

Running for Political Office

A silhouette of a woman's head and shoulders in profile, facing right. In the background, a tall clock tower with a clock face and a decorative top is visible against a bright, hazy sky. The scene is set in an urban environment with some palm trees and other buildings faintly visible.

A Handbook for Women Candidates

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PUBLISHED BY

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Foreword

In Kenya's highly patriarchal environment, women have constantly faced numerous electoral crises when seeking political office. They range from gender biases in party nominations to negative socio-cultural attitudes from the electorate even to electoral violence instigated against women.

Nonetheless, women are increasingly taking the plunge into electoral politics. Some have organised themselves into coalitions or caucuses and have played catalytic roles in encouraging more women to compete in political elections.

Women's rights organisations such as CREAW and AMWIK have become Gender Development Centres and are disseminating gender-sensitive information geared towards improving women's political, social, economic and health status — factors that are essential for the achievement of sustainable development. These women's rights activist centres continue to advocate government action to eliminate inequalities between men and women in order to advance their equal participation in all areas.

In an attempt to influence change in the leadership through equal participation and representation, CREAW in partnership with AMWIK, and with the support of Heinrich Boll Foundation, embarked on various consultations which culminated in this booklet. It will prove an invaluable tool for any woman candidate seeking political office in Kenya. It provides a political scan of the Kenyan electorate and provides political insights geared towards helping women candidates to gather the votes. We believe that it is by the empowerment of women and their participation in political decision making processes that the voices of Kenyan women will be heard. And this handbook is one of our major steps towards achieving this.

Publishers

Centre for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW) in partnership with Association of Media Women Kenya (AMWIK)

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Our final thanks go to all the women of Kenya, who have been resilient in their struggle for equality and who, in recent days, have awakened their collective support for the Kenyan women to take their rightful places in leadership. To all you brave women of Kenya, this handbook is for you.

One

Why this book

This handbook is for any woman who wants to run for a parliamentary or civic seat. It can also be used by friends who want to help a candidate in her election bid as managers or members of various committees.

Parliamentary and council campaigns differ in some respects, but all election campaigns thrive on organisation and planning. If you have little or no political experience, this handbook has been written with you in mind. It alerts you, it guides you, it teaches you and it opens your mind to new ways of thinking, planning and organising your campaign. It is a combination of a guide and a management tool.

Seasoned campaigners will also find this handbook useful. It provides you with checklists that serve as reminders of things to do at various stages of your bid. You may find in the pages of this handbook the answer to how to keep the office you already hold, or if you ran unsuccessfully, why your campaign failed and what you can do better next time.

This handbook is not a primer on political philosophy and does not support any particular political party. It contains useful information about how various aspects work together to make your election bid successful. It teases your brain, it requires you to ask yourself unpleasant questions — it plays the role of devil's advocate. It also gives you tips on how to organise and run a campaign; it tells you how to get out the vote and how to get your message out. It does not, however, suggest what your message should be. That has to come from you.

We cannot emphasise too strongly, or too often, the need for organisation and planning in campaigns. These two elements can mean the difference between victory and defeat. Campaigning can be fun but it is also hard work for everyone involved.

If we have made your job a little more pleasant and a little easier, we will have succeeded in our goal.

Good luck! Good campaigning!
Editor

Two

Women and Politics: A General Scan

Men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation. The existence of this male-dominated model results in either women rejecting politics altogether or rejecting male-style politics.

In the past 10 years, women across the world have successfully established that every issue, be it social, economic or political, affects women and that women's issues involve and reflect the concerns of society as a whole. Therefore, when women bring their efforts, experiences and perspectives to the table, everyone benefits.

Women's efforts are geared towards transforming the male-centred structures, practices and culture of governing institutions. Women are working towards dismantling the structural barriers and institutional practices that make it difficult for them to gain access to power and decision making roles.

Why are women not elected? The structures of political parties, electoral systems and legislative assemblies often create systemic barriers to women's full and equal participation in government. Political parties in many countries act as gatekeepers that decide which candidates are in and which are out.

Electoral systems are a major impediment to a woman's victory at the polls. The type of electoral system a country uses can advance or limit political opportunities for women. It is widely accepted that the multi-member proportional representation system works best for women. It is also noted that countries which have the highest percentage of women in Parliament have systems that include proportional representation. In such systems, voters cast their ballots for a party and in some cases for an individual as well. Seats are allocated in proportion to the votes each party receives. The result is a shared, multi-party government.

The type of electoral system a country has plays an important part in women's political representation. Most people argue that proportional representation systems are better than majoritarian systems in increasing women's representation

The first-past-the-post, winner-take-all voting system does not work well for women. In acknowledging these barriers, governments at the Fourth World Women's Conference held in Beijing, China, committed to review "the differential impact of electoral systems on the political representation of women," and to consider reforms. They also acknowledged the value of quotas in increasing the number of women in decision making. They called on political parties to "integrate women in elective and non-elective public positions in the same proportion ... as men." Since Beijing, a significant increase in women's representation has been achieved in countries that have applied quota systems and affirmative action in decision making in national parliaments, governmental bodies, and political parties, among others.

Women who seek political office face various obstacles. Lack of resources to run their campaign is one of the most crippling. Insensitive campaign financing laws, therefore, present problems for women, who are unable to raise the huge sums required to compete. If this situation prevails, women will continue to be marginalised until the laws are changed to control spending and provide public financing for all competitors.

Obstacles that women face

- The prevalence of the "masculine model" of political life and in elective governmental bodies
- Lack of party support, such as limited financial support for women candidates, limited access to political networks and the prevalence of double standards
- The absence of well-developed education and training systems for women's leadership in general, and for orienting young women toward political life in particular;
- The nature of the electoral system, which may or may not favour women candidates

Women are using various organisational strategies to overcome these barriers to their participation. These strategies include gender-sensitive campaign training for women candidates, demanding party quotas to broaden women's electoral participation and providing support services to women candidates at the local and national levels.

Finally, for women elected to Parliament or to local councils, the male-dominated structures in political life, together with the processes employed, can often prove formidable. To overcome these barriers, elected women often seek assistance and training from friendly groups and organisations to enhance their capacity and acquire skills to participate effectively in debates and policy formulation. They also lobby governments and political parties in a bid to increase their numbers.

Women and Politics in Kenya: A historical perspective

In Kenya, like elsewhere in Africa, discrimination against women is entrenched in the conceptual and social organising and governance mechanisms. These are informed by a culturally inherited knowledge base that emanates from a patriarchal worldview. That worldview makes a woman what culture wants her to be. And that culture has defined woman as less than man (where less has been defined as inferior to men). This ideological perception of woman by society has, in practice, relegated her to a second-class citizen.

The woman is wrapped in ideological justifications of oppression similar to those visited upon the African slave in America. Woman is perceived to be intellectually inferior to her male counterpart just because she is a woman, period. A fate occasioned by a scientific occurrence (XX genes factor) determines the space a woman will occupy in politics, religion, the workplace, at home, in government — and assigned roles accordingly. This systematic disempowerment has left women with little presence in decision-making bodies and less likelihood of having their interests in and concerns on the policy agenda.

Kenya's early independence history was marked by a conspicuous absence of women in the political arena. It was not until 1969 (Second Parliament) that Grace Onyango was elected Member of Parliament for Kisumu Town constituency.

In 1974, the number of elected women MPs rose to four when Chelagat Mutai (Eldoret North), Grace Onyango (Kisumu Town), Nyiva Mwendwa (Kitui West) and Julia Ojiambo (Busia Central), successfully fought their way into the august House. Dr. Eddah Gachukia, a renowned educationist and Rose Waruhiu, were nominated, raising the number of MPs to six. This number later dropped to five after Chelagat Mutai went into exile, soon after her election.

In 1991, Kenya embraced multiparty politics, but maintained the first-past-the post (winner-take-all) electoral system. Seven parties fielded candidates in the 1992 elections. Only candidates from six of these were elected.

There are currently about 60 registered political parties. Of these, only two are headed by women (Ford Asili and Labour Party of Kenya). The absence of women in strategic party positions and lack of (positive) visibility in party activities has a direct bearing on their effective participation in activities and nomination for either parliamentary or civic elections. The absence of a legal and constitutional provision for independent candidates means that anyone intending to vie for a seat in an election must, as a matter of fact, be a member of a political party. Women need to be substantively involved in political parties.

