



Session March 9th 2020: Situational Analysis on Women in Political Participation for Kenya

Presenter: Mr. Andiwo Obondo, Center for Research and Innovation in East Africa

Research background

Mr. Andiwo's presentation introduced the research findings that informed the WPP report. The three main objectives of the research project were:

- To research and highlight contemporary issues of relevance to women's political participation in Africa.
- Research and analyse different options for advancing women's participation in decision-making.
- Add to efforts at building a fairer society that places prime value on women's role and contributions.

The main participants in this research included: Parliament, independent institutions, civil society organizations, women in political activism and FAWE Regional Secretariat. The methodology used included document review, key informant interviews and focus group discussions.

Findings

Mr. Andiwo guided the group in reviewing and discussing the key findings from the research. Some of key barriers to WPP included socio-cultural factors, economic and financial constraints, electoral and political violence, slow legislative and legal guidelines operationalization as well as barriers related to tools, capacities and resources. Despite all these barriers, women have made notable strides in political participation. For instance, Article 27(2); Article 81(B) and Article 2(4) are some of the key legislations that have been put in place to end discrimination in service delivery, empower women through affirmative action as well as outlaw discriminatory laws against women respectively. Domestication of international and regional treaties such as UHDR, ICCR, CEDAW, and ACHPR have also been key indicators of progress in WPP.

Some notable benefits of WPP include increased diversity of experiences and inclusive leadership. There is also a change in the overall approach of issues to be more people-centered with emphasis on nonviolent approach to problems. These benefits among others have served as evidence of democratization and a source of inspiration to girls and young women.

After conducting the research and reviewing the barriers and progress made, the research found some gaps and made the following key recommendations to the various stakeholders in WPP:

- AU, ECOSOCC, and REC should promote and protect women's rights by ensuring accountability regarding numerous provisions that speak to women and girls issues such as ACDEG. They should also provide technical support to member states to ensure implementation of such provisions.
- The government of Kenya, through its parliament, should improve on legislative actions that promote WPP. Additionally, it should take measures that support, empower, and engage women in campaigns that create awareness and promote economic empowerment. Given that one of the biggest barriers for WPP is funding, the government should promote laws that regulate campaign spending.
- For political parties and actors, it is their responsibility to put in place and adhere to rules that ensure gender parity, safety of women leaders and affirmative action for women in their parties. They can also involve women in strategic levels of party organizing as chairpersons, secretary generals and in other capacities.
- The electoral management body should reform or develop policies that promote WPP in elections. It is also within their mandate to regulate and oversee party nominations and elections that are compliant with electoral codes and are free of impunity and violence against women. They should also conduct voter education and sensitization of women candidates and voters.
- The media plays a key role in highlighting gender issues and profiling of WPP. Media outlets should stick to consequential facts and stop trivializing gender issues or reporting biased news about WPP. For this to happen, there has to be active capacity building and gender sensitization.
- Women leaders have a key role to play in increasing WPP. They should support capacity-building programmes that seek to bring more women on board. They should form a broad-based network across party lines to champion the advancement of women in politics. By bringing in men as allies, they can lobby them for support instead of seeing them as adversaries.
- For WPP Project and partner CSO's, the research recommended that they continue to engage in active advocacy and awareness creation. They should also institutionalize gender responsiveness and inclusion; advocate for more pathways to women leadership; develop standard monitoring framework for Kenya; fund grassroot organizations for capacity building among others.

Feedback from group discussion

The groups discussed other barriers that deter active WPP in Kenya.

- The role of Faith Based Organizations and religion should not be ignored. Religion continues to be one of the greatest and most effective tools that are used to perpetuate gender stereotypes that are harmful to women. This can be seen through the language used to describe women and their role in religious circles.
- Culture of handouts. The rich are seen as leaders because of their money and this leaves women out of the running since they do not have enough resources to give out.
- Safety and security. For instance, men can easily campaign at night while women might be in more danger in such circumstances. A female politician shared about how she wears trousers inside her dress in case there is unrest at rallies.
- Corruption within political parties.
- Lack of, or inadequate, political goodwill.
- Lack of strategic alliances and networks.

