways to shift socio-cultural norms.

Conduct training for diverse groups of media workers (regional/national, print, television, digital) to cover WPPL, VAWP, and GBV. Training content should include the influence editorial and journalist staff have in conveying and transforming social norms, the intersections of gender bias and racism, homophobia, and transphobia, among other discrimination types; guidance to identify normalized behaviors and expressions that are discriminatory or violent; guidance on preventing and addressing gendered disinformation through media platforms; and preventing violence against women media workers.

Create programs to support expanded coverage of women’s experiences, leadership, and political positions. Include a coaching component for women interviewees prior to and following interviews to support their learning and growth. Media personnel are also often targets for misogyny and threats—developing management and editorial parameters to protect journalists and promote well-being in the workplace could help unearth the diverse concerns of staff covering politics.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

There are a myriad of institutions that have the power to strengthen WPPL in public life, many of which are analyzed in this report. Many political institutions do not benefit from public trust and thus working with these institutions to promote women’s participation will also require building trust with the population. One note in particular about political parties is that many interviewees noted that parties are often only present during electoral periods and lack internal organization and thus do not have the structure between elections to successfully implement initiatives. One interviewee specifically noted that because political parties are so volatile with leadership changes and internal power jockeying, it can feel impossible to make meaningful changes within parties. Despite these difficulties, parties are the gatekeepers to formal political power, so any efforts to promote women’s political participation will likely (and should) involve parties to some degree.

Support robust, inclusive electoral and political reform processes. The Government of Kenya, in partnership with the IEBC, ORPP, and women’s and feminist organizations, should carry out a formal review of the various elections and political party acts and consider revisions to better support women’s access to public office. At least four features should be reformed:

- Revise the current two-thirds rule to 50 percent for full parity.
- Apply the updated quota mandate to all elected and appointed public positions.
- Codify requirements for parties to 1) spend a portion of their funding to support women’s political participation in addition to specific campaign support; 2) include gender equality principles in their bylaws; 3) have a gender and social inclusion policy; and 4) have gender parity in their leadership structures. These types of reforms exist in other countries and often give women a basis on which to advocate to pressure parties to live up to commitments they have made regarding women’s political participation.
- Confirm oversight responsibility within the IEBC or ORPP.

Build an evidence base for the value of affirmative action. Stemming from the fact that there is often disquiet among many men politicians about affirmative action for women, which explains their hesitance to support it in Parliament, there is a need to build sufficient evidence to demonstrate its value. This includes supporting academia to conduct in-depth research in electoral processes such as tracing patterns and trends where nominated women or women representatives were able to utilize the affirmative action platform to transition into elective roles. Conduct a pedagogical gender analysis of training of aspiring and elected women politicians to stay above board (personal morals and integrity) and

within the threshold for mistakes allowed for women given that it is disproportionately lower than that used for men; analyze geographical trends that propel (or disadvantage) women leaders.

Develop and resource rigorous monitoring capacity of the IEBC and ORPP with punitive legal and financial measures in the case of non-compliance by parties. Currently, the legal framework does not provide a structure to allow institutions to punish parties and individuals who do not adhere to political finance laws. Support a reform process, or the elaboration of operational protocols to establish the obligation of parties, to achieve gender parity in their leadership structures and on candidate lists. The IEBC and the ORPP should develop a monitoring mechanism and enforce a regular reporting requirement, with evidence required, to demonstrate that political parties are respecting the two-thirds rule and working on meaningful promotion of women's political participation. To support this monitoring, the IEBC and ORPP should build programs to support VAWP awareness and mitigation for their staff.

Support parties to develop more robust internal structures and outreach efforts to civil society and voters, particularly women. Promoting internal party democracy and developing more transparent and fair internal structures would help individuals, particularly women, who do not have close relationships with party leaders to have a more active role in making important decisions for the party. More meaningful outreach to women voters and civil society leaders would also help the party build its membership, making it easier to recruit candidates during electoral periods. Building closer connections with constituents will also help parties serve citizen interests and specifically, if parties do a better job at demonstrating that they are responsive to women's priorities, women will be more likely to be interested in being a member of, or running for office for, that party.

Support political parties to meaningfully promote the participation of women members through training and internal party efforts to support women's participation. One way to build a pipeline to candidacy and elected office for women leaders is for parties to invest in training opportunities for women to prepare them to be candidates. Once elected, parties should train newly elected women to support them in their new roles. Beyond training, parties can adopt policies that include zero tolerance for political violence, create platforms that actually address women's needs and priorities, and ensure their bylaws and other party documents include language and policies that support women's participation in their party. Political parties should also prioritize their support between elections for the women who have already been candidates (but were unsuccessful) in order to promote their future participation in politics. Bolstering the role and prominence of women's wings could support this process.

Create caregiving structures in parties and institutions to facilitate women's ability to have families and participate in politics. Because women still chiefly serve in the caregiving role in families, their domestic responsibilities can often keep them from taking on political leadership roles. Creating caregiving support in political institutions (such as parties, the National Assembly, local elected bodies, etc.) means that women will be better able to balance caregiving responsibilities with their political responsibilities. While this is not a solution for all women, it can help facilitate women's participation by allowing them to participate in meetings or events during times when they are responsible for dependents. Given that political parties lack constant funding for this kind of initiative, they should endeavor to make alliances with CSOs to give options to women in their parties.

Support procedural reforms to increase women's access to resources and influence.

- Political parties: Leverage existing and emerging men allies (see Socio-Cultural recommendations) to pilot reform agendas across political parties to promote resilience and inclusion. In addition to structural reforms addressing candidate selection and representation on decision-making bodies to comply with possible electoral reforms (see above), additional reforms to party operations could be considered and mandated, such as timing and location

of party meetings and public events to take into consideration and accommodate and subsidize caregiving and security needs. Such operational reforms could also be framed in terms of constituent outreach and resource mobilization to broaden buy-in from men gatekeepers. This positive competition between parties could also serve as an opportunity to test the ground for cross-party collaboration between women, which has been rare.

- Elected offices: Women's organizations and activists should pressure Parliament and MCA leadership to consider conducting a voluntary review of these institutions' bylaws and practices to determine how they comply with gender rules. Efforts such as the Kenya Women Senators' Association training program for women MCAs should continue to be funded and receive public attention and support.

INDIVIDUAL

In combination, socio-cultural and institutional factors are impacting women's agency and rates of political participation in Kenya. Lower rates of political participation among women are also explained by the lack of awareness of how to navigate political party structures and processes and the fear of experiencing violence at events like demonstrations and marches. However, efforts by donors, international non-governmental organizations, and civil society to build women's confidence as political participants were acknowledged and deemed valuable by many consulted for this assessment.

Provide sustained training for women on a variety of topics, including campaign skills, resilience, strategic communications, conflict mitigation, and negotiation. Providing women with the necessary skills to feel comfortable and confident in political roles is key and was mentioned by a majority of interviewees. It is especially important to target women who might not often have the opportunity for these types of training and who can make a meaningful impact in their local communities. Trainings as they were reported in the study were provided to women candidates only, during the campaign season, and by people who were not aligned to the women's needs. Women politicians suggested that, in addition to the trainers, seasoned women politicians who have been candidates through several political seasons should be engaged as key resource persons to share their real-life situations. Women politicians such as Peris Tobiko, Martha Karua, Alice Wahome, Gladys Wanga, and Millie Odhiambo, among others were mentioned repeatedly in FGDs.

Support existing networks of women in politics and facilitate regional or global meetings for women to share challenges and best practices. Kenyan CSOs and international partners such as UN Women might have the capacity to address the post-election trauma for both successful and unsuccessful candidates and may be approached with this matter. These networks allow for coordinated advocacy campaigns and women who participate benefit from learning from each other and feeling less alone in dealing with the challenges they face. While maintaining a network often depends on that network receiving funding from an outside source, providing opportunities for women in politics to interact (even through focus groups implemented for this study) will allow women to make connections across party lines and coordinate on issues that are important to them.

Provide programs that support women's access to and control over financial resources. As noted above, political campaigns and elected positions often require significant resources. Providing programs that support women's economic empowerment can have crossover effects on promoting their political empowerment, both by providing them with the necessary confidence and skills and by helping them earn the resources they need to be competitive in politics. Programming could focus on livelihood maintenance while women participate in political campaigns.