In the 2002 General Election, women recorded improved performance from the 1997 elections. More women declared their candidacy and sought nomination for both civic and parliamentary seats on various party tickets. According to a report titled *When Kenyans Spoke: 2002 General Election Report* by the Kenya Domestic Observation Programme (K-DOP), there were a total of 7,009 civic candidates. Out of these 6,625 were males and 381 females. There were 1,035 parliamentary candidates, of which 991 were males and 44 female. The composition of the current Parliament indicates how many women candidates made it – nine at the end of that election and one more through a by-election, bringing the number to 10 elected women in Parliament. Eight more got into Parliament through nominations, bringing the total to 18.

Men dominate the political arena; men formulate the rules of the political game; and men define the standards for evaluation

There are several factors that have militated against women's efforts to enter Parliament and councils in significant numbers (a critical mass). Concerted civic and voter education, increased gender sensitisation and awareness creation activities conducted by various actors have, to a small extent, improved the situation. But a lot still needs to be done to change the rigid cultural and traditional attitudes held by majority of Kenyans across the country. Apart from traditions and culture, there are other factors that contribute to this sorry situation. They include:

- Insensitive legal and policy frameworks

- Inadequate financial base
- Women-unfriendly political party structures, governance and practice
- Political thuggery and electoral violence, especially in the period leading to elections
- Limited access and exposure to the media and its operations
- Limited access to information technology
- Unclear political agenda
- Disempowering social stereotypes
- Women being burdened by their multiple social roles

The above scenario can change. Women need to take collective action on workable mechanisms to ensure their representation in both Parliament and councils. Women must also hold political parties accountable to their promises as reflected in their manifestos and constitutions. But to do this, they must join political parties so that they can transform them from within.





Three

Gender checklist for Free and fair elections

Elections present the electorate with an opportunity every five years in Kenya to choose the people they want to be governed by. The electorate deserves an enabling environment to make this choice without interference or discrimination. Female and male candidates should be given an opportunity to present themselves for election without discrimination.

More often than not, female candidates face serious hurdles. They include: gender insensitive legal and policy frameworks, electoral violence, lack of access to information, cultural barriers, and stereotypes, among others.

The state is, therefore, obliged to do the following to guarantee a free and fair election:

- To provide for the holding of legislative elections at regular intervals
- To establish a neutral, impartial mechanism for the management of legislative elections
- To establish an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory electoral process

The following conditions must be met to ensure the participation of both women and men in an election without discrimination and enhance free and fair elections:

i) Political rights

- Political rights should only be subject to limitations that are reasonable and justifiable in a democratic society
- Limitations on candidature, the creation and activities of political parties and campaign rights should not be applied in a way that violates the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender, race, colour, language, religion, political opinion, social origin, property, birth or other status

ii) Citizenship

- A definition and understanding of citizenship containing a commitment to substantive equity with regard to gender

iii) Conducting elections

- The structure that manages elections must be committed to the concept of gender equity

- In accordance with this commitment, the structure that manages elections must employ women at all levels of its operation
- All policy and legislation that is relevant to conducting elections must give effect to substantive equality with regard to gender
- The provision and regulation of funding for political parties and electoral campaigns in order to ensure the promotion of equality of opportunity between women and men candidates
- Political parties, women and men candidates must be guaranteed equal access to government-controlled media for purposes of campaigning
- The media must recognise gender equality as an important aspect of democracy and accordingly report on it in relation to an election
- The media must report on women candidates as often as it reports on men candidates

iv) Secrecy of the ballot

- The unrestricted right of women citizens to vote in secret
- The right to human dignity and respect for the integrity of women's electoral choices must be assured
- Secrecy of the ballot must be explained to women during voter education workshops

v) Review of electoral procedures or decisions

In terms of international standards, a state must make provision for the following to ensure a free and fair election:

- The right of the individual to vote on a non-discriminatory basis in regular elections of legislative bodies
- The right of the individual to an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory procedure for registration of voters
- The right of every eligible citizen to be registered as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with criteria established by law that are objectively verifiable and not subject to arbitrary decision
- The right of the individual to have equal and easy access to a polling station in order to exercise her right to vote
- The right of the individual to exercise her right equally with others and to have her vote accorded equal weight as that of others
- The unrestricted right of the individual to vote in secret, and the right to respect for the integrity of her choice
- The right of an individual to present herself as a candidate for election
- The right of the individual to join, or together with others, establish a political party for purposes of competing in an election
- The right to express political opinions without interference

- The right of women party members and candidates to move freely within the country in order to campaign for election

vi) The right to campaign

- The right of women to enabling conditions for competition in elections
- The right of women party members, candidates and voters to campaign on an equal basis with their male counterparts
- The right of women party members to campaign around issues that are of particular concern to women, for example, domestic violence
- The right of women party members, candidates and voters to security with respect to their lives and property during campaigns (and throughout the electoral process)
- Campaign messages must be gender sensitive so that stereotypes are not entrenched
- Campaign messages must be formulated so that they express a commitment to substantive equality with regard to gender issues
- The right of women party members and candidates to access the media in order to put forward political views on an equal basis with their male counterparts
- Voter education programmes to deliberately target women
- Voter education programmes must explain complex electoral processes in a manner that will be understood by illiterate voters (the majority of whom are women)
- Voter education workshops must take place at suitable times, to accommodate the domestic and economic roles performed by women
- Voter education workshops must take place in venues accessible to women (these venues must be chosen to accommodate children who may have to accompany their mothers to workshops) and
- Voter education workshops must take place in an environment in which women feel confident to express themselves without fear of disruption and ridicule.

vii) The right to express political opinions

- The right of women citizens to express political opinions without interference in accordance with the law
- The right to have access to the media, in order to put forward political views

viii) The right to access to information

- The right of women citizens to seek, receive and impart information and to make an informed electoral choice

iv) The rights to freedom of association, assembly and movement

In keeping with the law:

- The right to move freely within the country in order to campaign for election
- The right to campaign on an equal basis with other political parties, including the ruling party
- The right of candidates and voters to security with respect to their lives and property

This checklist is not exhaustive. Every stakeholder in an election should ensure that each of the requirements is adhered to, even though some of them are not enforceable by law.





Four Treading the Rough Road

Political man is a familiar sight on the country's terrain. You see him as a chief, a Member of Parliament, a chairman of a political party, dictator or a president. He has seen it all. He has been led, fought, damaged, governed, judged and battled. A political man is present, visible. He is felt. He rules and wields power as if he was created to do just that.

But political woman is rare. She is one in a multitude of men in a local council or Parliament. The numbers are so low. The most important question about women's political behaviour is why so few seek and wield power. Is it that they do not like power? Do they not like the influence that comes with power? Is it that they cannot survive in a politically powerful environment? Can they handle power?

These are questions that women should ask themselves as they contemplate running for political office. Where are they in their party's power structure (if they have already decided on a party)? Why are they so visible at the lowest levels of politics (serving tea at party meetings, dancing at party rallies, getting out the vote for the male candidate and generally being useful during political activities), but so scarce at the higher levels where decisions are made?

Women play important roles in campaigning and mobilising support for their parties, yet they rarely occupy decision-making positions in these structures. Less than 11 per cent of party leaders worldwide are women

Is this the natural place for a woman? No. Women are socialised to serve (one of the duties of an MP), they are brought up as home *managers* (a leader should be a good manager), as *planners* (home planning), as budgeters (managing huge and small budgets), as *organisers* (social functions), as negotiators (successfully managing 10 children and a husband is no joke), as nurturers, health keepers, dieticians and counsellors. They perform one or more of the above roles on a daily basis. They are seasoned and experienced. Is this experience confined to the home environment only? Can it not be applied in the public domain? Are the above

qualities not the same as those required of a good leader?

Women have the experience, what they need is to step out of the home environment and into the public domain. They have the required abilities, skills and spirit to run for and win a parliamentary or council seat. But the barriers that stand in their way when they seek to effectively participate in public life must be broken down.



Five

Running for Political Office

What kind of woman runs for political office? The answer to this question is that all kinds of women can and do run. Rural and urban ones, beautiful and plain ones, married and unmarried ones, young and old ones, rich and poor ones as well as thin and fat ones. They represent diverse constituencies and wards. They articulate wide, important and relevant issues. They come from all corners of the country.

What kind of experience convinces a woman to run for election? Is it because the law allows her, or because she has a calling? Is it because she feels she can do a better job than the incumbent? The reasons women run are probably as different as there are seats.

