

A Training Manual for Women in Political Leadership



Acronyms

AA	Affirmative Action
CCGD	Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development
CDFs	Constituency Development Funds
CRAWN	Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust
CREAW	Center for Rights Education and Awareness
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
ELOG	Elections Observation Group
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentary Association
KWPC	Kenya Women's Political Caucus
LWVK	League of Kenya Women Voters
MCAs	Members of County Assemblies
MNA	Member of National Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake
NASA	National Super Alliance
NCSW	National Commission on the Status of Women
NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ORPP	Office of Registrar of Political Parties
PCA	Power and Change Analysis
PEA	Political Economy Analysis
PPLC	Political Parties Liaison Committee
SWOT	Strengths Weaknesses Opportunities and Threats
WMNA	Women Member of the National Assembly
WPAK	Women's Political Alliance of Kenya

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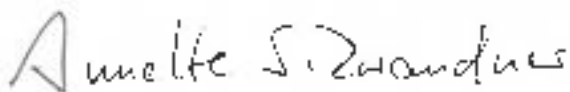
Foreword

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is a German Political Foundation working in Kenya since 1974 to promote and consolidate the tenets of democracy. The process demands that the citizens of Kenya, the civil society, political parties and other stakeholders are all involved in the process of building democracy.

The foundation has previously been engaged with partners to push for participation of women in leadership and decision making processes. The underrepresentation of Kenyan women on matters of politics and governance necessitated the formulation of the two thirds gender principle to ensure that women have a say. The Kenyan Constitution demands that women occupy at least one third of all seats in parliament and one third of all appointed positions. Currently, out of the 349 seats in parliament, only 86 are female making up 21% that is both elected and nominated. Despite the introduction of the two thirds gender rule, women parliamentarians continue to be subjected to stereotypes, sexism, accusations of incompetence, dominant visions based on patriarchy/inequality. Women parliamentarians – whether elected, nominated or selected under affirmative action provide just as much value as the male parliamentarians. However, their contributions are greatly influenced by their level of education, professional background, work and life experience.

For better performance in future elections with the latest being 2022, women aspirants need to be equipped with the right skill set to effectively campaign. Other capacity needs such as how to run a successful election campaign, strategic thinking, advocacy and lobbying, how to practice data driven politics while bringing forth issues that affect the constituents and prove that women are not that incompetent after all, effective communication and public speaking skills, among many other topics are essential for women aspirants. Women legislators need to go beyond just pushing for gender sensitive issues that affect children, youth and women but also delve into other equally important topics such as health, agriculture, energy, land, water etc.

The goal therefore of this training manual is to provide a framework that can be used to enhance the knowledge and skills of women aspirants to become more strategic in their campaigns and increase their chances to win elections in 2022/future.



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Thank you!

George Collins Owuor
Consultant

1

Facilitator's Information

1.0 Facilitator's Information

The manual has been designed for use for the training of aspiring women candidates for elective political positions in Kenyan elections. It is intended to assist the women candidates to overcome the numerous challenges and impediments that they face in their quest for elective seats in Kenyan elections. The manual provides guidelines and resource materials for designing effective campaign strategies through training, knowledge and experience sharing. It will be used to strengthen selected women politicians' capacities to competitively vie for various political seats during Kenya's elections and stand higher chances of clinching the elective seats.

1.1 Successful use of the Manual

The successful use of the manual depends on the extent to which the facilitator/trainer is able to actively involve the participants to engage in the training discourse. The training content and delivery approach has been designed to encourage participation by each individual through the use of role-play, case studies and extensive discussion and debate.

This manual is specifically designed for women to increase their participation in political leadership through democratic elections. The Training Manual comprises of training modules that entail topic-based tools including trainer's guides, presentations and handouts; and additional resources. While every attempt has been made to adapt these materials to a universal audience, those who use them should carefully review all content and modify it, as appropriate, to their context and experience levels of participants. The exercises, concepts and strategies in this manual and the accompanying modules seek to empower women to become active in civil society, political parties, elections and government.

Each training module includes a trainer's guide to navigate potential trainers through each session, participant exercises, presentations and handouts. The guidelines below explain how the facilitator/trainer can help participants to participate fully. The facilitator/trainer is free, however, to use other participatory training methods when using this manual. It is therefore, critical that appropriate techniques for their training are used. The following assumptions were made in determining the training content and delivery technique;

- Majority of the candidates will have achieved some level of education up to secondary school level and able to comprehend and engage in English as the instructional language.
- The candidates are adults above 18 years of age hence the justification of using adult learning techniques to ensure that they fully understand the issues, adopt the skills and can replicate the same in their own environment.

The manual is purposely designed to use role - plays, case studies, small group discussions and plenary discussions as the main methods and tools for delivering the learning outcomes and skills. Additional information from literature review is provided in each module. The following principles will guide the delivery of the training content using this manual;

1.1.1 Planning and preparing for the training

The following factors should be taken into consideration when planning the sessions in order to influence the amount and quality of the candidates' participation:

- Adequate preparation on the part of the facilitator (content wise, materials, preparation of additional materials that deliver content);
- The size of the training group/ number of participants;
- Age, education level, language, political affiliation of the candidates
- Effective use of facilitation skills to encourage participation;
- Time available and how efficiently it is used;
- Training aid and equipment available; and,
- Appropriateness of the venue.

1.1.2 Composition of the training group/participants

The participants/candidates will be drawn from various educational, political and socioeconomic backgrounds. It is important that the facilitator/trainer is inclusive in his/her approach. An inclusive approach will take care of various peculiar characteristics of the participants/candidates and thus ensuring that effective learning takes place in a large and diverse group, the facilitator will use techniques that are relevant and sensitive to the different views and experiences of the participants/candidates.

1.1.3 Climate Setting for Effective Learning

In order to enable participants/candidates to express their views freely, it is important that the Facilitator/trainer creates a climate conducive for adult learning and participation. The following are some of the principles that will be used to enhance participation;

- Provide an opportunity for participants to get to know each other in a participatory manner. Suggestions for achieving this are described below: hear their expectations and concerns;
- Check their expectations against the objectives of the program and,
- Facilitate the generation of rules or norms for the group to follow throughout the training session.
- Help the group to create a climate of trust and respect for all participants through a participatory process.

1.1.4 Participants Introductions

The introduction sessions will help members of the group to know each other by doing the following activities or any other relevant exercise:

1. Name cards - Give each participant a piece of paper. Ask the participants to write their name clearly on the paper. Let them fold the paper in two and let it stand in front of them so that everyone is able to see it.

2. What I want to know about you - Ask the participants what they would like to know about the other people in the group. Ask the participants to give their ideas about what they would like to know. List these on a flipchart. Choose five or six items from the list. Ask the participants to interview the person sitting next to them to obtain the information.

1.1.5 *Sharing Expectations and Objectives*

Ask the participants to write down what they would like to learn during the workshop. Ask them to present their expectations in plenary. As the participants speak, list their points on a flipchart. Tell the group to listen to these without commenting on them (allow questions for clarification only). Once all the participants have spoken, look at the list of expectations. If a participant expects to discuss something that is not on your agenda, make it clear that this particular expectation is unlikely to be met. (If possible, suggest an alternative). Keep the list of expectations on a flip chart. At the end of the program, review the list with the group to see the extent to which the expectations were met.

1.1.6 *Participatory Training Techniques*

The following techniques are used throughout the manual to encourage learners' active participation in the learning process:

1. **Individual work (3-5 Minutes);** Ask participants to work alone. Let them make notes about what they think and feel.
2. **Group work (10 Minutes);** Ask participants to get into small groups (5-6 people). Ask them to focus on a particular topic or concept. Let them share their thoughts and feelings with others in the group.
3. **Plenary;** after small group discussions, get the participants back into the larger group. Ask each group to report to the main group about what they discussed and agreed. To save time, ask the person reporting not to repeat the points that have already been made by another group.
4. **Role-play;** Ask volunteers to read "parts" of a topic from the Training Manual (Do not pressurize anyone to participate in this process). Let them play the role they have chosen. Ask the participants to discuss the issues underlying the role play. Ask the role players to comment on the role they were playing.
5. **Case Studies;** The use of case studies helps participants to consider hypothetical situations and how they would react or respond to them. Offer them an opportunity to share problem-solving techniques.
6. **Summaries and evaluations;** at the end of each module summarize issues that have been dealt with. Link them to the overall objectives of the session. Check with participants if these have been met.

1.1.7 Qualities of a good facilitator

To ensure maximum participation of all in the training session, the facilitator must:

- be gender sensitive;
- be nonpartisan politically; and,
- Refrain from acts or statements that portray negatively the leadership or any aspect particular of any particular party.
- be innovative in the facilitation (methodology, instruments and materials)
- Always know about the learning progress of the participants.

Note: Most of the participants for the training will be women as this is a training manual for female candidates who are aspirants for leadership in politics. Nevertheless, the facilitator should stress throughout the training, that it will be important for the women to deal with the resistance they might face if running as candidate especially by men, trying to explain and build consensus based on the content they will learn. Even the integration of male participants in the training might be helpful at some points in order to establish a real dialogue on different roles and views on the topic. Prepare the female participants for a process that might not be easy but encourage them not to give up just because of outside pressure. If possible, refer to (e.g. regional) female role models in the fight for leadership for their encouragement throughout.



MODULE 1

Contextual Overview Women and Politics in Kenya

Module Objectives	<i>By the end of the module, participants/candidates should be able to:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Describe the role of women in politics in Kenya • State what women need in order to participate in political leadership
Training Aid & Resources	<i>PowerPoint presentation slides, Flip chart stand, Flip charts, Flip chart markers, Masking tape and participants' previous knowledge and experiences</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>PowerPoint presentation, facilitator led discussion, experience sharing and group work</i>
Duration	<i>120 Minutes (2 hours)</i>

Activity One; Women Participation in Elections

Divide the participants into small discussion groups.

Ask them to discuss the extent to which women participated in the previous presidential, gubernatorial, parliamentary and county ward level elections. You may ask them the following questions to guide them:

1. How many women (that you knew) participated in the last presidential, gubernatorial, parliamentary and county ward level elections?
2. How many of these made it into the Member of County Assembly positions?
3. How many of these made it into the gubernatorial positions?
4. How many of these made it into the presidential position?
5. Let them present their findings in plenary.

Conduct a facilitator led presentation and discussion to consolidate the activity's outcomes using the information shown below;

Handout 1.1 Historical Background

Kenya women's presence and political participation in leadership and governance has a long history dating from pre-colonial through colonial to post-colonial period. For example, the first woman Chief - Wangu wa Makeri- (1901-1909), who defied patriarchal structures of culture and tradition, and rose to become a formidable leader who is said to have brought development and peace to her community. Many "unsung heroines" accomplished similar feats; including those who actively participated in the country's liberation struggle of the 1940s and 1950s, thus demonstrating that women can and do make a significant difference even in hostile environments. Since Kenya attained formal independence in 1963, women have been seeking to effectively participate alongside men, in governance and decision-making in all aspects of public life¹.

¹ Women in Political Leadership in Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting & Accountability. By: Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo. Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies, University of Nairobi 2013

But in the first four decades of postcolonial rule, progress towards women's access to formal political leadership positions, has been slow due to a combination of structural obstacles which include deeply embedded patriarchal socio-cultural values, undemocratic institutions and policy frameworks and low levels of civic and gender awareness. Due to the constricted formal political space, most women's political engagement operated outside the state, with minimal connection or support from the largely patriarchal state.