ANNEX A. DATA COLLECTION SOURCES

POLITICIAN SURVEY

Table 1: Politicians Surveyed

POLITICAL PARTY	GENDER	NO. OF SURVEYS
UDA	Women	8
	Men	9
ODM	Women	5
	Men	0
Jubilee Party	Women	6
	Men	8
Wiper Democratic Movement— Kenya	Women	1
	Men	0
Small parties (combined)	Women	9
	Men	11
Independent Candidates	Women	4
	Men	2
TOTAL	Women	33
	Men	30

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Table 2: Key Informants Interviewed

STAKEHOLDER GROUP	NO. OF KIIS (WOMEN)	NO. OF KIIS (MEN)
CSOs	3	2
Political actors	3	2
Donors or implementing partners	6	0
Election officials	1	0
Media	3	0
Academics	2	1
Politician surveys turned KII	5	0
TOTAL	23	5

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Table 3: Focus Group Discussions

NO.	GROUP DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS
1	Women in political parties	Kajiado	1
2	Women Elected Members of County Assemblies	Nakuru	1
3	Women Nominated Members of County Assemblies	Kajiado	1
4	Men in political parties	Nakuru	2
5	Women CSO leaders	Nairobi	1
6	Women in media	Nairobi	1

7	Men CSO leaders	Nakuru	1
8	Men in Political Parties	Kajiado	1
TOTAL			9

ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

ANNEX B1: POLITICIAN SURVEY

POLITICIAN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview date

Respondent

Constituency

County

Background

Gender 1. Male 2. Female

1. Describe your current political position
2. Which political party did you use to run for office in the last elections?

Political Experience

3. How many years have you been active in politics?
 1. Less than 5 2. 5-10 3. 10-20 4. Over 20
4. a) How many times have you vied for elections?
 1. Once 2. Twice 3. Thrice 4. More than three times
b) Which political offices have you contested? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
 1. MCA 2. MP 3. Senator 4. Woman Rep 5. Governor
5. a) Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
 1. Yes> Continue 2. No> Skip to Q6
b) (If Yes) What leadership positions have you held? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
 1. MCA 2. MP 3. Senator 4. Woman Rep 5. Governor
 6. Party branch 7. Party national Other (Specify)_____
6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?
 1. Inspired by political role model 2. To gain power
 3. To keep power in family after death 4. To uphold family tradition
 5. Voter persuasion 6. Replace deceased relative 7. Represent my people

8. See good governance

9. See good governance

Other (Specify) _____

7. a) Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

1. Yes> Continue

2. No> Skip to Q8a

b) (If Yes) What is the nature of this support? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Cash

2. Campaign materials

3. Waiver of nomination fees

Other (Specify) _____

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

1. Yes> Skip to Q8a

2. No> Continue

3. Don't know> Skip to Q8a

d) (If No) What are the determinants of party to provide support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Gender affirmative action

2. Candidates' contribution to the party

Other (Specify) _____

8. a) Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

1. Yes> Skip to Q9

2. No> Continue

3. Don't know> Skip to Q9

b) What does the party offer in the way of support? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE POSSIBLE)

1. Training

2. Campaign secretariat

3. Opinion polls

Other (Specify) _____

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

1. Yes> Skip to Q9

2. No> Continue

3. Don't know> Skip to Q9

d) (If Yes) What are the determinants of party support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Gender affirmative action 2. Candidates' contribution to the party

Other (Specify) _____

Women's Leadership Opportunities

9. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Women have low self-confidence 2. Lack of political experience

3. Lack of financial resources 4. Lack of family/community support

5. Leadership is seen as male domain 6. Political party leaders determine who candidates

7. Gender stereotype against ambitious women

Other (Specify) _____

10.a) Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

1. Yes> Continue 2. No> Skip to Q11

b) What are these measures? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Waiver of nomination fees 2. Training for female candidates
 3. Women friendly party structures 4. Funds for women candidates

Other (Specify) _____

c) Have these measures led to an increase in the number of women standing as candidates?

1. Yes 2. No

11. Do you support such measures to increase the number of women in elected positions?

1. Yes 2. No

12.a) Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – for example, as Party Leader, Parliamentary Committee Chair?

1. Yes> Skip to Q13 2. No> Continue

b) (If No) What are the main reasons for this, in your view? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

13.a) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what roles are women given responsibility for? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Youth issues 2. Gender issues 3. Children’s issues 4. Mobilization

Other (Specify) _____

b) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what issues do they prioritize? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Economic empowerment 2. SGBV 3. Bursaries/School fees 4. Children

Other (Specify) _____

14.a) Is there a women’s wing in your political party?

1. Yes> Continue 2. No> Skip to Q15

b) (If Yes) What is the main role of the women's wing? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Gender issues in the party 2. Party mobilization 3. Fulfil a legal requirement
 4. Enhance party's image Other (Specify) _____

c) To what extent can the women's wing give input on the party platform?

1. Not at all 2. Very little extent 3. Limited extent 4. High extent
 5. Very high extent

d) Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?

1. Yes 2. No

15.a) Do women have representation in the party's National Executive Committee?

1. Yes > Continue 2. No > Skip to Q16

b) (If Yes) What kinds of positions do they hold?

1. Chairperson 2. Secretary General 3. Treasurer
 4. Elections board member 5. Head of women's wing 6. CEO
Other (Specify) _____

Personal Experiences (Women Politicians Only)

16.a) Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviors when trying to participate in politics?
(TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- 1. Someone tried to kill you
- 2. Someone hit or beat you, or assaulted you physically in some other way
- 3. Someone prevented you from leaving the house
- 4. Someone made threats against you and/or your family
- 5. Someone tried to rape or raped you
- 6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards you
- 7. Someone attempted to destroy your property
- 8. Someone destroyed your property
- 9. Someone attempted to destroy your livelihood
- 10. Someone destroyed your livelihood
- 11. Someone harassed you online
- 12. Someone hacked your email or social media accounts
- 13. Someone spread “fake news” about you that was sexual in nature
- 14. Someone spread “fake news” about you that was gendered in nature
- 15. Someone destroyed your campaign materials

b) (ANSWER QUESTION IF ANY OF THE ABOVE IS HAS BEEN EXPERIENCED) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1. Hired goons
 - 2. Militia (institutionalized gangs)
 - 3. Opponent
 - 4. Opponent’s supporters
 - 5. Law enforcement officers
 - 6. Hired online goons
- Other (Specify) _____

c) How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Opted not to campaign openly | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Dropped their bid |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Opted to another electoral position | <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Went to another political party |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Became more determined | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Became an independent candidate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Lost confidence | <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Became fearful |

Other (Specify) _____

17.a) Have you ever witnessed other women being targeted for trying to participate in politics

- 1. Someone tried to kill her
- 2. Someone hit or beat her, or assaulted her physically in some other way
- 3. Someone prevented her from leaving the house
- 4. Someone made threats against her and/or her family
- 5. Someone tried to rape or raped her
- 6. Someone made unwanted sexual advances towards her
- 7. Someone attempted to destroy her property
- 8. Someone destroyed her property
- 9. Someone attempted to destroy her livelihood
- 10. Someone destroyed her livelihood
- 11. Someone harassed her online
- 12. Someone hacked her email or social media accounts
- 13. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was sexual in nature
- 14. Someone spread “fake news” about her that was gendered in nature
- 15. Someone destroyed her campaign materials

b) (ANSWER QUESTION IF ANY OF THE ABOVE IS HAS BEEN EXPERIENCED) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Hired goons | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Militia (institutionalized gangs) | <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Opponent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Opponent’s supporters | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Law enforcement officers | <input type="checkbox"/> 6. Hired online goons |

Other (Specify) _____

c) How did experiencing these acts affect their willingness to participate in politics? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Opted not to campaign openly | <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Dropped their bid |
|--|---|

- 3. Opted to another electoral position
 - 4. Went to another political party
 - 5. Became more determined
 - 6. Became an independent candidate
 - 7. Lost confidence
 - 8. Became fearful
- Other (Specify) _____

Violence against men and women in politics (both men and women politicians)

18. a) Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

- 1. Yes > Continue
- 2. No > Skip to Q19

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1. Physical assaults
- 2. Prevented from leaving the house to vote
- 3. Threat to self and/or family
- 4. Destruction of property and livelihood
- 5. Online harassment
- 6. Harassment by opponent's supporters

Other (Specify) _____

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1. Hired goons
- 2. Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3. Opponent
- 4. Opponent's supporters
- 5. Law enforcement officers

Other (Specify) _____

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to cast their ballots?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

19.a) Do women candidates face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

1. Yes > Continue 2. No > Skip to Q20

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Physical assaults 2. Prevented from leaving the house to vote
 3. Threat to self and/or family 4. Destruction of property and livelihood
 5. Online harassment 6. Harassment by opponent's supporters
Other (Specify) _____

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Hired goons 2. Militia (institutionalized gangs) 3. Opponent
 4. Opponent's supporters 5. Law enforcement officers 6. Hired online goons
Other (Specify) -----

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?