But behind every race for political office, lies a decision to spend time, energy, and effort as well as running the risk of facing disapproval and, ultimately, defeat. Behind the decision to become a candidate, there is also the desire to influence events and policies. This calls for a woman who is confident and conversant with the politics of the day, one who has knowledge of politics and politicians. She should have the potential for large community support. Absence of any of the above elements will present a serious political handicap.

Yet there are women who plunge into the race but have no desire to influence public affairs, no networks, and little or no knowledge of politics, information and few skills to manage the office they seek. Why do they do so?

Why run?

Running for elected political office can be an exciting and challenging adventure. But adventurous as it may be, few people wake up one morning and announce: "I am a candidate for such and such a constituency." The decision to run usually evolves over time. There are, however, people who decide to run a few weeks before campaigns begin. These usually face very rough times as they are not well prepared. Avoid being a last minute candidate.

One of the things you need to realise is that running for a political seat puts a fair amount of stress on you, your family, career, social interactions, time and personal resources. It also tests and sometimes defines your social standing and the support you have in the community. An honest assessment of your strengths and weaknesses will, therefore, help you to decide if it is the right time to run.

As a wise prospective candidate, you may want to conduct or seek the advice of a politically informed person or organisation to evaluate the expectations of the seat you are seeking and the qualifications that are required for it. The person or organisation should also be able to give you a candid assessment of your chances for success.

The decision-making is, however, yours and would be made easier if you deal with the following basic questions honestly before you decide to run.

1. Personal and family questions

On the personal and family front, ask yourself:

- Why do I want to run?
- What is my motivation?
- Do I really want to be an elected official? Why?
- Can I put up with the demands of politics?
- Am I the best person for the position I seek?
- Am I financially secure?
- Can my family accept the idea?
- How will it affect my husband, children, immediate and extended family?
- How will it affect my social standing?
- How will it affect my faith?
- How will it affect my job/business/career?
- Do I have the physical stamina to go long hours with little sleep, not eating, walking door-to-door seeking votes and spending long hours with the different categories of potential voters?
- Am I willing to accept (sometimes) stinging criticism regarding the way I look, dress or talk?

It is important to talk to the whole family about your candidature. Make sure they understand that a life in politics will keep you away from them for long periods of time; it will erode your privacy and expose them to public scrutiny. Be honest with yourself.

2. Timing

Assess your personal situation, resources and stability and ask yourself these questions:

- Is this the right time, personally and politically, to run for public office?
- Would another time, a later election, be better?
- Is this the seat I want, considering my interests, qualifications and personal ambitions?

3 Assess your support on the ground

Ask yourself the following questions:

- Are my support networks on the ground sufficient?
- Do I have a sufficiently strong and effective campaign machine/workforce?
- Do I have a reliable resource base for the campaign?

4. Assess your chances of winning

The fact that you are a candidate presumes that you believe you can win the seat you are running for. It is, however, important that you assess yourself critically and honestly. Do an assessment of the prevailing political climate and ask yourself the following questions:

- How will political parties' instability, mergers and coalitions impact on my candidature?
- What are the chances of my political party nominating me?
- Is my constituency/ward receptive to a woman candidate?
- Have there been women candidates before? How have the voters treated them?
- Can I manage election violence that may be directed at me and my supporters?
- What am I up against (e.g. traditions, stereotypes, money, influence)?
- Who are my opponents and how strong are they?
- How would I deal with victory or defeat?
- What is my level of influence?
- What is my relationship with my political party leadership?

Attributes of a good leader

The ability to develop a vision for others and to model values and principles that others seek to follow is what it takes to be a leader.

A leader is therefore:

A visionary, Values intuition, Level-headed, A negotiator

Accountable and requires accountability, Ethical, Down-to-earth

Decisive but can say 'no' and mean it, Optimistic and realistic, Good organiser,

Acknowledges mistakes, Enthusiastic and calm, Likes challenges, Gender sensitive,

Knowledgeable, Good manager, Ambitious

5. Assessing your political party

There are many registered political parties. There are parties with a huge following and some with no one apart from the founder. As of now, candidates need a political party in order to run for a parliamentary or local government seat. A candidate should, therefore, take time to choose the party she is going to run on. Ideally, one should have been a member of the party for some time before the elections.

Ask yourself the following questions:

- Is the party popular in my constituency?
- Is it a national party?
- Are its constitution, manifesto, policies and structures gender friendly?
- Do the procedures for choosing candidates for decision-making positions within the party structures, as well as those for the nomination of presidential, parliamentary and local government positions, allow for equality between women and men?
- Are the party leadership and nomination structures democratic, transparent, gender balanced and gender sensitive?
- Does the party include commitments to promote gender equity as a priority issue in their manifestos and campaign platforms?
- Has the party set norms and standards aimed at promoting the position of women and preventing physical, sexual and verbal abuse of women?
- Is the party already in a coalition or negotiating one?

- **I am a member of a political party**
- **I am knowledgeable about politics in general**
- **I know my party constitution, manifesto, nomination rules and operations**
- **I have a rapport with the party leadership**
- **I am actively involved in party activities**
- **I contribute to the party's advancement (e.g. kitty, time, expertise, etc)**

What is your score on all the questions above? If the verdict is that you are fit to be a candidate, prepare yourself for the new you and declare: I am the right candidate because:

- I am qualified
- I am ready
- I possess the attributes of a good leader
- I am financially stable
- I am ready for unfolding political scenarios
- I am an active member of my party and have good rapport with the leadership
- I understand the needs, problems and concerns of my constituency or ward
- I can make a difference
- I am not violent and do not support violence
- I am popular
- I am active in my party's affairs



Six

Now You are a Candidate

You have established that you have what it takes to win the election. Remember that a good leader must have an excellent grasp of all aspects of their constituency or ward. The assumption is that you have fulfilled the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) requirements and that you know your constituency's/ward's vital statistics. To put up and implement a successful campaign strategy, you will require accurate, up to date and timely data. You need to know the constituency or ward like the back of your hand.

I Vital statistics

Know all the important aspects of the area.

1. The geography of the area
2. The population make-up of the area
3. Election history of the area (who has run before, which is the dominant party, etc)
4. Economic activities
5. Literacy levels
6. Health situation, etc.

II. Getting yourself known

One of the first steps in a campaign is to make your name known to as many people as possible. After that, you can work on persuading them to vote for you. Each one of us enjoys a certain degree of name recognition in varying degrees as a result of our interactions, networks in business, social and civic activities. This recognition is, however, mostly limited to small segments of voters. It is important that you make efforts to ensure that those who do not recognise your name or know you do so before polling day. This is how to do it:

i) Be active in organisations

Move around so that people know you. In organisations and groups in which you are already a member, attend meetings regularly and participate in projects. Ensure that you talk to as many people as possible.

ii) Seek leadership opportunities

Look for opportunities to move into leadership positions within the organisations you belong to and within your community. Make sure you do not take up positions you may not have time for. Bite only what you can chew. Plan so that friends

propose or nominate you for important positions, for example, a PTA committee membership, a religious committee or an investment club. Go for positions that make you the group or organisation's spokesperson. It gives you immediate visibility.

iii) Be visible in your constituency/ward

Ask friends to take you along to their group meetings as a guest so that you meet new people. Move about in the constituency or ward, attending as many diverse functions as possible. If you have children in school, attend all their school functions. Have your ear to the ground so that you know the events happening in your area that are open to the public. Attend.

iv) Speak out on issues

Use every opportunity to speak out on issues of concern to the constituency or ward. Do this at every meeting you attend. Try and get invited to some of the meetings as a speaker. When you get the opportunity, prepare yourself before you speak. Spend time studying issues and what they mean to the constituency or ward. Develop a point of view that you will articulate when you begin to speak as a candidate. As an example, if you are running for a civic seat, talk about improvement of services, e.g. renovating the local market, garbage collection, etc.

v) Write letters to editors

Write letters to the editor of a widely read newspaper, a local one if there is. It is relatively easy to have your letters published if you write on interesting and current topics that are of interest to your area. Make the letters short and to the point. Make each letter memorable to the reader. After it appears in the newspaper, have your friends respond. Arrange with friends to respond to your letters saying, in effect, "(your name) makes sense." This keeps your name in the public domain and people will remember you.

vi) Appear on TV

If there is good TV reception in your area, appear on television talk shows that give you an opportunity to speak about your area. Appear also in programmes that are of interest to your voters. Appear in moderation.