- High salaries for legislators. Today, the field of politics has become highly lucrative, thus excluding women even further.
- Institutions like councils of elders are made up of men. They mentor and choose those men to run for political positions.

Possible solutions to these barriers?

- There needs to be a change of social perspectives i.e. resocialization of communities on how they view WPP so as to create positive attitudes towards women leadership. We must look at the totality of the agents of social construction of gender and deconstruct them. It starts from the home, media, and community which often dichotomize roles and use this to create unhealthy limitations for women.
- There should be a diversification of areas in governance where women are represented so that they are not just seen in areas of education, health, and environment (considered more feminine areas) but also be engaged in strategic areas such as treasury, infrastructure, and military and so on.
- Our solutions for increasing WPP should also include women with disabilities and challenges specific to them rather than blanket as women.
- It is time we redefine our beliefs and values and reanalyze social structures that continue to promote patriarchy and hold women back. Women politicians continue using structures made for male politicians. Mentoring and capacity building should therefore not be about falling in the mainstream that is designed by men and for men but rather should incorporate unlearning and relearning of new values that are more conducive for WPP.
- Focus on mindset transformation. Technical skills without change of mindset will fail to meet the intended outcome.
- Focus more on giving women the technical skills to raise funds for themselves.
- Women should invest more on building social capital which may be useful when fundraising for campaigns.

What is the progress of WPP in Kenya?

- Affirmative action, $\frac{2}{3}$ gender rule - e.g. in Murang'a its almost 50/50 representation in parliament.
- Increased advocacy for women empowerment e.g. the ongoing conference and launch of intergenerational mentorship program.
- More women have access to academic opportunities which creates a strong foundation for WPP. There are more organizations supporting children and girls to access education and stay in school.
- Inclusion of women in working committees. Although the numbers are still low there is notable growth in inclusion.
- Women are incorporated at community level leadership e.g. women are now allowed to be members of the Luo council of elders.

What can stakeholders do to support WPP in Kenya?

- Deeper trends analysis of the situation to understand the ongoing political trends and why they are going the way they are e.g. why there is a decline in the number of elected MCA's in some counties in consecutive election cycles.
- Have female leaders engage university students as mentors to prepare them for bigger political roles as well as taking care of those who lose so that they are able to return.
- FAWE should lobby the government and executive to comply with laws and regulations that promote equal participation at all levels as well as formulate appropriate policies and programs for women and allocate resources for implementation.
- The judiciary should hold perpetrators of gender-based political violence and corruption accountable and ensure proper implementation of the constitution.
- Media should act more ethically, stop harassing women politicians, and provide an equal platform for all.
- Religious organizations should encourage women to vie for political positions and preach against gender stereotypes.
- CSO's should take a more political stance in supporting women in public scenes e.g. defending women being crucified in public and promoting bills and activities of WPP.

Way forward for FAWE WPP Project?

- Develop and validate a curriculum for women in politics. There are other programs that have already done this and FAWE intends to collaborate with them to develop standard guidelines and synergize their efforts and resources.
- Develop facilitators modular for training women in WPP.
- Engage in networking and partnerships at both national and international levels.
- Consider programs like MASHAV in Israel and ACTIL in Kenya as partners with proven results. They can learn from them and adopt best practices from programs that have already been useful
- Implementation of mentorship programs at all education levels through Tuseme clubs and partnerships with tertiary institutions among others.

What existing programs can FAWE reach out to?

- Engage UN country branches more to know what they are doing in the area. For instance, UN Women, Kenya School of Government, ECO Africa, and the State Department of Gender were conducting a training program for women aspirants in county governments yet most of the Deputy Governors in attendance and CSO representatives were not aware. Creating synergy between such programs will ensure efficient utilization of resources and broader reach of impact. Since the first cohort of 71 already graduated, they could partner to scale-up instead of duplicating.
- Engage ACTIL which has already developed facilitator and capacity building manuals.
- Go through the Council of Governors with recommendations, which is key on gender mainstreaming so that the Deputy Governors can stay informed.
- Bring in disability councils in Kenya and human rights agencies as the project moves forward to ensure inclusivity and diversity of ideas.