Globally, strong women's movements play a critical role in creating political space for female participation in politics and in supporting engendered social change. The Kenya women's movement has played a key role as a change agent in respect to advancement of women's rights, gender equality, social justice and engendering governance in general.

The period prior to 1992, led to silencing of women's political voices by the Kenyan state that was intolerant to civil society organizing, unless such a group condoned and promoted the oppressive political status quo. Capacity to organize and engage politically was thus lacking. The only three national women's organizations allowed to function at the time were namely; Maendeleo ya Wanawake (MYWO), National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) and the Nairobi Business and Professional Women's organization- operated strictly on government's terms: they had to be non-political and non-partisan in all their actions and deeds and had to limit their 'women's agenda, strictly to social welfare provisioning, promoting the role of women as homemakers , mobilizing & organizing women at grassroots' level into women's groups to support agendas of male political elites. Between 1963-1992, there was little change in women's status and the State support for women's empowerment initiatives was minimal at best. The government co-opted or controlled women's organizations, e.g. 1987 merger of MYWO with the ruling and only political party-KANU. The period since 1992 has been dubbed the "Second Liberation" political phase for Kenya, as it marked the return to political pluralism in Kenya and the beginning of opening up of political space for exercising basic and universally accepted democratic freedoms².

The opening up of political space facilitated women's political engagement/activism and created a pathway for revitalization of the women's movement, as manifested in the emergence and mushrooming of new women's NGOs, with radical feminist agendas for transformative change in gender power relations. New and old women leaderships and perspectives converged to strategically utilize this political moment & to develop a women specific democratic agenda with specific Action Plans and targets. This was done in 1992 at a National Women's Convention under the theme: Women's Agenda for a Democratic Kenya. The Convention that brought over 2,000 Kenyan women representatives from across the whole country demanded that the democratization be engendered; an overhaul of legal policy framework, to remove all forms of discrimination against women in access to decision-making positions; in employment, etc. Consequently, women's representatives put aside their differences and united around the motto: "Unity in Diversity for Women's Empowerment", as a strategy for effective collective action towards the State and to facilitate the engendering process³.

Activities undertaken by the Women's Movement in Setting the Gender Agenda

- Women's access to political power through voter education (e.g. The League of Kenya Women Voters (LWVK) formed in 1992. **Capacity building training of women candidates and Election Monitoring** (National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), formed in 1992.

² Study: "Women in Politics and Public Decision-making"- Prof. Maria Nzomo.1991

³ Women's Agenda for a Democratic Kenya: Political Participation". Paper presented at the National Women's Convention, KICC, Nairobi 22 February.; 1992

- **Civic Education, Lobbying & Advocacy. Legal Rights Education** for women and engaging in Public Interest Litigation to challenge discrimination and legal bias against women (The Federation of Women Lawyers, (FIDA - Kenya) established in 1985, in coalition with other women NGOs). For example, in July 2011, FIDA-Kenya together with several other women NGOs, went to court to challenge and uphold as unconstitutional the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court, due to the failure by the appointing authority to comply with the “no more than two thirds of either gender principle” of AA, as provided in the Kenyan Constitution.
- **Strengthening Mechanism for Collaboration, mobilization and Collective Action among Women’s Organizations** (e.g. The Kenya Women’s Political Caucus (KWPC) formed in April 1997; Women’s Political Alliance of Kenya (WPAK). A significant Agenda setting contribution by the Caucus was the launching of the Women’s Political Manifesto for the 2002 General Elections, which defined women’s own platform for political participation, and served as a women’s Agenda Accountability tool for political aspirants and political parties; & the G10.
- **Engendering the National Budgets and Parliamentary Governance, and Legislative work** (KENYA Women Parliamentary Association (KEWOPA) formed in 2002; The Women’s Shadow Parliament – Kenya (WSP-K) & The Collaborative Centre For Gender And Development (CCGD) e.g. engendering parliamentary standing orders and other House Rules; sponsoring women friendly and gender related Bills; establishing a parliamentary gender desk and developing gender materials for engendering parliamentary debates motions tabled in parliament.
- **Affirmative Action (AA) as a Strategy for Access & Representation in Key Decision-making Posts.** The issue of access to political office became pertinent in Kenya as in other African countries, due to the deeply entrenched structural societal barriers cited above, that block women’s entry into political leadership and seem to accompany them, when and if they accede to political office. Among many women in Kenya, **the implicit assumption behind the many decades of concerted efforts to gain access to political leadership has remained that women can and do make a significant and positive difference when in leadership.** This view has remained anchored on the conviction that despite their political marginality, throughout Kenya’s political history, women have demonstrated positive performance in public leadership and in their daily lives and could do more if they attained a critical mass. The failure to attain a “critical mass” of women in formal political representation structures despite all efforts, has led over the years to the conviction that the only solution to this stagnation lay in the provision of constitutional and non-constitutional Affirmative Action (AA) measures. The (Affirmative Action) AA measures then came to be viewed as a core mechanism for unblocking women’s access and attainment of the optimal (“critical mass”) presence of women in formal governance structures.

The engagement with the State and attempts to hold it accountable for the provision and implementation of AA measures has taken place through the collaboration of primarily Women MPs; women in NGOs and activist gender scholars. Individually and collectively, they have been active in seeking to engage and lobby the State to enact an AA legislation, without success, for nearly two decades. The many failed attempts at enacting an AA law was finally rewarded in August 2010, following the promulgation of a new Constitution, that yielded a very progressive legal and political instrument, that not only provides for AA but guarantees both women and men, equality of rights and duties in equal measure; and removes all forms of discrimination in both legal and social practice.

A key Women's gain in The 2010 Constitution, is the entrenchment of AA provisions in the Bill of Rights; thus firmly securing and guaranteeing compliance by the State in respect to implementation of the "no more than two thirds of either gender" principle (quotas and reserved seats), in all appointive and electoral offices. Also entrenched in the Bill of Rights are the provisions for equality of rights between women and men and outlawing of discrimination on any grounds. The Constitution also provides for a devolved governance structure that opens new opportunities for gender equitable participation and governance.

The 2010 Constitution has opened doors to the implementation of a long stalled gender agenda, and provided the necessary constitutional mechanisms, for women to hold the state accountable and in particular attain and surpass the long awaited 30% critical mass female presence in parliament. However trends to date indicate that male resistance to AA remains; and hence more than ever before women collective pressure is required to hold the state accountable⁴.

Handout 1.2 Impact on Women's Access to Elected and Appointed Positions in Kenya

In the 2013 general elections, the first since the constitutional reform, more women gained seats in the National Assembly than ever before. As stipulated in the Constitution, 47 seats were allocated in the National Assembly for 'Women's Representatives', who were elected at the county level in addition to MPs elected from single-member constituencies. Their presence in addition to 16 female MPs elected at constituency level, and 5 nominated female MPs increased the overall proportion of women in the National Assembly from 7.5% in 2011 to 19.1% in 2013. In the Senate, political parties were required to nominate 16 women in addition to the women senators elected at county level through an open contest: women now comprise 27% of senators. Elections were also held for the first time for the County Assemblies. Out of 1,450 wards, 82 women were directly elected (5%). As the two-thirds gender rule was implemented at the county level, political party lists were used to nominate additional women to bring the proportion of women in each assembly up to 33%⁵.

For women to influence the legislative arm of government, they need to be fully involved and participate effectively in committees, as well as in other influential house positions, including as speaker, leader of the majority/minority and chairs of various parliamentary committees. These positions are key to guiding, swaying and even manipulating the agenda of the legislature (FIDA, 2013)⁶. Of the 10 leadership positions in the National Assembly, women hold only two. Women chair seven out of the 27 National Assembly committees and serve as vice-chairs in another eight. This does represent a significant increase on the last parliament, where women chaired only 5% of committees (Lott, forthcoming)⁷. But this positive sign is eclipsed by the fact that female representation in a majority of the committees fails to satisfy the two-thirds gender representation rule.

The proportion of female technocrats increased from 12% to 27%. Although the two-thirds rule has not yet been legislated for appointed positions, there is an understanding by citizens that, at a minimum, one-third of all new appointments should be women (Tripp et al. 2014)⁸.

4 Women in Political Leadership in Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting & Accountability. By: Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo. Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies, University of Nairobi 2013

5 Ghai, Y.P. and Cottrell, J. (2011) Kenya's Constitution: An Instrument for Change. Nairobi: Katiba Institute.

6 FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya) (2010) 'FIDA Annual Report'. Nairobi: FIDA.

7 Lott, C. (Forthcoming). Part of the 'Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment' research programme, Washington DC: 2014

8 Tripp, A. (2014) 'Women's Movement and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia'. Paper.

Furthermore, women have tended to find it easier to assert their authority in appointed positions where their hard technical skills are required. Awareness that women should be represented in appointed positions has had a clear impact in the judiciary, where women are well represented at the middle and lower levels; the proportion of women in the Appeals and High Court is 31% and 44%, respectively (Lott, forthcoming)⁹. At the higher levels, men still tend to dominate; of the seven judges in the Supreme Court, five are men. The overall score for women's leadership in security sector has not improved significantly, although there has been a 6.5% increase in the number of commanders in the police.

While the overall picture is encouraging, the introduction of a quota system has created a new set of challenges for women. Crucially, the introduction of a quota of 47 Women's Representatives in the National Assembly and 16 seats for female senators does not guarantee at least 30% representation of women in Parliament. Moreover, political parties are using the allocation of seats for women to discourage women from vying for single constituency seats and County Assembly seats or to discourage voters from voting for women. In the 2013 elections, political parties reportedly asked female candidates to step down from the election race at the constituency level, with the promise that they would be nominated for a Women's Representative position. In situations where a male candidate was running against a female candidate, the former used the allocation of seats for women to convince voters that the latter had already got her place.

For example, in the single constituency contest, male candidates argued female candidates already had seats allocated at the county level (i.e. as Women's Representatives) and that voting for them at the constituency level was a wasted vote (Tripp et al. 2014). Mirroring the narrative at the national level, male candidates at the county level argued female candidates would get their seats through the top-up mechanism.¹⁰ There is some evidence that these strategies reduced the overall number of women elected through open contest in 2013. The number of women elected directly at the constituency level did not increase in 2013 compared with 2007, representing stagnation on the upward trend of the preceding three elections.

If the quota system continues to be used either to convince female candidates to step aside from the open contest or to dissuade voters from voting for female candidates, the allocation of 47 seats for Women's Representatives and 16 seats for the Senate could potentially cap female representation at 14% and 24%, respectively. The proportional representation system introduced through the Constitution works at the level of the allocation of nominated seats, which is based on the number of elective seats won by a party and not the number of votes a candidate gains. This system favors larger parties; smaller parties, which tend to be friendlier to women, do not get as much opportunity to nominate as many members (FIDA, 2013)¹¹.

Many of the patriarchal ways of conducting politics in Kenya that limited female involvement before the reform remain critical factors limiting the impact of the reform. Female politicians still cite violence and intimidation as key to dissuading them from entering the 2013 elections.¹² Much of the violence directed towards women continues to be sexual in nature and used to humiliate female candidates socially approved female roles – that is, as mothers and wives. Some female politicians produce aggressive responses, which are then used to further undermine their position as 'decent women'¹³.

9 Lott, C. (Forthcoming). Part of the 'Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment' research programme, Washington DC: 2014

10 Tripp, A., Lott, C. and Khabure, L. (2014) 'Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment: Kenya Case Study'. Nairobi: USAID.

11 FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya) (2013) 'Key Gains and Challenges: A Gender Audit of Kenya's 2013 Election Process' Nairobi: FIDA, USAID and NDI.