The above are not the only activities you can engage in to keep your name in your voters' mind. Seek as many opportunities as you can. Many of the voters may never see you, but they will remember your name.

III Putting a workforce together

The moment you decide to become a candidate, you stop just talking and start

organising. Organising is a big job. You cannot afford to waste time, even if the election is many months away. You can begin by organising yourself, bringing in selected friends to help you build your organising committee and a campaign machine.

You will be depending on your friends and supporters' goodwill and cannot afford to take them for granted. You will be asking for their time, money, materials and cars, among other things. Get organised!

Before they can commit themselves to your campaign, they will want answers to some basic questions. These questions are similar to those you asked yourself before you decided to run. They will ask:

- **Why are you running?**
- **What are your qualifications?**
- **How popular are you?**
- **What is your support base?**
- **What are the issues and what is your position on them?**
- **What kind of campaign do you plan?**
- **What will it cost?**
- **Do you have any personal problems which might interfere with your campaign, for example, skeletons in your closet?**
- **What is your political ambition?**

You may also be asked about issues not directly related to your immediate campaign – for example, personal matters. These questions will be asked in one form or another throughout the campaign. Get used to them!

It is important that you answer these questions if you want support. It is, however, not possible for you to personally answer all the questions you are asked. The following can help:

i) Develop a Personal Profile

This will provide the answers to many questions but not all of them. It will help in getting your constituents to know you. Write a one-page summary of your social status, education background, academic and professional qualifications, your track record in community activities and state your vision, views and positions on major issues. This becomes your Candidate's Profile. It could be handwritten at the beginning, but would be useful if it was printed and ready for quick distribution. The Candidate's Profile will be a major help when you start mobilising supporters, raising money and recruiting members of various committees.

ii) Make a budget

A tentative budget serves as guide for potential contributors and those concerned with costs. It is:

- A financial illustration of the campaign's priorities
- A formal request to the campaign's fundraising component
- A financial reflection of your strategic choices in the campaign
- A tool against crisis management in the "battle"

Every activity you engage in has a cost. List realistic estimates by major categories:

- Campaign team allowances
- Agents' fees,
- Mobilisation,
- Transport,
- Communication,
- Food and accommodation,
- Advertising,
- Campaign materials,
- Overhead costs, etc

(Treat this as a confidential document. You do not want your opponent to know the kind of campaign you plan).

iii) Develop a list of known and potential supporters

A candidate needs support of all kinds. You will need groups, institutions, networks and individuals to run around for you, to network, to monitor, for security, to gather information, think and strategise with you, contribute money, cars, fuel, tents, food, time and various types of expertise, among others. You must know who they are, where they are, what they can contribute, when they are available, their expertise, etc. To be able to maximise on the benefits of their support, you must develop an inventory, which includes a list of various categories of supporters and what they can contribute when. They include, but are not limited to:

- Friends
- Relatives
- People who have offered help and what type of help
- Professionals from the area
- Elected officials or former elected officials
- Organisations
- Different groups which share your interests and views
- Experienced campaigners/mobilisers/fundraisers and others in the community
- People with various skills and expertise
- Available and potential assistance from outside the constituency/ward

Once you have this inventory, you will be able to form committees and assign various tasks. With the help of a few close friends, form an organising committee. This will be an informal group, organised for the sole purpose of helping you to make some basic policy decisions and to recruit people for key positions in your campaign committee. This is not the campaign committee. It is your THINKTANK.

Seven

The Campaign Plan



“No part of the education of a politician is more indispensable than the fighting of elections.”
—Winston Churchill

1. What is a campaign plan?

As stated before, you need to get organised. To do this, you need a campaign plan. What is it? What does it entail? A campaign plan is crucial. It must be prepared by experienced, trusted people who are close to you.

A campaign plan is the same as any project plan. It is the simple process of setting goals and deciding how to reach them. Planning is an inherent part of the campaigning process, from deciding what kind of campaign outfit to form, to organising fund-raising and other campaign events. While nothing can eliminate the stress of the countdown to Election Day, the proper organisation of a political campaign can help manage unnecessary challenges. It will help you:

- **Make better use of your resources: Time, money, people, etc.**
- **Make clear goals**
- **Identify problems early**
- **Avoid pitfalls and surprises**
- **Get everyone marching in the same direction.**

A campaign is a road map to help a candidate get enough votes (50%+1) to win an election. It recognises that there are different stages (landmarks) on the road to victory. The plan, therefore, identifies them, develops strategies to deal with them, details activities at every stage and finally costs them.

The campaign plan also identifies resources required to mount a successful campaign. On this aspect, it answers the questions:

- How will they be raised?
- Who will raise them?

- How will they be utilised?
- What will they be used for?
- When will they be raised/used?
- Who will be responsible for them?
- How will they be accounted for?

A campaign plan sends out a message to supporters, potential contributors and your opponent that you are a serious candidate. It gives them a window through which they can assess your seriousness and capacity, depending on your campaign outreach.

Before embarking on the plan, familiarise yourself with the electoral process and its timelines. This information is available at the Electoral Commission of Kenya and in civil society organisations that focus on elections.

The size and scope of your plan will depend on whether you are running for a parliamentary or civic seat. It will also depend on how much detail you want to include.

2. Elements of a campaign plan

The campaign plan should take into account the following seven basic elements:

- i) **Set goals:** Define specific objectives as these will be the foundation upon which the whole campaign will be based.
- ii) **Research:** Put facts together, gather data on the constituency or ward, identify problems, identify strengths, weaknesses and opportunities, identify allies and opposition, study issues; analyse your data.
- iii) **Identify targets:** Map out the different areas, personalities (opinion leaders) groups, interests, among others, in your constituency.
- iv) **Strategies:** Select courses of action and decide policies. Allocate.
- v) **Media and publicity:** Develop a strategy to reach different constituencies. Make sure it is broadcast to reach as wide an audience as possible through media, e.g. radio, TV, newspapers, songs, plays, etc.
- vi) **Support/Funds:** List the resources you need, e.g. materials, people, money, time, etc. Then develop a fundraising strategy.
- vii) **Schedule:** Establish a timetable for starting and completing every action; identify priorities.
- viii) **Responsibilities:** Assign responsibility for each decision and action. You could have a big support base but if it is not focused, it is useless and could sometimes become destructive. List roles, responsibilities and tasks then assign accordingly.

- ix) **Budget:** Put a price tag on every item and action. This will give you an indication of the amount of funding you need to raise. A budget determines the type of campaign you are going to mount. The bigger and intense a campaign is, the higher the budget required will be.
- x) **Launch:** The launch must attract great attention so that it is memorable. It should be done in a creative way. During the launch, the campaign message, slogan, symbol and party you are running on are going to be revealed. It will mark the beginning of your race to the polling station.
- xi) **Monitor the campaign:** Keep tabs on the plan and be flexible so that you can alter where necessary for maximum impact and results.

3. The Campaign Team

To develop and implement a campaign plan, it would be very helpful to have a campaign committee that meets on a regular basis. The committee members should be people you know and trust. Some may be new people you recruit specifically because of their expertise in the various aspects of a campaign, for example, media, political and electoral strategy and fund raising experts, among others. This group should reflect the breadth of your constituency.

Before you embark on your campaign plan, you should identify three crucial people without whom a campaign cannot be effective. These three people hold the positions of

1. **Treasurer,**
2. **Fundraiser and**
3. **Campaign Manager/Coordinator.**

Depending on the size and budget of your campaign, these positions can be filled by employees or volunteers. Their roles are outlined below:

The treasurer is responsible for maintaining the campaign's financial accounting. While this can be done by a trusted family member or friend, having a professional accountant will often help you to avoid unnecessary conflicts and ensure professionalism. More than anything else, the treasurer must have the time necessary to perform the duties of his or her office on a daily basis and give attention to detail in order to avoid any costly mistakes.

The fundraiser's job is primarily to raise the money needed for a successful campaign. He or she is also responsible for projecting expected fundraising. The bulk of the work related to fundraising, however, remains the candidate's job. No paid or volunteer fundraiser can ever be as effective as the candidate in soliciting donations. The fundraiser's job is to ensure that the candidate's efforts are properly

focused and optimised. In many cases, the candidate's spouse is an ideal choice for a campaign fundraiser. He or she has the necessary relationship with the candidate to keep him/her focused and doing follow-ups on contributors.