- Engage the teachers in primary schools as schools are now encouraging children to elect their own leadership. This is an opportunity to create a model to promote gender parity from an early age. The pupils can also be directly reached through associations like girl scouts.
- Program for people with disabilities e.g. Norwegian Christian Democratic Party is engaging with political parties and exploring ways to engage more people with disabilities, especially women.
- The new school curriculum has already changed to be more comprehensive of developing value systems, and since FAWE focuses on education, they should use this as a platform to engage with schools and monitor for impact.
- FAWE should find creative ways to offer financial support for campaigns instead of only focusing on capacity building since this is a big challenge facing WPP. They can have a trust fund for women to save their money for political campaigns, help them to develop manifestos etc.
- Registrar of political parties to push WPP agendas.
- Legal departments in the country as well as parliament.
- Other NGOs in the area of focus.
- Media, both mainstream and social media. FAWE should be ready to take more chances in the media to create visibility as well as criticize damaging representations of WPP by the media.
- Leadership clubs at community level that emphasize WPP.
- County governments and other government bodies such as Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC)
- Under Women Representative Seat, they have money 39mil, at senate there are no resources - taking opportunity for women to

Recommendations for this particular study

- Recommendation was made for a deeper study to analyze trends in WPP. For instance in 2013 Nandi had no women MCA's and in 2017 they had 6; Taita Taveta had none in 2013, 1 in 2017 after a by-election, and zero in 2020; Bungoma has the highest number of female MCA's; 50/50 for MP's for Muranga. This study should also look at the aspirants who presented e.g. why are women not vying for some positions in some areas.
- No one considers Deputy Governors as elected members yet they were elected on the same ticket as the governors.
- BBI legal language complications i.e. use of language like "should consider" instead of "should" and the implications this might have if BBI goes through.
- Interpret the BBI and understand the implications it will have on WPP if it passes e.g. Women Representatives in Parliament today have resources of 39 million Kenya shillings to do projects in their communities. These seats will be removed and they will instead run for senate where they won't have any development fund at their disposal.

Session on March 11th: Situational Analysis on Women in Political Participation for Tanzania

Presenter: Mr. Duncan and Ms. Tindi from Center for Research and Innovations East Africa

Research Background

The presenters gave a background history of the research project. The WPP project cuts across several countries including Tanzania. The objectives for this research are similar to those of Kenya and for the most part, the findings and recommendations overlapped. For the purposes of this part of the report, we will focus on key findings and recommendations that were unique to Tanzania.

Findings

The team guided the group in reviewing and discussing the key findings from the research. Some of key barriers to WPP that they identified included socio-cultural factors, economic and financial constraints, electoral and political violence, slow legislative and legal guidelines operationalization as well as barriers related to tools, capacities and resources. Women in Tanzania, like most of the women in East Africa, occupy positions and roles that are culturally determined. Although there is provision for public funding for the day-to-day activities of political parties, there is no funding for campaigns which poses yet another great challenge to WPP. Such challenges make it difficult for women to get elected but even then the constitution has a 30% requirement for women representation in the National Assembly through special seats. Those in such positions can often face violence and abuse and when they do not have the proper skills to handle such situations, their political careers can be derailed.

Despite the barriers and challenges they face, women have continued to engage in politics in different capacities and there have been some benefits. These include increased diversity of experiences and inclusive leadership which is an inspiration to most young girls. There is also a change in the overall approach of issues to be more people centered with emphasis on nonviolent approach to problems.

After conducting the research and reviewing the barriers and progress made, the research found some gaps and made appropriate recommendations. The recommendations listed above in the Kenyan section for the various actors in WPP apply for the Tanzania case. However there are a few variations as discussed below.

- Improved interagency collaborations with other CSO members.
- Scale-up and replicate success stories through documentation e.g. do a documentary of the journeys of women in different capacities of political participation.
- Partner with actors such as Article 19 Eastern Africa and AMWIK to train women leaders on online safety measures.

Feedback from the participants discussion

a) Shrinking civic space, how can we creatively engage?

In Tanzania, the public space is not very conducive for CSO's especially due to influence of the current government. The government feels that the CSOs are carrying a foreign agenda and are biased against how Tanzania is doing things. For instance, only a few CSOs were allowed to work as observers for the recent elections.