12 Tripp, A. (2014) 'Women's Movement and Constitution Making after Civil Unrest and Conflict in Africa: The Cases of Kenya and Somalia. Paper.

13 Chweya, E. (2015) 'MP Millie Odhiambo Reveals Why She Undressed In Parliament'. Ghaffa, 11 May.

However, in its audit of the gender gain in the 2013 elections, FIDA (2013) found few incidents of reported direct violence in the campaign. FIDA had set up a hotline for reporting incidents; perhaps the increased levels of accountability the new political dispensation afforded dissuaded attackers from following through with their threats.

In addition to verbal and physical abuse, subtler gendered norms continue to limit women's participation in political life. Many forms of political canvassing remain socially unacceptable for females. For example, men can sit in villages and drink local brew with opinion leaders and vote mobilisers; women would be castigated for this type of behavior. Female candidates also continue to face criticism over the Constituency they choose to run in. A male candidate always campaigns in his home constituency but, if a female candidate is married, her home constituency may reject her, as she should now be living in her husband's Constituency. If a female candidate's husband is of a different ethnicity, campaigning in her husband's constituency could be problematic.

Access to resources remains a problem for females hoping to enter politics. Many women who are elected hail from wealthy backgrounds or have made money through successful careers. Family wealth and connections to party leaders and machinery are also important forms of access to resources to support women's access to politics. But limited control of and ownership of assets and resources limits access to a large proportion of Kenyan women to positions of influence, or opportunities for political careers. Although the Constitution supports the bequeathing of land to daughters, informal norms make this difficult to implement over the short term. Even with the new rights the Constitution affords women, some women interviewed admitted that they did not challenge the allocation of family land to their brothers. Land and property continues to be a key source of financing for male candidates.

Data collected by FIDA on the 2013 elections, show female candidates were almost as successful as men at getting elected once they had been nominated. This indicates that a critical constraint is the limited number of women who are nominated. FIDA (2013), concludes that political parties remain dominated by men, with low representation of women in key decision-making roles. It was hoped the increase in women's political representation would bring about a different type of politics. The formal rules of the game have changed, allowing women a level of representation that would have been difficult to achieve before. In line with the literature on the limits of quotas, it is clear that presence and numbers of women MPs in and of itself tell us little about the quality of legislative action, normative or ideological preferences or the political allegiances they respond to. The new quota system has produced a new set of formal rules that is navigated and contested by female and male politicians alike. New structural and normative constraints have emerged within the new quota system that limit the influence and power of women in elected and appointed positions, particularly those coming through the quota system, can access.

The first constraint the quota system has created for women is the system of nomination by political parties of women for allocated seats. In the National Assembly, Constituency MPs are nominated by political party members through primaries held in the Constituency. Women's representatives, on the other hand, are nominated by political parties through a highly opaque process susceptible to nepotism and corruption.¹⁴

14 <https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/Gender Analysis 2017 General Elections .pdf>

In the Senate, political parties nominate women to fill their allocated 16 seats. Female Members of County Assemblies (MCAs) who access seats through the top-up process are also nominated by political parties through a similar process, which those inside and outside politics describe as corrupt.¹⁵ This means female politicians who are in position through the allocation system are reliant on their party for legitimacy and thus are under more pressure to toe the party line. This system also incentivizes political parties to select such women. The system of allocating funding to MPs represents another structural constraint for women who access seats through the quota system. In Kenya, politicians build their support base through demonstrating their ability to access and distribute funding in their Constituency. Constituency MPs have access to Constituency Development Funds (CDFs) to distribute as they decide.¹⁶

Handout 1.3 Patterns of Power and Decision Making

Hegemonic masculinity pervades in Kenyan social, political, and economic spheres. Women have subordinate roles and are marginalized from autonomous decision-making and control of resources in most spaces. At the household level, men generally are considered to be the primary breadwinners and they wield in decision-making authority, set priorities, and determine the distribution of resources. In general, women are not able to make independent spending decisions and even sometimes have to get permission from their husbands to take their children or themselves to a health clinic for treatment. Despite women working to earn household income, they are perceived to be financially dependent on men who control the household spending decisions, preventing women from taking action independently. Adolescent girls have the least power and rights within the household and society because of their young age and gender bias and are subject to unfair treatment as a result.

Although women's rate of political leadership has improved over the past decade, barriers to entry in the political realm are significant. Women who do accede to elected and appointed office face limits on their ability to influence decisions and often are subject to harassment and gender-based political violence. Men still dominate public leadership roles and elected offices, despite efforts to legislate quotas and promote women's political leadership. Backlash and violence against women who seek public leadership roles demonstrate the challenges in breaking norms around women's roles. At the national level, women occupy 23 % of the National Assembly and Senate, and 33 % of the Cabinet. At the county level, women represent 5 % of all governors, 15 % of deputy governors, 10.6 % of county assembly speakers, 32 % of county executive committee members, 24 % of county chief officers, and 34 % of MCAs. There are no women Kadhis, and only 5.3 % are chiefs while 8.6 % are assistant chiefs¹⁷.

In the private sector, there are even higher gender gaps in decision making. For example, only four out of 62 CEOs (6 %) of companies listed in the Nairobi Stock Exchange are women, and only three of these companies (5 %) have women serving as the chair on their board of directors¹⁸.

15 FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers in Kenya) (2013) 'Key Gains and Challenges: A Gender Audit of Kenya's 2013 Election Process' Nairobi: FIDA, USAID and NDI.

16 Overseas Development Institute Women and power , Shaping the development of Kenya's 2010 Constitution, Pillar Domingo, Aoife McCullough, Florence Simbiri and Bernadette Wanjala March 2016

17 Government of Kenya, Ministry of Devolution and Planning. Implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable development in Kenya, June 2017)

18 The Star Newspaper. Safaricom Molds Female Staff for Leadership, February 2019

MODULE 2

Politics and Gender

Module Objectives	<i>By the end of the module, participants/candidates should be able to:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Define gender and internalize gender concepts</i> • <i>Define Gender, sex and common stereotypes</i> • <i>Manifestations of gender stereotypes in elections and politics</i> • <i>Understand politics from a gender lens</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>PowerPoint presentation slides, Flip chart stand, Flip charts, Flip chart markers, Masking tape and participants' previous knowledge and experiences</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>PowerPoint presentation, facilitator led discussion, experience sharing and group work</i>
Duration	<i>60 Minutes (1 hour)</i>

Activity One; Defining Gender Concept

Start by discussing the following with participants:

1. How we internalize gender roles – A Riddle:

A parent and young son were in an automobile accident. The parent was killed and the son who was critically injured was rushed to a hospital. As the attendants wheeled the unconscious boy into the emergency room, the surgeon on duty looked down at him and said "Oh my god, it's my son!" who is the surgeon?

2. What do you think of the following statements?

Socially, femaleness means femininity, which means attractiveness, which means sexual attractiveness, which means sexual availability on male terms.

Write down the first gender that comes to your mind when you read the following:

- Stop being a wimp and show some real balls
- The architect that designed this building graduated from University of Nairobi but the interior design was done by a Technical Vocational Educational Institute graduate.
- What a gentle nurse I had during my hospital stay.
- My car mechanic advised that I get a tune up.

Ask the questions: who does or uses what? how and why?

- How do gender norms, values, roles, and activities affect men and women?
- How do biological differences between the sexes affect men and women?

Start by saying: Today everybody talks about gender. But when we really ask ourselves what gender means most people don't have any idea. Now ask participants to break into groups and discuss the following:

1. What is Gender?
2. How would you define gender and sex?
3. What is Gender Analysis?
4. What is Gender Equality?
5. What is Gender Equity?
6. What is Gender Mainstreaming?
7. What is a Gender Sensitive Approach?

Conduct a facilitator led presentation and discussion to consolidate the activity's outcomes using the information shown below;

Handout 2.1 Gender Concept

What is Gender?

Gender is a multidimensional concept that is generally associated with the term "sex". Politically it is important to understand the difference in order to recognize gender stereotypes and not to confuse "gender" with "sex". The biological sex is part of the male or female identity and is not the sole element that determines female or male identity. There are other factors like social class, ethnic background, age etc. In addition, what we learn about being a woman or man is determined through power relations that only allow us to act in a pre-determined way. With this activity the idea that our biological sex is not the only conclusive factor in our lives is communicated. Gender refers to socially constructed rather than biologically determined roles of women and men, as well as the relationships between them in a given society at a specific time and place, while sex refers to the biologically determined difference and roles. The qualities, identities and behaviors expected from men and women are determined through the process of socialization.

Gender is an analytical category comparable to race, class, ethnicity, religious background etc. and it should be used in a similar way as an analytical tool. Just as race, class, ethnicity, religion and culture, gender constituted and still constitutes a basis for oppression and discrimination among individuals; the term gender captures a frequently invoked reason for inequalities between women and men, boys and girls.

How would you define gender and sex?

- Gender is the social construction of masculinity and femininity.
- Sex refers to those characteristics of women and men that are biologically determined

Because society influences humans in developing masculine and feminine gender identities, women and men may be valued differently and thereby have unequal opportunities and life chances.

What is Gender Analysis? Gender Analysis entails the examination and identification of processes of how, in a given context, relations between men and women are shaped and the various needs and experiences of each gender.

The analysis is to be informed by how gender is also intertwined with and affected by other identities and realities such as ethnicity, class, race, religion, disability, culture. This makes gender a cross-cutting issue to be addressed through a mainstreaming strategy. Gender Analysis is also:

- A way to describe and analyze different needs, challenges, gaps, and opportunities to reach men and women.
- A tool to identify the status, roles and responsibilities of women and men in society, as well as their access to and control of resources, benefits and opportunities.
- A framework to compare the relative advantages and disadvantages faced by women and men in various spheres of life, including the family, workplace, school, community and political system.
- A set of standards to judge the potential impacts of gender on policies, programs and projects.
- A systematic way of looking at the gender division of labor, and the access and control women and men have over inputs or resources required for their labor, and their benefits or outputs from it.

What is Gender equality? Gender equality entails that women and men enjoy the same status, have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential to contribute to national, political, social, cultural and economic development and to benefit from the results. It is therefore the equal valuing by society of both the similarities and differences men and women and the varying roles they perform.

What is Gender equity? Gender equity is the process through which equity leads to equality, seeking to overcome historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from enjoying a level playing field in different spheres of life.

What is Gender mainstreaming? Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for ensuring that both women and men benefit and reflects the understanding that equality is both a means and an end. Gender mainstreaming requires a focus on actual results in terms of gender equality in the areas of work at different levels.

What is a gender sensitive approach? A gender sensitive approach recognizes that women and men differ in terms of both sex and gender. Such an approach has the potential to define appropriate interventions for men and women accordingly.

Activity Two; Gender Manifestations in Election and Politics

Divide the participants into small discussion groups. Ask them to discuss the experiences, challenges and lessons learned by women engaged in elections in Kenya. You may ask them the following questions to guide them:

1. What are the common cultural and traditional gender roles for women in politics?
2. What are the expected challenges in participating in elections?
3. What can be done to improve women's participation in elections?
4. Let them present their findings in plenary.

