

Report on the rapid assessment of the status of women political leadership in Kisii and Nyamira counties

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The logo for Echo Network Africa features a stylized, circular arrangement of red dots of varying sizes, creating a sense of movement and connectivity. The dots are arranged in a pattern that resembles a spiral or a cluster of particles.

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations	iv
Acknowledgements	vi
Executive Summary	1
1.0 Introduction	8
2.0 Background	9
2.1 Status of Women’s political leadership in Kenya	9
2.2 Nyamira County	9
2.3 Kisii County	11
3.0 Methodological Principals and Approach of the Rapid Assessment	13
3.1 Methodology	13
3.1.2 Stakeholder Mapping	14
3.1.3 Primary Data Collection	15
4.0 Findings of the Rapid Assessment	18
4.1 Overview of Findings from Kisii and Nyamira Counties	18
4.1.1 Patriarchy	18
4.1.2 Women’s Economic Empowerment	18
4.1.3 Violence Against Women	18
4.1.4 Women vying for political office	19
4.1.5 Women’s bargaining power in political parties	19
4.1.6 Discrimination through Affirmative Action	20
4.1.7 Awareness versus conviction to support women in political participation	21
4.1.8 Women emerging as strong leaders in other arenas	21
4.1.9 Women in County Assembly	21
4.1.10 Women in County Executive	21
4.1.11 Women in senior positions at the national level	22
4.2 Summary of Findings on the community survey undertaken on the Status of women in Political Leadership in Kisii and Nyamira Counties	23
4.2.1 Opinion on having men and women in leadership	23

4.2.2	Voting women in leadership positions other than the women representative	24
4.2.3	Reasons for not voting for women candidates	26
4.2.4	Things that need to be done for women to be elected into political leadership	27
4.2.5	Other positions respondents would elect a woman	29
4.2.6	Qualities of a women leader who respondents would elect	29
5.0	Recommendations and Conclusion	31
Annex 1	Summary Statistics on Characteristics of Respondents	32
Annex 2	Survey Questionnaire	36
Annex 3	Key Informant Interview Guide	38
Annex 4	Focus Group Discussion Guide	39
Annex 5	List of Key Informants	40
Annex 6	List of Suggested women leaders (Attached as separate Excel file)	41

Abbreviations

AfDB	African Development Bank
CA	County Assembly
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
DTF	Democracy Trust Fund
ENA	Echo Network Africa
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HBF	Heinrich Boell Foundation
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
JP	Jubilee Party
KNA	Kenya National Assembly
KNCCI	Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
MCA	Member of County Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NDI	National Democratic Institute
ODM	Orange Democratic Party
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank

List of Tables

Table 1: Administrative units, Nyamira County	9
Table 2: Electoral Units, Nyamira County	10
Table 3: Constituency population, Nyamira County	10
Table 4: Age distribution of the population, Nyamira County	11
Table 5: Electoral Units, Kisii County	11
Table 6: Constituency population, Kisii County	12
Table 7: Age distribution of the population, Kisii County	12
Table 8: County Division	14
Table 9: Stakeholder Mapping (Level of Influence and Interest)	14
Table 10: Counties, Sub counties and wards	16
Table 11: Number of women candidates sponsored by the main political parties	20
Table 11: Reasons why people don't vote for women	26
Table 12: What women need to do to be elected into political leadership?	27
Table 13: Important Qualities of a woman leader	29

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Dr. Jennifer Riria, PhD, EBS, MBS, HRH/GOODWILL AMB, ICON/HP Group Chief Executive Officer

Foreword

Kenya is one of the few countries in Africa considered to have a vibrant and progressive institutional, administrative and legislative frameworks, which, if implemented could bridge socio-economic and political inequalities that continue to bedevil the country. Specifically, there is no doubt that Kenya has enough instruments to deal with the persistent issue of poor representation by the female gender in political leadership. Civil Society, development partners and government actors who work in the area of leadership and governance have spent a significant amount of resources towards establishing crucial policy mechanisms, including the inclusion of a provision in the 2010 Constitution which states that “No more than two-thirds of those elected or appointed in public offices shall be of the same gender.”

Despite these efforts women continue to suffer election losses and numbers remain dismally low. Some Counties have not elected a single women to the competitive seats other than the affirmative or special gender positions of the Woman Member of the National Assembly (WMNA). In other words, if the position of the WMNA were non existent, some Counties would not have had a woman at any of the elective positions. In the 2017 General Elections, some dozen Counties did not elect women at the lowest electoral levels – the County Assembly. This is sad indeed.

This rapid survey sought to establish what has contributed to this poor performance by women who seek electoral positions. Kisii and Nyamira Counties were deliberately selected as pilots majorly because the two Counties are among those that historically do not elect women into political leadership. Additionally, the survey sought to establish from the electorate what qualities they would be seeking for in order to elect women and if indeed they would suggest names of women who fit their bill. In a sense, the survey is a disruptive way of selecting women who have some legitimacy from the electorate and whose capacity can then be built to enable them win elections.

Specifically, the survey sought answers to the following questions:

1. Why women in Kisii and Nyamira Counties do not present themselves for elective positions other than affirmative action seats;
2. Why the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira counties generally do not elect women (except for those running for affirmative action seats;)
3. What would motivate the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira to elect a woman to seats other than the affirmative action positions?; and,
4. Who are some of the women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties would willingly to elect if these women were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action positions.

ENA, through its Democracy Trust Fund (DTF) plans to use the results of the pilot to conduct similar surveys in all 47 Counties in order to develop a data base of women who potentially have the approval and are well known by the electorate. These data will then form the basis for selecting, training and equipping women to run for political office in future elections. Once in place, this pool of women will be better positioned to take up leadership in their respective sectors, thus creating a network of women leaders capable of tackling the myriad problems affecting the country.

Furthermore, building a critical mass of women leaders across the society divide will help demystify women's leadership away from being just political representation and hopefully create a society that is more receptive and supportive of women leaders at all levels. Lessons learnt from this pilot will be used to inform future programming and interventions that are more responsive to the aspirations and needs of both the electorate and the women. ENA is convinced that this bottom up selection approach combined with adequate and early capacity building for the identified women will contribute to greater numbers of women being elected into political positions in the two pilot Counties of Kisii and Nyamira but also in the whole country.

Caroline Kioko - HBF

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Executive Summary

Kenya is one of the few countries in Africa considered to have a vibrant and progressive institutional and legislative framework otherwise favourable to bridge the glaring forms of gender and other inequalities in the country. Perhaps, one would be right to conclude that, for now, Kenya has enough instruments to deal with the persistent issue of gender inequality in political leadership. Civil Society, development partners and government actors who work in the area of leadership and governance have spent a significant amount of resources towards establishing crucial policy mechanisms, like the inclusion of a provision in the 2010 Constitution which states that “No more than two-thirds of those elected or appointed in public offices shall be of the same gender.” In addition, there is evidence of massive investments in civic education and awareness on the need for bridging gender inequality in Kenya. Unfortunately, this has not fulfilled the desired outcomes.

In Africa, Kenya remains a “dwarf” in comparison to countries like Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Africa when it comes to the number of women in important positions of the country’s political leadership. Men still dominate the political scene. Arguably, the major problem lies in the patriarchal structures and practices embedded in many of Kenyan communities and the failure to ensure compliance with the laid out electoral codes of conduct by the institutions given that mandate.

Overall, no region in Kenya has managed to bridge the gender inequality gap in political leadership, but even then, the level and magnitude of inequality varies from one region to the other. Currently, there are 16 counties in Kenya that have more conspicuous inequalities than the rest. These include the two counties of focus of this rapid assessment — Nyamira and Kisii. As seen from the study, additional efforts are needed to dismantle patriarchal systems and attitudes that relegate women to lesser or no political roles. Furthermore, there is an imperative need to have more resources channelled towards building the capacities of women who are keen to venture into political leadership.

Research Objectives

The Democracy Trust Fund (DTF) is an initiative of Echo Network Africa (ENA). ENA hopes to accelerate the participation of women in leadership at all sectors of Society. DTF will provide mechanisms through which women seeking leadership positions will be prepared for effectively and successfully participate in democratic processes.

DTF received a grant from the Heinrich Boell Foundation (HBF) to undertake a rapid assessment of the status of women leadership in Kisii and Nyamira counties. The study sought to establish the following:

- Why women in Kisii and Nyamira Counties do not present themselves for elective positions other than affirmative action seats;
- Why the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira counties generally do not elect women except for those running for affirmative action seats; and
- Provide a list of women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties are willing to elect if they were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action seats.

Research Methodology

This rapid assessment began with desk research aimed at situating the work within the prevailing context. Various documents and reports were analysed. It is upon this basis, that the stakeholders and key informants were identified. A mixed method approach including a mini population survey, key informant interviews and focus group discussions

was carried out through field research in both Kisii and Nyamira Counties as well as targeting key informants who are based in Nairobi. In Kisii County, eight (8) sub counties and twenty-nine (29) wards were targeted while in Nyamira County, four (4) sub counties and thirteen (13) wards were covered in the assessment. The target group were both male and female respondents who were randomly picked from the 2 counties. A mini population survey was undertaken where 422 respondents were interviewed. 55.9 percent of these were male and 44.1 percent were women. The consultants also carried out key informant interviews, mainly targeting key opinion shapers from the two counties and professional individuals drawn from political parties, the media, County government employees, National government officials at the County, current and former Members of County Assembly and Parliament, training institutions and Civil Society representatives. One focus group discussion was undertaken in Kisii County, where attention was given in developing a case study of one of the wards, Machoge Basi, which is the only ward that has an elected woman MCA.

Findings of the Rapid Assessment

General findings

From the different conversations, it emerged that the people of both Kisii and Nyamira counties, have knowledge that it is important to have both men and women in political leadership. However the Abagusii culture, which is the dominant ethnic community in both counties is a deeply patriarchal society, where men assume a dominant position irrespective of status in society. For a woman in Abagusii land, venturing successfully into politics is an uphill task. Culturally, women have very little backing from their families and clan members. The Abagusii community believe that a man must always be 'on top of a woman,' a statement that was said over and over again during the interviews. The extent to which patriarchy is entrenched, was illustrated by one very deep quote by one of the leading scholars from the county – "Patriarchy is so deeply ingrained and culturally accepted, that women are only female biologically, but they are male socially". In other words, women, were acting as instruments of propagating male dominance alongside the men.

Speaking to women who have attempted the race, it emerges that the political terrain in both counties is quite harsh. As such, many women who dare to vie for political positions are viewed as aliens by both women and men in their communities. Women have to surmount great odds. They cited lack of financial and other logistical support; lack of training on the art of campaigning and developing a comprehensive manifesto amongst others. It also emerged that violence during campaigns was a key challenge. During elections, male opponents and their campaigners use very rudimentary tactics to discourage the women aspirants. For instance, one woman narrated how the male campaigners would make sexual advances at her hoping that if she gave in, they would use that relationship against her.

Overall, both women and men unanimously agree that the political parties have been a big let-down for women. Majority of the dominant political parties in both Kisii and Nyamira are led by men, and continue to favour male candidates.

i. Patriarchy

What has emerged clearly is that the Abagusii community is a deeply patriarchal society. It is a society where culturally men are considered superior to women. The cultural name for a wife for example, is 'kitchen' implying that the woman's principal role is in the kitchen. The common view is that a woman who ascends into political leadership would not have any respect for her husband. Other views indicated that a political woman, is synonymous to a morally loose woman. As such most respectable women, shy away from being associated with moral decadence, and therefore only a few are brave enough to make an attempt.

ii. Women's Economic Empowerment

It is interesting to note that in this very patriarchal society, women, are very strong minded. In the commercial sector, there was a very high participation of women observed. It was observed that women, were not only in the market selling food items, but quite a number of them were owners of some of the well-known public transport fleets, hardware shops and other businesses that are high investment businesses.

However drilling down a bit more, an interesting phenomenon emerged. Though women were quite prominent in business, they were facing a kind of economic disempowerment. As explained by one of our key informants who is a banker, women do not own land or other economic assets. So even where a woman business person is applying for a loan, the loan is actually taken by the man, who is her husband as he owns the collateral. She noted that in Kisii, they have some of the highest default rates amongst women debtors unlike other counties because in Kisii it is a man taking a loan on the back of a woman.

The situation is such that, even professional women are having their salaries channelled through their husband's accounts.

iii. Violence Against Women

Violence against women, came up as an issue facing women in the Abagusii community. It emerged that this was a big challenge. In the informal conversations, one gets the idea that there is a crisis of masculinity. The men feel that they have to constantly affirm their masculinity because they feel it is threatened. As such gender based violence is especially on the rise where women are breaking through in economic empowerment. This violence is not only propagated in the personal spaces but extends into public spaces. Electioneering, is one arena where women, are targeted and intimidated through violence. This violence takes the form of physical abuse, but also emotional and psychological abuse. In a society that silently condones violence as a form of safeguarding male supremacy, this further alienates the women political aspirants, and they receive little sympathy from society whether men or women.

iv. Women vying for political office

In view of the three points above, the question then begs, within such an environment, what are the chances that women, would make it. Have there been a few who have stuck out their necks to seek political leadership and failed? What have been their stories? It emerged that indeed women have tried to break these barriers imposed on them. In the 2017 elections, there were a total of 36 women and 18 women who vied for MCA seats in Kisii and Nyamira Counties respectively. However only 1 made it in each of the counties. It was incisive to note however that the ward in Kisii County that elected a woman, was actually doing so for the second time in a row, having been the only ward that elected a woman in Kisii County in 2013 (see case study). Speaking to women who have attempted the race, it emerges that the political terrain in both counties is quite harsh. Women have to surmount great odds. It also emerged that there have been very few programmes targeting to support women political aspirants through training, or logistical support. They therefore cited lack of financial resources, which affected their ability to run effective campaigns and thus limiting the extent to which they could popularise their agenda and their candidature.

v. Women's bargaining power in political parties

The assessment also revealed, that despite the legal and policy environment that places a demand on political parties to entrench gender equality in political processes. The political parties were not doing this. Digging deeper, it emerges that, though the players in political parties are fully conscious of the provisions of the law, they are in a game of political contest. As such, each political party has a principal objective of consolidating its base and power, by winning as many seats as possible. This then becomes the basis of political negotiation during the proverbial 'cake sharing' process. It therefore goes without saying that where the party is faced with a decision to field a female candidate who is not likely to win, and fielding a male candidate who has a better chance of winning, the party will field a male

candidate. Both Kisii and Nyamira counties demonstrated very little party loyalty, candidates seem to win based on their own strength rather than party strength.