1. Yes 2. No

20.a) Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

1. Yes > Continue 2. No > Skip to Q21

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Non enabling environment 2. Discriminatory practices
Other (Specify) _____

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Fellow male legislators 2. Fellow female legislators
 3. Rules of parliament (formal/informal)
Other (Specify) _____

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?

1. Yes 2. No

21.a) Are existing laws sufficient for addressing violence, intimidation, and harassment?

1. Yes 2. No

b) To what extent are these laws enforced?

1. Not at all 2. Very little extent 3. Limited extent
 4. High extent 5. Very high extent

c) Does your party have any policy in place to deal with this problem?

1. Yes > Continue 2. No > Skip to Q22

d) To what extent is this policy enforced?

1. Not at all 2. Very little extent 3. Limited extent 4. High extent
 5. Very high extent

22.a) Are other measures needed to address this problem

1. Yes > Continue 2. No > Skip to Q23

b) (If Yes) Who should be responsible for stopping these acts and holding perpetrators accountable? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

1. Law enforcement agencies 2. Party disciplinary organs 3. IEBC
 4. Political Parties Dispute Tribunal 5. Judiciary

Other (Specify) _____

Impact of Women in Politics

23. Do men and women have equal voice and influence in political debates in Kenya?

1. Yes 2. No

24. Are men and women equally effective as leaders in Kenya?

1. Yes 2. No

Demographic Information

D1. In which of these age brackets do you belong:

1. 18-24 2. 25-29 3. 30-34 4. 35-39 5. 40-44
 6. 45-50 7. 51-60 8. 60+

D2. What is your religious affiliation?

1. Christianity 2. Islam 3. Hindu 4. Traditional African religion

Other (Specify) _____

D3 What is your current marital status?

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

Other (Specify) _____

D4. Which ethnic community are you affiliated to?

END

ANNEX B2: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

I. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

WOMEN POLITICIANS

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

1. What is your current political position?
 - Which County are you from?
 - What ethnic community do you belong to?
 - What is your religion?
 - What is your marital status?
2. What is your political party?
3. How many years have you been active in politics?

Political Experience

4. Have you ever contested as a candidate in elections?
What was your experience?
5. Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
What was your experience?
6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Candidates

7. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya]? *How has affirmative action affected you?*
8. How was your political campaign funded?
9. What support did you get from your party? *Does the party give the same support to every candidate?*
10. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like *How does it compare to that of men?*

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Leaders

11. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?
12. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?
13. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what roles are they given responsibility for?
14. What institutional support do women receive after they have been elected?
15. How have you been involved in the women's caucus in Parliament?
How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?
16. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
Explain

Violence Against Women in Politics

17. Have you ever experienced any violence as a woman candidate?
If so:
Give examples.
Who were the main perpetrators of these acts?
How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?
18. Have you ever witnessed other women candidates being subjected to violence?
If so:
Give examples.
Who were the main perpetrators of these acts?
How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?
19. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?
Give examples.
Who are the main perpetrators?
Do these attacks affect women's chances of being elected?
Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones and why?

21. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment at their political work?

Give examples.

Who are the main perpetrators?

Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?

Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which types and why?

Recommendations

22. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?
23. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

2. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

MEN POLITICIANS

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

1. What is your current political position?
 - Which County are you from?
 - What ethnic community do you belong to?
 - What is your religion?
2. What is your political party?
3. How many years have you been active in politics?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Candidates

4. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

Do you support affirmative action as a measure to promote women in politics?

How? What types of women tend to benefit from affirmative action in Kenya? Why?
5. How do candidates finance their campaigns in Kenya?

6. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like? *How does it compare to that of men?*

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Leaders

7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

8. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?

9. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

Explain

Violence Against Women in Politics

10. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

Give examples.

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?
- What types and why?

11. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

Recommendations

12. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

13. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

3. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

1. What is your political party?
 - Which County are you from?
 - What is your gender?
 - What ethnic community do you belong to?
 - What is your religion?
2. What is your current position in the party?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Party Members

3. In general, there are fewer women than men who join political parties. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?
4. Does your party have any special initiatives to attract women members?
If so, do these differ in any way from efforts to attract male members?
If so, how and why?
5. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?
Explain
6. Is there a women's wing in your political party?
If so, what is the main role of the women's wing?
7. Do women have representation in the party's National Executive Committee?
Explain

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Candidates

8. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?
How and why?

9. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

Explain

10. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any way other than finances?

Explain

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Leaders

11. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

12. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

Explain

13. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

How do their experiences compare to those of men?

Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?

Violence Against Women in Politics

14. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

15. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

Recommendations

16. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

17. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

4. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

1. What is your role in the electoral process?

What is your gender?

What was your duty station?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Voters

2. Do women register to vote at the same rate as men?

Explain

3. Do women turn out to vote at the same rate as men?

Explain

4. Are polling stations equally accessible to women and men?

Explain

5. Are women able to cast their votes in a free, secret, and secure manner?

Explain

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Candidates

6. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

Do political parties respect the affirmative action requirements?

What does the electoral management body do, if anything, to ensure affirmative action compliance?

Based on what you have observed, what types of women tend to benefit from gender affirmative action in Kenya? Why?

7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

Violence Against Women in Politics

8. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women voters to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

9. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

10. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women election workers to face violence, intimidation, or harassment?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to facilitate and/or observe the electoral process?

If so, how?

11. Does the Electoral Management Body monitor and/or respond to incidents of gender-based violence during elections?

If so, what are the details of these interventions for men and women?

What is the impact, if any, of these interventions?

Recommendations

12. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

13. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

5. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

WPPL EXPERTS, INCLUDING WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

- What is your gender?
- Which County are you from?
- What ethnic community do you belong to?
- What is your religion?

1. How are you involved in issues related to women's participation in politics and leadership?
2. How many years have you been active in this field?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Candidates

3. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?
Do you support affirmative action as a measure to promote women in politics? How?
What types of women tend to benefit from affirmative action in Kenya? Why?
4. What sort of financial support, if any, do women receive for their campaigns?
5. Do parties help women candidates with their campaigns in ways other than financial?
6. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like?
How does it compare to that of men?
7. Do civil society organizations provide any resources or support to women candidates?
Explain

Barriers and Opportunities: Women Leaders

8. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?
9. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership – e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

10. Are there any forms of institutional support for women after they have been elected? (*Examples might be training, mentorship, or provided with staff.*)
11. Is there a women's caucus in parliament?
How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?
12. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
Explain
Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?

Barriers and Opportunities: Women in Civil Society

13. In many countries, women are very active participants in civil society. In your view, is this also true in your country?
What are the key barriers to women's civil society participation?
Do civil society organizations engage women with diverse backgrounds?
14. Are there any powerful women's organizations in civil society in Kenya? Give examples.
If so, what are their particular areas of focus?
Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?
What kinds of barriers do they face in getting women's voices heard?
15. Do women serve as leaders of civil society organizations not specifically focused on gender issues? Name some of such CSO.
If so, what types of organizations do they lead?
Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?
16. Are there any official women's organizations connected to the government? If so, name some
If so, have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?
17. Thinking about women in civil society more broadly, are there opportunities for women in civil society to inform government decision-making?
If so, are there official channels for communicating with and influencing the work of the government?
How effective are these channels for reflecting the voices of women in civil society?
18. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to advance women's civic and political rights? Give three examples of these.
If so, do these organizations mainly focus on women as voters, candidates, or leaders?
What types of activities do they engage in to promote WPPL?
What impact, if any, have these activities had on WPPL in Kenya?

19. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights? Give examples.

If so, what kinds of organizations are these?

How vocal and effective are their efforts in restricting WPPL in Kenya?

Violence Against Women in Politics

20. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

21. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

22. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

Who are the main perpetrators?

Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?

Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

Recommendations

23. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

24. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

6. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

DONORS AND IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

1. How is your organization involved in issues related to women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya?
 - What is your gender?
2. What is your role within the organization?

Donor and Partner Activities

3. What kind of WPPL programming has your organization supported in Kenya?
Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?
How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?
4. In the course of your work on WPPL in Kenya, have you ever worked directly with other [DONOR/ PARTNER]?
If so, can you provide some details on these activities?
How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?
5. If you didn't work directly with [DONOR/ PARTNER], did you ever encounter or hear about their WPPL activities?
If so, can you provide some details on these activities?
What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?
6. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in Kenya?
If so, can you provide some details on these activities?
What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?

Stakeholder Analysis

7. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?
What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?
Do they work together to advance WPPL?
If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?
8. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?
What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?

Lessons and Recommendations

9. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in Kenya?
Have donors/partners focused adequately on these barriers?
In your view, which interventions have been most effective?
In your view, which interventions have been least effective?
10. Based on your experiences, what more could [DONOR/ PARTNER] and other donors/ partners do in this space?
In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?
11. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?
12. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

7. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

USAID STAFF

Introduction

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

Background

What is your gender?

1. What is your role at USAID?
2. How long have you been working at USAID and elsewhere on issues related to WPPL?

Donor and Partner Activities

3. What kinds of WPPL programming has USAID supported in Kenya?
Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?
Can you provide some details on specific activities?
How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?
Does the Mission have any additional programming planned related to WPPL?
4. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in Kenya?
If so, can you provide some details on these activities?
What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?

Stakeholder Analysis

5. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?
What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?
Do they work together to advance WPPL?
If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?
6. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?
What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?

Lessons Learned and Recommendations

7. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in Kenya?
Have donors/ partners focused adequately on these barriers? In your view, which interventions have been most effective?
In your view, which interventions have been least effective?
8. Based on your experiences, what more could USAID do in this space?
In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?
Are there any partnerships that you think would be particularly fruitful?
9. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?
10. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

ANNEX B3: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

Introduction

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women's political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone's privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. [If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don't have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal "airtime" – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it's not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Focus Group Questions

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go round the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played. For example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in civil society in Kenya?
 - Do they mainly participate in women's organizations, or are women active in organizations and movements not specifically focused on gender issues?
 - Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?
 - How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?
 - Where do women's groups tend to get their funding?
 - Does the age of a woman affect how active she can be? How does activity of women less than 35 years old compare with the activity of women older than 35 years?
 - Does the marital status of a woman affect how active she can be? How does activity of married women compare with the activity of unmarried women?

3. Do women in Kenya have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?
 - Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women’s civic and political rights?
 - How effective are they in achieving these goals?
4. Are there ways for women in civil society to influence government decision-making?
 - Are there specific channels for communicating with and influencing government actors?
 - Does the government listen to women’s groups, or does it basically ignore them?
5. Do women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women’s ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in civil society –and politics more generally – in Kenya?
7. **What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them?** (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

2. WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

Introduction

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. [If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

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- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Focus Group Questions

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in political parties in Kenya?
 - How important are the women's sections of political parties?
 - What is their primary purpose?
 - What type of support, if any, do they receive from the party?
 - Do the women's sections play any role in candidate selection?
 - Do the women's sections have any influence over the party platform?
 - Does the age of a woman affect how influential she can be over the party platform? How does ability to influence the party platform by women less than 35 years old compare with that of women older than 35 years?
 - Does the marital status of a woman affect how influential she can be over the party platform? How does the ability of married women to influence the party platform compare with that of unmarried women?
3. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?
 - At what kinds of locations are party meetings held?
 - At what times of the day are party meetings usually scheduled?
 - Does the party offer childcare for members during its meetings?
4. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?
 - Do they encourage women to run for office?
 - Do they provide funding to women candidates?
 - Do they provide training to women candidates?
 - Do they place women in electable positions or nomination slots?
5. Do women in political parties face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in political parties – and politics more generally – in Kenya?
7. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

3. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

LOCALLY ELECTED WOMEN (OPTIONAL)

Note for Research Team

Organizing focus groups with locally elected women may only be possible in some countries, given prohibitive costs and travel times. The team may find that the easiest option is to bring participants to the capital city for a day, rather than traveling out to multiple distant places.

Introduction

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women's political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone's privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. [If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said.

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don't have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal "airtime" – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it's not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Focus Group Questions

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in local politics in Kenya?
 - Why did you decide to run as a candidate in local elections?
 - Did anyone particularly encourage you to contest as a candidate?
 - Did anyone particularly discourage you from contesting as a candidate?
 - How important is local politics as an entry point for women leaders, compared to men?
 - Does the age of a woman determine the importance of local politics as an entry point for them as leaders? How does local politics as an entry point for women leaders compare for women less than 35 years old and for women older than 35 years?
 - Does the importance of local politics as an entry point for women leaders vary with the marital status of a woman? How does this importance vary with a woman's marital status?
3. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?
 - Do they encourage women to run for office?
 - Do they provide funding to women candidates?
 - Do they provide training to women candidates?
 - Do parties tend to support certain types of women candidates over others? What types? Why?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as local leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?
 - Do women have equal chances as men to be elected as Members of County Assembly (MCA)?
5. Do women in local politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in local politics?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types? Why?
6. **What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in local politics –and politics more generally – in Kenya?**
7. **What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them?** (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

4. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

WOMEN MEDIA WORKERS

Introduction

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. [If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk, please jump in when you have something to say. Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks for about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Focus Group Questions

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. What is the media environment like for women candidates and leaders?
 - Do women in politics receive the same level of media coverage as men in politics?
 - Are women politicians treated differently than men in terms of the content of media coverage?
3. To what extent is there disinformation and/or hate speech against women in politics, either in the traditional media or on social media platforms?
 - If so, can you give some examples?
 - What is the impact of this hate speech and disinformation?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? Which ones? Why?

5. Do women in politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women journalists' ability to participate in their work?
 - Are some types of women journalists more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?

6. Do women journalists face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political reporting?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women journalists' ability to participate in their work?
 - Are some types of women journalists more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?

7. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women journalists greater voice in –political journalism and politics more generally in – in Kenya?

8. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

5. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

MEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

Introduction

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in [COUNTRY]. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. [If all participants all agreed to recording] We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

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- Our goal is equal “airtime” – so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

Focus Group Questions

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played – for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women compared to men in civil society in Kenya?
 - Do they mainly participate in women's organizations?
 - Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?
 - How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?
 - Where do civil society groups in Kenya tend to get their funding?
3. Do women in Kenya have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?
 - Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights?
 - How effective are they in achieving these goals?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? Which ones? Why?
5. Do women in civil society – including women human rights defenders – face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones, why?
6. **What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in Civil society –and politics more generally – in Kenya?**
7. **What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them?** (These could include actions by for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

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CHARACTERISTICS OF A ‘SUCCESSFUL FEMALE POLITICIAN AND LEADER’

Consultations with women politicians indicated that there were certain personal characteristics that are an enabler for a successful political career for women. Notably, all these call for sheer hard work by the individual, although other factors were cited to be enablers.

The following examples⁶⁹ drawn from three women politicians from diverse ethnic groups and geographical regions illustrate this further:

Candidate #1: One woman candidate indicated that having worked for a university for many years and being part of that institution’s community, endeared her to its members. The institution has many members, who live in surrounding neighborhoods with their families, that forms part of the constituency where the candidate was vying for a parliamentary seat. Some outstanding characteristics about her political background were listed as follows:

- Being well educated
- Having an illustrious career in academia
- Belonging to a prominent political family
- Having significant financial resources to run a political campaign.