A fundraiser will employ a variety of methods to raise funds, including:

- Coordinating and overseeing all fundraising efforts
- Working with supporters to plan and host fundraising events
- Making contact and organising meetings for the candidate with potential donors
- Liaising with potential supporters and groups, including sitting elected officials and issue-based organisations to solicit their support on behalf of the candidate.

The campaign manager's job is to run the campaign. You need a Campaign Manager, someone who has organising skills and an ability to work with people. They need to be able to tell you when you are saying or doing something wrong. They need to be trustworthy. They need to be committed to the issues and the shared vision of the campaign. They need to have a good political sense of the community and constituency. They need to have good follow-up skills and tact. It is very, very difficult for the candidates to act as their own campaign manager. This should be avoided at all costs.

While many candidates like to do this themselves, they are too distracted by fundraising and public appearances (gracing various occasions and functions) to be effective managers. For the vast majority of campaigns, a full-time manager is necessary (paid or on volunteer basis) to ensure that campaign problems (and opportunities) are being promptly addressed. Remember, in a campaign, there are no extensions on the ultimate deadline: Election Day. Having a candidate/campaign manager team who can inspire and motivate others is a great benefit to a campaign.

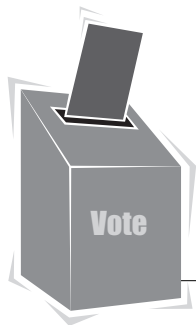
4. Developing your message

One of the most important elements of any successful political campaign is the message. It is what separates one campaign from another. It is what drives your campaign. Most importantly, it is what a voter takes with them into the polling station on Election Day.

Unfortunately, most candidates do not find it necessary to develop a strategically-effective message. The result is a communications effort that is off target and resulting in a great deal of wasted time and money.

To develop an effective message, you must first ask yourself: What are the major issues of your campaign? Although you cannot address all of them, you need to know as many as possible. Generally, it is best to choose a few — say, three or four major issues that are important to the people in your constituency or ward. You should think about how to learn more about them from other people, research, direct experience, and any other ways so that you can develop positions. Throughout the campaign, they will think of the three or four issues you are promoting. Do not hit voters with unclear, long and unfriendly messages.





Eight

Voter Targeting

Remember, voters are influenced by various factors which include:

- **Culture:** Community beliefs, norms, practices and stereotypes
- **Social factors:** The people they associate with, family roles and status
- **Personal:** Age, occupation, economic circumstances, lifestyle, personality and how they see themselves
- **Psychological:** Motivation, how they see things, learning, beliefs and attitudes

The first thing a candidate should know is how many votes they need to win the election (50 per cent plus one). A candidate cannot reach out to all voters, even though this is the ideal situation. Voter targeting is, therefore, about a candidate strategically reaching out to voters who are most likely to vote for her. Do not waste time trying to reach everyone. To know this, you need to have some basic data.

- Identify the voters and where they are (ECK).
- Establish voter behaviour (women, men and the youth) including voting patterns and turnout (ECK).
- Divide the constituency or ward demographically, that is according to voters' income, education levels, gender and social status and profession, among others.
- Prioritise who to target and how you will do it.

To complement the above,

i) Develop a constituency inventory

This will break the constituency into smaller manageable groups which will be very useful. Identify groups held together by common bonds and interests and who have their own internal communication system. One example is the youth — they have strong bonds and have an effective internal language (for example, Sheng). Other groups will include:

- Women's groups
- Merry-go-round groups,
- Church groups,
- Sports groups,
- Clubs and
- "Old families" in the area, among others.

ii) Identify friendly groups

This begins with groups in which you are a member or share interests, for example, the business community and school board. You must move out of your comfort zone and identify (and list) groups of people who would be inclined to support you because of your background, views, interests, community projects, or for other reasons. These include old school and classmates, members of your church or a professional association you belong to.

iii) Select the group to penetrate

This is a task of rating constituency groups according to their size and influence in your community. Suppose, for example, that the candidates the hawkers' association endorses always seem to win elections. This would mean that you identify the hawkers association as one of the major constituencies to penetrate. On the other hand, you may want to rule out some group if their membership is small and they don't seem to carry weight with the majority of voters.

Having done this, you should establish, cultivate and sustain voter contact with the various groups and areas. Make sure you do not lose it. Keep contact personally, by agent, through the media and other activities. Find voters in their localities, work places (reasonably) and public places. Reach out.

Nine

Fundraising

“Every donation received is a potential negative advert. Vetting money is just as important as raising it.”

Running for political office is a serious undertaking. Diverse resources are needed to make your bid realistic. All resources are geared towards making it possible to communicate with your voters (the prize).

You do not want to finance your own campaign. Even if you can afford it, it is not smart. If you cannot get people to contribute money to get you elected, you should question whether or not you have the support you need to win the election. Organise a fundraising campaign early. Are there successful local fundraisers who would help your campaign? Basically, what you need for fundraising is:

- A strong Fundraising Manager and an active committee
- A Treasurer to bank money and keep records
- A list of prospective contributors
- Support materials (posters, adverts, etc)
- A plan of action
- An understanding of fundraising techniques.

You, at the onset, need to find out what the rules for fundraising are. Are there limits? You should also be aware that everything is cash and carry in political campaigns. But you don't need all the money at the beginning of the campaign; only enough to get started.

1. Fundraising Plan

Identify a strong Fundraising Manager (must be a person close to you). His first duty will be to identify a fundraising committee. The Fundraising Manager must:

- Know where to find money
- Knows how to get it

- Be persistent, self-motivated, well-organised
- Be committed to help you win the election
- Form a committee, then step back and let it do the job.

The fundraising committee should develop a fundraising plan as early as possible to kick off and sustain the campaign. The plan details the goals and timeframes for the fundraising effort. A good plan must have the following:

- A fundraising schedule with a timeframe on when each activity is to take place and the estimated return from each
- Lists of potential donors and their worth
- Projections of the amounts of money needed to execute each component of the campaign
- Detailed explanations on how each component of the budget is to be executed and what the optimal and minimal budget scenarios would be.

2. Assemble lists of possible donors

The Fundraising Manager should help the committee put together lists of all possible sources of money, including:

- Friends and relatives — yours; committee members'
- Known and possible supporters
- Contributors in previous local elections
- Anyone affected by the outcome of the election
- People who share your interests and views
- Friends outside your voting area

The candidate should make contacts (personal, written, telephone calls) with some of the contributors, especially those close to her. The Fundraising Manager should put in place a mechanism (personal visits, letters, telephone calls, emails, etc) to reach out to those listed and make follow ups. Collection of the funds is very important – you may raise and never receive the funds.

Ten

Media Plan

Develop a media plan as part of the overall campaign plan. Determine a budget for how much you can/want to spend on paid advertising. Where do you want to spend it — radio, TV, print media? Create a media calendar beginning the day after Election Day and working backwards with deadlines and production schedules. Do not forget “day after” the election thank-you adverts and posters. This is a gracious gesture that helps build for the next campaign — whether you win or lose.

Studies also show that people act on what they see in various forms of advertising once they have seen that information for the seventh time. Having people see you in the newspaper, on TV and hear you on the radio makes it more likely that they will remember your name and the issues you stand for. Think of ways to get free media publicity. Do you know any people who work as reporters or editors? What about television or radio talk show hosts? Do issue-oriented, creative press releases and/or events. With friendly press, be sure to follow up and keep in contact. Develop a relationship with individual reporters who will be covering the election. Make use of notice boards in the shopping centres, where available.

Good media releases about your candidacy or initiative are very important. Do as much work for the reporter as possible so that the message you want to relay is changed as little as possible.

Follow up with your display ad contact person to ensure that the correct advertisements are run on schedule, and if allowed by policy, placed where requested.

During the campaign, the reporter may try to get the candidate to respond to something other campaigns are doing. It is very important to stick to your message. Know the three points you want to make and answer every question with one of these three points. Do not allow the media to control your agenda. This takes practice and patience. Do not spend your limited time with the press and your limited free column inches talking about someone else’s agenda.

Eleven

Campaigning

1. Overview

Campaigning begins, in a sense, when you decide to run and you start lining up people and money. All of the organising and fundraising efforts are part of campaigning.

The last six weeks before the election are the official campaign time. It is a crucial period. Voters begin to get interested and the news media start to pay attention.

Long campaigns bore voters. Many of them do not give an election serious thought until days to Election Day. You can waste time, money and effort by starting to campaign too early.