Looking at the data, in both Kisii and Nyamira, it was identified that the major political parties were not sponsoring women candidates in big numbers. Both counties were opposition strongholds in the 2017 elections, however the main opposition parties fielded 8 women in total in Kisii out of the 36 who vied and only 3 in Nyamira, out of the 18 who vied.

Women who had vied also raised the issue of intimidation and back-lash from their male counterparts in the parties. Women who were vying for MCA positions especially actually cited bullying by male politicians in their parties who were vying for MP, Governor or Senator positions. This was because they were viewed as a threat, due to their closeness to the ground and the strategy was to cut them to size before they grow too big. Sexual harassment and what was termed as “sex for nomination” was also quite rampant, where women were asked to provide sexual favours in exchange for nomination into the party.

The women also explained that decisions on who will get party nomination was happening in boardrooms in Nairobi, rather than depending on the popularity of a candidate on the ground. As such, where a woman was seen as too popular and thus a threat, they were being convinced to step down in favour of a male candidate, with a promise to get a nomination or other position in the county. This state of patronage was disadvantaging women, as they are not a part of that boardroom negotiation. Where the woman refuses to comply, the party officials would actually wage a war to discredit them in their respective political ground.

Due to this frustration within the major political parties, women, were opting for the smaller parties, which have less prominence and are not well known on the ground. As such, they were starting from a disadvantaged position.

vi. Discrimination through Affirmative Action

It was also established, that though women, were now getting into the assembly through the affirmative action nomination top-up slots, they were still facing challenges in effectively engaging as political decision makers. In 2013 for example, the Nyamira Speaker of County Assembly had refused to swear-in the nominated MCAs, majority of whom were women for obvious reasons. He had to be compelled through a court decision. In May, 2018, the Kisii County Assembly passed a motion barring nominated MCAs from voting in the Assembly. This amendment to the standing orders, by its application was discriminating against women, who are in the majority as nominated MCAs. Through a court ruling, this was turned around earlier this year. Nominated MCAs are not viewed as legitimate representatives of the people, questions are raised by their elected counterparts as to who they represent, because representation is seen through the geographical lens only. They have even been referred to as flower girls, being used to push the governor’s agenda. In some cases, nominated MCAs are not being allowed to undertake development programmes in the wards they come from, because the elected MCA and MP view them as infringing in their space, and working against them.

It is therefore incisive to note, that even where, a constitutional provision provides a correcting mechanism against skewed decision-making and discrimination, there are other avenues that could be used to propagate inequality. As such, thinking through how to bring more women to the decision making table, should be done within a mechanism that protects their position, and guarantees them equal privileges and powers. Only in so doing, will we be able to reverse the culture of inequality and discrimination.

vii. Awareness versus conviction to support women in political participation

Despite the fact that the quantitative data, indicates that over 87% of the population at least agrees that women and men involvement in political leadership is equally important, the practise and deeply held sentiments suggests otherwise. This could be a case of knowledge contradicting conviction. Evidence suggests that because the Abagusii

population is by far and large an educated population, they have knowledge about the need for gender equality. What they lack is conviction towards the support of the same. Their cultural values and sentiments override that knowledge.

viii. Women emerging as strong leaders

As has been noted in a previous section, women in both Kisii and Nyamira counties are very forward in the business sector, specifically in the commercial sector. A second arena where women were leaving an indelible mark was in the church. It was observed that The Seventh Day Adventist and the Catholic Church, were the two religious denominations with the highest population, and seemingly most influential in the community. Women were evidently leading not necessarily on the pulpit, but in various committees in the church. In one of the churches, they indicated that they were in the process of building a new sanctuary, and the chairperson of the development committee, was a woman.

The executive in both counties had fulfilled the two thirds gender rule by nominating at least 3 women out of 10 into the County Executive Committee respectively. In the case of Chief Officers, Kisii had 40 percent women while Nyamira had no woman. The assessment was also able to identify women who have ascended to positions of prominence at the national level. Key amongst these being Hon. Millicent Omanga, the nominated Senator, the Chairperson of the Independent Police Oversight Commission, Mrs Anne Makori and the Chairperson of the Women in Business Forum within the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry Ms. Mary Nyachae.

Findings emerging from the mini survey

i. Opinion on having both men and women in leadership

The data revealed that over 87 percent of the respondents at least agreed that it is important to have men and women participating in political leadership. This is despite the fact that informal conversations revealed otherwise. This suggests that it is not a question of awareness on the need for gender equality, but rather a question of conviction. 49.5 percent of women strongly agreed with this position against 28.4 percent of men. This would suggest, that women, would support fellow women candidates more than their male counterparts. It's however useful to note that despite the fact that women make up over 52 percent of the population, this number power, is not translating to voting power. In the 2017 elections, there were a total of 36 and 18 women who vied for MCA seats in Kisii and Nyamira Counties respectively. However only 1 made it in each of the counties. It was fascinating to note that the ward that elected a woman in 2017 was the same that had elected a woman in Kisii County in 2013.

ii. Pattern of voting for women into political positions other than the Women Representative position

87.4 percent of the respondents in the two counties indicated that they had not voted for women while 12.6 percent indicated to have voted for women. This is in stark contrast to the percentage of those who say they at least agree that participation of women and men in leadership is equally important. With regard to the positions voted for, 53.1 percent of the respondents who voted for a women aspirant indicated that the women were vying for the Member of Parliament (MP), 30.6 percent for the Member of County Assembly while 16.3 percent for the Presidency.

iii. Reason for not voting for women candidates

When probed further as to the reasons why the residents of Kisii and Nyamira counties were not voting in women, a vast majority indicated that there were no suitable women candidates who presented themselves for elections. Other reasons, revolved around the personalities of women, their lack of experience in election processes and lack of a development record.

iv. What needs to be done for women to be elected into political positions

When asked what needs to be done for women to be elected into political leadership. Many suggestions were made. Most suggestions revolved around voter sensitization, voter education and civic education. A few suggested building the capacity of women candidates and supporting them. And some laid a demand on the women candidates to do more in their communities and by so doing attract a following.

v. Positions to which respondents are willing to elect women

Out of the respondents who indicated they would be willing to elect women candidates, only 6.1 percent indicated that they would vote for a woman president. 22.5%, 24.4%, 25.8% and 21.1% were willing to vote for women aspirants in Gubernatorial, Member of County Assembly, Member of Parliament and Senate positions respectively. It was therefore evident, that people were willing to vote for either a woman or man, but where the position is seen as very high ranking, they were less willing to vote in a woman.

vi. Qualities that are vital for a woman leader

A deeper look at the qualities that respondents consider vital for a woman leader reveals that they desire an effective leader by all standards; one who is visionary and one who would bring transformation. They therefore stated qualities such as honest, visionary, hardworking, and well-educated, amongst others.

vii. Women who could be elected as political leaders

Respondents identified women who they felt would be suitable women leaders. These were women perceived to have made a positive contribution in society, in their normal day to day life and careers e.g as teachers, community workers, business people etc. Some of these were those who had vied for political offices in the past.

Recommendations and Conclusion

The Rapid Assessment revealed some useful insights and in some instances even some contradictions with regard to the status of women's political leadership and the factors that are affecting the same.

It is evident that women face immense challenges in both counties, due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal nature of the society that scorns against women's engagement in politics. As such, though women have attempted to vie for elective positions, the performance has been dismal.

The community have examples of women, who are making positive contributions in society, who they consider as being suitable candidates for leadership. Some of these women who were suggested were women who had attempted to vie for political seats in the past, but many of them, were just ordinary women, doing ordinary things, but in a way that was touching the lives of people. This reinforces the assumption that leadership happens in everyday life, and as such, there is a need to draw a link between everyday leaders and political leaders.

Following the assessment the following recommendations have been made:

1. There is need for investment towards political and civic education in both Kisii and Nyamira Counties. While the public understand the role of duty bearers especially the elected leaders in determining the quality of public service delivery, this seems not to be aligned on the right-holders responsibility in participating in gender responsive, transparent and peaceful campaigns and voting. Political education should also be geared towards debunking gender biased stereotypes and the perception that women ascending to political positions change and negate their household roles as prescribed by the society.

2. While both Kisii and Nyamira may have few women in political leadership positions, there are very successful and respected women from the community in other leadership arenas. Consequently, profiling these women and highlighting their positive role in development would influence the interest towards bringing more women onboard in powerful positions. It would also begin to build a positive narrative on the capacity of women to advance in leadership.
3. Most respondents cited lack of suitable women candidates as the reason for not voting for women. These same respondents were however able to name a woman who they believed espoused good leadership qualities. A process that moves these women from the place of private leadership to the arena of public leadership, while being conscious not to ruin their reputation, would help change the face of women's political leadership in these counties. This includes surfacing these kind of women and empowering them to become viable political candidates
4. There is a need to drive demand and hold accountable institutions mandated to enhance gender equality compliant in public leadership especially in politics starting with political parties and their registration office
5. Supply side strengthening should also be considered. Women who have attempted to engage in politics in the past expressed strong need for strengthening their own capacities but are keen only on that support that is relevant and that takes cognisance of their differentiated needs and context. This involves capacity building on the whole spectrum of political leadership, logistical support, networking and access to information are some of the areas women candidates expressed requiring support.

1.0 Introduction

The Democracy Trust Fund (DTF) is an initiative of Echo Network Africa (ENA). ENA hopes to accelerate the participation of women in leadership at all sectors of Society. DTF will provide mechanisms through which women seeking leadership positions will be prepared for effectively and successfully participate in democratic processes.

DTF has received a grant from the Heinrich Boell Foundation (HBF) to undertake a rapid assessment of the status of women leadership in Kisii and Nyamira counties.

The rapid assessment was undertaken in August 2019, where a team of 2 consultants went to both counties to undertake the assessment.

This report documents in a systematic manner, the findings of the rapid assessment in line with the objectives that were set out by DTF.

The report is divided into five sections. The next section provides the background that informs the study, it sets out the Kenyan context with regard to women's political participation. It also provides the specific context in Kisii and Nyamira counties respectively.

Section 3 covers the rapid assessment methodology; it details the sampling frame and the sample size as well as expounding of the process of undertaking this rapid assessment.

Section 4 discusses the findings from the assessment, it gives an overview of what was realised from the study captured through key informant interviews and discussions with respondents. It then gives a detailed analysis of the survey results. Linked to this section

The last section gives recommendations and conclusions.

2.0 Background

2.1 Status of Women's political leadership in Kenya

Kenya's constitution is touted as one of the most progressive constitutions as far as promoting gender equality is concerned. In terms of political leadership, the constitution provides that no elective body shall have more than 2/3rds of those elected being of the same gender. This key provision is supported by other articles within the Constitution, and also supported by legislation regulating elections and political parties, judicial decisions, and complemented by a body of international treaties and conventions. Despite a very progressive constitutional dispensation, women, have yet to enjoy the benefits that are encapsulated in it. The not more than 2/3rds principle has not been realised in both the National Assembly and Senate. Part of the reason for this is that Parliament is yet to pass the required legislation that would provide the framework for achieving this principle.

The last general elections held in 2017, demonstrated that Kenya needs a working formula to achieve at least 33 percent representation of women in elective bodies. Whilst it was an improvement from what was witnessed in 2013, the numbers are still dismally low. 3 women governors and 3 women senators, were elected out of a possible 47 slots of each, this represents 6.4 percent. 23 women were elected as Constituency Members of Parliament out of 290 constituency seats, representing 7.9 percent, the position in the Kenya National Assembly is improved when you add the 47 County Women Representatives. 96 women were elected as Members of County Assembly out of 1430 available seats, representing 6.7 percent. In total, elected women represent 9.2 percent of total elected leaders. This is a far cry from what was aspired in the constitution. It is evident that a mechanism that corrects this situation will have to be developed. At the county level, a nomination mechanism has been implemented that ensures that where women have not come in through elections, top-up through nomination by the participating parties has ensured the not more than 2/3rds principle has been upheld.

Drilling down further into the counties, we find that there are 12 counties that did not elect a single woman into the county assembly, and as such all the women came in through nomination. These counties include: Kwale, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera, Isiolo, Embu, Kirinyaga, West Pokot, Samburu, ElgeyoMarakwet, Narok and Kajiado.

The nomination process also had some challenges, and as a result some 3 counties still don't meet the not more than 2/3rds principle, as they have fewer women than they should have. These include: Taita Taveta at 32 percent; Trans Nzoia at 31 percent and Narok at 32 percent. This indicates that even the top-up nomination process needs to be closely monitored as it could be abused.

2.2 Nyamira County

i. Political and Administrative Boundaries

Situated in the Western region of the country, Nyamira County covers an area of 899.4 km². The county borders Kisii, Homabay, Kericho and Bomet Counties. Administratively, the county is made up of 20 wards, spread across 5 sub counties; Nyamira South, Borabu, Nyamira North, Masaba North and Manga.

Table 1: Administrative units, Nyamira County

Sub county	Area in Km ²	Electoral Wards
Borabu	248.3	4
Nyamira North	219.3	5

Nyamira South	179.0	5
Masaba North	141.5	3
Manga	111.3	3

Source: Draft CIDP (2018-2022)

Borabu Sub County is the largest with an area of 248.3 km². Manga, on the other hand, is the smallest with a land area of 111.3km². Nyamira North and Nyamira South lead in the number of wards with 5 each while Manga and Masaba North, with 3 each, have the least.

Politically, the county is divided into 4 constituencies; West Mugirango, North Mugirango, Kitutu Masaba and Borabu. Each constituency is then subdivided into wards.

Table 2: Electoral Units, Nyamira County

Sub county/Constituency	Electoral Wards	Registered Voters (2017)
Kitutu Masaba	6	93,246
West Mugirango	5	76,392
North Mugirango	5	54,306
Borabu	4	54,909

Source: Draft CIDP (2018-2022)

Kitutu Masaba constituency has the highest number of wards and the highest number of registered voters in 2017 (93,246). On the other hand, North Mugirango, with 54,303, had the least number of registered voters in 2017 in Nyamira County.

In the 2017 general elections, Nyamira County, did not have a single woman vying for Constituency Member of Parliament or Senate, and elected only 1 woman MCA in Bokeira Ward of North Mugirango Constituency, out of the 18 women who presented their candidacy for various wards.

ii. Population Size and Composition

Based on data from the 2009 Population and Housing Census report, the county had a population of 598,252 in 2009. The figure consisted of 287,048 males and 311,204 females. With a projected annual growth rate of 1.83%, the population of Nyamira in 2018 was estimated to be 705,317 i.e. 338,418 males and 366,899 females.