- FAWE should go in as a partner in collaboration rather than from an offensive approach.
- Alternatively, FAWE can engage CSO's on the ground that are allowed to work with the government and pick the best practices from this to understand how they can best build a

relationship with the government or support these partner CSO's in their efforts in the background.

- In engaging local partners, they should be alert to how challenging it might be for those partners to operate on the ground and as such should be prepared for any eventuality and longer wait periods in the execution process.
- They should engage the government from a diplomatic angle and use more "government friendly" language in their advocacy instead of rushing to the media and publicly attacking the government.
- Build capacity of local organizations on how to engage diplomatically with the government and create change from within the government.
- Create ambassadors or champions from within the government to push their agenda.
- Find a creative way of using the agendas of the government such as economic empowerment, women development programs, women education programs among others to promote the WPP agenda since the government is not very keen on gender issues.
- FAWE should remain persistent in their agenda despite the push-back from the government. They should work on the ground with local partners to increase acceptability.
- The language and tone of advocacy reports should be subtle while still addressing the issues.
- They should also consider using partners from outside the country to publish the report to avoid the fall-back consequences of such on the local partner. If the local partners produce the reports they will find themselves in trouble with the government.

b) Special Seats positions for women in Tanzania, implications, benefits and way forward

- Special Seats in Tanzania are part of the government's affirmative action efforts to increase WPP. Women are nominated to special seats by their parties.
- Special seats are used to meet the 30% gender quota at both local and national government
- Although Special seats have helped to put women in the political space, they have failed to prepare them for more competitive and electoral positions. Currently women hold 36% representation in the National Assembly yet only 6% of that are elected. Majority are nominated and have limited powers. The Special Seats should prepare women to contend for elected positions yet most end up serving in these positions for long periods of time.
- Special Seats should have a sunset clause to limit the time you can serve in such a position so that women can transition into more competitive seats. FAWE should lobby the National Electoral Commission(NEC) to reform the terms and criteria of Special Seats so they can achieve the intended purpose of increasing WPP.
- Women from special seats cannot be constitutionally nominated as prime minister; you have to be an elected member of the National Assembly. In local government, women in special seats are treated as less important and are not allowed to sit in crucial committees.
- The numbers of women leaders in government are dwindling. For instance, out of 23 ministries, only 4 are occupied by women; out of 25 deputy ministers only 5 are women; out of 26 general commissioners, only 5 are women. Compared to previous governments e.g. during Kikwete times, women held more numbers in these positions
- The electoral system needs to be evaluated to create a more conducive environment for women to run. FAWE should look more into how the electoral process is affecting WPP.

- Current ministers are serving in more feminine ministries e.g. health, environment, education yet none have ever been appointed to other critical positions such as prime ministers, minister for internal affairs or the minister for defence.
 - There is a need for current data that is showing the exact number of women holding different positions to tell the real status of WPP in Tanzania.
 - The fact that Tanzania has a female Vice President is seen as evidence of success in achieving gender equality yet there are other critical decision-making positions that need women still.
- c) Political parties and their role in WPP
- No political party in Tanzania has a clause to ensure that there is a gender quota.
 - The manifesto of the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi, has guidelines included that are supposed to increase women participation yet these are not implemented.
 - The Political Parties Act passed recently mandates the parties to comply with gender inclusion guidelines yet there is no specific quota, instead they are required to involve women in the process which means they can choose one woman and say they have complied. The registrar of political parties should make an amendment to put a threshold to be able to hold parties accountable to comply with gender and inclusivity mandates.
 - Women feel intimidated and insecure running through opposing political parties. In most cases, they feel they should contest through the ruling party for their security and that of their families.
 - There should be guidelines and procedures put in place for transitioning from Special seats to elected positions.
 - Each party has its own way of selecting women for special seats. NEC should put guidelines in place and ensure they are adhered to to standardize the selection of representatives for Special Seats.
 - FAWE should work to strengthen the Tanzanian Women Parliamentary Group to be more vocal and visible in government.
 - For media, support them to understand the issues they are reporting by interpreting documents because sometimes media people may misrepresent what they do not understand.