Conduct a facilitator led presentation and discussion to consolidate the activity's outcomes using the information shown below;

Handout 2.2 Cultures and Traditional Gender Roles

In traditional Kenyan culture, men are viewed as leaders while women are expected to work in the home and support their family. Constitutional and legal gains to support gender equality have not overcome these entrenched cultural, religious and stereotypical gender roles that prevent women from rising into political leadership roles. As in many other countries, women running for political positions are forced to choose between their families and the opportunity for leadership, since women are still expected to continue with childcare and other household activities. Balancing their campaigns against their domestic responsibilities proved challenging for many female candidates.¹⁹

Political networking in Kenya often takes place in environments and hours that are not typically inconvenient for women, who are less able to stay out late at bars and leave children at home. Those women candidates who have the backing from family members (spouse or partner, in-laws, parents, and siblings) to run for political office are more successful, since they can rely on family for childcare, donations, campaign activities, and to stand-in for the candidate at events and meetings. Many women are often told by elders, clan members, male rivals, and family members that they should pull out of the race because it was unbecoming for a woman to run, that women cannot lead men, or that it was against religious principles for women to run. Some spouses think that their wives cannot run the family and lead at the same time, while single women are commonly attacked for not being married. Women are also criticized for their age, appearance, and experience in ways that are not typically used against men.

The masculine nature of politics is also a factor that forces women to adopt male leadership styles. In some instances, women are more strictly vetted and more harshly condemned. Furthermore, the failure is generalized for all women seeking office. In addition, the performance of current female leaders can, in some instances, determine the electability of other women. All these challenges indicate the need for enhanced gender responsive voter and civic education to support women aspirants across all positions. In some cases, there have been deliberate information or misinformation to women on the proper timelines and procedures to vie for office purposely preventing them from running.

¹⁹ The National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA Kenya). A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya Elections. 2017

Women had to apply their own legal, political, and professional knowledge to manage the nomination procedures. Despite understanding the importance of primaries, most political parties do not take the necessary steps to ensure that their processes are undertaken in a free, fair, and transparent manner.

Consequently, both male and female candidates are faced with voter bribery and intimidation, rigging, interference from incumbents and party officials seeking political office, multiple voting, and importation of voters.

Outbreaks of violence and unrest are also common during the primaries, with little reaction from relevant government agencies. Some parties have nominated non-members in the primaries over female members. In some cases, women who won during the primaries, some had their nomination certificates issued to other aspirants, leading to expensive court battles. Some parties use the appointed (nominated) seats as tools to keep women from competing in court or for open seats. Parties are known to actively discourage women from challenging election offences in exchange for a promise of a nominated seat. Political party mergers and coalitions in the election period have also been used to lock out many women aspirants who were initially deemed strong within their individual parties but only to later lose their places to male aspirants who were better placed within the new coalition or merger. On the other hand, competition between political parties often leads male and female candidates from the same party in various constituencies to work together. In some cases, women teaming up or receiving support from their male counterparts who are contesting for higher level positions, campaigning on the women's behalf while carrying out their own campaigns.

Handout 2.3 Gender Analysis of 2017 Elections

The 2013 election outcome led several state and non-state actors, including CSOs, political parties, the IEBC, and the ORPP, to take measures to increase the number and capacity of women competing for office in 2017 and to reduce the barriers they faced. These measures included identifying and training female candidates, building community awareness to increase support for women's leadership, enhancing the visibility of female candidates, working with political parties to support and motivate women running for office, and helping state agencies to ensure compliance with gender laws. Nonetheless, political will to reduce barriers to women's participation, both within political parties and in the legislature, remained low. Male leaders largely ignored multiple court rulings requiring implementation of the two-thirds gender rule and disregarded political regulations that mandated women's inclusion in preference for the status quo.

Ahead of the 2017 elections, political parties formed into two major groupings to compete at the presidential level. The parties of incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto’s Jubilee Coalition decided to merge into a single entity, the Jubilee Party, while four parties formed the opposition National Super Alliance (NASA) and selected Raila Odinga as their presidential candidate. These political parties also selected candidates during primaries for the five other elected positions – Senator, Member of National Assembly (MNA or MP), Women Member of the National Assembly (WMNA), Governor, and Member of the County Assembly (MCA). Political parties are required by law to adhere to “democratic principles of good governance [and] promote and practice democracy through regular, fair, and free elections within the party.” In reality, party primaries and internal selection to leadership in 2013 and in 2017 were often opaque and chaotic affairs that frequently excluded women and other groups. Women in the primaries have been intimidated to drop out in favor of male candidates and encouraged to join the party list for nominated seats rather than compete against men in the party. Kenya held general elections on August 8, 2017. Candidates from 41 political parties and a record number of independent candidates competed for office. The total number of registered voters was 19,611, 4234 (about 9.1 million females and 10.6 million male), and voter turnout approximately 79 % with roughly 15.2 million valid votes cast. Women won elections for governor and senator for the first time, more women were elected to the national and county assemblies than in 2013. Nonetheless, women were unable to gain the constitutionally mandated 33 % representation in elective office²⁰.

The 2017 elections did represent a step forward for women’s representation, albeit an incremental one. Compared to the elections in 2013, more women won seats at all levels, except for the presidential race, which remained exclusively male. For the first time, women became governors and senators (three of each in 2017, compared to none in 2013), while more women were elected to the national and county assemblies (23 members of the national assembly in 2017 vs. 16 in 2013 and 96 members of county assemblies in 2017 vs. 82 in 2013). Women running as independent candidates were also elected for the first time. While these are positive changes, women comprised just 9.2 percent of the 1,835 elected individuals in 2017, a marginal increase from 7.7 percent in 2013. As a result, all elected bodies, and indeed, all political institutions in Kenya, require further reform to achieve gender parity. One step to this achievement will be the full enactment of the two-thirds threshold, including the special appointment or “nomination” of female members to ensure that elected bodies reach at least 33 % women. Only at the county level have such mechanisms been implemented to increase the number of women in the assemblies, resulting in rates of female representation ranging from 32 to 41 %. In contrast, the National Assembly has only a small percentage of seats designated for women and the rest elected through open constituency seats, only 8 % of which are occupied by women. Similarly, the Senate’s openly contested seats are held by just 6 % of women. Despite the low representation of women, neither body has adopted the necessary legislation to meet the two-thirds gender rule requirement, and so have yet to meet the Constitution’s threshold²¹.

20 The Carter Center, Community Advocacy and Awareness Trust (CRAWN), the Center for Rights Education and Awareness (CREAW), and the Federation of Women Lawyers Kenya (FIDA) Youth Agenda, Siasa Place, and the National Youth Bunge Association. Youth and Women’s Consultations Forum on Political Participation. 2017

21 Kenya Elections Stakeholder report 2017 the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC); National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC); Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC); the Kenya Women Parliamentary Association; Office of Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP); and Political Parties Liaison Committee (PPLC). 2017

While women's representation did show a marginal increase in 2017, the fact that it continued to fall short can be attributed to factors beyond the incomplete nature of the country's legal frameworks and its noncompliant political institutions. A comprehensive review of the experience of female candidates shows that women faced the same challenges in 2017 that they did in 2013, namely: inadequate political support from their parties, particularly in the primaries; a lack of financial resources; gender-based violence; gender stereotyping; and patriarchal structures across society. However, the 2017 elections also demonstrated that prior experience in public office or in previous campaigns contributed to the success of those female candidates who did win, creating a virtuous cycle of positive outcomes. Women who had served in specially nominated positions, for example, were more likely to win an election than those who had never held office at all. But, with so few women involved in politics to begin with, a large cadre of experienced women may never materialize, particularly while persistent barriers limit the entry of new women into politics. For true gender equity and equality to become a reality in Kenya, as elsewhere, decades will be required to alter entrenched attitudes and customs. Nonetheless, much can be done in the short-term to meet the provisions of the Constitution and ensure that women are fairly represented in the political institutions that can contribute toward long-term change²².

Handout 2.4 Violence against Women in Elections

The level of gender-based electoral violence experienced by women remains one of the primary barriers to their participation in politics. Party election boards and relevant security agencies failed to implement laws regarding electoral violence, leaving women particularly vulnerable to harassment, intimidation, threats, hate speech, stereotyping and physical attacks from opponents and their supporters.

Women candidates in 2017 reported that they were subjected to various forms of violence including physical, psychological, and economic violence as well as threats and coercion. Reports from the Elections Observation Group (ELOG) indicated that violence against women voters and candidates was a serious issue, with 31 % of long term observers reporting to have witnessed or heard of violence against women candidates during the campaign.

The Electoral Code of Conduct clearly prohibits violence or threats against candidates, but there was little enforcement. The IEBC improved their response to complaints relative to 2013, but it often was unable or unwilling to sanction candidates in the case of infractions. In some cases, women who sought assistance from the police were often told that officers could not help because they did not want to "interfere in politics." In focus group discussions, women noted that they chose not to report incidences of violence since they did not believe that any action would be taken.

1. **Physical;** Acts of physical violence often target women candidates and their families as well as the women's supporters. Opponents use supporters to intimidate the women and disrupt their campaigns. One female candidate reported.

22 NDI, FIDA. A Gender A Gender Analysis of the 2017 Kenya Elections, 2018

“It got so chaotic that guns had to be fired to disperse the attackers. Another time a car in our campaign was burnt down.” During the party primaries, Millie Odhiambo, not only had her house burnt down, but her bodyguard was run over and killed by a man driving an opposition campaign vehicle.

In February, Eunice Wambui, an aspiring MP for Embakasi South, was attacked while on a voter registration drive in Mukuru Kwa Reuben, in Nairobi.

In May 2017, Esther Passaris, a Nairobi entrepreneur and politician running to be Nairobi County representative, was held hostage at the University of Nairobi by a group of male students. The students demanded that she give them 150,000 Kenyan shillings (US\$ 1,500) before she managed to escape. She was at the university to address a women’s welfare association. These attacks were meant to discourage, intimidate, and ultimately prevent women from participating in the elections.

One-woman candidate from Nairobi, reported being beaten and sexually defiled, and ultimately ended up not leaving home to vote during the party primaries. In Kisumu and Nairobi focus groups, women noted that running against close family members did not spare them from being subjected to violence. In one case, a woman who competed against her husband experienced an assault by hired men from her husband’s campaign.

2. **Psychological;** Verbal abuse is frequently used to intimidate the women aspirants.

“I had to put up with a lot of gender-based insults,” remarked one female candidate. “My family and my children especially suffered very intrusive public attention.” These were coupled with negative propaganda to cause emotional distress, which not only affected the women aspirants/candidates but their families, too. In one case in Nyeri, the aspirant’s mother was harassed and her customers scared away from her business premises. The objective was to persuade the aspirant to step down from the race in order to protect her family from the consequences of her candidacy. In another case, a respondent was accused of murdering her husband and using his money to seek election.

3. **Sexual;** Propaganda and negative campaigning about women’s sexual morality are more common. Most women candidates’ rival campaigns attempt to undermine them through allegations of sexual misconduct. There are incidences where women voters need a separate voting queues during the party primaries to avoid cases of indecent touching.

4. **Economic;** for most women candidates, financial resources are one of the most difficult aspects of their campaign. As a result, economic pressure is often used as a means to persuade women to drop out of running. Some political parties helped alleviate some of this by reducing nomination fees for specific groups of candidates – including women – but would often still withhold financial assistance to candidates when they preferred the male candidate.

MODULE 3

Campaign Strategies

Module Objectives	<i>By the end of the module, participants/candidates should be able to know about:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Why are campaigns necessary and How to Campaign</i> • <i>Lobbying & Lobbying tactics</i> • <i>Getting Support</i> • <i>How to write effective messages</i> • <i>Drawing up slogans</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>Flipchart, makers and papers</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>Role plays, Group work ,discussions and experience sharing</i>
Duration	<i>120 Minutes (2 hours.)</i>

This module provides guidelines on how to present: Strategies for Lobbying and Campaigning. It gives guidelines on how to plan your campaign and explains how to communicate your campaign messages. Tips for campaigning effectively and how to target relevant audiences are also given.