Candidate #2: Another woman candidate who hails from a culturally conservative community was reported to have weathered a tumultuous political career and had become the first elected woman Member of Parliament from that ethnic community. A reflection during a FGD with women political activists from her county on her personal characteristics pointed to the following core characteristics, which she also confirmed as true to her character and capabilities:

- Display of courage in extreme situations including conflicting with views from elders and other traditional authorities from her ethnic community
- Countered aggression from male political aspirants and opponents
- Conflict with her family’s political affiliations during campaign seasons
- Having access to immense resources, including financial capability, political mobilization capacity, and a formidable campaign infrastructure
- Being educated and having a career that enabled exposure at an early age.
- Belonging to a politically prominent family

Candidate #3: The third woman politician bears some similarities with the other two politicians, with regard to their family’s political prominence and immense wealth. Other characteristics noted include the following.

- Courage in extreme situations
- Adopting similar political strategies as her male opponents (hiring goons to intimidate opponents and political detractors).
- Deploying massive financial resources
- Mobilizing a big political campaign machinery with a large team of campaign supporters

⁶⁹ Politician Survey and KIs

ANNEX B. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

ANNEX A. POLITICIAN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE—WOMEN

Interview Date

Respondent Name / ID Code

Constituency / ID CODE

County

This survey seeks to gather the views of women in politics with regard to women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
2. Which political party did you use to run for office in the last elections?

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

3. How many years have you been active in politics?

- 1=Less than 5
- 2=5–10
- 3=10–20
- 4=Over 20

4. a) How many times have you vied for elections?

- 1=Once
- 2=Twice
- 3=Thrice
- 4=More than three times

b) Which political offices have you contested? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=MCA
- 2=MP
- 3=Senator
- 4=Woman Rep
- 5=Governor

5. a) Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?

- 1=Yes> Continue
- 2=No> Skip to Q6

b) (If Yes) What leadership positions have you held? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=MCA
- 2=MP
- 3=Senator
- 4=Woman Rep
- 5=Governor
- 6=Party branch
- 7=Party national
- Other (Specify)

6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?

- 1=Inspired by political role model
- 2=To gain power
- 3=To keep power in family after death
- 4=To uphold family tradition
- 5=Voter persuasion
- 6=Replace deceased relative
- Other (Specify)

7. a) Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q8a

b) (If Yes) What is the nature of this support? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Cash
- 2=Campaign materials
- 3=Waiver of nomination fees
- Other (Specify)

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

- 1=Yes>Skip to Q8a
- 2=No>Continue

d) (If No) What are the determinants of the party to provide support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Gender affirmative action
- 2=Candidates' contribution to the party
- Other (Specify)

8. a) Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q9

b) What does the party offer in the way of support? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Training
- 2=Campaign secretariat
- 3=Opinion polls
- Other (Specify)

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

- 1=Yes>Skip to Q9
- =No>Continue

d) (If Yes) What are the determinants of party support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Gender affirmative action
- 2=Candidates' contribution to the party
- Other (Specify)

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

9. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Women have low self-confidence
- 2=Lack of political experience
- 3=Lack of financial resources
- 4=Lack of family/community support
- Other (Specify)

10. a) Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q11

b) What are these measures? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Waiver of nomination fees
- 2=Training for female candidates
- 3=Women friendly party structures
- 4=Funds for women candidates
- Other (Specify)

c) Have these measures led to an increase in the number of women standing as candidates?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

11. Do you support such measures to increase the number of women in elected positions?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

12. a) Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—for example, as Party Leader or Parliamentary Committee Chair?

- 1=Yes>Skip to Q13
- 2=No>Continue

b) (If No) What are the main reasons for this, in your view? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

13. a) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what roles are women given responsibility for? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Youth issues
- 2=Gender issues
- 3=Children's issues
- Other (Specify)

b) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what issues do they prioritize? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Economic empowerment
- 2=SGBV
- 3=Other (specify)

14. a) Is there a women's wing in your political party?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q15

b) (If Yes) What is the main role of the women's wing? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Gender issues in the party
- 2=Party mobilization
- 3=Fulfil a legal requirement
- 4=Enhance party's image
- Other (Specify)

c) To what extent can the women's wing give input on the party platform?

- 1=None
- 2=Very little extent
- 3=Limited extent
- 4=High extent
- 5=Very high extent

d) Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

15. a) Do women have representation in the party's National Executive Committee?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q16

b) (If Yes) What kinds of positions do they hold?

- 1=Chairperson
- 2=Secretary General
- 3=Treasurer
- 4=Elections board member
- 5=Head of women's wing
- 6=CEO
- Other (Specify)

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

16. Have you ever experienced any of the following behaviors when trying to participate in politics?

- 1) Someone tried to kill you
- 2) Someone hit or beat you or assaulted you physically in some other way
- 3) Someone prevented you from leaving the house
- 4) Someone made threats against you and/or your family
- 5) Someone tried to rape you or raped you
- 6) Someone made unwanted sexual advances toward you
- 7) Someone attempted to destroy your property
- 8) Somebody destroyed your property
- 9) Someone attempted to destroy your livelihood
- 10) Someone destroyed your livelihood
- 11) Someone harassed you online
- 12) Someone hacked your email or social media accounts
- 13) Someone spread “fake news” about you that was sexual in nature
- 14) Someone spread “fake news” about you that was gendered in nature

1=Experienced all>Continue

2=Experienced some>Continue

3=Experienced none>Skip to Q17

b) (If Yes) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Hired goons
- 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3=Opponent
- 4=Opponent’s supporters
- 5=Law enforcement officers
- Other (Specify)

d) How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Opted not to campaign openly
- 2=Dropped my bid
- 3=Opted to another electoral position
- 4=Went to another political party
- 5=Became more determined
- 6=Became an independent candidate
- Other (Specify)

17. Have you ever witnessed other women being targeted for trying to participate in politics?

- 1) Someone tried to kill her
- 2) Someone killed her
- 3) Someone hit or beat her or assaulted her physically in some other way
- 4) Someone prevented her from leaving the house
- 5) Someone made threats against her and/or her family
- 6) Someone tried to rape her or raped her
- 7) Someone made unwanted sexual advances toward her
- 8) Someone attempted to destroy her property
- 9) Someone destroyed her livelihood
- 10) Someone harassed her online
- 11) Someone hacked her email or social media accounts
- 12) Someone spread “fake news” about her that was sexual in nature
- 13) Someone spread “fake news” about her that was gendered in nature

1=Experienced all>Continue

2=Experienced some>Continue

3=Experienced none>Skip to Q18

b) (If Yes) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Hired goons
- 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3=Opponent
- 4=Opponent’s supporters
- 5=Law enforcement officers
- Other (Specify)

c) How did experiencing these acts affect their willingness to participate in politics? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Opted not to campaign openly
- 2=Dropped my bid
- 3=Opted to another electoral position
- 4=Went to another political party
- 5=Became more determined
- 6=Became an independent candidate
- Other (Specify)

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

18. a) Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q19

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Physical assaults
- 2=Prevented from leaving the house to vote
- 3=Threat to self and/or family
- 4=Destruction of property and livelihood
- 5=Online harassment
- 6=Harassment by opponent's supporters
- Other (Specify)

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Hired goons
- 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3=Opponent
- 4=Opponent's supporters
- 5=Law enforcement officers
- Other (Specify)

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to cast their ballots?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

19. a) Do women candidates face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q20

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Physical assaults
- 2=Prevented from leaving the house to vote
- 3=Threat to self and/or family
- 4=Destruction of property and livelihood
- 5=Online harassment
- 6=Harassment by opponent's supporters
- Other (Specify)

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Hired goons
- 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3=Opponent
- 4=Opponent's supporters
- 5=Law enforcement officers
- Other (Specify)

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

20. a) Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q21

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Non enabling environment
- 2=Discriminatory practices
- Other (Specify)

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Fellow male legislators
- 2=Fellow female legislators
- 3=Rules of parliament (formal/informal)
- Other (Specify)

- d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- 1=Yes
 - 2=No
21. a) Are existing laws sufficient for addressing violence, intimidation, and harassment?
- 1=Yes
 - 2=No
- b) To what extent are these laws enforced?
- 1=Not at all
 - 2=Very little extent
 - 3=Limited extent
 - 4=High extent
 - 5=Very high extent
- c) Does your party have any policy in place to deal with this problem?
- 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q22
- d) To what extent is this policy enforced?
- 1=Not at all
 - 2=Very little extent
 - 3=Limited extent
 - 4=High extent
 - 5=Very high extent
22. a) Are other measures needed to address this problem?
- 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q23
- b) (If Yes) Who should be responsible for stopping these acts and holding perpetrators accountable? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Law enforcement agencies
 - 2=Party disciplinary organs
 - 3=IEBC
 - 4=Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
 - 5=Judiciary
 - Other (Specify)

IMPACT OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

23. Do men and women have equal voice and influence in political debates in Kenya?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

24. Are men and women equally effective as leaders in Kenya?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

D1. In which of these age brackets do you belong:

- 1=18–24
- 2=25–29
- 3=30–34
- 4=35–39
- 5=40–44
- 6=45–50
- 7=51–60
- 8=60+

D2. What is your religious affiliation?