Table 3: Constituency population, Nyamira County

Constituency	2009 (Census)	2018 (Estimated)	2022 (Projected)
Kitutu Masaba	199,136	234,775	252,438
West Mugirango	159,673	188,248	202,411
North Mugirango	122,353	144,045	154,882
Borabu	117,090	138,249	148,651
Total	598,252	705,317	758,382

Source: Draft CIDP (2018-2022)

By 2022, Bobasi is expected to be the most populous constituency with an estimated 252,438 persons. Borabu will have the least. The entire population of the county is projected to be around 758,382 persons by 2022. This will consist of 363,879 (48.0%) males and 394,502 (52.0%) females. These numbers are spread across the various age brackets as shown in the table below:

Table 4: Age distribution of the population, Nyamira County

Age Bracket	2018			2022		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0–14yrs	156,058	154,682	310,740	167,798	166,321	334,119
15-24yrs	67,589	79,176	146,765	72,674	85,133	157,807
25-34yrs	41,069	52,409	93,478	44,159	56,352	100,511
35-49yrs	40,460	45,298	85,758	43,504	48,706	92,210
50 and Above	33,243	35,334	68,577	35,745	37,991	73,736
Total	338,418	366,899	705,317	363,879	394,502	758,381

Source: Draft CIDP (2018-2022)

From the table, persons in the age brackets of 0-14 and 15-24 years will make up 44.1% and 20.8% respectively by 2022. Those of the age of 50 and above are expected to be the least at 9.7%.

iii. Socio-economic Profile

Like Kisii County, Nyamira’s economic backbone is agriculture. According to data from the county (Draft CIDP (2018-2022)), 90% of the population depend directly and indirectly on agricultural production and marketing. Furthermore, it provides 80% of the employment opportunities in the county. The main crops grown include maize, finger millet, sweet potatoes, vegetables, fruits, cassava and beans. Major cash crops include banana, avocado, coffee, tea and pyrethrum. Besides favourable climatic conditions that ensure rainfall that is reliable, well distributed and adequate, 85% of the soils in the county are red volcanic soils which are well-drained and fertile.

2.3 Kisii County

i. Political and Administrative Boundaries

Kisii County is one of the 47 devolved units in the Republic of Kenya. It is bordered by Narok, Nyamira, Homabay and Migori counties, covering an area of 1,317.5 km². The county has nine constituencies/sub-counties and 45 electoral wards as shown in the table below:

Table 5: Electoral Units, Kisii County

Sub county/Constituency	Area in Km ²	Electoral Wards	Registered Voters (2017)
Bobasi	240.5	8	89,310
South Mugirango	204.2	6	67,345
Nyaribari Chache	134.3	6	77,729
Nyaribari Masaba	161.9	5	59,064
Kitutu Chache South	104.4	5	59,017
Kitutu Chache North	123.8	4	50,665
Bonchari	127.0	4	52,624
Bomachoge Borabu	115.1	4	49,081
Bomachoge Chache	106.3	3	41,745

Source: Kisii County CIDP (2018-2022)

Bobasi Sub County is the largest in terms of area and also has the greatest number of wards (8). On the other hand, Bomachoge Chache has the least number of electoral wards (3) and is the smallest in land area.

In the 2017 general elections, not a single woman presented her candidature for any of the Constituency Member of Parliament seats. One woman had initially expressed an interest in the Senate seat, but pulled out before the Jubilee primaries through negotiated democracy to support another candidate. Of the 36 women who vied from various ward seats, only 1 woman was elected.

ii. Population Size and Composition

Data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), shows that the county had a population of 1,152,282 in 2009. This number was composed of 601,818 females and 550,464 males. With an annual growth rate of 2%, the population in the year 2018 was estimated to be 1,379,532, with 659,025 and 720,507 being males and females respectively.

Table 6: Constituency population, Kisii County

Sub county	2009 (Census)	2018 (Estimated)	2022 (Projected)
Bobasi	190,074	227,559	246,513
South Mugirango	159,049	190,416	206,275
Nyaribari Chache	142,389	170,470	184,669
Kitutu Chache South	132,131	158,189	171,365
Nyaribari Masaba	122,070	146,144	158,316
Bonchari	114,615	137,219	148,648
Bomachoge Borabu	107,199	128,340	139,030
Kitutu Chache North	103,869	124,353	134,711
Bomachoge Chache	93,530	111,975	121,302
Total	1,152,282	1,379,532	1,494,429

Source: Kisii County CIDP (2018-2022)

From the 2009 Population and Housing Census and the projected estimates, Bobasi is the most populated sub county while Bomachoge Chache is the least. By 2022, the population of Kisii County is projected to be 1,494,429. This will be made up of 713,913 males and 780,516 females. By age, the highest and lowest population for 2018 were those between 0-14 (45.0%) and 50 and above years (9.4%) respectively. The same trend is expected to be maintained in 2022 according to projections.

Table 7: Age distribution of the population, Kisii County

Age Bracket	2018			2022		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-14yrs	311,915	30,9202	621,117	337,894	334,956	672,850
15-24yrs	135,455	159,079	294,534	146,737	172,328	319,065
25-34yrs	78,600	97,845	176,445	85,147	105,994	191,141
35-49yrs	72,475	85,435	157,910	78,511	92,550	171,061

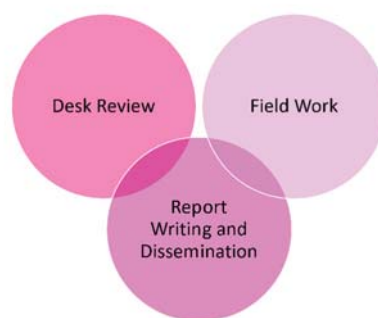
50 and Above	60,317	68,744	129,061	65,341	74,471	139,812
Total	659,025	720,507	1,379,532	713,913	780,516	1,493,429

Source: Kisii County CIDP (2018-2022)

iii. Socio-economic Profile

Agriculture is one of the main economic activities in the county. The main crops produced include bananas, maize, beans, sugarcane, potatoes, coffee, tea and horticultural crops. In addition, livestock farming is also practiced. The average farm sizes range between 0.5 and 4.5 acres of land. Only 40% of the people have title deeds as proof of land ownership.

Besides agriculture, mining of the Tabaka soapstone in the county is another key economic activity as it provides livelihoods to over seven thousand people directly and indirectly. The mineral is used to make carvings which are sold in Kenya and abroad. Other income generating activities include the sale of forestry and timber products, hospitality and trade. Overall, the informal sector is the largest wage earner for a majority of the residents of the county. Common activities include metal fabrication and repair, selling of second hand clothes, boda-boda and furniture making, among others.



Paraffin and electricity are the main sources of lighting at 56.9% and 29.5% respectively. For cooking, firewood is used by 76.3% of the households while 10.3% use charcoal. Liquefied petroleum gas use, stands at 6.8%. Compared to 2km in 2013, the average distance to the nearest water point in the county reduced to 1.5km in 2017.

3.0 Methodological Principals and Approach of the Rapid Assessment

The Objectives of the Rapid Assessment were to understand the following:

- Why women in Kisii and Nyamira Counties do not present themselves for elective positions other than affirmative action seats;
- Why the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira counties generally do not elect women except for those running for affirmative action seats; and
- Provide a list of women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties are willing to elect if they were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action seats.

3.1 Methodology

The Consultants applied a mixed method approach in undertaking this rapid assessment. This was undertaken in the two counties of Nyamira and Kisii. Kisii County is much bigger than Nyamira County, with nine Sub-Counties and forty five Wards. Nyamira has four Sub-Counties with twenty Wards. The approach entailed desk review of secondary data and collection of primary data, both quantitative and qualitative data.

Table 8: County Division

County	Constituencies	Wards
Nyamira	4	20
Kisii	9	45

3.1.1 Desk Review

The consultants collected and collated information from various relevant secondary sources. These included the Constitution of Kenya, The County Government Act, 2012, Kisii County Integrated Development Plan, Nyamira County Integrated Development Plan, Election data from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and reports from other actors, accessed online.

The aim of this process was to fully understand the context and identify the existing data and information available on the subject. The secondary data and information review, also aided in clarifying the critical assumptions that were guiding the research agenda.

3.1.2 Stakeholder Mapping

One of the outputs of the secondary data and information review was the stakeholder identification. Stakeholders will be identified and mapped according to their influence and interest. An interest-influence power matrix was developed mapping the different stakeholders. Stakeholders were categorised based on their influence profile. The key question here, is: are they able to influence the outcome of having more women in political leadership if they were in support of the idea. This is their relative power. The same was considered from the point of view of their numbers, their level of control of resources and the extent to which they have exerted influence on political outcomes in the past.

The engagement process for different categories of stakeholders was based on where they fit within this matrix. Due to the limitation of time, the assessment placed more emphasis on engaging stakeholders in the first, second and fourth quadrants.

Table 9: Stakeholder Mapping (Level of Influence and Interest)

High Influence & Low Interest	High influence & High Interest
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Men voters ii. Women voters iii. Youth voters iv. The SDA Church v. Political Party leaders vi. Governor vii. Male MCAs viii. Local chapter of KNUT ix. Market women associations x. Boda boda associations xi. Tea farmers cooperatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Current Women Representatives ii. Elected Women MCAs iii. County chapters of Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation

Low Influence & Low Interest	Low Influence & High Interest
i. County government staff	i. Women Aspirants
ii. Local business community	ii. Civil Society Organisations supporting women's civic engagement
	iii. National Government Department for Gender and Youth officers at the county
	iv. County Government Gender Department Officers
	v. Nominated women MCAs

3.1.3 Primary Data Collection

(a) Development of Tools

As a first step, the consultants developed the field work tools through a participatory process with DTF staff. A mini survey questionnaire (see Annex 2) was developed. This was used to carry out the mini survey in both counties. For the administration of the survey, the tool was uploaded onto the mobile based application Magpi+.

A key informant interview guide (See Annex 3) was also developed. This was used during the Key Informant Interview sessions, which were held mainly with institutional respondents.

(b) Quantitative data collection

The quantitative data collection approach was aimed at eliciting numerical and quantifiable data, which was used to generate descriptive statistics. This was undertaken in the following stages:

- Determination of the sampling frame and sample size calculation.
- Enumerator's identification and selection.
- Training and survey questionnaire pre testing. The training focused on:
 - i. Understanding the objectives of the rapid assessment
 - ii. Sampling and sampling techniques
 - iii. Review of the data collection tools
 - iv. Pretesting
 - v. Understanding the data collection software and training on use
 - vi. Research Ethics
- Survey data collection and quality control.
- Data analysis and report writing. The data was analysed using SPSS and Excel and a report written detailing the findings.

Sampling Frame and Sample size

The rapid assessment targeted Kisii and Nyamira Counties. In Kisii County eight (8) sub counties and twenty-nine (29) wards were targeted while in Nyamira County, four (4) sub counties and thirteen (13) wards were targeted. The target group in all counties were randomly selected male and female residents from the 2 counties. The table below presents a detailed list of the counties, sub counties and wards.

Simple Random sampling was used to select the respondents of the survey, having stratified the study into Naymira and Kisii Counties and the respective sub-counties and wards. A total of 422 respondents were interviewed. 346 in Kisii County and 76 in Nyamira County. The table below presents a detailed list of the counties, sub counties and wards.

Table 10: Counties, Sub counties and wards

County	Sub county	Ward
Kisii	Bonchari	Bogiakumu
		Bomariba
		Riana
	South Mugirango	Bogetenga
		Moticho
		Tabaka
	Bobasi	Bassi Bogetario
		Bassi Central
		Bobasi Chache
		Masige East
		Masige West
		Sameta
	Nyaribari Masaba	Gesusu
		Masimba
	Bomachoge Chache	Boochi/Tendere
		Bosoti/Sengera
	Nyaribari Chache	Bobaracho
		Birongo
		Ibeno
		Keumbu
		Kiogoro
		Kisii Central
	Kitutu Chache North	Marani
		Sensi
	Kitutu Chache South	Bogeka
		Bogusero
		Kitutu Central
		Nyakoe
		Nyatieko

Nyamira	Borabu	Esise
		Kiabonyaru
		Makenene
	Kitutu Masaba	Gesima
		Kemera
		Magombo
		Manga
	North Mugirango	Bokeira
		Ekerenyo
	West Mugirango	Bogichora
		Bonyamatuta
		Nyamaiya
		Township

Mini Perception Survey

The consultants engaged enumerators who were from the local area. They were mainly university students or just recently graduated students from the university. Nine enumerators were engaged to carry out the mini survey in Kisii County and 4 enumerators in Nyamira County. The perception survey was undertaken using The Mobile Application Magpi. Magpi is simple and easy to learn and enumerators were trained on how to use it before they went to the field.

(c) Qualitative data collection

Qualitative data was captured to supplement the quantitative data. It is increasingly recognized that anecdotal evidence, brings rich meaning to what is presented in numbers. As such various approaches were used to capture this information. These included:

- Key Informant Interviews - Face-face and telephone interviews were undertaken with some of the key stakeholders including: Officers of the county government and county assemblies from the 2 counties; County Gender Officers and other national government staff of the counties; current elected women MCAs; some nominated women MCAs; Influential women from both counties; academics; members of political parties; representatives of media and civil society actors. A full list of all actors interviewed are included in *Annex 4*.
- Focus Group Discussions (FGDs): The consultants undertook one focus group discussions in Kisii County. This was in Machoge Basi, the only ward that has elected a woman in two consecutive election cycles. The focus group discussion had sub-county government staff and some members of the public from the ward.

Data Analysis and Review of findings

Standards data analysis processes were used to analyse the data. Specifically SPSS and Excel was used to analyse the quantitative data.



4.0 Findings of the Rapid Assessment

4.1 Overview of Findings from Kisii and Nyamira Counties

Nyamira and Kisii Counties, were originally one district, with the same ethnic group, the Abagusii. As such, though they are now 2 different counties, they are very similar in that the dominant ethnic community is the Abagusii and as such the culture and dominant societal views and values are similar.

Through the quantitative data and qualitative information, we've sought to ask ourselves, is it that women are not presenting themselves for political leadership, or are they being sifted out through the pipeline of political contest.