Activity One; Why Campaign

Start by brainstorming: Why are campaigns necessary? After taking a few responses, ask participants to pick out the statements that are true.

Campaigns are necessary to:

1. Educate the public
2. Change people's views
3. Neutralize opposing views
4. Gain position and power
5. Stir up public outcry
6. Check corrupt practices
7. Win over an undecided public
8. Help change laws and practices
9. Gain affection
10. Instill confidence
11. Influence the opposition

Facilitator's Input: Campaigning events make people know about your organization or party, attract new members and give your supporters confidence.

Activity Two; How to Campaign

Brainstorm how to prepare your campaign step by step. Write suggestions on flipchart, then prioritize and discuss, giving examples for each step.

Facilitator's Input

Target a group or audience: e.g. fellow students, men, women, housewives, and decision-makers. State new behavior or attitude you are trying to encourage: e.g. getting more women to vote, getting more women to contest elections, to get government to change its policy on women's rights What resources do you have? - People, Time and Money

Guidelines for Facilitators

Now to break what is beginning to sound like chalk and talk, ask each participant to turn to the person sitting by her or him and agree on one way in which they would make full use of the resources at their disposal - the time, money and people they have. Now take a few responses and go on to add the following, which could be put on the flipchart:

- People: Could belong to your campaign team, your legal or public relations team
- Time: Spend it talking to people, visiting homes, handing out leaflets, holding press conferences, fundraising, lobbying, conducting research, doing interviews with the press, speaking in public, making new contacts
- Money: Spend it on conducting research, travelling

Printing leaflets, handouts and other publications, organizing meetings, press conferences, etc. but certainly not on giving bribes - though tips are acceptable for tasks carried out. Decide who the people are, who can change laws or help you to achieve your goals. The following people can change laws or influence change in other ways. Write these on flipchart or vanguard. Facilitator and participants should pick out the appropriate ones and add to the following list:

- Policy makers
- Members of Parliament
- Market Women
- Members of County Assembly
- Retired civil servants
- Employers and Employees
- Hawkers and Bus Conductors

Activity Three; Lobbying

Brainstorm what is lobbying. Take a few responses and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

A lobby is a waiting room where people wait to meet others. When you lobby, you try to get a policy or decision-maker to change a policy or decision.

Small Group Task -Getting Support

Ask each group to decide on one issue they would want to lobby on. They should then make a list of those individuals or groups who could be affected by the issue. At the end of the exercise, each group leader should present the completed task. Discuss briefly and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

- Talk or write to individuals or groups that you want support from.
- Organize a meeting with them to see if you can form one group that agrees on at least two or three main points.
- Approach influential people in the community who would agree to represent you. Brief them well.

Lobbying Tactics

Where are decisions about your issue made?

- Nationally?
- Locally?
- At community level?

Who needs to be lobbied?

- Politicians or those in close contact with them?
- Organizations that have influence?
- Local community leaders?
- University authorities?

Writing Letters

Ask each participant to write a letter that would be sent to the people to be lobbied. In the letter, say what is wrong and what you want done. Be brief and to the point. After two minutes, ask two or three participants to read out their letters and go on to:



Points to Remember

- Write directly to the policy makers
- Ask everyone in the support group to write a similar letter.
- Each support group member should also get a friend to write.
- The letter you write should be a sample of the letter you want written.
- For greater impact, fix a date when the letters should be sent so they will all arrive at the same time.

Personal Lobbying

- Get an appointment with the decision-makers.
- Decide whether your visit should include your support group or just you and one or two others, i.e. formal or informal meeting.
- Prepare your case well.
- Plan for a short meeting at which you will make your points at a given time.

Who influences the people you are going to lobby?

Chiefs, Youth groups, Opinion leaders, media and Voters

Ask participants to add to this list.

How are you going to reach these people?

Brainstorm ways of reaching the public; take a few responses and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

Meet them at their places of work, business, homes, at their groups, clubs, associations or organization meetings. Also, you can reach them through the media, especially electronic media - i.e. radio and TV.

Brainstorm: Why should these people support you? Take a few responses and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

You need to convince and persuade them that you have their best interests at heart and that together, you can work to change things and improve their situation. Give the example of the following campaign:

Better Life for all students

Students will be given loans

School administrators will listen to students' needs new recreational facilities for female and male students

Brainstorm what do you want them to do? Take a few responses and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

- Support you
- Tell others about you
- Bring more supporters to your camp
- Vote for you

Brainstorm 'When do you want them to do it?' Take a few responses and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

They can do it during the campaign period, until elections and after?

Activity Four; Campaign Tips

Ask each participant to write 5 tips for campaigning on cards and paste on the wall. Ask everybody to move around the room and read each other's points. Allow 5 minutes for this exercise. Then simply ask the whole group for a report-back: 'what came out of that?' or 'what were the main points of that exercise?'

How to write effective messages

Now ask participants to break into groups and:

- create a simple message for their campaign
- create a slogan

Ask leaders to report back and go on to:

Facilitator's Input

Since it is not easy to change attitudes or feelings, you need to make your messages simple and easily understood.

An example of two simple messages: *Vote for a woman today! Forward for women!*
An example of two slogans: *Breaking Barriers, Building Bridges*

Some reasons why messages may not be understood or acted upon are:

The message may not reach the target audience - because you have used the wrong method of communication.

What would be a wrong and right method of communication for an illiterate audience?

- People may receive the message but not understand it - perhaps you used the wrong kind of language. Give an example of the wrong language in a given situation
- People may receive the message but it may conflict with what they have been taught or what they know. Give one example of this.
- The message may be too negative. Give an example of a negative message. Make it positive.
- People may receive the information but do not know what to do about it - you gave them no practical advice. Write down one piece of information that needs practical advice to carry out.
- People may receive the information but not change their behavior for very long - you have to repeat the message. Write a message that is meant to change a particular kind of behavior.

Some rules for making simple messages.

Small Group Task

Here are some rules for making simple messages.

- Clearly define what behavior you are trying to promote. Give one example.
- Decide who you are trying to influence. Give an example.
- Determine whether new ways of behaving need new skills. Does the behavior above need new skills?
- Learn about your audience's current beliefs. Give two examples of audience beliefs from your own experiences.
- Think about where they get their present ideas and information. Give examples.
- Find the right methods of communicating e.g. leaflets, posters, and meetings.
- Design a message, which is understandable, practical, brief and above all positive.
- Test your ideas with other people first, and evaluate the results. Do this in your groups.

Small Group Task

Go on to read and discuss the following together:

- Do not make fabulous promises you know you cannot keep E.g. I promise to provide scholarships for every in-coming student at the college
- Show the advantages of your message. For example: support women and experience a new way of life, fight corruption to develop the economy, promote the living standards of ALL and not a privileged few

- Tackle issues of public concern E.g. health, education
- Maintain a good rapport with the press e.g. invite them on campaign trips, hold regular press conferences
- Get your facts right! Before you say anything, make sure it has been verified
- Be well informed of what the opposition is doing. Do not be complacent or underestimate your opponent. Be certain that s/he has spies in your camp
- Establish a campaign team that will be readily available and led by a good campaign manager
- Handle negative situations without anger. Even if you are insulted in public, try to rise above the situation
- Remember: repeat the message and slogan so it sticks!!

Now discuss as a whole group. Your Opponent

Brainstorm: who is my opponent?

Facilitator's input: Your opponent is not your enemy. He/she is just someone who sees things from a different perspective and is presenting it from another platform. What should be your attitude to your opponent? Tick the statements that don't apply:

- Contempt Animosity Aggressiveness
- Tolerance Friendliness Hate
- Distrust Dislike Acceptance
- Respect

Role-Play

Ask participants to divide into two groups. Each group chooses its own leader and asks them to act out the following:

Two candidates have planned to hold rallies at the playing field of a local community. Unfortunately, the authorities have given them permission to use the field at the same time. One rally is underway when the other candidate arrives with her supporters. The scene should show how the supporters react and teach them how each candidate handles the situation.

At the end, the whole group should discuss the following:

- How did you feel when you saw the people from the other party?
- What was your first impulse?
- How do you feel about the way it was handled?
- What role did you play?
- Would you have reacted differently if this had happened in real life?
- Ask each participant to write a short message beginning with: treat your opponent -----

- Their responses should be pinned on the walls.

The Voters

- Who are voters? How do you see them?
- Each participant is asked to give her/his own personal definition of which the voters are.

Remember: the way you see the voters determines how you are going to approach them and treat them.

At the end of this exercise, ask two participants to do a role-play in which a candidate and one of her staff are discussing how to get young people in a community to vote for her. The candidate is one who, unlike her staff member, believes that there are better ways of getting young peoples' votes than offering them money, and drugs.

At the end of the scene, participants should discuss good, clean ways of getting not just young people but anyone of voting age, to vote.

Small Group Task: Drawing up slogans

Participants divide into three or four groups to draw up slogans to encourage other candidates to avoid getting voters the wrong way. For example; A Voter is not a thug. Voters, say "NO" to drugs and violence.

Give out the following for each participant to complete:

TEST YOUR POTENTIAL AS A CAMPAIGNER

Usually Sometimes Rarely

Table 1: Test Your Potential as a Campaigner

	Yes	No
I am good at influencing people		
I do not hesitate to approach people		
I know how to make use of my resources		
I like the challenge of influencing change		
I am willing to take risks and learn from my mistakes		
I promote team spirit and effort		
I stand for what I believe in		
I use every resource at my disposal to achieve my aim		
I am not afraid of criticism		
I evaluate everything others have to say		
I reflect the values I believe		
I work at short term plans whilst making long-term plans		
I am committed to whatever I set out to do		

If you've answered 'usually' to most of the questions, you are on your way to being a very good campaigner. You must strive to improve in areas in which you answered 'sometimes' or 'rarely'.

Handout 3.1 Introduction to Campaign Strategies

Campaigns for county-wide seats (governor, senator and county woman representative) are normally grueling and protracted, particularly for first time candidates. Women who had contested for political office previously are more likely to win office than newcomers to campaigns. Previous candidates have higher levels of public recognition and were cited as role models and mentors for new entrants. For these women, their earlier experience as candidates helped them improve their campaign planning and outreach.

In addition, women who had previously served in government office are also more likely to win elected office. Women who had held a nominated seat from 2013-2017 and decided to campaign for an open position, or work within the party to maintain their nominated seat, were more successful than newcomers to politics. In the 2017 elections, 20 of the 23 women elected as a MNA held office previously or had campaigned for office before. Only one had no experience at all in public life. In the Senate, there were 18 women nominated to the Senate in 2013. Of the 18 women, 14 went on to run for elected positions in 2017 and had a 35 % success rate in gaining office. For women that did not win, several parties chose them to fill nominated positions. It is observable that these women tend to be more qualified and committed to their positions due to their campaign experience.

Strategies should be developed and implemented to ensure greater participation by women in campaigns for elective political office. These strategies should consider;

1. **Political Party Support;** Political parties remain the key gateway for women's successful participation in politics. Party backing is the most important factor for female candidates, while the lack of support – or worse, a party's active exclusion, discrimination, or hostility – can ruin a woman's campaign. Many of the women who were elected received support from their parties in the form of discounted nomination fees, funding for campaigns, equal treatment with men, and the application of constitutional provisions that promoted women's inclusion, especially during the nomination process. Some political parties provide material support, including T-shirts and posters. A few party leaders also campaign for female candidates, using their clout to give the women a boost. On the other hand, many women who failed to get elected felt abandoned by their parties' lack of adherence to the constitutional provisions on inclusion, stating that the party laws and regulations were not supportive of women. In other cases, parties.