2. General campaign methods

- i) **Pacing:** You and your team should pace your campaign. You should build momentum so your campaign peaks just before the election. You want successive, frequent activities at the end.

Pacing also includes dividing your campaign into phases:

Phase 1: The early phase to introduce yourself and expand name recognition

Phase 2: The mid-period to discuss issues

Phase 3: The final 10-14 days to appeal for votes.

- ii) **Door-to-door:** Take the campaign to the voters in their own homes—with a lot of personal contact
- iii) **“Pocket” Votes:** Research can identify neighbourhoods and groups where you have solid support. Concentrate effort on these “pockets” to consolidate and expand your support.
- iv) **Use the media to your advantage:** The news media reach more people in a day than you can reach in weeks of knocking on doors. Make use of your vernacular channels for radio, newspapers and TV. Participate in interactive and call-in programmes. Cooperate with the media. Learn to create news.
- v) **Rallies:** These draw huge crowds at one place at the same time. They raise curiosity. They present the candidate with an opportunity to present their agenda, pass on their message, and to gauge how receptive the electorate is to her candidature. There is a great multiplier effect.

- vi) **Flexibility:** Things happen fast in campaigns. When opportunities arise, capitalise on them. Be an opportunist.

Put your best foot forward. What matters at the end of the campaign is a victory!

3. Campaign ethics

Ethics are standards of behaviour that tell us what people ought to do in their personal and professional lives. Ethics and ethical standards apply to individuals, organisations, and society (norms) as a whole.

- iv) Evaluating candidate campaign ethics:

Consider these questions when evaluating the ethical behaviour of a candidate:

- Does the candidate listen to and address differing viewpoints by opponents in a respectful and constructive manner?
- Does the candidate change viewpoints to please different audiences?
- Is the candidate consistent and clear when communicating to the public and her supporters?
- Does the candidate's conduct give you reason to distrust her?
- Does the candidate exhibit different conduct in private life and public life?

- v) Campaigning that's Fair & Ethical: Campaigns can be highly critical and hard-hitting and still be fair and ethical. Staying true to a code of ethics and values does not mean that a candidate is limited to making only nice statements about an opponent. Kenya's constitution guarantees freedom of speech and democracy, which should not be weakened by the roughness of an election campaign. Ethical, but hard-hitting campaign messages which focus on issues and the future rather than on personal shortcomings and pettiness can strengthen the democratic process.

What's fair?

- Criticism of a faulty electoral process
- Criticism of the voter registration process
- Questions on inadequate delivery of services
- Criticism of a policy position
- Comparison of experience
- Questions about leadership ability
- Debate of tough political issues
- Appraisal of an incumbent's performance
- Review of the area's development record.

What's Unfair?

- Personal attacks
- Rumours and innuendo
- Distortions and lies
- Unsubstantiated charges of misconduct
- Perpetrating violence
- Gender-based attacks
- Promoting stereotypes.



Appendix 1

Nomination by Political Party

A person shall be deemed to be nominated by a political party for election as a member of the National Assembly for the purposes of sec 34 of the constitution if he/she is selected in the manner provided for in the constitution or rules of the political party concerned. The party certifies the selection to the Electoral Commission.

No person shall be nominated by a political party and no person shall put himself forward for nomination unless he is qualified in all aspects to be elected as a member of the National Assembly. The party shall meet the expenses relating to the party nomination.

The party may request The Electoral Commission to supervise any such party nomination of candidates.

Every political party shall notify the Electoral Commission of Kenya of the name of the person authorised by the party to certify to the Commission that the person has been selected by the party and the person so named shall deposit his or her specimen signature with ECK in such a manner as ECK may require. The Electoral Commission shall supply the same to the Returning Officer.

Once the parties have nominated their candidates, the candidates are required to present their nomination papers to the Electoral Commission in the case of Presidential Candidates or to the Returning Officer (RO) in their respective Constituencies or electoral area for the parliamentary and civic as specified by ROs.

Source: **Electoral Commission of Kenya Website**

Appendix 2

Qualification for Nominations

1. Parliamentary candidates

a) Presidential candidates

To qualify to be nominated as a Presidential candidate, a person must:-

- be a Kenyan citizen
- have attained the age of 35 years
- be a registered voter in some constituency
- be proficient in both English and Kiswahili languages
- be nominated by a registered political party
- be a parliamentary candidate

b) Parliamentary candidates

A person shall be qualified to be nominated as a parliamentary candidate if he/she:

- is a Kenyan citizen
- has attained the age of 21 years
- is a registered voter in a constituency
- is proficient in both English and Kiswahili languages
- is nominated by a registered political party in a manner prescribed by an Act of Parliament

c) Election of councillors

A person shall be qualified to be nominated as a local government election candidate if he/she:

- is registered as a voter in the county council within which the urban council falls
- Except in cases falling in (a) above, must be registered as a voter for the elections of the local authority within which the electoral area (ward) falls. Thus he/she need not be registered as a voter in that particular ward where he/she intends to seek election.
- Is a member of a registered political party that is taking part in the elections?
- Must be duly nominated by that political party in accordance with that political party's constitution or rules relating to the nomination of candidates.
- Must adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct before the nomination by the Returning Officers. The Political Party must adhere to the Electoral Code of Conduct before the candidate is nominated by the Returning Officers (ROS).
- Be a Kenyan citizen
- Be at least 18 years old.

2. Disqualifications for election

a) Parliamentary candidate

A person shall not be qualified to be elected as an elected member of the National Assembly if at the date of nomination for election the said person: -

- owes allegiance, obedience or adherence to a foreign state.
- is serving a prison term exceeding six months as computed by law or has been sentenced to death
- is adjudged to be of unsound mind,
- is declared bankrupt
- has an interest in a class or description of contract made with the Government of Kenya as may be prescribed by Parliament;
- is an employee of the public service, armed forces or a local authority
- has been convicted or reported to be guilty of an election offence for a period of the remaining term of the Parliament following the conviction.

b) Local authority

A prospective candidate for the seat of a councillor may attain all the qualifications mentioned above but be unqualified if he/she:

- is a Member of Parliament
- is reported to be guilty of an election offence
- is within 12 months before the election day been convicted of a criminal offence and was thereby sentenced to be jailed for more than three years and has never been pardoned, unless ECK removes this disqualification.
- is employed by that local authority to which he/she is seeking to be elected.
- holds any office or other place of profit which is wholly or partly in gift or disposed of any local authority or any committee;
- within the past five years before the election had been surcharged by an Inspector under the Local Government Act for an amount exceeding Ksh1,000.
- as a sitting councillor, within the period of three years before the election, was convicted under section 86 A (exceeding the Authority of a councillor with regard to council members) and section 89 (failing to disclose interest in a contract or transaction when the law demands that be done) or both sections of the Local Government Act.

3. Nomination procedures

a) Nomination of presidential candidate

For the purpose of section 5 of the constitution, a presidential candidate shall be nominated by a political party by delivery to the Electoral Commission a nomination paper in Form 7 and 8.

The nomination paper so delivered shall:

- i be signed by the candidate, proposer and seconder, who shall be electors and also national officials of the political party concerned.
- ii contain sufficient and adequate description to identify the candidate.
- iii show the constituencies and electoral number of the proposer and the seconder;
- iv be delivered to the Electoral Commission of Kenya personally by the candidate himself or by his proposer or seconder.
- v Supporters -The candidate shall at the same time deliver to Electoral Commission not less than 1,000 names of registered voters in the election to the National Assembly of which a minimum of one hundred (100) of the supporters must be registered voters from at least five (5) of the eight (8) provinces of Kenya.
- vi The supporter's list must be submitted in Form 8 and the details of each supporter should clearly indicate:
 - vii Name
 - viii Constituency /District
 - ix Electoral Number
 - x Signature/Thumb print

NOMINATION FEES-Ksh50,000 (Fifty thousand shillings) in bankers draft has to be paid. This money is refundable where ECK holds a nomination paper invalid or if the candidate withdraws his candidature.

b) Nomination for parliamentary elections

A candidate pays a fee of Ksh5,000 (five thousand shillings) to the Returning Officers on presentation of nomination papers.

Other than the proposer and the seconder of a candidate, the supporters who must subscribe to the nomination paper are between 7 and 18 in number.

All the subscribers to the nomination paper must be registered voters in that parliamentary constituency for parliamentary elections and belong to the political party that is sponsoring the candidate.