4.1.1 Patriarchy

What has emerged clearly is that the Abagusii community is a deeply patriarchal society. It is a society where culturally men are considered superior to women. The cultural name for a wife for example, is 'kitchen' implying that the woman's principal role is in the kitchen. In speaking to the average man on the street, their first response to the question of women's political leadership, was met with disdain. The notion that a woman can 'sit on the head' of a man, is taken as an abomination. The common view is that a woman who ascends into political leadership would not have any respect for her husband. Other views indicated that a political woman, is synonymous to a morally loose woman. As such most respectable women, shy away from being associated with moral decadence, and therefore only a few are brave enough to make an attempt.

The extent to which patriarchy is entrenched, was illustrated by one very deep quote by one of the leading scholars from the county – "Patriarchy is so deeply ingrained and culturally accepted, that women are only female biologically, but they are male socially". In other words, women, were acting as instruments of propagating male dominance alongside the men.

4.1.2 Women's Economic Empowerment

It is interesting to note that in this very patriarchal society, women, are very strong minded. In the commercial sector, there was a very high participation of women observed. It was observed that women, were not only in the market selling food items, but quite a number of them were owners of some of the well-known public transport fleets, hardware shops and other businesses that are high investment businesses.

However drilling down a bit more, an interesting phenomenon emerged. Though women were quite prominent in business, they were facing a kind of economic disempowerment. As explained by one of our key informants who is a banker, women do not own land or other economic assets. So even where a woman business person is applying for a loan, the loan is actually taken by the man, who is her husband as he owns the collateral. She noted that in Kisii, they had some of the highest default rates amongst women debtors unlike other counties because in Kisii it is a man taking a loan on the back of a woman.

The situation is such that, even professional women are having their salaries channelled through their husband's accounts.

4.1.3 Violence Against Women

Violence against women, came up as an issue facing women in the Kisii community. It emerged that this was a big challenge. In the informal conversations, one gets the idea that there is a crisis of masculinity. The men feel that they have to constantly affirm their masculinity because they feel it is threatened. As such gender based violence is especially on the rise where women are breaking through in economic empowerment. This violence is not only propagated in the personal spaces but extends into public spaces. Electioneering, is one arena where women, are

targeted and intimidated through violence. This violence takes the form of physical abuse, but also emotional and psychological abuse. In a society that silently condones violence as a form of safeguarding male supremacy, this further alienates the women political aspirants, and they receive little sympathy from society whether men or women.

4.1.4 Women vying for political office

In view of the three points above, the question then begs, within such an environment, what are the chances that women, would make it. Have there been a few who have stuck out their necks to seek political leadership and failed? What have been their stories? It emerged that indeed women have tried to break these barriers imposed on them. In the 2017 elections, there were a total of 36 women and 18 women who vied for MCA seats in Kisii and Nyamira Counties respectively. However only 1 made it in each of the counties. It was incisive to note however that the ward in

MACHOGE BASI WARD, KISII COUNTY

Machoge Basi Ward, is a unique ward. This Ward, is a ward of many gender equality champion stories. It is the single ward that has elected a woman as an MCA in 2 subsequent election. In 2013, they elected Hon Catherine Maanzi and in 2017, they replaced her with Hon Rosa Orondo. Hon. Catherine Maanzi is currently a nominated MCA. This same ward, has a woman chief; and out of the 20 nominated village elders 8 are women. Machoge Basi looks forward to producing the first Governor of Kisii County, one day in the future!

Kisii County that elected a woman, was actually doing so for the second time in a row, having been the only ward that elected a woman in Kisii County in 2013 (see text box for case example). Speaking to women who have attempted the race, it emerges that the political terrain in both counties is quite harsh. Women have to surmount great odds. It also emerged that there have been very few programmes targeting to support women political aspirants through training, or logistical support. They therefore cited lack of financial resources, which affected their ability to run effective campaigns and thus limiting the extent to which they could popularise their agenda and their candidature.

4.1.5 Women's bargaining power in political parties

The assessment also revealed, that despite the legal and policy environment that places a demand on political parties to entrench gender equality in political processes. The political parties were not doing this. Digging deeper, it emerges that, though the players in political parties are fully conscious of the provisions of the law, they are in a game of political contest. As such, each political party has a principal objective of consolidating its base and power, by winning as many seats as possible. This then becomes the basis of political negotiation during the proverbial 'cake sharing' process. It therefore goes without saying that where the party is faced with a decision to field a female candidate who is not likely to win, and fielding a male candidate who has a better chance of winning, the party will field a male candidate. Both Kisii and Nyamira counties demonstrated very little party loyalty, candidates seem to win based on their own strength rather than party strength.

Looking at the data, in both Kisii and Nyamira, it was identified that the major political parties were not sponsoring women candidates in big numbers. Both counties were opposition strongholds in the 2017 elections, however the main opposition parties fielded 8 women in total in Kisii out of the 36 who vied and only 3 in Nyamira, out of the 18 who vied.

Table 11: Number of women candidates sponsored by the main political parties

Political Party	Nyamira	Kisii
FORD	1	2
Jubilee	1	5
KANU	3	4
Maendeleo chap chap	1	1
Narc	2	2
ODM	1	2
Wiper	1	2
People's Democratic Party	2	2
Party of Democratic Unity	1	1
Amani National Congress		2
Kenya Social Congress		3

Women who had vied also raised the issue of intimidation and back-lash from their male counterparts in the parties. Women who are vying for MCA positions especially, actually cited bullying by male politicians who were vying for MP, Governor or Senator positions. This was because they were viewed as a threat due to their close proximity to the ground, and the strategy was to cut them to size before they grow too big. Sexual harassment and what was termed as “sex for nomination” was also quite rampant, where women were asked to provide sexual favours in exchange for nomination into the party.

The women also explained that decisions on who will get party nomination was happening in boardrooms in Nairobi, rather than depending on the popularity of a candidate on the ground. As such, where a woman was seen as too popular and thus a threat, they were being convinced to step down in favour of a male candidate, with a promise to get a nomination or other position in the county. This state of patronage was disadvantaging women, as they are not a part of that boardroom negotiation. Where the woman refuses to comply, the party officials would actually wage a war to discredit them in their respective political ground.

Due to this frustration within the major political parties, women, were opting for the smaller parties, which have less prominence and are not well known on the ground. As such, they were starting from a disadvantaged position.

4.1.6 Discrimination through Affirmative Action

It was also established, that though women, were now getting into the assembly through the affirmative action nomination top-up slots, they were still facing challenges in effectively engaging as political decision makers. In 2013 for example, the Nyamira Speaker of County Assembly had refused to swear-in the nominated MCAs. He had to be compelled through a court decision. In May, 2018, the Kisii County Assembly passed a motion barring nominated MCAs from voting in the Assembly. This amendment to the standing orders, by its application was discriminating against women, who are in the majority as nominated MCAs. Through a court ruling, this was turned around earlier this year. Nominated MCAs are not viewed as legitimate representatives of the people, questions are raised by their

elected counterparts as to who they represent, because representation is seen through the geographical lens only. They have even been referred to as flower girls, being used to push the governor's agenda. In some cases, nominated MCAs are not being allowed to undertake development programmes in the wards they come from, because the elected MCA and MP view them as infringing in their space, and working against them.

It is however incisive to note, that even where, a constitutional provision provides a correcting mechanism against skewed decision-making and discrimination, there are other avenues that could be used to propagate inequality. As such, thinking through how to bring more women to the decision making table, should be done within a mechanism that protects their position, and guarantees them equal privileges and powers and protection of the same. Only in so doing, will we be able to reverse the culture of inequality and discrimination.

4.1.7 Awareness versus conviction to support women in political participation

Despite the fact that the quantitative data, indicates that over 87% of the population at least agrees that women and men involvement in political leadership is equally important, the practise and deeply held sentiments suggests otherwise. This could be a case of knowledge contradicting conviction. Evidence suggests that because the Abagusii population is by far and large an educated population, they have knowledge about the need for gender equality. What they lack is conviction towards the support of the same. Their cultural values and sentiments override that knowledge.

4.1.8 Women emerging as strong leaders in other arenas

As has been noted in a previous section, women in both Kisii and Nyamira counties are very forward in the business sector, specifically in the commercial sector. A second arena where women were leaving an indelible mark was in the church. It was observed that The Seventh Day Adventist and the Catholic Church, were the two religious denominations with the highest population, and seemingly most influential in the community. Women were evidently leading not necessarily on the pulpit, but in various committees in the church. In one of the churches, they indicated that they were in the process of building a new sanctuary, and the chairperson of the development committee, was a woman.

4.1.9 Women in County Assembly

In the current County Assembly of Kisii, there are 22 women nominated to the County Assembly through the affirmative action top up as is provided for in the County Government Act, 2012. A few women have managed to get leadership positions in the County Assembly, as follows:

- Claire Obino – Chair of the Trade Committee
- Rispah Ong'uti – Vice Chair budget Committee
- Karen Magara – Chairperson of Kisii Women Political Caucus

In Nyamira there are 13 women nominated into the County Assembly out of 16 total nominations and 1 woman elected out of 20 elected MCAs.

4.1.10 Women in County Executive

In the County Executive Committee effort has been made to fulfil the two thirds gender rule in both Kisii and Nyamira counties.

In Kisii County, 3 out of the 10 County Executive Members are women as follows:

- Sarah Omache – CECM Health
- Skitter Wangechi Ocharo – CECM Energy, Water, Environment and Natural Resources. This is her second

terms as CECM

- Edina Kangwana – CECM Trade and Industry

With regard to Chief Officers in Kisii county again, there are 6 female chief officers out of a total of 15, which translates to 40%, well above the two thirds threshold. These are distributed as follows:

- Dr. Nyokangi Doris Nyangoge – Education, Labour and Manpower Development
- Ms. Ochoki Beatrice Moraa – Water Services
- Ms. Mokaya Naomi Nyanchama - Agriculture & Cooperate Development
- Ms. Nyaseti Carolyne Mosoba – Culture, Sports, Youth and Social Services
- Ms. Abuki Alice Manyange - Medical Services
- Ms. Mogaka Biliah – Trade and Industry

It is interesting to note, that the health docket is led entirely by women.

The County Public Service Board of Kisii County, is currently under recruitment. However, the current sitting members are 5, and the acting chairperson who is also the sitting vice chairperson is a woman.

However when we get to director level in Kisii County, there are only 3 women, out of over 20 directors. Women tend to be in large numbers in the lower cadre positions.

In Nyamira County, an almost similar situation is replicated, where there are 3 women nominated to the position of County Executive Member out of 10. As follows:

- Gladys Momanyi – Education and Youth Empowerment
- Peris Mong'are – Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries
- Jackline Momanyi – Finance and Planning

However at the time of this report, Jackline Momanyi had resigned. It was found that there was not a single female Chief Officer in the County. A situation that is in gross violation of the constitutional provision of the two thirds gender rule. At Director level, there are again only 3 female directors out of over 15 directors. Even in Nyamira, it was observed that women tended to be mainly concentrated in the lower cadre positions.

The County Public Service Board in Nyamira has a female CEO, and has one female board member out of the 5 members.

4.1.11 Women in senior positions at the national level

At the National level, Abagusii women have not been left behind. One of the nominated senators Hon Millicent Omanga is from Kisii County. This demonstrates that she played a key role in the Jubilee party, which is evidenced by her nomination.

Other women who were identified through this assessment are:

- The Chairperson of the Independent Police Oversight Commission is Mrs Anne Makori, who was an aspirant for the MCA position for Bokeira Ward in Nyamira County.
- The Chairperson of the Women in Business Forum of the Kenya Chamber of Commerce and Industry is from Kisii County, Ms Mary Nyachae.

This suggests that despite the fact that women from Abagusii were facing great odds, they have the resilience to push hard and break the barriers that may be holding them back.

4.2 Summary of findings on the mini population survey

4.2.1 Opinion on having men and women in leadership

Overall, 37.7% and 49.8% of the respondent in the two counties strongly agreed and agreed respectively that it is important for both men and women to be in leadership. 9.2% disagreed while 3.3% did not care whether it was men or women in leadership.

Disaggregation of the data by the two specific counties further strengthens the overall opinion with most (50% and 49.7% of respondent in Nyamira and Kisii counties respectively) of the respondents in the two counties agree that it is important to have both men and women in leadership. This was closely followed by 32.9% and 38.7% of respondents in Nyamira and Kisii counties respectively who strongly agreed with this ideology. In Nyamira County, 11.8% disagreed with the ideology while 5.3% did not care. In Kisii County, 8.7% disagreed while 2.9% did not care. While it cannot be conclusively said the respondents in one county or the other strongly support equality in leadership, the analysis indicated that the acceptance level of women leadership was more open in Kisii than in Nyamira County.