2. **Candidate Training;** The majority of women running for office for the first time are unfamiliar with the process of organizing a campaign and working with political parties. Most parties lack dedicated training operations, and typically committed with few resources. Several CSOs offer training to women aspirants /candidates to enhance their knowledge and capacity to effectively compete, both in their party primaries and in general elections. Candidates are taken through training topics, such as campaign planning and preparation, transformative leadership, communication, public speaking and media relations that will help them navigate the political landscape. The training skills help in improving campaigns for the women candidates.
3. **Negotiated Democracy;** Negotiated democracy, a custom whereby influential persons draw up and support a list of preferred candidates, has traditionally locked women out of politics. However, in some areas meant that negotiated democracy worked in women's favor. Women may be endorsed by local chiefs and community elders to enable them to win both the primaries and the eventual elections. These changes are made largely through dialogue forums with cultural and religious leaders and the community at large aimed at increasing support for women aspirants. Over the long term though, even this limited success with negotiated democracy can have negative impacts on women's ability to participate independently in politics, since they are beholden to the local chiefs rather than the electorate. In most cases, negotiated democracy continues to be disadvantageous to women candidates. Elders play a significant role in selecting candidates for elective seats in their communities, and most often the process is an entrenchment of patriarchal culture. This significantly reduces the number of seats available for women to contest, dissuading many of them from participating and forcing others to seek nomination for the special women's representative position.
4. **Media Coverage;** the media has tremendous influence over political attitudes and electoral outcomes. Women candidates have often received less media coverage than their male counterparts, and a lack of resources prevents women from breaking through into the media. When women do attract the attention of the media, women are generally tagged with more negative news as compared to men. Gender stereotypes and stigma are prevalent in the coverage of female political leaders. The application of double standards for men and women results in tremendous caution among many of the female candidates when given the opportunity to participate on television or radio, and as a result most women avoided media-based public discourse and ultimately lack visibility. Despite the problems and disparities, women candidates often feel that the quality of coverage of female politicians and candidates (and the issues that they feel passionate about) has improved significantly since 2013, perhaps because journalists better understand the need for giving women more space in a political landscape dominated by men. Despite using very little mainstream media, the women capitalized on social media, such as Facebook and WhatsApp to communicate to voters, most of whom found this very effective. Posting of campaign events and photos of their development work helped to communicate their message and improve their visibility among voters.

5. **Financial Resources;** The IEBC attempted to implement new campaign finance regulations prior to 2017, but resistance in parliament meant that regulations did not take effect prior to the elections. The lack of campaign finance regulation that limits spending is a major constraint on women candidates, who generally have fewer resources and are less likely to be incumbents. Most women candidates interviewed said that they would perform better if supported not only financially but with campaign materials for visibility and overall popularity. The lack of resources also affected their capacity to conduct their campaigns, leaving them to rely on family and friends and restricting their travel. Some women felt that they would have been more effective if they could have had different campaign materials for different segments of voters. The limited financial resources also meant that the majority of their campaign funding was used to pay for party membership and nomination fees, agents' emoluments, and logistical costs, rather than promotional materials and community engagement activities. Some also faced financial hurdles related to challenging election results in court.

MODULE 4

Communication and Presentation Skills

Module Objectives	<i>By the end of this session, participants/candidates will be able to know about:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Public speaking</i> • <i>Personal presentation and image</i> • <i>Public speaking</i> • <i>Handling negative situations</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>Flipchart, makers and papers</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>Role plays, Group work ,discussions and experience sharing</i>
Duration	<i>120 Minutes (2 hours.)</i>

This session provides guidelines on; Presentation and Communication Skills. It gives guidelines for public speaking including stages of preparation for speech making. Useful insights on how to present yourself in public and communicate with your audience are also provided.

Activity One; Presentation Skills

Guidelines for Facilitators

Say: The way you present yourself to an audience and the manner in which you deliver whatever you want them to hear is what is going to determine how successful your campaign is.

Small Group Work

Ask participants to break into groups and write a short speech of one minute's duration introducing themselves to people who want to join their party. Each group should choose a leader to do the presentation. Discuss performances briefly. And go on to brainstorm how participants would prepare for speechmaking. Then ask them to break into groups and do the following exercise using the example below as a guide. Write on flip chart papers and go on to:

Preparation

Write down your message

- State your aims and objectives
- Identify and prepare one simple and brief message related to your objectives
- State one issue that is of interest to the audience.

Example:

Know your message - Vote more women into Parliament

Clarify your aim - To convince the audience to vote for women

Identify and prepare a message - Women will solve women and men's problems

Make mention of issues that are of interest - women will ensure free education for your children
 After five minutes, ask the leader of each group to present their findings and discuss each briefly.

Personal Presentation and Image

Read the following statements and tick the ones that are important for the public speaker:

Lena has just finished making a speech and you have been asked to rate her competence and effectiveness by picking out what is applicable to her from the following:

Table 2: Personal Presentation and Image

<input type="checkbox"/>	She had her emotions under control and refused to respond rudely or angrily when provoked.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She got very angry when asked about her personal life.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Her body language suggested that she had little confidence.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She spoke a lot about all the positions she had held in the past.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She shyly refused to talk about her past leadership roles.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She could only answer questions that had to do with her role as a wife and as a mother.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She thoroughly enjoyed herself: she smoked and drank a lot of wine throughout the rally.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She is not worried about putting anyone down in public.
<input type="checkbox"/>	At the end of the rally all the other women could talk about were her flamboyant, expensive clothes.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The women also spoke about how skillfully her eye shadow and lipstick had been applied.
<input type="checkbox"/>	No one could tell what she was thinking even when people said things to make her angry.
<input type="checkbox"/>	She never looked anyone in the eye when speaking.
<input type="checkbox"/>	During her speech, Lena: Spoke clearly for everyone to hear.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Spoke so fast it was difficult to understand what she was saying.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Offered few solutions to the problems that concern us.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Did not define her problem well.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Made her position quite clear.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Spoke at length about her vision.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Made the audience feel as if they had known her a long time.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Spoke for so long that some people began to leave.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Showed that she had had the audience in mind when preparing her speech.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Did not entertain any questions.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Showed that she knew very little about the audience.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Told the audience exactly who she was and what she wanted them to do.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Spoke positively and confidently about her plans for the future.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Often strayed from the point she was making.

Facilitator's Input

Using the information, you've just put together, spend five minutes writing a short speech of not more than 150 words, introducing yourself and your party. Include three main points about what you plan to do for your community if you are elected.

Activity Two; Handling Negative Situations

Participants act the following skits to illustrate how not to and how to handle negative situations:

Role Play 1

Imagine you are presenting a speech and the audience turns hostile. One person confronts you. How do you handle it?

Aspirant: So, as I was saying, if you vote for more women

Audience: Just get out. You are all thieves. You just want to wear fine clothes and drive big cars with the money you've...

Aspirant: Who are you calling a thief?

Audience: You! (The rest of the crowd cheers)

Aspirant: (Advances threateningly): If you call me a thief once more I'll show you who I am. They advance on each other. People from the audience struggle to keep them apart.

Role Play 2

Anyango: So, as I was saying, if you vote for more women...

Audience: Just get out. You are all thieves. You just want to wear fine clothes and drive big cars with the money you have stolen. After we've voted for you, you will forget all about us and we will always be poor and out of work.

Anyango: My friend, I know how you feel. This is how things have been in the past but we want to change all that. That's why I'm here.

Audience: It's all lies.

Anyango: (Persuasively) Why don't you try me first? Everybody is not the same, you know.

Audience: I agree. Let's give a woman the chance this time. Women are our mothers and sisters. Many people from the audience nod in agreement.

Guidelines for facilitators

After a brief discussion, go on to discuss the following. Some of the statements may be inappropriate.

Do your homework before making a speech

Tick the appropriate answers to these questions:

1. Should I find out what the needs, interests and opinions of the people are? Yes/No
2. Should I go into the community to find these out? Yes/No
3. Should I talk to both men and women? Yes/No
4. Should I go to groups, clubs, and village elders? Yes/No
5. Should I make promises I can't keep? Yes/No
6. Should I do my homework well ahead? Yes/No

Miscellaneous

- Consider what an appropriate body language is
- Practice how to use the microphone and the podium before hand
- Time the program well - think of the season
- Be prepared for questions from the audience
- Don't be afraid to stop and collect your thoughts before continuing to speak

You and your Audience. Tick the statements that you agree with:

Table 3: You and your Audience. Tick the statements that you agree with

	When I face my audience, I must try to:
	convince them of the sincerity of my mission
	persuade them to work with me
	get their votes.
	get the audience to support me
	get the audience to jeer at me
	get the audience to oppose my opponents
	make a long speech so they will vote for me.
	make a short, concise speech that deals with issues of interest to them
	talk to the audience at their level
	tell them how arrogant I am
	make many promises
	elicit the views of audience, especially the elders
	disrespect the views of the audience
	impress the audience

Facilitator's input: The role of the audience is to listen, ask questions and make up their minds about me.

Structuring the Message

- Introduction - ask them to play a getting to know each other game
- Introduce what you want to say and why you want to say it
- Present information about your opponents
- Group relevant facts and keep to logical sequence
- Check the understanding of the audience
- Encourage questions and give answers
- Use visual aids
- Hold discussions
- Use positive terms and expressions

Visual Aids: Reasons for using them

- ensures break of talk, enhances understanding
- focus attention on the main point
- make abstract ideas more concrete

Note of caution for preparing Visual Aids

- Make sure they convey the message
- Do not use too many visual aids at a time
- Presenter needs to familiarize her/himself with the visual aids
- Do not put too much information on one visual aid
- Do not use pictures that are negative

Your notes should:

- cover the contents
- use key words only
- make corrections where necessary

MODULE 5

Engaging
Media

Module Objectives	<p><i>This session provides guidelines on how to present: Engaging the media. It defines the different types of media and goes on to highlight its roles and shortcomings. It ends with various tips for effective use of the media. At the end of the session participants will be able to: -</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Explain the meaning of media</i> • <i>Identify types of media</i> • <i>Describe the role of the media</i> • <i>Discuss how to engage the media</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>Flipchart, makers and papers</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>Role plays, Group work ,discussions and experience sharing</i>
Duration	<i>120 Minutes (2 hours.)</i>

Activity One; What is the meaning of Media

Guidelines for facilitators: Ask participants to explain the meaning of media. Write responses on flip chart. Then go on to:

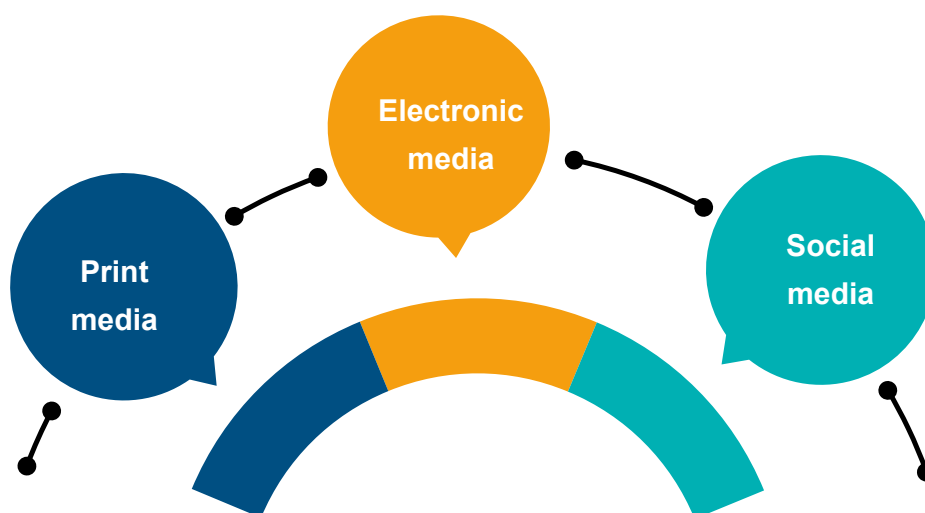
Facilitator’s Input:

- The media is a channel or a means of communication for passing on messages.
- Media that are used to pass on information to the public are referred to as the mass media.