- 1=Christianity
- 2=Islam
- 3=Hindu
- 4=Traditional African religion Other (Specify)

D3. How do you describe your current marital status?

- 1=Single
- 2=Married
- 3=Separated/Divorced
- 4=Widowed
- Other (Specify)

D4. Which ethnic community are you affiliated to?

CLOSE INTERVIEW

ANNEX B. POLITICIAN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE—MEN

Interview Date

Respondent Name/ID CODE

Constituency /ID CODE

County

This survey seeks to gather the views of men in politics with regard to women's political participation and leadership in Kenya. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
2. Which political party did you use to run for office in the last elections?

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

3. How many years have you been active in politics?
 - 1=Less than 5
 - 2=5–10
 - 3=10–20
 - 4=Over 20
4. a) How many times have you vied for elections?
 - 1=Once
 - 2=Twice
 - 3= Thrice
 - 4= More than three times

b) Which political offices have you contested? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

 - 1=MCA
 - 2=MP
 - 3=Senator
 - 4=Governor
5. a) Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
 - 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q6

b) (If Yes) What leadership positions have you held? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=MCA
- 2=MP
- 3=Senator
- 4=Governor
- 5=Party branch
- 6=Party national
- Other (Specify)

6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?

- 1=Inspired by political role model
- 2=To gain power
- 3=To keep power in family after death
- 4=To uphold family tradition
- 5=Voter persuasion
- 6=Replace deceased relative
- Other (Specify)

7. a) Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q8a

b) (If Yes) What is the nature of this support? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Cash
- 2=Campaign materials
- 3=Waiver of nomination fees
- Other (Specify)

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

- 1=Yes>Skip to Q8a
- 2=No>Continue

d) (If No) What are the determinants of party support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Gender affirmative action
- 2=Candidates' contribution to the party
- Other (Specify)

8. a) Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any other ways?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q9

b) What does the party offer in the way of support? (MULTIPLE RESPONSE POSSIBLE)

- 1=Training
- 2=Campaign secretariat
- 3=Opinion polls
- Other (Specify)

c) Is this support distributed evenly across candidates?

- 1=Yes>Skip to Q9
- 2=No>Continue

d) (If Yes) What are the determinants of party support for particular candidates? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Gender affirmative action
- 2=Candidates' contribution to the party
- Other (Specify)

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

9. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Women have low self-confidence
- 2=Lack of political experience
- 3=Lack of financial resources
- 4=Lack of family/community support
- Other (Specify)

10. a) Does your party have any measures in place to recruit women as candidates?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q11

b) What are these measures? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Waiver of nomination fees
- 2=Training for female candidates
- 3=Women friendly party structures
- 4=Funds for women candidates
- Other (Specify)

c) Have these measures led to an increase in the number of women standing as candidates?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

11. Do you support such measures to increase the number of women in elected positions?
- 1=Yes
 - 2=No
12. a) Do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—for example, as Party Leader, Parliamentary Committee Chair?
- 1=Yes>Skip to Q13
 - 2=No>Continue
- b) (If No) What are the main reasons for this, in your view? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
13. a) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what roles are women given responsibility for? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Youth issues
 - 2=Gender issues
 - 3=Children's issues
 - Other (Specify)
- b) When women are appointed to leadership positions, what issues do they prioritize? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Economic empowerment
 - 2=SGBV
 - 3=Other (specify)
14. a) Is there a women's wing in your political party?
- 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q15
- b) (If Yes) What is the main role of the women's wing? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Gender issues in the party
 - 2=Party mobilization
 - 3=Fulfil a legal requirement
 - 4=Enhance party's image
 - Other (Specify)
- c) To what extent can the women's wing give input on the party platform?
- 1=None
 - 2=Very little extent
 - 3=Limited extent
 - 4=High extent
 - 5=Very high extent

d) Can the women's wing suggest political candidates?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

15. a) Do women have representation in the party's National Executive Committee?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q16

b) (If Yes) What kinds of positions do they hold?

- 1=Chairperson
- 2=Secretary General
- 3=Treasurer
- 4=Elections board member
- 5=Head of women's wing
- 6=CEO
- Other (Specify)

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

18. a) Do women voters face violence, intimidation, or harassment when seeking to cast their ballot?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q19

b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Physical assaults
- 2=Prevented from leaving the house to vote
- 3=Threat to self and/or family
- 4=Destruction of property and livelihood
- 5=Online harassment
- 6=Harassment by opponent's supporters
- Other (Specify)

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Hired goons
- 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
- 3=Opponent
- 4=Opponent's supporters
- 5=Law enforcement officers
- Other (Specify)

- d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to cast their ballots?
- 1=Yes
 - 2=No
19. a) Do women candidates face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?
- 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q20
- b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Physical assaults
 - 2=Prevented from leaving the house to vote
 - 3=Threat to self and/or family
 - 4=Destruction of property and livelihood
 - 5=Online harassment
 - 6=Harassment by opponent's supporters
 - Other (Specify)
- c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Hired goons
 - 2=Militia (institutionalized gangs)
 - 3=Opponent
 - 4=Opponent's supporters
 - 5=Law enforcement officers
 - Other (Specify)
- d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to be elected?
- 1=Yes
 - 2=No
20. a) Do women leaders face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
- 1=Yes>Continue
 - 2=No>Skip to Q21
- b) (If Yes) What form do these attacks take? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)
- 1=Non enabling environment
 - 2=Discriminatory practices
 - Other (Specify)

c) Who are the main perpetrators? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Fellow male legislators
- 2=Fellow female legislators
- 3=Rules of parliament (formal/informal)
- Other (Specify)

d) Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

21. a) Are existing laws sufficient for addressing violence, intimidation, and harassment?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

b) To what extent are these laws enforced?

- 1=Not at all
- 2=Very little extent
- 3=Limited extent
- 4=High extent
- 5=Very high extent

c) Does your party have any policy in place to deal with this problem?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q22

d) To what extent is this policy enforced?

- 1=Not at all
- 2=Very little extent
- 3=Limited extent
- 4=High extent
- 5=Very high extent

22. a) Are other measures needed to address this problem?

- 1=Yes>Continue
- 2=No>Skip to Q23

b) (If Yes) Who should be responsible for stopping these acts and holding perpetrators accountable? (MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE ALLOWED)

- 1=Law enforcement agencies
- 2=Party disciplinary organs
- 3=IEBC
- 4=Political Parties Dispute Tribunal
- 5=Judiciary
- Other (Specify)

IMPACT OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

23. Do men and women have equal voice and influence in political debates in Kenya?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

24. Are men and women equally effective as leaders in Kenya?

- 1=Yes
- 2=No

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

D1. In which of these age brackets do you belong:

- 1=18–24
- 2=25–29
- 3=30–34
- 4=35–39
- 5=40–44
- 6=45–50
- 7=51–60
- 8=60+

D2. What is your religious affiliation?

- 1=Christianity
- 2=Islam
- 3=Hindu
- 4=Traditional African religion
- Other (Specify)

D3. How do you describe your current marital status?

- 1=Single
- 2=Married
- 3=Separated/Divorced
- 4=Widowed
- Other (Specify)

D4. Which ethnic community are you affiliated to?