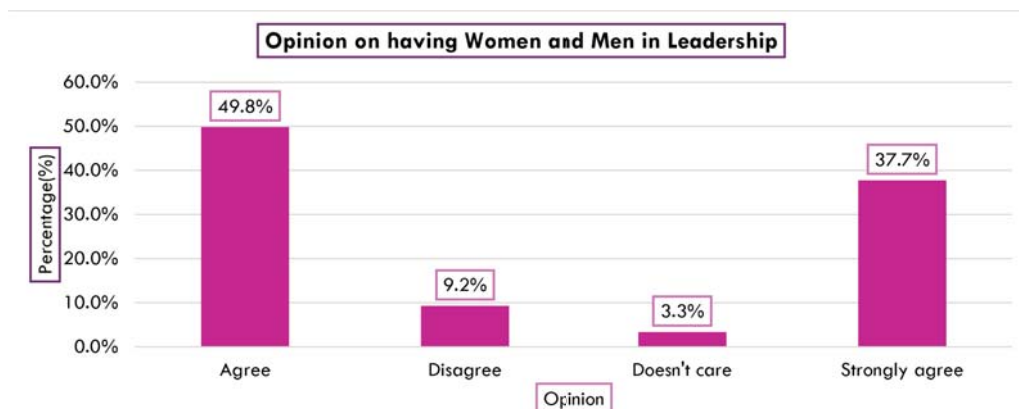


Figure 8: Opinion on having women and men in leadership

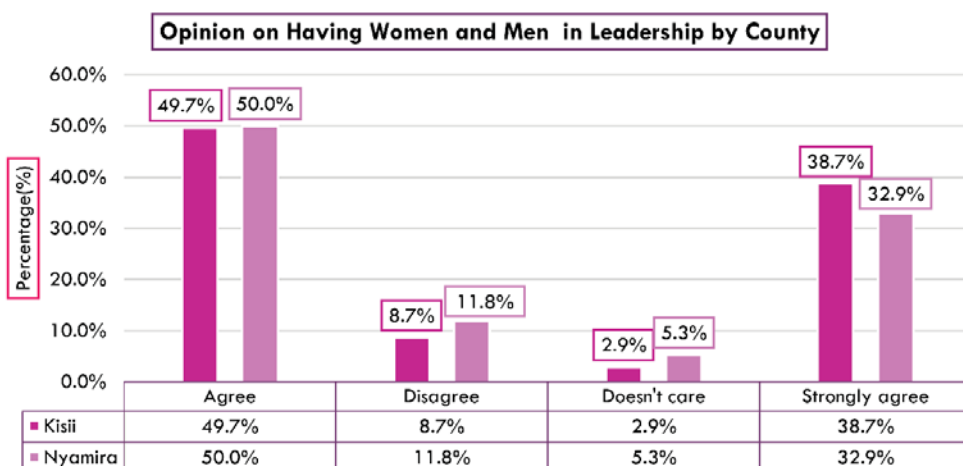


Figure 9: Opinion on having men and women in leadership by county

On the other hand, an analysis on the opinion on leadership based on gender indicated that 49.5% of women strongly agreed that women and men should participate in leadership, against only 28.4% of men who did so. Moreover,

45.7% and 53% of women and men agreed to the opinion respectively with 2.2% and 14.8% of women and men respectively disagreeing that it was important for both gender to be involved in leadership. 2.7% and 3.8% of women and men did not care. See figure 10 below. As such, it is evident that women, see the need for gender equality more than men. This would suggest, that women, would support fellow women candidates. It's however useful to note that despite the fact that women make up over 52 percent of the population, this number power, is not translating to voting power. This suggests that there could be other factors that hinder women from voting for fellow women.

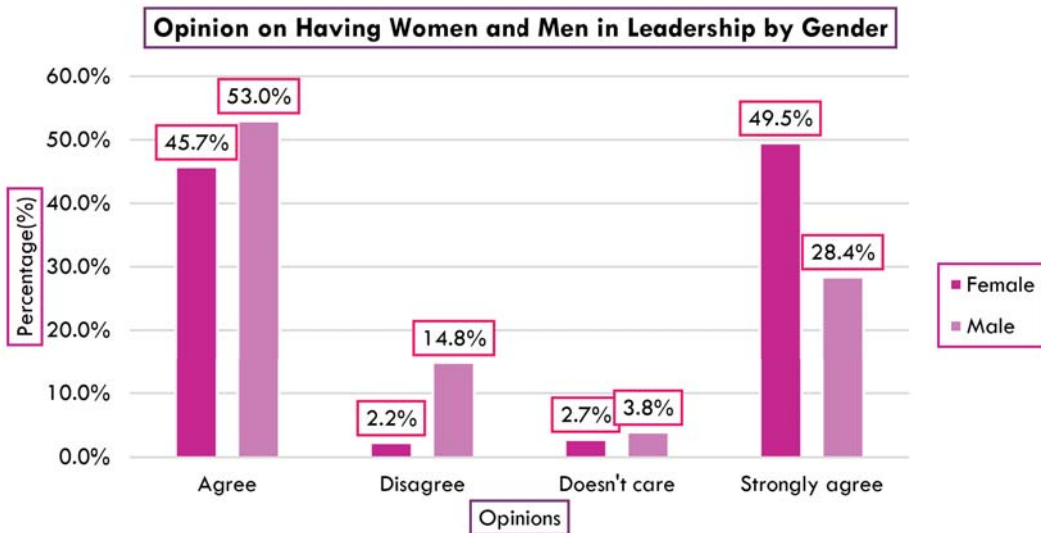


Figure 10: Opinion on having women and men in Leadership by gender

4.2.2 Voting women in leadership positions other than the women representative

The rapid assessment sought to establish if indeed male and female respondents had voted for women leadership in the last general election over and above the County Women Representative position which is reserved for women. Overall, 87.4% of the respondents in the two counties indicated that they had not voted for women while 12.6% indicated to have voted for women. This is in stark contrast to the percentage of those who say they at least agree that participation of women and men in leadership is equally important. It is incisive to note that though a vast majority of the population believe that both women and men should be involved in political leadership, this was yet again not translating to their voting pattern. This further reinforces the analysis, that head knowledge is not where the gap is. The gap emerges in conviction, and setting aside of deep held cultural beliefs.

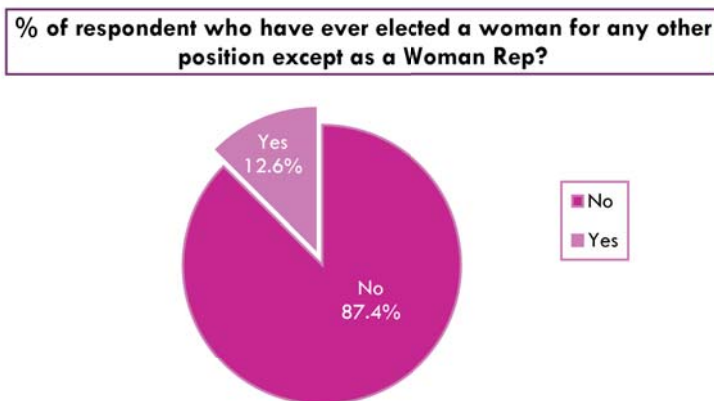


Figure 11: Percentage of respondents who have ever voted a women aspirant for any other position except as a women rep.

In Kisii County, 87.3% of the respondent had not voted a woman in any of the five (5) electoral positions while 12.7% indicated to have voted for at least one woman. In Nyamira County, 88.2% had not voted for a women aspirant while 11.8% responded to having voted. The study went further to investigate if there was any change in the trends based on gender. Interestingly, the trends remained the same with majority of men (85.6%) and women (89.8%) indicating that they had not voted for women aspirants in any other position besides the affirmative action position that is provided by the constitution, as indicated in figure 12 and 13 below.

Figure 12: Have you ever voted a women for any other position except as a woman representative?

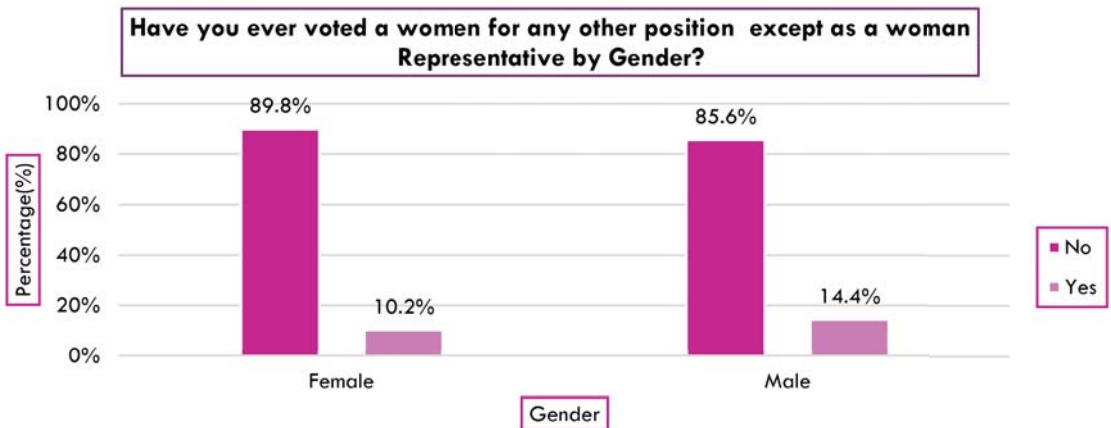


Figure 13: Have you voted a women for any other position except as a women representative? Responses disaggregated by Gender.

As far as the positions in which women were voted for were concerned, 53.1% of the respondents who voted for a women aspirant indicated that the women were vying for the Member of Parliament (MP), 30.6% for the Member of County Assembly while 16.3% for the Presidency.

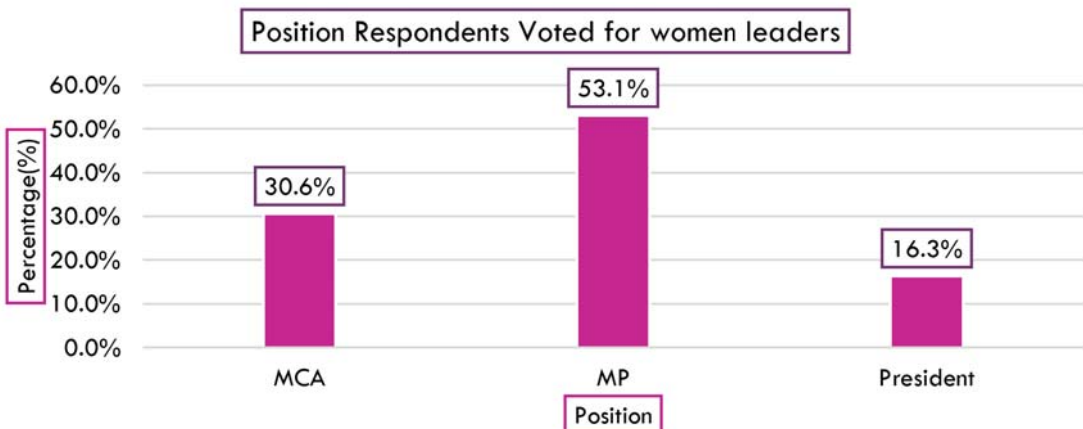


Figure 14: Positions respondent voted for women aspirants

The analysis tried to establish if there was any significant variation, influenced by level of education. There was no meaningful correlation between level of education and the decision on voting for a woman candidate. As such it further reinforces the analysis that knowledge on gender equality is not the key problem hindering women from ascending into political leadership positions.

4.2.3 Reasons for not voting for women candidates

When probed further as to the reasons why the residents of Kisii and Nyamira counties were not voting in women, a vast majority indicated that there were no suitable women candidates who presented themselves for elections. There is a famous saying that women have to work twice as hard to get half the recognition that men get. Evidently, women are being subjected to very high and harsh standards to justify their political ambitions, much more than men.

There is also one reason that sounded quite interesting. Some respondents claimed that women, were not making it through the election process, because many of them were being convinced to trade their elected position for a nomination or other position thereafter. So basically women, were forfeiting their ambitions, for the sake of the ambitions of their male counterparts.

Other reasons, revolved around the personalities of women, their lack of experience in election processes and lack of a development record.

Table 11: Reasons why people don't vote for women

Reason	Frequency
No suitable woman candidate has shown interest	11
No woman vied for any political seat	7
I don't believe in women's leadership	2
Am not a registered voter	1
Are easily convinced by men to drop their aspirations	2
They don't articulate issues affecting locals	1
Don't have appealing agendas	1
Guidance from the then elected leaders hinder the decision of the voter to make a choice When there is no strong leadership strength from the aspirant	1
Most women are feminists	1
People think women can't make it	1
Perceptions of women cannot make in leadership	1
Some are not serious since when given posts, they tend to forget about their people from the community they come from	1
Their campaign strategy is not good	1
They are not allowed by their husbands	1
They are not as brave as men	1
They didn't vie	1
They do not vie for position Their views may not be heard by men in assemblies	1

They don't believe in themselves and are opposed by fellow women	1
They don't prove to have a clear agenda	1
They don't show great potential	1
They love working independently	1
Women are not born leaders	1
Women are not given equal opportunity	1
Women cannot withstand pressure and they are fearful	1
Women don't support other women	1

4.2.4 Things that need to be done for women to be elected into political leadership

When asked what needs to be done for women to be elected into political leadership. Many suggestions were made. Most suggestions revolved around voter sensitization, voter education and civic education. A few suggested building the capacity of women candidates and supporting them. And some laid a demand on the women candidates to do more in their communities and by so doing attract a following.

Table 12: What needs to be done for women to be elected into political leadership?

Characteristics	Frequency
Sensitization	9
Voter education to change stereotypes towards women leadership	3
Civic education	3
Capacity building	2
A woman who has capability of leading people like their male counterparts.	1
Appeal to the public	1
Assurance that they can do better	1
Change of perception on the role of women in leadership posts.	1
Change the attitude of voters to women	1
Change the mindset that women can also lead outside the home	1
Convincing that women can do better in leadership	1
Discipline and the way a woman carries herself in a community	1
Financial support and culture change which neglects women in leadership.	1
Funding of women to do campaign	1
Hardworking	1
Have a positive mind for women	1
If a woman is able to lead by being firm	1

If they turn out in large number	1
Influence from the female leaders	1
It will depend on the respect the woman gives	1
Ladies to stop pride of undermining the less privileged women in the society	1
More empowerment	1
Need of civic education on stereotype on women leadership	1
Nothing at all	1
One who has shown interest in politics.	1
Proven impact on development	1
So that the woman leader can take our complains to the national government	1
Supporting a woman who comes out to ask for votes	1
The women should help their fellow community women	1
They have to be inspired by women's previous works	1
They need to be positive about gender equality and believe in women	1
They need to see how hardworking the woman is and has been before	1
They need to tell what they can do for the citizen in terms of employment	1
Through their actions	1
To be at least a social worker within a community.	1
To demonstrate that women can do better work more than men	1
Transparency	1
Try convincing others on the good women can do	1
When she has performed well in a previous working place before seeking the leadership role	1
Women need to be supportive to each other	1
Women should show that they can work together	1
Women to be oriented to develop clear vision for the country	1

4.2.5 Other positions respondents would elect a woman

While respondents who had voted for women aspirants had done so for only three positions (President, MP and MCA), respondents indicated to be comfortable to vote for women in all the five electoral positions. Notably, only 6.1% of the respondents were comfortable to vote a woman as a presidential candidate as indicated in figure 15 below. 22.5%, 24.4%, 25.8% and 21.1% were willing to vote for women aspirants in Gubernatorial, Member of County Assembly, Member of Parliament and Senate positions respectively.

It was therefore evident, that where people are willing to vote for either a woman or man, it really doesn't matter the position, they would be willing to vote a woman, to any position. However, when considering leadership for positions that are considered very high ranking, fewer people are willing to consider a woman.