Types of Media

There are many types of media but the main ones are: -

Figure 1 Types of Media



Guidelines for facilitators: Ask participants to define print and electronic media and to give examples of them. Record responses on flipchart and add:

- The print media includes newspapers, magazines and pamphlets.
- The Electronic media includes radio and television
- Other media forms or communication channels materials include posters, stickers, pin ups, fliers, leaflets and letters to newspapers and magazines.

Activity: Group work

Guidelines for Facilitators: Ask participants to break into groups to discuss

- The role of the media
- The shortcomings of the media

Ask groups to report ensuring that the following are highlighted:

The role of the media is to:

- Inform, educate, entertain and develop country, society and community.
- Effect changes in people's perceptions and behavior (manipulative)
- Report incidents and events (Reportage)
- Enlighten/sensitize people about current developments e.g. General elections, HIV/AIDS

Shortcomings of the media in Kenya include:

- Inability to conduct proper interviews
- Lack of media ethics
- Failure to cross check facts or do proper research
- Negative portrayal of women in some cases

Activity Two; How to use the Media

Guidelines for facilitators: – Guide participants through a discussion of how to use the media. Please ensure that the following points are brought out in the discussion.

- Know what you want to use the media for.
- Keep journalists informed about your work.
- Establish personal contacts with some journalists so that they can promote your work.
- Find out journalists' preferences for publication
- Identify suitable time slots that would give you maximum media coverage.
- Book appointments with media houses in good time.
- Try to be visible on the media e.g. photographs
- Put out press releases and statements when necessary.

Tips for Effective use of the Media

Guidelines for facilitators: Brainstorm with participants what they feel about: -

- Appearing on Television
- Articles in the newspapers
- Interviews
- Press Releases/Press conferences

Make sure that the discussion covers the following points:

- Appearance on Television
- Be presentable – well-groomed but not flamboyant
- Be informed
- Be articulate – pitch your voice appropriately

Interviews on Television

- Use attractive signature tune/music
- Use appropriate language and articulate well.
- Be sincere and honest
- Be well informed about the topic – do research and forecast possible questions
- Do not be argumentative or judgmental.

Other Interviews

- Give the full story from every angle
- Provide different perspectives of the same subject
- Encourage journalists to interview your family, friends, associates or anyone who knows something about you as well.

Newspaper Articles

- Match your style with that of the newspaper.
- Consider the target audience addressed by the newspaper.
- Focus on the human element in your story in order to motivate readers.
- Draw references from your community.
- Write stories that would test the pulse of readers and elicit their response.

Printed Materials

- Have clear objectives before printing your materials. This attracts voters and gets messages across; it also galvanizes people into action.

Activity Three; Writing Effective Press Release

Guidelines for facilitators: – Guide participants through a discussion of how to write effective press release. Please ensure that the following points are brought out in the discussion.

- What events have you organized in the past that would have benefited from better press coverage?
- Which local, national, or international media outlets would you want to cover your events, issues, and alerts?
- Are there specific radio stations, television stations, magazines, and newspapers that you believe might be interested in your organization or campaign? If so, which ones and why?
- Are there media outlets that you believe would not be interested in your stories? Why or why not?

Handout 5.1 How to Write an Effective Press Release

Press releases are written summaries of events, announcements, achievements, or positions that are sent to the press (including newspapers, magazines, television and radio news programs, and internet-based news sources) for the purpose of generating publicity. Press releases are one of the best tools available for keeping the media informed about your campaign's activities and your other news worthy events. The format of a press release helps journalists, radio hosts, television producers, and other media professionals know quickly and succinctly whether yours is a story they want to cover.

Knowing how to write effective press releases and where and how to distribute them will help you get press coverage that can reach hundreds, thousands, and sometimes millions of constituents. The best press releases read like well-written news items. They are not too long and are full of information that entices the reader to want to find out more. Although the culture, schedules, and objectives of media outlets vary, you can greatly increase the likelihood that your press releases will generate news stories by following some very basic guidelines.

- Pay attention to the media outlet's preferred timing and method for receiving news items. A phone call or email to the editor or station manager will usually get you this information. Although the manager at larger news organizations, television stations, or popular radio programs may be hard to reach, most of these organizations have websites that post information about how to submit press releases.
- Write your press release in a style and manner that includes all newsworthy details so that it can be printed without editing. The less work a journalist has to do, the more likely it is that your story will be published. Most publications will alter the language in the press release to some degree before publication, but often it is only a few word changes, or the addition of a direct quote.
- Keep the press release short—one or two pages' maximum. If a news outlet chooses to write a longer article, chances are that the journalist will want to do her own research or follow-up. If a news outlet receives a press release that is too long, a busy editor may not take the time to read it.
- Write the release so that all of the most important and newsworthy information appears in the first paragraphs. If an editor needs to cut the length of an article, she will usually begin at the end. Also, to capture the attention of an editor, the most interesting details should be placed at the beginning of the release. If the editor likes what she is reading, she will read on. If not, she might discard the release before she reaches the critical information.
- Use a conventional formatting style (see the "Basic Press Release Formatting Guidelines" box at below). Not all press releases need to look exactly the same. However, using a standard formula will make your press release easier for an editor to follow.

BASIC PRESS RELEASE FORMATTING GUIDELINES

1. Write the name and address of the organization sending the release in the upper left-hand corner
2. Skip a line and write FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE or FOR RELEASE ON [DATE].
3. Write the name of the contact person and her contact information on the right-hand side of the page beginning on the same line (or higher) as the words FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.
4. Center, underline, and write in all capital letters the title of press release.
5. A subtitle, if used, should be separated from the title by a space, written in upper and lower case letters, and italicized.
6. The first paragraph of the release should begin with the city of origin, and the date of the release of the information (not the date the release is mailed).
7. The press release layout should have plenty of empty (white) space so that it is easy to read. A break between each paragraph is helpful.
8. At the bottom and center of the first and second pages should be typed the word more with dashes on each side to look like this: —more—
9. At the end of the release, signatures, centered, indicates that the communication is complete: ###. This technique is especially helpful when sending press releases by e-mail. It lets the recipient know when she has received the final page.

- Follow up by phone or email with the editor or station manager (or other person or office assigned to review press releases) a day or so after the release is sent to make sure that it was received and to inquire whether additional information is needed.

MODULE 6

Election Rules and Regulations

Module Objectives	<i>This session guides the participants/candidates on the election rules and regulations. It highlights the IEBC requirements for participation in elections as candidates. At the end of the session participants will know:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Kenya Electoral Laws and Regulations</i> • <i>Qualifications and requirements for elective positions</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>Flipchart, makers and papers, Power point presentations</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>Presentation ,discussions and experience sharing</i>
Duration	<i>90 Minutes (1 hour 30 mins)</i>

Guidelines for Facilitators: – Guide participants through a discussion on election rules and regulations. Please ensure that the following points are brought out in the discussion.

Handout 6.1; Electoral Laws of Kenya

The laws governing the electoral system of Kenya include: The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, the Elections Act, 2011; Elections Offenses Act, 2016. The Political Parties Act, 2011; the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act, 2011; the Elections Campaign Financing Act, 2013 and the Leadership and Integrity Act, 2012

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010

The Constitution establishes the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, IEBC. The IEBC is the electoral body in Kenya. The Commission has the major responsibility of conducting elections and referendum. In the performance of its functions, the Commission is subject only to the Constitution and the law and hence not subject to the direction or control by any person or authority. The Constitution grants four (4) types of rights to participate in an election which are:

- Right to be registered as a voter;
- Right to vote by secret ballot in any election or referendum;
- Right to be a candidate and if elected, right to hold a public office;
- Right to join and participate in a political party.

Article 10 of the Constitution provides for national values and principles that is required to be observed during elections. These values include: good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability. The constitution requires that the electoral system be subject to the following principles:

- The citizens must be given the freedom to exercise their political rights.
- Not more than two-thirds of members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender.
- Persons with disabilities must be fairly represented.

The electoral system must comply with the principle of free and fair elections that bear the following characteristics:

- By secret ballot;
- Free from violence, intimidation, improper influence or corruption;
- Conducted by an independent body;
- Transparent;
- Administered in an impartial, neutral, efficient, accurate and accountable manner.

The Elections Act, 2011

This Act provides for the following:

- the conduct of both elections and referenda
- the registration of voters, and the determination of questions concerning registration
- election offences and resolution of election disputes

All adult Kenyan citizens have the right to vote provided they are registered in the Register of Voters. The Register of Voters comprises

- A poll register in respect of every polling station;
- A ward register in respect of every ward;
- A constituency register in respect of every constituency;
- A county register in respect of every county; and
- A register of voters residing outside Kenya

The registered voters in a county or constituency may remove their Member of Parliament before the end of the term of the relevant House of Parliament if he/ she is:

- found, after due process of the law, to have violated the provisions of Chapter Six of the Constitution; found, after due process of the law, to have mismanaged public resources;
- Convicted of an offence under this Act.

A recall can only be started twenty-four months after the election of the Member of Parliament and not later than twelve months immediately preceding the next general election. A recall petition cannot be filed against a Member of Parliament more than once during the term of that member in Parliament. A person who unsuccessfully contested an election cannot initiate a petition for the removal of the Member of Parliament. The IEBC is responsible for the settlement of electoral disputes, including disputes relating to or arising from nominations but this excludes election petitions and disputes subsequent to the declaration of election results.

Elections Offences Act, 2016.

This Act came in the year 2016. Election offences will cause warning, disqualification, prosecution or imprisonment. These are some of the offences that you, as a Kenyan citizen need to be familiar with:

- Multiple registration: your name appearing more than once on the voters' register
- Having more than one voter's card. Impersonation: using somebody else's voter's card
- Selling or buying voter's card. Do not exchange your card for money, food, beer or any other gift, you will be selling your ethics and your democratic right
- Deliberately destroying a voter's card
- Offences relating to voting

- Voting more than once
- Carrying out campaigns on the polling day
- Soliciting or receiving bribes to encourage voting for a candidate.
- Hate speech targeting the opposing side
- Destruction of campaign materials of the opposing candidate.
- Use of another person's elector's card and ID to vote
- Prevention, obstruction or barring of a person from voting
- Use of threats, force, or violence during the election to compel someone to vote in a particular way or refrain from voting.

It is your duty as a citizen to –

- Report election offences as soon as possible to Designated IEBC Security Officer's desk, Designated Peace Committees or the nearest Police Station
- Conduct campaigns in a peaceful manner and to always adhere to the laws, rules and regulations guiding elections in Kenya
- Participate in peaceful elections

The Political Parties Act, 2011;

This Act regulates the formation and operation of political parties. It provides for the registration of political parties and how they are regulated. It also provides for the funding and accounting of political parties, and the resolution of disputes within political parties.