The candidate must produce a certificate from The Electoral Commission of Kenya that she/he has passed the English and Kiswahili test or a letter from ECK exempting the candidate from taking the language test.

c) Nomination for local government elections

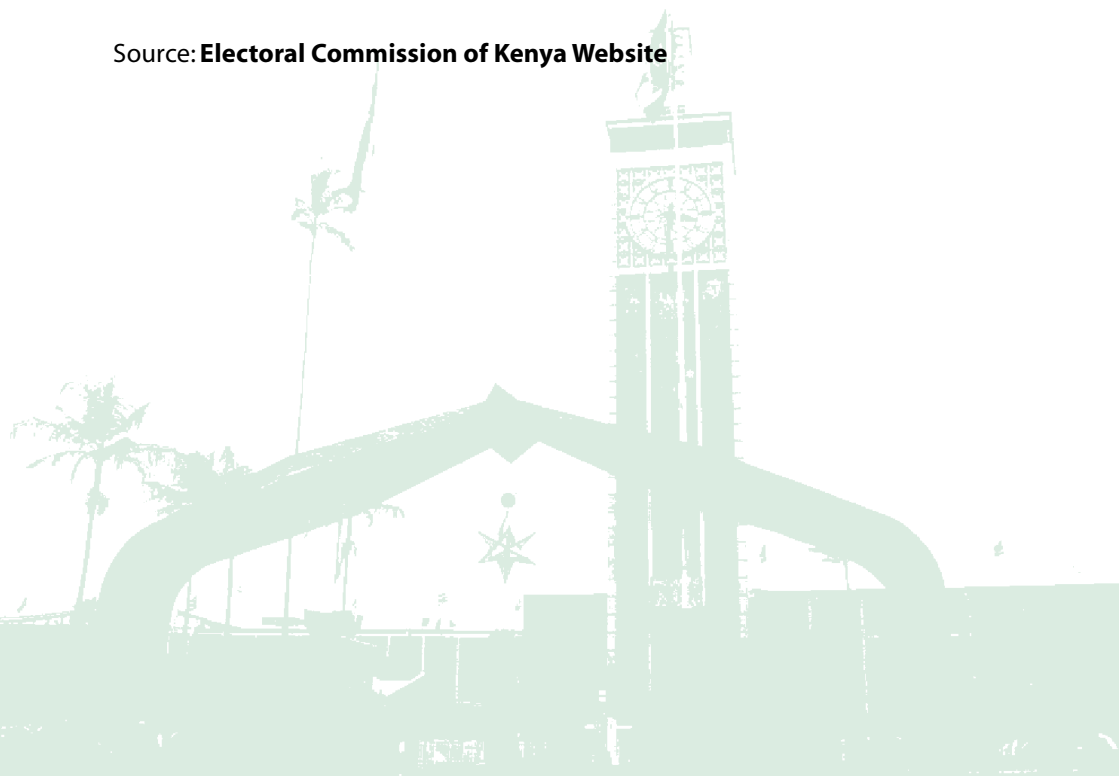
The prospective candidate must:

Present to the RO a duly completed nomination paper. That nomination paper must be subscribed to by: A proposer, a seconder and 5 to 7 persons all whom must be registered voters in the electoral area and belong to the same political party that is sponsoring the prospective candidate.

Produce proof that he/she has subscribed to the Electoral Code of Conduct. The subscription is actually done simultaneously with the presentation of nomination papers.

Present a letter or certificate from a registered political party that has nominated the candidate affirming its nomination of the candidate. The letter must bear the signatures, names and titles of officials who are duly authorised by the party to perform this responsibility. The political party must give ECK's Head Office with the names, official positions and specimen signatures of these authorised party officials before the nomination day; Pay Ksh1,000 to the Returning Officer preferably in banker's draft. Present a statutory declaration duly sworn and attested by a Magistrate or a commissioner for oaths. It should not be more than a month old since it was attested otherwise it will be rejected by the RO.

Source: **Electoral Commission of Kenya Website**



Case Study

Salama Bahati's Parliamentary Bid

Salama Bahati had switched on her television and found a debate on women and politics on one of the stations. There was a gender activist, a male politician and a scholar on the panel.

As the debate raged, she gathered that there was a problem on how the proposed affirmative action in the draft constitution would be implemented. The male politician was saying that it would be wrong for women to be given "free" seats in Parliament.

"Since they came from Beijing, they have been saying they are equal with men. Let them fight it out, after all women are the majority voters! They should vote for their own!" he argued.

The debate was raising serious issues. Salama, who worked for a bank in town, had always said that banking and politics did not mix. However, the issues the male politician was raising disturbed her.

The politician was saying: "Why can't women be happy with the way things are? They are already holding big positions in both the public and private sectors. They are leading big NGOs which are getting a lot of money from donors. By the way, where does all the money go?" he argued.

The programme host, a male journalist, asked the gender activist to respond to what the politician had said. She talked about gender stereotypes, the deliberate and systematic process in which society constructed male and female children through various institutions (family, rites of passage, learning institutions and work places, among others) and the impact this had on them when they grew up. She explained the influence tradition and culture had on this process, adding that the media was one of the main kitchens where gender stereotypes were propagated.

She intimated that the politician was a product of this process and that he would do well to attend one of her training sessions so that he could understand why women, for example, did not vote other women.

When the host asked for final comments the scholar talked about the unequal power relations in society, saying that the reason Africa performed so poorly economically is because it had refused to recognise the economic potential of more than half of its population – women.

She asked women to join political parties and to participate in the coming elections. She urged Kenyans to elect women, saying they would bring a new perspective to planning, sharing and utilisation of national resources. “Women, seek political power and all other good things will follow!”

Salama remembered the programme as if it was yesterday. She had sunk into deep thought after the programme ended and reflected on her life. She found she could identify with what the NGO woman had said. She was also able to understand why the politician spoke the way he did. In a flash, she was able to connect issues being raised in the programme with what she saw at the bank — there were very few women holding top positions.

She decided at that moment that she would run for the Nyumbani parliamentary seat, back home.

Salama was a university graduate and in her early thirties. She was hoping to wed the following year after her fiancée returned from his studies abroad. She had a beautiful, three-year-old daughter from a previous relationship.

She retreated into her constituency a month after she decided to run, eight months before the election. Six months later, she resigned from the bank so that she could concentrate on her election bid. She set up camp in her village as she created networks and laid out her winning campaign strategy. Things were going well initially until questions started popping up on all manner of issues.

“People who knew me from my childhood had shown great support for my bid, but as time went by, they started behaving differently. I think it was because they were getting to know me more and more as details about my personal life emerged,” she said.

There were questions about her youthfulness – would she be able to represent her constituency adequately? Was she up to the task? Was she familiar with their issues having spent the better part of her adult life in the city? Her opponents started capitalising on these questions. They said she was naive. That a woman of her age should first look for a husband, make a home and run it before trying to run their constituency. “She is untried! Untested!” they said.

Salama's network was alive and it started countering the propaganda being spread. They said it was time young people took over leadership. Their constituency needed new blood. That *Salama ni wetu* [she is one of our own] and she understood their issues. They said she had held a high and important position at the bank and had performed beyond her superior's expectations. Some people nodded in agreement as others looked for new ammunition.

"What about her single status? Who is the father of her child? Is she not setting a bad example to our girls?" some church elders asked.

"She is getting married," her team responded.

"To whom is she getting married? Who will be our MP, her or her husband?" they asked.

When it transpired that her would-be husband was indeed from another district, things got worse.

"She will move to another district and we will be left without an MP!"

Salama quickly put together her campaign team that helped to organize her programme and in the allocation of duties. There was now a person who took care of the bad publicity and organised for responses. Her campaign got on track and all indications were that she was the front runner for the seat. And this scared her opponents, who were all male.

On deciding to run, she had looked around for a party that she would run on. She joined the Chama cha Wananchi Party and participated in its grassroots elections. She was elected as a delegate from her location and a Deputy Secretary General at the national level. Salama participated in party activities and contributed her time and resources whenever she could. She joined the party's presidential candidate's campaign team and became one of the campaign planners.

When nominations came, she had a fairly easy time as party members and leaders already knew and respected her from their various interactions as they worked for the party. She beat her closest opponent by a wide margin. And she entered the hottest phase of the campaign.

"I emerged as a serious contender for the seat and my opponents started sensing defeat after I was nominated. A month before elections, some of my women supporters were beaten up while others were threatened with rape as they left a planning meeting at seven in the evening," she recalled.