4.2.6 Qualities of a women leader who respondents would elect

A deeper look at the qualities that respondents consider vital for a woman leader reveals that they expect a woman leader to be a good leader by all standards, one who is visionary and one who would bring transformation. They therefore stated qualities such as honest, visionary, hardworking, and well educated, amongst others. It is also worth mentioning that qualities such as humble, good listener, respectful, caring were also stated. These tend to be very feminine qualities of a leader. It is in very rare circumstances that these more soft qualities would be expected of men. Men and women bring different perspectives in leadership, and their unique gendered predisposition makes them complementary in many ways. As such, there is an opportunity to harness these differences and position women slightly differently, playing into their strengths rather than their weaknesses.

Table 13: Important Qualities of a woman leader

Qualities	Frequency
Honest	6
Visionary leader	6
Be educated	5
Hard working	4
Humble	3
Faithful	2
Inspiring	2
Transparency	2
Trustworthy	2
A confident woman	1
A development oriented leader who minds about welfare of common wananchi	1
A good listener	1
A leader who can support other women	1
A woman with development records in a society	1

Able to communicate clearly	1
Aggressive	1
Aggressive in letting things done and done well	1
Ambitious	1
Attentive	1
Be hardworking	1
Caring	1
Committed	1
Corruption free	1
Courageous	1
Enlightened with laws	1
Friendly and ready to work with the community	1
Generous on both genders	1
Good leader	1
Good relationship with the public and voters	1
Hospitable	1
Integrity	1
Learned woman	1
Passionate	1
Persistent	1
Reasonable	1
Resilient	1
Respectful	1
Should care about voters needs	1
Strong	1
Strong ideologies	1
Supportive	1
Vocal	1

5.0 Recommendations and Conclusion

The Rapid Assessment revealed some useful insights and in some instances even some contradictions with regard to the status of women's political leadership and the factors that are affecting the same.

It is evident that women face immense challenges in both counties, due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal nature of the society that scorns against women's engagement in politics. As such, though women have attempted to vie for elective positions, the performance has been dismal.

It also emerged that the community has knowledge on the importance of having both men and women participate in political leadership, but their beliefs and culture were hindering them from supporting this idea with conviction. Fortunately, this narrative is changing which is reflected by the fact that majority of respondents said they believe in gender equality in leadership and close to a third would vote a woman in an elective position including for the presidency, gubernatorial and senatorial positions. This affirms the new emerging approach of engaging men and boys as an important strategic resource to deal with gender inequality.

The community have examples of women, who are making positive contributions in society, who they consider as being suitable candidates for leadership. Some of these women who were suggested were women who had attempted to vie for political seats in the past, but many of them, were just ordinary women, doing ordinary things, but in a way that was touching the lives of people. This reinforces the assumption that leadership happens in everyday life, and as such, there is a need to draw a link between everyday leaders and political leaders.

Additionally, the fact that many women who were interviewed demonstrated interest to see more women in political leadership, underscores opportunity that organised grassroots women groups plays and can play in changing the narrative and how potential investment in that area would reap benefit.

Following the assessment the following recommendations have been made:

1. There is need for investment towards political and civic education in both Kisii and Nyamira Counties. While the public understand the role of duty bearers especially the elected leaders in determining the quality of public service delivery, this seems not to be aligned on the right-holders responsibility in participating in gender responsive, transparent and peaceful campaigns and voting. Political education should also be geared towards debunking gender biased stereotypes and the perception that women ascending to political positions change and negate their household roles as prescribed by the society.
2. While both Kisii and Nyamira may have few women in political leadership positions, there are very successful and respected women from the community in other leadership arenas. Consequently, profiling these women and highlighting their positive role in development would influence the interest towards bringing more women onboard in powerful positions. It would also begin to build a positive narrative on the capacity of women to advance in leadership.
3. Most respondents cited lack of suitable women candidates as the reason for not voting for women. These same respondents were however able to name a woman who they believed espoused good leadership qualities. A process that moves these women from the place of private leadership to the arena of public leadership, while being conscious not to ruin their reputation, would help change the face of women's political leadership in these counties. This includes surfacing these kind of women and empowering them to become viable political candidates.
4. There is a need to drive demand and hold accountable institutions mandated to enhance gender equality compliant in public leadership especially in politics starting with political parties and their registration office

- Supply side strengthening should also be considered. Women who have attempted to engage in politics in the past expressed strong need for strengthening their own capacities but are keen only on that support that is relevant and that takes cognisance of their differentiated needs and context. This involves capacity building on the whole spectrum of political leadership, logistical support, networking and access to information are some of the areas women candidates expressed requiring support.

Annex 1 Summary Statistics on Characteristics of Respondents

1.1 Target Respondents

The rapid assessment targeted to interview residents of Kisii and Nyamira counties, disaggregated by gender and representing the whole adult age spectrum. As such children were not interviewed. Of the respondents interviewed, 82% were from Kisii County while 18 % were from Nyamira County as presented in figure 1 below. The majority of respondent interviewed were from Nyari-bari Chache Sub County in Kisii County representing 28.4% while the lowest proportion of respondents interviewed were from Borabu Sub County in Nyamira County. Table 3 below presents the distribution of the respondents by the sub counties.

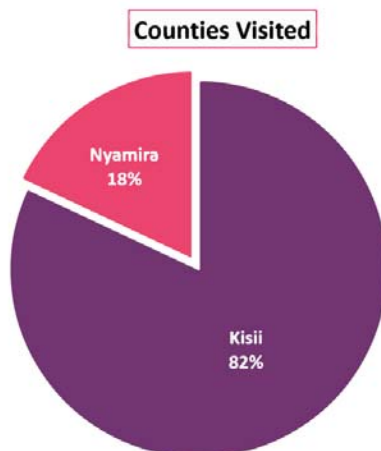


Figure 1: Respondents by Counties

Table 1A: Distribution of respondents by sub counties

County	Sub county	Sampled Respondents (Frequency)	Sampled Respondents (Percent)
Kisii	Bonchari	38	9%
	South Mugirango	68	16.1%
	Bobasi	29	6.9%
	Nyaribari Masaba	15	3.6%
	Bomachoge Chache	30	7.1%
	Nyaribari Chache	120	28.4%
	Kitutu Chache North	16	3.8%
	Kitutu Chache South	30	7.1%
		346	82%

Nyamira	Borabu	3	0.7%
	Kitutu Masaba	35	8.3%
	North Mugirango	7	1.7%
	West Mugirango	31	7.3%
		76	18%

1.2 Respondents' Gender Disaggregation

55.9% of all the respondent interviewed were men while 44.1% were women. 55.8% and 56.6 percent of respondents in Kisii and Nyamira Counties were men respectively.

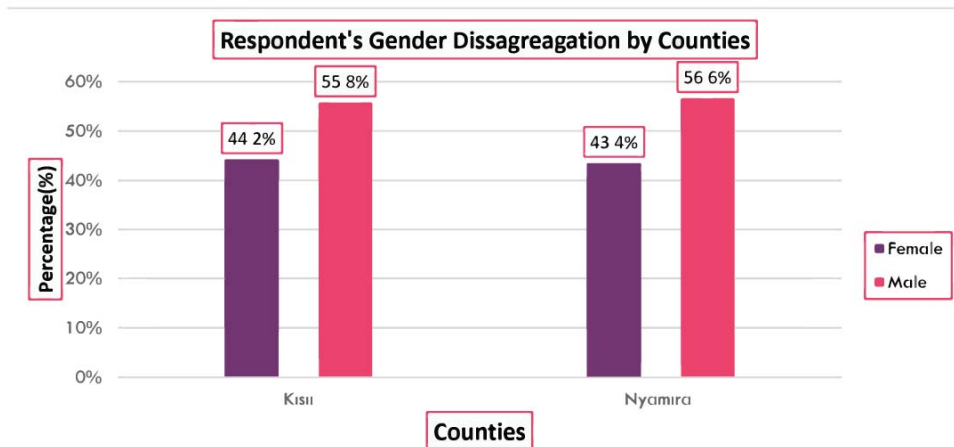


Figure 2: Gender disaggregation by target Counties

1.3 Respondents' Age

The majority of respondents (36.5%) were between the age of 25-34 years. 28.9% were between 35-50 years, 20.4% were between 18-24 years while 14.2% were 50 years and above.

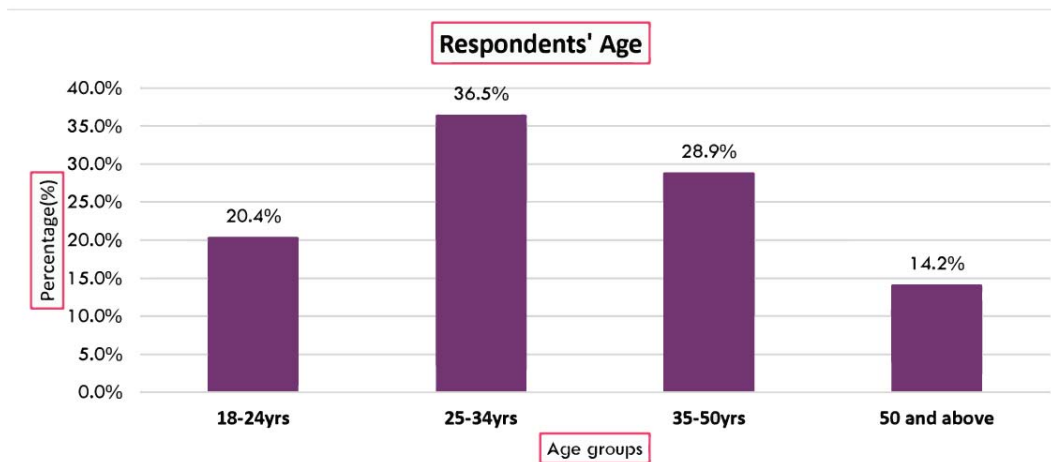


Figure 3: Respondents' age

1.4 Respondents' Highest Level of Education

39.8% of respondents indicated that they had attained secondary level education closely followed by 33.2% of respondents who indicated they had attained tertiary level education. 21.3% had attained primary level education while 5.7% had no formal education.

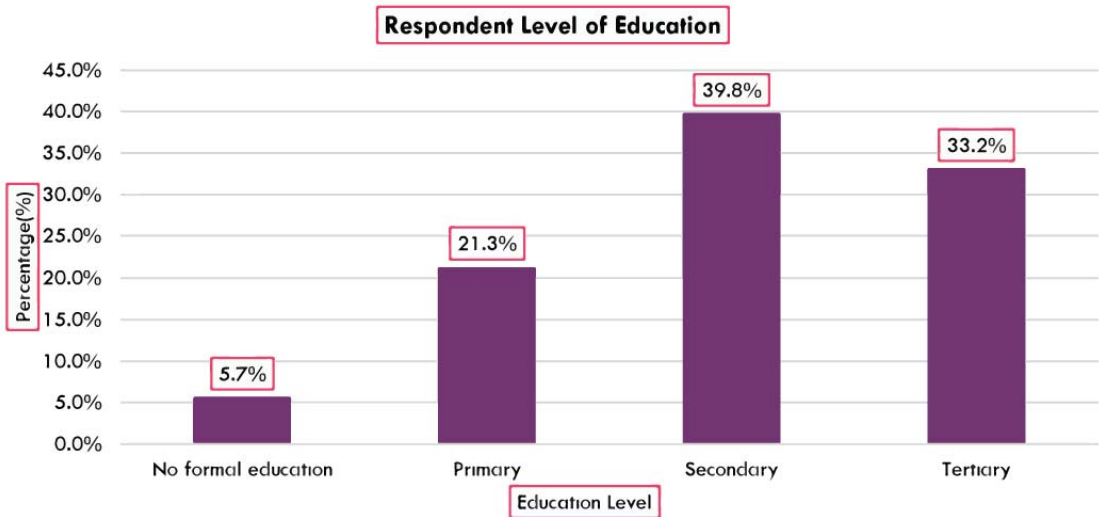


Figure 4: Highest level of education attained

Further analysis on the level of education by counties indicated that 44.7% and 30.3% had attained secondary level education and tertiary level education respectively in Nyamira County and 14.5% had attained primary level education, while 10.5% had no formal education.

In Kisii County, the majority of respondents (38.7%) had attained secondary education. 33.8% and 22.8% had attained tertiary and primary education respectively while 4.6% had no formal education.

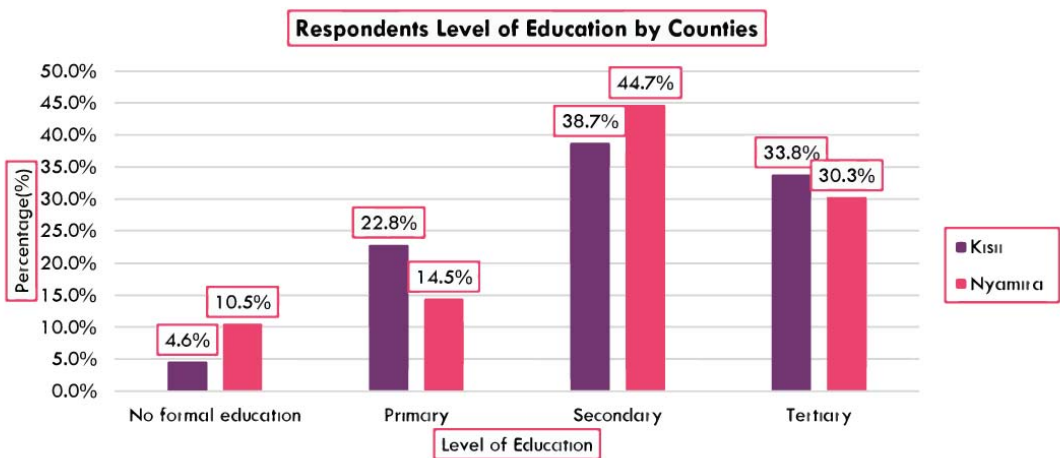


Figure 5: Highest level of education by target Wards

1.5 Registration as a voter and Voting in 2017

The majority of respondent (91.9%) interviewed overall were registered voters as indicated in the figure below. 8.1% however indicated that they were not registered voters. As to whether those who were registered voted in the 2017 general elections, 82.7% indicated Yes while 17.3% indicated No. Further analysis based on the counties indicated that 92.5% of respondent in Kisii County were registered voters against 89.5% of respondents in Nyamira County. On the other hand, a higher percentage (26.3%) registered voters in Nyamira County indicated that they had not voted in the 2017 general election against 15.3% of respondent in Kisii County.