CLOSE INTERVIEW

ANNEX C. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

I. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - WOMEN POLITICIANS

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
 - Which county are you from?
 - What ethnic community do you belong to?
 - What is your religion?
 - What is your marital status?
2. What is your political party?
3. How many years have you been active in politics?

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

4. Have you ever contested as a candidate in elections?
What was your experience?
5. Have you ever held a formal leadership position in politics?
What was your experience?
6. What was your motivation for getting involved in politics?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

7. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?
How has affirmative action affected you?
8. How was your political campaign funded?
9. What support did you get from your party?
Does the party give the same support to every candidate?

10. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like?

How does it compare to that of men?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

11. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

12. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

13. When women are appointed to leadership positions, what roles are they given responsibility for?

14. What institutional support do women receive after they have been elected?

15. How have you been involved in the women's caucus in Parliament?

How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?

16. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

Explain.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

17. Have you ever experienced any violence as a woman candidate?

If so:

Give examples.

- Who were the main perpetrators of these acts?
- How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?

18. Have you ever witnessed other women candidates being subjected to violence?

If so:

Give examples.

- Who were the main perpetrators of these acts?
- How did experiencing these acts affect your willingness to participate in politics?

19. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

Give examples.

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances of being elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones and why?

21. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment at their political work?

Give examples.

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which types and why?

RECOMMENDATIONS

22. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

23. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

2. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - MEN POLITICIANS

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

1. What is your current political position?
 - Which county are you from?
 - What ethnic community do you belong to?
 - What is your religion?
2. What is your political party?
3. How many years have you been active in politics?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

4. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

Do you support affirmative action as a measure to promote women in politics? How?

What types of women tend to benefit from affirmative action in Kenya? Why?

5. How do candidates finance their campaigns in Kenya?

6. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like?

How does it compare to that of men?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

8. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

If not, what are the main reasons for this, in your view?

Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

Explain.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted?
- What types and why?

Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

RECOMMENDATIONS

12. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya?
13. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

3. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women’s participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

1. What is your political party?

WHICH COUNTY ARE YOU FROM?

WHAT IS YOUR GENDER?

WHAT ETHNIC COMMUNITY DO YOU BELONG TO?

WHAT IS YOUR RELIGION?

2. What is your current position in the party?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN PARTY MEMBERS

3. In general, there are fewer women than men who join political parties. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?
4. Does your party have any special initiatives to attract women members?
If so, do these differ in any way from efforts to attract male members?
If so, how and why?
5. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?

Explain.

6. Is there a women's wing in your political party?

If so, what is the main role of the women's wing?

7. Do women have representation in the party's National Executive Committee?

Explain.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

8. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

How and why?

9. Does your party provide any financial support to its candidates?

Explain.

10. Does your party help candidates with their campaigns in any way other than finances?

Explain.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

11. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

12. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

Explain.

13. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

How do their experiences compare to those of men?

Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

14. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

15. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

RECOMMENDATIONS

16. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

17. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

4. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - ELECTORAL OFFICIALS

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

1. What is your role in the electoral process?

What is your gender?

What was your duty station?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN VOTERS

2. Do women register to vote at the same rate as men?

Explain.

3. Do women turn out to vote at the same rate as men?

Explain.

4. Are polling stations equally accessible to women and men?

Explain.

5. Are women able to cast their votes in a free, secret, and secure manner?

Explain.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

6. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

Do political parties respect the affirmative action requirements?

What does the electoral management body do, if anything, to ensure affirmative action compliance?

Based on what you have observed, what types of women tend to benefit from gender affirmative action in Kenya? Why?

7. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

8. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women voters to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

9. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

10. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women election workers to face violence, intimidation, or harassment?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's ability to facilitate and/or observe the electoral process?

If so, how?

11. Does the electoral management body monitor and/or respond to incidents of gender-based violence during elections?

If so, what are the details of these interventions for men and women?

What is the impact, if any, of these interventions?

RECOMMENDATIONS

12. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

13. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

5. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - WPPL EXPERTS, INCLUDING WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 60 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

- What is your gender?
- Which county are you from?
- What ethnic community do you belong to?
- What is your religion?

1. How are you involved in issues related to women's participation in politics and leadership?

2. How many years have you been active in this field?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN CANDIDATES

3. What impact has affirmative action had on the number of women contesting as candidates in Kenya?

Do you support affirmative action as a measure to promote women in politics? How?

What types of women tend to benefit from affirmative action in Kenya? Why?

4. What sort of financial support, if any, do women receive for their campaigns?

5. Do parties help women candidates with their campaigns in ways other than financial?

6. What does engagement of women candidates with the media look like?

How does it compare to that of men?

7. Do civil society organizations provide any resources or support to women candidates?

Explain.

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN LEADERS

8. In general, there are fewer women than men in elected political positions. In your view, what are the main reasons for this?

9. After they are elected, do women have the same opportunities as men to take on positions of political leadership—e.g., as party leaders, parliamentary committee chairpersons, or cabinet ministers?

10. Are there any forms of institutional support for women after they have been elected? (Examples might be training, mentorship, or provided with staff.)

11. Is there a women's caucus in Parliament?

How effective has it been in advancing gender equality?

12. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?

Explain.

Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?

BARRIERS AND OPPORTUNITIES: WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

13. In many countries, women are very active participants in civil society. In your view, is this also true in your country?

What are the key barriers to women's civil society participation?

Do civil society organizations engage women with diverse backgrounds?

14. Are there any powerful women's organizations in civil society in Kenya? Give examples.

If so, what are their particular areas of focus?

Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?

What kinds of barriers do they face in getting women's voices heard?

15. Do women serve as leaders of civil society organizations not specifically focused on women's empowerment? Name some of such CSOs.

If so, what types of organizations do they lead?

Have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?

16. Are there any official women's organizations connected to the government?

If so, name some.

If so, have they been successful in getting women's voices heard?

17. Thinking about women in civil society more broadly, are there opportunities for women in civil society to inform government decision-making?

If so, are there official channels for communicating with and influencing the work of the government?

How effective are these channels for reflecting the voices of women in civil society?

18. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to advance women's civic and political rights? Give three examples of these.

If so, do these organizations mainly focus on women as voters, candidates, or leaders?

What types of activities do they engage in to promote WPPL?

What impact, if any, have these activities had on WPPL in Kenya?

19. Are there any civil society organizations that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights? Give examples.

If so, what kinds of organizations are these?

How vocal and effective are their efforts in restricting WPPL in Kenya?

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN POLITICS

20. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women candidates to face violence, intimidation, or harassment on the campaign trail?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women's chances to be elected?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

21. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women leaders to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women’s ability to exercise their political functions?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

22. Based on what you have observed, is it common for women in civil society—including women human rights defenders—to face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

- Who are the main perpetrators?
- Do these attacks affect women’s ability to participate in civil society?
- Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types and why?

RECOMMENDATIONS

23. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya?

24. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

6. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - DONORS AND IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women’s participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

How is your organization involved in issues related to women’s participation in politics and leadership in Kenya?

1. What is your gender?
2. What is your role within the organization?

DONOR AND PARTNER ACTIVITIES

3. What kind of WPPL programming has your organization supported in Kenya?

Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?

How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?

4. In the course of your work on WPPL in Kenya, have you ever worked directly with other [DONOR/PARTNER]?

If so, can you provide some details on these activities?

How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?

5. If you didn't work directly with [DONOR/PARTNER], did you ever encounter or hear about their WPPL activities?

If so, can you provide some details on these activities?

What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?

6. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in Kenya?

If so, can you provide some details on these activities?

What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

7. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?

What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?

Do they work together to advance WPPL?

If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?

8. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?

What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?

LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in Kenya?

Have donors/partners focused adequately on these barriers?

In your view, which interventions have been most effective?

In your view, which interventions have been least effective?

10. Based on your experiences, what more could [DONOR/PARTNER] and other donors/partners do in this space?

In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?

11. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

12. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

7. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE - USAID STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This interview is part of a larger project that seeks to understand women's participation in politics and leadership in Kenya. We are particularly interested in hearing about your experiences and views on barriers and opportunities for women in politics. The interview should take 30 minutes to complete, but if your time is more limited, I can prioritize my questions [sample priority questions marked in bold].