And things did not get any easier. Serious violence broke out. One of her opponents hired thugs whom he fed with local brews and other intoxicants. He armed them with all manner of weapons and stationed them at strategic locations. The constituents, especially women, stopped attending meetings for fear of attacks and Salama started fearing for her life. Her opponent's *jeshi* was temporarily in control of the constituency using violence.

It seemed as if the government security agents were compromised. They did not answer the various distress calls her teams made. The head of the area police station missed several security meeting requested by Salama's group.

"But my campaign team had in place a strong security network which we immediately activated. Different security groups were located in strategic locations. We made it known to the opponent that we were ready to repulse any attacks from then onwards. Our teams became visible, they were well organised and disciplined and the chain of command was clear. They did not drink while on duty," she said.

Within a few days, the other group stopped harassing her team. In fact, some had wanted to join her team, but they were turned down.

Salama was able to address rallies across the constituency and to move during her door to door campaigns. She had a security detail around her round the clock. She had made her point.

On Election Day she had a well organised team and agents in all polling stations. There was a team which made sure they were fed and that those who moved from station to station monitoring the situation had adequate transport.

She spent the whole night at the district headquarters where the votes were being tallied. At around six in the morning, Salama Bahati was declared the winner and therefore new Member of Parliament for Nyumbani constituency. She had beaten six men.

Appendix 3

Registered Political Parties

Party Name	Abbreviation
1. Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	PICK
2. National Development Party of Kenya	NDP
3. Umma – Patriotic Party of Kenya	UPPK
4. National Alliance Party	NAP
5. Green African Party	GAP
6. United Patriotic Party of Kenya	UPPK
7. National Rainbow Coalition	NARC
8. Safina Party	SAFINA
9. Forum For The Restoration of Democracy for the People (Ford-People)	FORD-P
10. Kenya African National Union	KANU
11. Economic Independence Party	EIP
12. Kenya Social Congress	KSC
13. Kenya National Democratic Alliance	KENDA
14. Kenya National Congress	KNC
15. Democratic Assistance Party	DAP
16. Federal Party of Kenya	FPK
17. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford Asili)	FORD-A
18. Democratic Party of Kenya	DP
19. Reform of Political and Kenya Union	RPKU
20. New Peoples Democratic Party	NPDP
21. Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford Kenya)	FORD-K
22. Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party	KNPDP
23. Social Democratic Party of Kenya	SDP
24. Kenya Socialist Party	KSP
25. Peoples Party of Kenya	PPK
26. Shirikisho Party of Kenya	SPK
27. Kenya Republican Reformation Party	KRRP
28. Reform Party of Kenya	RPK
29. Labour Party of Kenya	LPK
30. The Peoples' Solidarity Union of Kenya	PSUK
31. Kenya People's Party	KPP
32. Peoples Democratic Union of Kenya	PDUK
33. National Conservative Party of Kenya	NCPK
34. United Democrats of Peace and Integrity in Kenya	UDPIK
35. United Kenya Citizen Party	UKCP
36. National Labour Party	LABOUR

37. Kenya Patriotic Trust Party
38. Chama Cha Umma Party
39. Liberal Democratic Party
40. Social Party for Advancement and Reforms – Kenya
41. Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwangaza
42. Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
43. Mass Party of Kenya
44. United Agri Party
45. Republican Party of Kenya
46. Kenya African Democratic Development Union
47. Social People’s Party and Congress
48. United Peoples Party
49. National Progressive Party
50. Kenya Citizens Congress
51. Kenya National Democratic Party

KPTP
CCU
LDP
SPAR
CCM
SKSPK
MPK
UAP
RPK
KADDU
SPPC
UPP
NPP
KCC
KNDP

Source: **Electoral Commission of Kenya Website**



Appendix 4

Media Contacts

Nairobi

Media

	Contacts	
1. Nation Newspapers	Tel: 32088437/9 Fax: 213946	Email: newsdesk@nation.co.ke
2. N TV/Radio	Tel: 32088808/9 Fax: 247 505	Email: tvnews@nation.co.ke
3. Kenya Television Network (KTN)	Tel: 3222111 Fax: 214467, 215400	Email: news@ktnkenya.com
4. Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC)	Tel: 221200/228123 Fax: 229655	Email: kbc@swiftkenya.com/ news@kbc.co.ke
5. Standard Newspapers	Tel: 3222111/332658/9/0 Fax: 214467	Email: editorial@eastandard.net
6. People Newspaper	Tel: 253166/8/249686 Fax: 253344	Email: editor@people.co.ke
7. Kenya Times	Tel: 310530/250344 Fax: 332055	Email: kenyatimes@timesnews.co.ke
8. Capital FM	Tel: 210020 Fax: 340621	Email: news@capitalfm.co.ke
9. Citizen Radio/TV	Tel: 2724219/2724220 Fax: 249126	Email: news@royalmedia.co.ke;
10. Kiss FM	Tel: 4447403/4447407 Fax: 4447410	Email: news@kissfm.co.ke
11. Kameme FM	Tel: 343054/311724/249781 Fax: 249781	Email: kamemenews@kameme.com
12. Radio Waumini	Tel: Fax 861946	Email: radiowaumini@wananchi.com
13. Family Media	Tel: 4200000/4200116 Fax: 4200100	Email: news@familykenya.com
14. East FM	Tel: 533777/531759 Fax: 553171	Email: joan@eastfm.com;
15. IQRA	Tel: 4447624	Email: faroum2002@yahoo.com
16. Kenya News Agency	Tel 218473,	Email: nairobi-kna1@iconnect.co.ke
18. Financial Post	Tel: 244408/17	Email: editorial@financialpost.co.ke

Mombasa

1. KBC	Tel: 041 2313380/1	
2. KTN	Tel: 041 22230884 Fax: 041 2230814	
3. Nation Newspapers	Tel: 041 222241/ 225830/ 23	
4. Standard Newspapers	Tel: 041 2230884/2230897 Fax: 041 2230814	
5. Kenya Times	Tel: 041 315151/865706	
6. Kenya News Agency	Tel: 041 315868/224842	Email: kna8@iconnect.co.ke

Kisumu

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. KBC | Tel: 057 2021401 |
| 2. Nation Newspapers | Tel: 057 21229/ 21230/21699 |
| 3. Standard Newspapers | Tel: 057 2022820/2021866 |
| 4. Kenya Times | Tel: 057 397322 |
| 5. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 057 2022714/43362 |

Nakuru

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. KBC | Tel: 051 2215329/2216691 |
| 2. Nation Newspapers | Tel: 051 215506/215740/ 211688 |
| 3. Standard Newspapers | Tel: 051 2214289 |
| | Fax: 051 2217348 |
| 4. Kenya Times | Tel: 051 215509 |
| 5. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 051 210048/212656 |

Kakamega

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. KBC | Tel: 056 30668 |
| 2. Standard Newspapers | Tel: 056 30368/30255 |
| 3. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 056 30029/20445 Email: kna7@swiftkisumu.com |

Nyeri

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. KBC | Tel: 061 2030619 |
| 2. Nation Newspapers | Tel: 061 30300 |
| 3. Standard Newspapers | Tel: 061 2030373 |
| | Fax: 061 2030740 |
| 4. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 061 2032239 Email: kna5@wananchi.com |

Meru

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Nation Newspapers | Tel: 064 30100 |
| 2. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 064 20208 Email: kna3meru@insightkenya.com |

Eldoret

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Nation Newspapers | Tel: 053 63015/63007 |
| 2. Standard Newspapers | Tel: 053 2030482 |
| | Fax: 053 2033438 |
| 3. Kenya Times | Tel: 053 33503 |
| 4. Kenya News Agency | Tel: 053 33795/32437 Email: kna6eld@africaonline.co.ke |

Wundanyi

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| Kenya News Agency | Tel: 043 42122 Email: kna8@iconnect.co.ke |
|-------------------|---|

Malindi

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| Kenya News Agency | Tel: 042 20246/308031 Email: kna8mld@swiftmalindi.co.ke |
|-------------------|--|

Homa Bay

- | | |
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| Kenya News Agency | Tel: 059 22511/22412 Email: kna2bay@swiftkisumu.com |
|-------------------|---|

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Email: kna2rya@swfhduma.com

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Email: kna2kgm@swfhduma.com

Busia

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Email: kna2ba@swfhduma.com

Kisumu

Kenya News Agency

Tel: 053 22348

Source: Association of Health Workers of Kenya (AHWK)



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