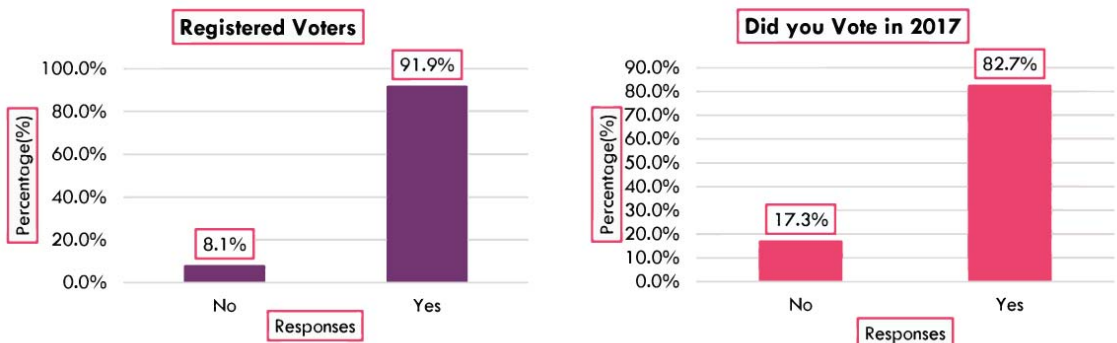


Figure 6: Registered Votes and if they voted in 2017

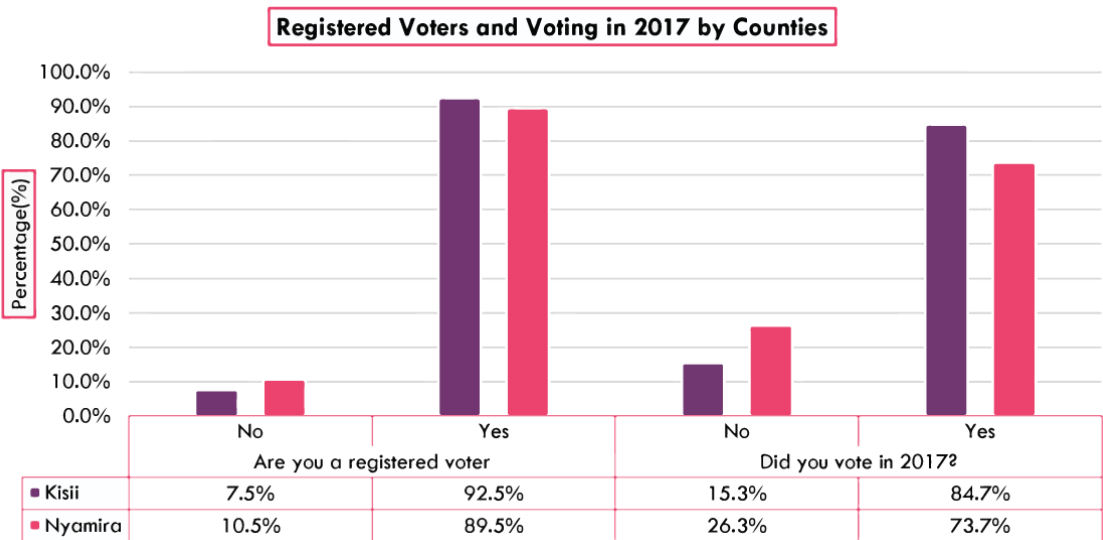


Figure 7: Registered voters and voting in 2017 by counties

Annex 2 Survey Questionnaire

Democracy Trust Fund rapid assessment of women's leadership in Nyamira and Kisii Counties Survey Questionnaire

The Democracy Trust Fund (DTF) is an initiative of Echo Network Africa (ENA). ENA hopes to accelerate the participation of women in leadership at all sectors of Society. DTF will provide mechanisms through which women seeking leadership positions will be prepared for effectively and successfully participate in democratic processes.

DTF has received a grant from the Heinrich Boell Foundation (HBF) to undertake a rapid assessment of the status of women leadership in Kisii and Nyamira counties. The study seeks to establish the following:

- Why women in Kisii and Nyamira Counties do not present themselves for elective positions other than affirmative action seats;
- Why the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira counties generally do not elect women except for those running for affirmative action seats; and
- Document profiles of women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties are willing to elect if they were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action seats.

The questionnaire below seeks to help shed light on these questions to inform the study.

Democracy Trust Fund Rapid Assessment of Women's Leadership In Nyamira And Kisii Counties Survey Questionnaire

- County
 Kisii Nyamira
- Sub-County/ Constituency -----

- Ward -----
- Gender
 Male Female
- Age
 18 – 24 35 – 50
 25 – 34 Above 50
- Are you a registered voter?
 Yes No
- Did you vote in 2017
 Yes No
- Highest Level of Education
 Lack of formal education Secondary
 Primary Tertiary
- What do you do for a living?

10. Do you agree that it is important to have both men and women in political leadership?

- Strongly agree
- Don't care
- Agree
- Disagree

- Besides the Women Representative position, have you ever voted a woman candidate for any political position in your county?

- Yes
- No

11. If your answer to the question 10 above is yes, please name the woman/women and the position.

Name of Woman: -----

Position elected to: -----

12. Give two reason(s) for not voting for women candidates.

i. -----

ii. -----

13. What do women need to do to be elected into political leadership?

14. What would it take for you and other voters in your area to elect a woman?

15. Write down the name of one woman, in this area, who can make a good leader?

16. Besides the Women Representative position, for which other position would you elect a woman?

- President
- Governor
- Senator
- MP
- MCA

17. Give the two qualities of the type of woman leader you would elect:

i. -----
ii. -----

18. Suggest the name of one woman you would elect for each the following positions:

DEMOCRACY TRUST FUND
RAPID ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN NYAMIRA AND KISII COUNTIES
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Annex 3: Key Informant Interview Guide

DEMOCRACY TRUST FUND
RAPID ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN NYAMIRA AND KISII COUNTIES
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

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- Document profiles of women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties are willing to elect if they were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action seats.

The Key Informant Guide below will be used by the consultants to guide one on one interview sessions with institutional individuals or key opinion shapers from the two counties, to inform the study.

- What is your understanding of equal participation in political processes?
- To what extent have women been participating in political processes in this county?
- Are you aware of women who have vied and been elected in political processes in this county?
- How have you supported them if at all?
- What do you consider as the factors that promote women's political leadership in your county?
- What do you consider as the drawback for women's political participation in this county?
- Expound on these challenges, giving examples of experiences that you are aware about.
- Who do you consider to be responsible for stopping or supporting women in having equal chances and why?
- What strategies should be employed to improve women's equal access to political leadership?
- Give examples of women, who you would consider suitable for political leadership in this county.
- Why are they considered suitable?

Annex 4: Focus Group Discussion Guide

DEMOCRACY TRUST FUND RAPID ASSESSMENT OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN NYAMIRA AND KISII COUNTIES

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

The Democracy Trust Fund (DTF) is an initiative of Echo Network Africa (ENA). ENA hopes to accelerate the participation of women in leadership at all sectors of Society. DTF will provide mechanisms through which women seeking leadership positions will be prepared for effectively and successfully participate in democratic processes.

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- Document profiles of women whom the electorate in Kisii and Nyamira Counties are willing to elect if they were to present their candidature for seats other than affirmative action seats.

The focus group discussion guide below seeks to help the consultants engage with different groups of people in group discussions that would shed light on these questions to inform the study.

- What is your understanding of equal participation in political processes?
- To what extent have women been participating in political processes in this county?
- Are you aware of women who have vied and been elected in political processes in this county?
- How have you supported them if at all?
- What do you consider as the factors that promote women's political leadership in your county?
- What do you consider as the drawback for women's political participation in this county?
- Expound on these challenges, giving examples of experiences that you are aware about.
- Who do you consider to be responsible for stopping or supporting women in having equal chances and why?
- What strategies should be employed to improve women's equal access to political leadership?
- Give examples of women, who you would consider suitable for political leadership in this county.
- Why are they considered suitable?

Name	Organisation/ Position
Charles Orora	FHI
Enoch MKate	Kisii FM
Hon Karen Magara	Nominated MCA
Hon Rosa Orondo	Elected MCA Machoge Basi Ward
Esther Ongere	PRO Kisii County Assembly
Janet Orora	Head of Communications Kisii County Assembly
Prof. Kenneth Ombongi	University Of Nairobi
Hon. Omingo Magara	Former MP
Edmond	Jubilee Party Kisii
Makori	Jubilee Party Nyamira
Leley Kipkemoi	Gender Officer, Kisii
Ronald Mangaa	Gender Officer, Nyamira
Nancy Mochaka	Clerk Nyamache Ward
Lillian Marwa	Social Worker and former PA to the First Lady of Kisii County
Hon. Jerusha Momanyi	Women Rep. Nyamira
Deborah	Information Officer (National Government), Nyamira
Henry Nyarora	Journalist, Nyamira

Annex 6 List of Suggested women leaders (Attached as separate Excel file)

Suggested Woman President — Nyamira

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Martha Karua	Chairlady, NARC Kenya	NARC Kenya	4	Committed to development Confident of her abilities
Esther Akoth	CEO, Akothee Safaris	Akothee Safaris	1	Inspiring Hardworking
Charity Ngilu	Governor	Kitui County	1	Great leadership capabilities

Suggested Woman President — Kisii

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Charity Ngilu	Governor	Kitui County	4	Very capable and Passionate Great development record
Janet Ongera	Women rep	Kisii County	4	Experienced in county leadership Not corrupt
Gladys Wanga	Women Rep	Homabay County	3	Outstanding leadership record Courageous and brave
Millicent Omanga	Nominated Senator	Senate	2	Experienced in leadership She is able to face off men without fear
Esther Akoth	CEO, Akothee Safaris	Akothee Safaris	1	Very inspiring Has a heart for the people
Martha Karua	Chairlady, NARC Kenya	NARC Kenya	1	Committed to her duties
Jane Mwebi	Pastor	0726164873	1	Has been a women leader for a long time
Margaret Kenyatta	First lady	First lady	1	A renown agent of change
Sarah Serem	Former SRC Chair	Public Service	1	A good decision maker
Bridget Ombati	Aspiring women rep	Don't know	1	Very vocal

Suggested Women Senators - Nyamira

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jerusha Momanyi	Current Women Rep	Current women rep	3	Great potential Capable of bringing development
Ann Nyaera	Lecturer	UoN	2	Approachable Great leadership potential
Alice Chae	Former women Rep	Nyamira County	2	Very hardworking Transparent
Mary Otara	Former women Rep	Kisii County	1	Development oriented
Catherine Nyamato	Businesswoman	Kisii	1	Proven past leadership record
Caren Atuya	Assembly member	Nyamira County	1	Hardworking

Suggested Women Senators - Kisii

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Janet Ongera	Women Rep	Kisii County	12	Highly educated Good development record
Doris Aburi (Donya Toto)	Journalist	Egesa FM	9	Defends women rights Good leadership skills
Mary Otara	Former women Rep	Kisii County	8	Fulfils her promises Relates well with people
Rachael Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	Former MP aspirant	3	Great leadership skills Firm and resolute
Jerusha Momanyi	Current Women Rep	Current women rep	2	Very articulate Good at legislation
Jackline Akombe	Fomer IEBC Commisioner	Nyamira county	1	Fearless Very principled
Susan Mochache	Labour PS	National government	1	Not mentioned in scandals
Everlyne Ogendo	Businesswoman	Nyakembene	1	Visionary
Janet Nyamao	Business woman	+254728251145	1	Great leadership qualities
Dorcias Nyang'acha	Project Manager, Kitutu Chache South	Kitutu Chache South	1	Approachable Very transparent

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Lilian Gisesa	Lecturer at Kisii Uni. Faculty of Information science	+254734500082	1	Very focused Strong-willed
Agnes Ombati	Businesswoman	Ria Twenya	1	Close to the people
Prisca Mosoti Obegi				
	Business woman	+254714475938	1	Active in community service/charity
Mellon Osoro	Farmer	Amiga village	1	Hardworking
Milicent Omanga	Nominated senator	Senate	1	Fearless while facing men
Jane James	Businesswoman	Has a shop next to Keumbu stage	1	Mentors teenagers Hardworking
Carol Ogega	Banker	Equity Bank, Kisii Branch	1	Supports women transformation
Lilian Marwa	Activist	Vied for Women Rep using an ANC ticket	1	Very interested in child rights
Naomi Oganga	NGO Worker	Global Give Back Circle	1	Visionary Hardworking
Annah Oruke	Proprietor, Precious Talent Academy	+254712011409	1	Sympathetic to orphans and vulnerable children Great management skills
Sarah Mokua	Ass. Chief, Nyamange	Nyamange	1	She has empowered the people of Nyamange
Rael Zablon	Farmer	Nyansore sub location, Bogetonto village	1	Hardworking
Isabella Charles	Nominated MCA	Kisii County	1	Always ready to help women Visionary

Suggested Woman Governor — Nyamira

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jerusha Momanyi	Women Rep	Nyamira County	4	A good youth mentor Exhibits great leadership skills A staunch defender of human rights
Mary Martin	Teacher	Former principal, Sirongo girls.	2	Very courageous
Callen Kemuma	Works at Nyamira county assembly	Callen@nyamiraassembly.co.ke	1	Responsible as a leader
Racheal Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	+254721823866	1	A great mentor
Janet Bochaberi	Employee at Nyamira County	Nyamira County	1	Development oriented
Janet Komenda	Eldoret University	Eldoret University	1	Proven development record while a CEC

Suggested Woman Governor — Kisii

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Janet Ongera	Women Rep	Kisii County	22	Proven leadership qualities Good development record Helpful to women and the youth
Mary Otara	Former Women Rep kisii county	Kisii County	12	Fulfilled campaign promises Approachable and available Proven leadership abilities
Racheal Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	+254721823866	6	Hardworking Experience in national politics Focused on development
Nyamwamu	Former aspirant	Kisii County	2	Hardworking Presented herself very well
Lillian Marwa	Social worker	+254724118379	2	Has a heart for the needy Trustworthy
Millicent Omanga	Nominated Senator	Senate	2	Very determined Self-driven