BACKGROUND

What is your gender?

1. What is your role at USAID?

2. How long have you been working at USAID and elsewhere on issues related to WPPL?

DONOR AND PARTNER ACTIVITIES

3. What kinds of WPPL programming has USAID supported in Kenya?

Why did the organization choose these particular priority areas?

Can you provide some details on specific activities?

How effective was this programming in terms of its design and impact?

Does the Mission have any additional programming planned related to WPPL?

4. Are there any activities by other donors or implementers that you think have been effective in advancing WPPL in Kenya?

If so, can you provide some details on these activities?

What was your impression of this programming in terms of its design and impact?

STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

5. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions interested in advancing WPPL?

What strategies do they favor for advancing WPPL?

Do they work together to advance WPPL?

If so, can you give some examples of joint activities?

6. In Kenya, who are the main actors, stakeholders, or institutions that oppose advancing WPPL?

What strategies do they use to oppose advancing WPPL?

LESSONS LEARNED AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7. Based on your experiences, what are the major barriers to advancing WPPL in Kenya?

Have donors/partners focused adequately on these barriers? In your view, which interventions have been most effective?

In your view, which interventions have been least effective?

8. Based on your experiences, what more could USAID do in this space?

In your view, what are some promising opportunities for action?

Are there any partnerships that you think would be particularly fruitful?

9. What kind of policies do you think are needed to advance women's political participation and leadership in Kenya?

10. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

ANNEX D: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE WOMEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME], who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women's political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone's privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. [If all participants agree to recording, continue.] Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don't have to wait to be called on to talk; please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal "airtime" so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it's not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played. For example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in civil society in Kenya?
 - Do they mainly participate in women's organizations, or are women active in organizations and movements not specifically focused on gender issues?
 - Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?
 - How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?
 - Where do women's groups tend to get their funding?
 - Does the age of a woman affect how active she can be? How does the activity of women less than 35 years old compare with the activity of women older than 35 years?
 - Does the marital status of a woman affect how active she can be? How does the activity of married women compare with the activity of unmarried women?
3. Do women in Kenya have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?
 - Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women's civic and political rights?
 - How effective are they in achieving these goals?

4. Are there ways for women in civil society to influence government decision-making?
 - Are there specific channels for communicating with and influencing government actors?
 - Does the government listen to women’s groups, or does it basically ignore them?
5. Do women in civil society—including women human rights defenders—face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?

If so:

 - What do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women’s ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in civil society—and politics more generally—in Kenya?
7. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

2. WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME], who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. [If all participants agreed to recording, continue]. Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk; please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played—for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in political parties in Kenya?
 - How important are the women's sections of political parties?
 - What is their primary purpose?
 - What type of support, if any, do they receive from the party?
 - Do the women's sections play any role in candidate selection?
 - Do the women's sections have any influence over the party platform?
 - Does the age of a woman affect how influential she can be over the party platform? How does the ability to influence the party platform by women less than 35 years old compare with that of women older than 35 years?
 - Does the marital status of a woman affect how influential she can be over the party platform? How does the ability of married women to influence the party platform compare with that of unmarried women?
3. Are party meetings equally accessible to women and men?
 - At what kinds of locations are party meetings held?
 - At what times of the day are party meetings usually scheduled?
 - Does the party offer childcare for members during its meetings?
4. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?
 - Do they encourage women to run for office?
 - Do they provide funding to women candidates?
 - Do they provide training to women candidates?
 - Do they place women in electable positions or nomination slots?
5. Do women in political parties face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
If so:
 - What do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women's ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in political parties—and politics more generally—in Kenya?
7. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

3. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE: LOCALLY ELECTED WOMEN (OPTIONAL)

NOTE FOR RESEARCH TEAM

Organizing focus groups with locally elected women may only be possible in some countries, given prohibitive costs and travel times. The team may find that the easiest option is to bring participants to the capital city for a day, rather than traveling out to multiple distant places.

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME], who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. [If all participants all agreed to recording, continue.]

Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk; please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played—for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women in local politics in Kenya?
 - Why did you decide to run as a candidate in local elections?
 - Did anyone particularly encourage you to contest as a candidate?
 - Did anyone particularly discourage you from contesting as a candidate?
 - How important is local politics as an entry point for women leaders, compared to men?
 - Does the age of a woman determine the importance of local politics as an entry point for them as leaders? How does local politics as an entry point for women leaders compare for women less than 35 years old and for women older than 35 years?
 - Does the importance of local politics as an entry point for women leaders vary with the marital status of a woman? How?

3. What support, if any, does your party give to women candidates?
 - Do they encourage women to run for office?
 - Do they provide funding to women candidates?
 - Do they provide training to women candidates?
 - Do parties tend to support certain types of women candidates over others? What types? Why?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as local leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? What types and why?
 - Do women have equal chances as men to be elected as Members of the County Assembly?
5. Do women in local politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women’s ability to participate in local politics?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? What types? Why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in local politics—and politics more generally—in Kenya?
7. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

4. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE: WOMEN MEDIA WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME] who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. [If all participants all agreed to recording, continue.] Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk; please jump in when you have something to say. Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” so that everybody talks for about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let's go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played—for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. What is the media environment like for women candidates and leaders?
 - Do women in politics receive the same level of media coverage as men in politics?
 - Are women politicians treated differently than men in terms of the content of media coverage?
3. To what extent is there disinformation and/or hate speech against women in politics, either in the traditional media or on social media platforms?
 - Can you give some examples?
 - What is the impact of this hate speech and disinformation?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? Which ones? Why?
5. Do women in politics face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women journalists' ability to participate in their work?
 - Are some types of women journalists more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
6. Do women journalists face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political reporting?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women journalists' ability to participate in their work?
 - Are some types of women journalists more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones? Why?
7. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women journalists greater voice in—political journalism and politics more generally—in Kenya?
8. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)

5. FOCUS GROUP GUIDE: MEN IN CIVIL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

Thank you very much for meeting with us today. My name is [MODERATOR NAME] and this is my colleague [ASSISTANT NAME], who will be taking notes throughout our discussion. The focus group seeks to gather views on barriers and opportunities for women’s political participation and leadership in Kenya. The discussion should take approximately 60 minutes.

In order to protect everyone’s privacy, we will not include your name or any identifiable information in any of our reports. We also ask that anything we discuss during our group talk remains here with us. We will be recording this session so we can write an accurate report of what was said. [If all participants all agreed to recording, continue.] Before we start, we want to share some basic ground rules:

- You don’t have to wait to be called on to talk; please jump in when you have something to say.
- Talk one at a time.
- Our goal is equal “airtime” so that everybody talks about the same amount.
- Say what you believe, even if it’s not what everyone thinks. There are no wrong answers, just different opinions, and we want to hear them all.

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Without sacrificing anonymity, let’s go around the circle and briefly share the political roles we have played—for example, social movement activist, election candidate, party member, etc. Do not mention your specific organization or party names. This is just to get a sense of the perspectives in the room.
2. How active are women compared to men in civil society in Kenya?
 - Do they mainly participate in women’s organizations?
 - Do women serve as leaders of any major civil society organizations?
 - How representative are civil society organizations of the diversity of women in the population?
 - Where do civil society groups in Kenya tend to get their funding?
3. Do women in Kenya have the same opportunities as men to express their political opinions?
 - Are there any actors that actively seek to repress women’s civic and political rights?
 - How effective are they in achieving these goals?
4. Based on what you have observed, are women taken seriously as political leaders?
 - How do their experiences compare to those of men?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be taken seriously? Which ones? Why?

5. Do women in civil society—including women human rights defenders—face violence, intimidation, or harassment for their political work?
 - If so, what do these attacks look like?
 - Who are the main perpetrators?
 - Do these attacks affect women’s ability to participate in civil society?
 - Are some types of women more likely than others to be targeted? Which ones and why?
6. What kind of policies do you think are needed to give women a greater voice in civil society—and politics more generally—in Kenya?
7. What strategies should be developed and implemented to achieve them? (These could include actions by, for example, the government, political parties, or civil society, among others.)