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Doris Aburi (Donya Toto)	Journalist	Egesa FM	2	Highly educated Supports the community
Grace David	Teacher at Nyansiogo Boys High School	Nyansiogo Boys High School	1	Good leadership abilities
Monica Bwari Orina	Businesslady	Nyagonyi, Banda sub-location, Igemo location	1	Active in community service Good leadership abilities
Rose Julius	Secondary school Teacher	Matieko Secondary	1	Good managerial skills Approachable and helpful
Linnet Mong'are	Former Women rep aspirant	Kisii County	1	Has a lot of leadership potential
Tabitha Gechemba	CSO, Mosochi	Mosochi	1	Innovative Loves serving the community
Dr. Rosemary	Lecturer	Kisii University	1	Highly educated
Eusta (Yuvetina Sunda)	CWA Chairlady	Ogembo Catholic Parish	1	Hardworking Very social with people
Elmelda Ochenge	Teacher	former principal at Nyabururu Girls	1	She has great leadership potential
Prisca Mosoti Obegi	Businesswoman	Ria Twenya kiosk, Nyakoe Ward	1	Active in community service
Yunia Makori	Teacher	Engoto boti primary	1	Good moral standing Served very well at the CDF
Gladys Osoro	Dean of students	Kisii university	1	Very hardworking
Joyce Orioki	Teacher at Nyabururu High school	Nyabururu High School	1	Very progressive
Karen Gesare	Nurse	Found in Keumbu central church on Saturdays	1	Has helped street children through school
Dr. Nyamange	Lecturer	Kisii University	1	Great managerial skills Excellent in management
Irene Mayaka	Nomited MCA	Nyamira County	1	Very influential Pushes for bills in the assembly
Margaret Mogaka	Nurse	Nurse in charge of gender at KTRH	1	Committed Very well connected

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jackiline Erick	She had her own business within the village	Kiabwera village	1	Supports a lot of young people
Grace Kerubo	BOM Teacher	Keburunga village, Tabaka ward	1	She is learned Shows good leadership qualities
Isabel Kerubo	Might be working in the county	Tabaka Ward, Nyango village	1	Always ready to help people in the community

Suggested Woman MP — Nyamira

Borabu

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Lilian Marwa	Social worker	+254724118379	1	Passionate

North Mugirango

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Ann Nyaera	Lecturer, Kenyatta University	+254722650279	1	Hardworking

West Mugirango

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Alice Chae	Former Women Rep	Nyamira County	4	Proven development record God fearing
Fridah Gesairo	Former Women Rep aspirant	Nyamira County	3	Good in problem solving Has the potential to lead She understands politics
Dr. Nyamongo	Doctor	Borabu	1	Humble Cares for the people
Grace Omanga	Former Women Rep aspirant	Nyamira County		Has leadership skills

Suggested Woman MP — Kisii

Bobasi

Name	Occupation	Contact Occupation	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Askah Onuko Mogendi	Teacher	Forward Academy, Itumbe	1	She is a woman of integrity Very bold
Hellen Moturi	Former MP Aspirant	Bobasi	1	Very hardworking

Bomachoge Chache

Brigit Ombati	Nominated MCA	Machoge Chache, Misesi division	1	Assertive Proven development record
Rachael Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	+254721823866	1	Brave Accountable

Bonchari

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Nancy Kerubo	Teacher at Suneka DOK Primary School	Suneka Primary	2	Prove leadership abilities
Gladys Onkundi	Teacher	+254720776896	1	Hardworking
Grace Mang'era	Headmistress, Itierio Girls Primary School	Itierio Girls Primary School	1	Great leadership record
Lilian Marwa	Social worker	+254724118379	1	Passionate about the community
Madam Nyarang'o	Teacher, Suneka Secondary School	Suneka Secondary School	1	Visionary
Mary Otara	Former Women Rep	Kisii County	1	Hardworking
Sabina	Business woman	Head of Women, Suneka Market	1	Visionary

Kitutu Chache South

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Mary Otara	Former Women Rep	Kisii County	2	Hardworking Very promising
Gladys Mokeira Ondieki	Business woman	+254792225453	1	Very social Helps those in need
Gladys Kemunto Okindo	BOM Teacher	Nyatieko Secondary	1	Hardworking

Name	Occupation	Contact Occupation	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Askah Onuko Mogendi	Teacher	Forward Academy, Itumbe	1	She is a woman of integrity Very bold
Hellen Moturi	Former MP Aspirant	Bobasi	1	Very hardworking

Bomachoge Chache

Brigit Ombati	Nominated MCA	Machoge Chache, Misesi division	1	Assertive Proven development record
Hellen Ondieki	Teacher	Kidesi Academy	1	Caring Committed to the welfare of the people
Janet Achuba	Volunteer Health Worker	Nyakoe	1	Approachable Listens to the people
Norah Nyakundi	Senior Principal, Nyachwa Girls	Nyanchwa Girls	1	Very close to the people
Rachael Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	+254721823866	17	Dedicated to politics She is the only woman who has the courage to face men
Janet Mong'are	Former Women Rep aspirant	Kisii	4	She is very popular Helps the orphans and the needy
Doris Aburi (Donya Toto)	Journalist	Egesa FM	2	Can bring development A defender of the people
Mary Otara	Former Women Rep	Kisii County	2	Great leadership qualities Knows the needs of the people
Mellen Osoro	She is a local businesswoman/saleslady in Amaiga	Bobarachi Ward	1	Hardworking
Doreen Moige Aburi	Patriotic Gospel artist	+254708919228	1	Understands politics in all aspects
Monica Machoka	Tea farmer	Keumbu, Riondong'a	1	Hardworking Great leadership potential
Sarah mokua	Assisitant chief	Nyamage sub chief office	1	Helps students when they are in trouble with the police
Unuke Dhiki	Former MP Aspirant	Nyaribari Chache	1	Connects very well with the people

Nyaribari Masaba

Name	Occupation	Contact Occupation	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Askah Onuko Mogendi	Teacher	Forward Academy, Itumbe	1	She is a woman of integrity Very bold
Hellen Moturi	Former MP Aspirant	Bobasi	1	Very hardworking

Bomachoge Chache

Brigit Ombati	Nominated MCA	Machoge Chache, Misesi division	1	Assertive Proven development record
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Joyce Moraa	Teacher	+254724094274	1	Passionate leader

South Mugirango

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Lilian Mogendi	Activist	Tabaka Ward, Iringa Primary.	7	Good in decision making Promoted development in the area Reaches out to those in need
Perpeture Gichemba	Retired headteacher, Nduru Primary	Nduru Primary	2	Educated Very skilled
Lydia Mosero	Teacher	Mosache Primary	1	She is interested in politics
Nyaboke Sephania	Farmer	Bosimba village.	1	She is development oriented
Gladys Onyancha	KNUT Women Rep	Gucha	1	She is a renowned education champion
Rachael Otundo	Former MP Aspirant	+254721823866	1	Always available to help the needy

Suggested Woman MCA – Nyamira

North Mugirango

Bokeira

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Lucy Onsinini Businesswoman		+254727993079	1	She has experience in politics

Ekerenyo

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Janet Kumenda	Doctor	Rikuruma	1	She funded projects in the community

West Mugirango

Bonyamatuta

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Dr. Nyamongo	Doctor	Borabu	2	Humble Responsible
Margaret Momanyi	Businesslady	Nyabara Ibere	1	She is a good performer

Nyamaiya

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Catherine Nyamato	Business lady	+254734333810	2	Ambitious Can do a lot if supported
Ruth Peter	Retired employee, Kenya Roads Board	+254 722826442	1	Proven leadership skills

Borabu

Esise

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Josephine Ombati	Nominated MCA	+254724623830	1	Hardworking

Kitutu Masaba

Kemera

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
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Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Lucy Onsinini Businesswoman		+254727993079	1	She has experience in politics
Ekerenyo				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Janet Kumenda	Doctor	Rikuruma	1	She funded projects in the community
West Mugirango				
Bonyamatuta				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Dr. Nyamongo	Doctor	Borabu	2	Humble Responsible
Pauline Kemunto	Farmer	+254759186476	2	Has helped in the fight against illicit alcohol Has assisted the chief a lot
Sebbora Nyambane	Manager, Village Springs Hotel	Village Springs Hotel	1	Hardworking
Magombo				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Teresa Nyaundi	Farmer at Tombe	+254726689904	3	Hardworking Always committed
Anne Nyakerario	Former Women Rep aspirant	Nyamira County	1	Hardworking
Pauline Kemunto	Farmer	+254759186476	1	Has helped in the fight against drugs
Manga				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Ziporah Nyaboke	Student at Kisii Polytechnic	+254708627604	2	Interested in politics
Beatrice Siriba	Teacher	+254714817633	1	Strong leader

Suggested Woman MCA – Kisii

Bobasi Bassi Bogetario				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Pamela Gideon	Farmer	Bondonya, Nyangusu	1	Served well as the chief
South Mugirango				
Bogetenga				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Alice Kemuma	Farmer	Bokeraa village	1	Has a heart of helping Great influencer
Joyce Migiro	Advisor at the Chief's Office	Getono location	1	Great oratory skills
Rael Zablon	Business lady - ereals	Gentonto village, Riosiri secondary.	1	Open for politics Ready for any position
Moticho				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jeriah	Teacher	Nduru Girls	1	Hardworking
Tabaka				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Yuvetina Sunda (Eusta)	Business lady	Ogembo supermarket	1	She can make a great public leader
Bonchari Bogiakumu				
Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Rose Julius	Works at Gusii Institute of Technology (GIT)	Gusii Institute of Technology (GIT)	2	Highly educated Focused
Irene Okeyo	Businesswoman	+254721648232	1	Highly educated
Risper Maseme	Nominated MCA	+254708351656	1	She has been nominated twice She is ripe for leadership
Teresa Nyaundi	Farmer at Tombe	+254726689904	1	Hardworking
Bomariba				

**Bobasi
Bassi Bogetario**

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Pamela Gideon	Farmer	Bondonya, Nyangusu	1	Served well as the chief

South Mugirango

Bogetenga

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Alice Kemuma	Farmer	Bokeraa village	1	Has a heart of helping Great influencer
Joyce Migiro	Advisor at the Chief's Office	Getono location	1	Great oratory skills
Rael Zablon	Business lady - ereals	Gentonto village, Riosiri secondary.	1	Open for politics Ready for any position

Moticho

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jeriah	Teacher	Nduru Girls	1	Hardworking

Tabaka

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Keziah Biancah Oseko	Mentor, YWCA Kisii	+254726948594	1	Supports the girl-child Has a lot of potential
Mary Otara	Former Women Rep	Kisii County	1	Supportive

**Kitutu Chache South
Bogusero**

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Fontina Kerubo	Farmer	Mosocho Market	3	Approachable Always willing to help the needy
Doris Aburi (Donya Toto)	Journalist	Egesa FM	1	Sensitive to the needs of the people
Fontina Ngare	Nominated MCA	Kisii County	1	Visionary Helpful to all

Bobasi
Bassi Bogetario

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Pamela Gideon	Farmer	Bondonya, Nyangusu	1	Served well as the chief

South Mugirango

Bogetenga

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Alice Kemuma	Farmer	Bokeraa village	1	Has a heart of helping Great influencer
Joyce Migiro	Advisor at the Chief's Office	Getono location	1	Great oratory skills
Rael Zablon	Business lady - ereals	Gentonto village, Riosiri secondary.	1	Open for politics Ready for any position

Moticho

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jeriah	Teacher	Nduru Girls	1	Hardworking

Tabaka

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Hellen Ondieki	Small scale trader (selling of clothes)	Nyamatuta, Mo-socho	1	Hardworking Visionary
Janeffer Nyamwea	Farmer	Raganga, Mo-socho	1	Caring Full of integrity
Margaret Ochong'a	Teacher	Nyamondo Primary	1	She has created jobs for the youth Very trustworthy

Bogeka

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Dorcas Nyang'aja	Shopkeeper and business lady	Mosocho Market	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supportive Readily approachable
1. Hellen Ondieki	Small scale trader (selling of clothes)	Nyamatuta, Mo-socho	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Approachable Sensitive to the needs of the people

**Bobasi
Bassi Bogetario**

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Pamela Gideon	Farmer	Bondonya, Nyangusu	1	Served well as the chief

South Mugirango

Bogetenga

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Alice Kemuma	Farmer	Bokeraa village	1	Has a heart of helping Great influencer
Joyce Migiro	Advisor at the Chief's Office	Getono location	1	Great oratory skills
Rael Zablon	Business lady - ereals	Gentonto village, Riosiri secondary.	1	Open for politics Ready for any position

Moticho

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Jeriah	Teacher	Nduru Girls	1	Hardworking

Tabaka

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
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Bomachoge Chache

Boochi/Tendere

Name	Occupation	Contact Information	Count	Reasons for Suggesting
Yuvetina Sunda (Eusta)	Business lady	+254711558141	6	Passionate Has a commanding voice of leadership
Felista Matobo	Nominated MCA	Tendere	3	Courageous Very resourceful
Brigit Ombati	Nominated MCA	Boochi Tendere, Machoge Chache	2	Very strong Open to ideas

Bosoti/ Sengera				

HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG

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The Heinrich Boll Stiftung (hbs) is the German Political Foundation affiliated with the Green Party in the German Federal Parliament. The hbs Nairobi Office is a people-centric green think-tank active in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Somalia/Somaliland. We facilitate inclusive dialogues, offer expertise and in partnership with like-minded people and organizations to develop innovative perspectives along the core themes; Gender Democracy, Sustainable Development, Dialogue & Civic Spaces, and Food Rights.



Echo Network Africa (ENA) formerly Kenya Women Holding (KWH) is a women led and women serving institution established over three decades ago to advocate for women's financial inclusion as a way of improving livelihoods of the members and their families.

Recently, in April 2018 ENA rebranded itself to become a catalyst for development working not only in Kenya but in the entire African Region. In its 2018-2022 Strategy Plan, ENA spells out its programmatic approach as primarily centered on 'working with' others including Community Based Organization (CBO's).

ENA's programs are anchored on four major pillars, namely: Women Empowerment, Positioning, Advocacy and Youth Empowerment. ENA pursues an inclusive policy which aims at reaching out to women from all sectors including women with disabilities and those from minority Communities. ENA collaborates with like-minded stakeholders, development partners as well as National and County Governments to accelerate development.



The democracy trust fund (DTF) is an initiative of Echo Network Africa (ENA), through which ENA accelerates the participation of women in leadership at all sectors of Society. DTF provides mechanisms through which women seeking leadership positions are prepared for effective and successful participation in democratic processes.

DTF programs target women from all spheres including women with disabilities, women from minority communities, young women below 35 years as well as those above 35. The program targets women and girls who intend to run for elective offices in any sector including university and college student bodies, trade unions, Sports as well as national and County elective posts among others.

The fund is contributory to ensure ownership and sustainability.

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