The Act has created the office of the Registrar of Political Parties that is independent that cannot be directed or controlled by any person or authority. It is mandatory for any political party to be registered before it can be allowed to operate.

It establishes a fund called the Political Parties Fund, which is administered by the Registrar of Political Parties. The fund promotes accountability, transparency and fair competition between parties. The Act provides for distribution of the fund, restriction of sources, disclosure and audit of the Fund.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Act, 2011;

The IEBC is responsible for conducting or supervising elections to any elective office. Under this Act, the Commission is made up of the commissioners headed by a chairperson and a secretariat headed by a Chief Executive Officer who is also the secretary to the commission. The Commission consists of nine (9) Members with the Chair and Vice Chair. The commissioners are appointed by the President of Kenya and confirmed by the Kenyan Parliament.

The term of office of the members of the commission is a single term of six (6) years. The commission is independent from the control or influence of any person or authority. In carrying out its functions, the commission is required to observe the principle of public participation and the requirement for consultation with stakeholders. The functions of the IEBC are:

- Conducting or supervising referenda
- Conducting or supervising elections to any elective body established by the constitution
- Conducting and supervising any other election as may be as may be prescribed by an Act of Parliament

- Registration of citizens as voters
- Regular revision of voters' register
- Delimitation of constituencies and wards
- Settlement of electoral disputes such as disputes arising from nominations.

There is a code of conduct for members and staff of the Commission. The Code is fairly comprehensive. The Code requires the Commission's employees to conduct themselves with integrity and neutrality. All the members are expected to perform their duties in a manner that maintains public confidence and to discharge their duties in a professional and efficient manner and respect the rights and freedoms of all persons.

The Elections Campaign Financing Act, 2013

This law was passed by parliament in 2013 to provide for the regulation, management, expenditure and accountability of election campaign funds during election and referendum campaigns. The IEBC is responsible for the regulation and administration of campaign financing and is required to:

- Keep a register of authorized persons under this Act;
- Supervise candidates, political parties, referendum committees and authorized persons in relation to campaign expenses;
- Set spending limits and enforce compliance with such limits

A political party intending to contest in an election is required to constitute a party expenditure committee which shall consist of nine members whose mandate is to advise the political party on all financial matters related to the party nomination or to the party campaign expenditure;

Leadership and Integrity Act, 2012

This Act came into place in 2012 to give effect to the provisions of the Constitution on leadership and integrity under Chapter six, (6). This law requires leaders to have the following leadership qualities:

- State officers are required to abide by the Constitution and the law.
- State officers are required to use the power given to them in the interest of Kenyans
- State officers are required to carry out their duties efficiently and with honesty
- State officers are required to carry out duties of the office in a manner that maintains public confidence in the integrity of the office
- A State officer shall not use the office to unlawfully enrich himself or herself or any other person
- A State officer shall not use the office to wrongfully or unlawfully influence the acquisition of property

Handout 6.2; Qualifications and Requirements for Elective Positions

Guidelines for Facilitators: – Guide participants through a discussion qualifications and requirements for elective positions. Please ensure that the following points are brought out in the discussion.

The IEBC is responsible for ensuring that the following qualifications are met for eligibility to participate in elections in Kenya:

Table 4: Candidate for Presidential Election

Candidate for Presidential Election (and Running Mate)		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 200,000 for candidates Kes. 100,000 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen by birth • Is qualified to stand for election as a member of Parliament • Must not hold dual citizenship • Must not owe allegiance to a foreign state • Must be a registered voter • Is a holder of a degree from a University recognized in Kenya • Is nominated by a Political Party or is an independent candidate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Candidate must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination: • Certified copies of educational qualification certificates, including a Degree Certificate in accordance with Section 22 of the Elections Act, 2011 and Regulation 47 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012. • Where the body that issued the certificate is not based in Kenya, a certified copy of the certificate must be submitted which must be authenticated and or equated by the Kenya National Examination Council in case of Form 4 certificates, or the Commission of Higher Education, in case of University Degrees. • A copy of a National Identity Card/valid Passport (the document used by the candidate to register as a voter) • A Passport size photograph with white background submitted in hard and soft copy. • If a Party Candidate, a Nomination Certificate from a fully registered Political Party nominating the candidate, duly dated and signed by an authorized official of the party • A duly signed and dated Code of Conduct (Second Schedule of the Elections Act, 2011) • A duly filled Commission Nomination Form, including: • An original Statutory Declaration Form for purposes of nomination (Regulation 18(3) Elections (General) Regulations, 2012 and an original Self-Declaration Form (Regulation 46 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) • For both Political Party Candidates and Independent Candidates, an electronic and printed copy of not fewer than 2000 voters from each of the majority of the countries in the prescribed form.

		<p>For an Independent Candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Clearance Certificate from the Registrar of Political Parties certifying that the person was not a member of any political party for the last 3 months before the elections; i.e. as at 7th May, 2017 (Regulation 15(a) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A soft and a hard copy of a list of at least 2000 supporters in the prescribed form, submitted to the Commission. • A duly filled Form of Intention to Contest in the prescribed form (Regulation 15(b) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A symbol the candidate intends to use during the election, which has been approved by the Commission 21 days before Commission Day • Establish and maintain a functioning office in the respective electoral area where the candidate is contesting, which must be available for inspection by the Commission at least 45 days before the elections. The address, including the physical address of the office must be communicated to the Commission
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Table 5: Candidate for Governor Election

Candidate for Governor Election (and Running Mate)		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 50, 000 for candidates Kes. 25,000 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen for at least 10 years before the election • Must not owe allegiance to a foreign state • Must be eligible for election as a member of the county assembly • Must be a registered voter • Is a holder of a degree from a University recognized in Kenya • Is nominated by a Political Party or is an independent candidate • All requirement for County Governor apply to the Deputy Governor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Candidate must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination: • Certified copies of educational qualification certificates, including a Degree Certificate in accordance with Section 22 of the Elections Act, 2011 and Regulation 47 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012. • Where the body that issued the certificate is not based in Kenya, a certified copy of the certificate must be submitted which must be authenticated and or equated by the Kenya National Examination Council in case of Form 4 certificates, or the Commission of Higher Education, in case of University Degrees. • A copy of a National Identity Card/valid Passport (the document used by the candidate to register as a voter) • A Passport size photograph with white background submitted in hard and soft copy. • If a Party Candidate, a Nomination Certificate from a fully registered political party nominating the candidate, duly signed and dated by an authorized official of the party • A duly signed and dated Code of Conduct (Second Schedule of the Elections Act, 2011) • A duly filled Commission Nomination Form, including an original Statutory Declaration Form for purposes of nomination (Regulation 18(3) Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) and an original Self-Declaration Form (Regulation 46 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012)

		<p>For an Independent Candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Clearance Certificate from the Registrar of Political Parties certifying that the person was not a member of any political party for the last 3 months before the elections; i.e. as at 7th May, 2017 (Regulation 15(a) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A soft and a hard copy of a list of at least 500 supporters in the prescribed form, submitted to the Commission. • A duly filled Form of Intention to Contest in the prescribed form (Regulation 15(b) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A symbol the candidate intends to use during the election, which has been approved by the Commission • Establish and maintain a functioning office in the respective electoral area where the candidate is contesting, which must be available for inspection by the Commission at least 45 days before the elections. The address, including the physical address of the office must be communicated to the Commission.
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Table 6: Candidate for Senate Election

Candidate for Senate Election (and Running Mate)		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 50, 000 for candidates Kes. 25,000 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen for at least 10 years before the election • Must not owe allegiance to a foreign state • Must be a registered voter • Is nominated by a Political Party or is an independent candidate 	<p>The Candidate must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A copy of a National Identity Card/valid Passport (the document used by the candidate to register as a voter) • A Passport size photograph with white background submitted in hard and soft copy. • If a Party Candidate, a Nomination Certificate from a fully registered political party nominating the candidate, duly signed by an authorized official of the party • A duly signed and dated Code of Conduct (Second Schedule of the Elections Act, 2011) • A duly filled Commission Nomination Form, including an original Statutory Declaration Form for purposes of nomination (Regulation 18(3) Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) and an original Self-Declaration Form (Regulation 46 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) <p>For an Independent Candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Clearance Certificate from the Registrar of Political Parties certifying that the person was not a member of any political party for the last 3 months before the elections; i.e. as at 7th May, 2017, (Regulation 15(a) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A soft and a hard copy of a list of at least 2000 supporters in the prescribed form, submitted to the Commission. • A duly filled Form of Intention to Contest in the prescribed form (Regulation 15(b) (General) Regulations, 2012 • A symbol the candidate intends to use during the election, which has been approved by the Commission • Establish and maintain a functioning office in the respective electoral area where the candidate is contesting, which must be available for inspection by the Commission at least 45 days before the elections. The address, including the physical address of the office must be communicated to the Commission.

Table 7: Candidate for National Assembly Election

Candidate for National Assembly Election (including Woman County Representative to the National Assembly)		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 20,000 for candidates Kes. 10,000 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen for at least 10 years before the election • Must not hold allegiance to a foreign state • Must be a registered voter • Is nominated by a Political Party or is an independent candidate 	<p>The Candidate must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A copy of a National Identity Card/valid Passport (the document used by the candidate to register as a voter) • A Passport size photograph with white background submitted in hard and soft copy. • If a Party Candidate, a Nomination Certificate from a fully registered political party nominating the candidate, duly signed by an authorized official of the party • A duly signed and dated Code of Conduct (Second Schedule of the Elections Act, 2011) • A duly filled Commission Nomination Form, including an original Statutory Declaration Form for purposes of nomination (Regulation 18(3) Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) and an original Self-Declaration Form (Regulation 46 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) <p>For an Independent Candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Clearance Certificate from the Registrar of Political Parties certifying that the person was not a member of any political party for the last 3 months before the elections; i.e. as at December 4, 2012 (Regulation 15(a) (General) Regulations, 2012) • A soft and a hard copy of a list of at least 1000 supporters in the prescribed form, submitted to the Commission. • A duly filled Form of Intention to Contest in the prescribed form (Regulation 15(b) (General) Regulations, 2012) • A symbol the candidate intends to use during the election, which has been approved by the Commission • Establish and maintain a functioning office in the respective electoral area where the candidate is contesting, which must be available for inspection by the Commission at least 45 days before the elections. The address, including the physical address of the office must be communicated to the Commission.

Table 8: Candidate for Ward County Assembly Election

Candidate for Ward County Assembly Election		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 5,000 for candidates. Kes. 2,500 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen for at least 10 years before the election • Must be a registered voter • Must not owe allegiance to a foreign state • Is nominated by a Political Party or is an independent candidate 	<p>The Candidate must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A copy of a National Identity Card/valid Passport (the document used by the candidate to register as a voter) • A Passport size photograph with white background submitted in hard and soft copy. • If a Party Candidate, a Nomination Certificate from a fully registered political party nominating the candidate, duly signed by an authorized official of the party • A duly signed and dated Code of Conduct (Second Schedule of the Elections Act, 2011) • A duly filled Commission Nomination Form, including an original Statutory Declaration Form for purposes of nomination (Regulation 18(3) Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) and an original Self-Declaration Form (Regulation 46 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012) <p>For an Independent Candidate:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Clearance Certificate from the Registrar of Political Parties certifying that the person was not a member of any political party for the last 3 months before the elections; i.e. as at 7th May, 2017 (Regulation 15(a) (General) Regulations, 2012) • A soft and a hard copy of a list of at least 500 supporters in the prescribed form, submitted to the Commission. • A duly filled Form of Intention to Contest in the prescribed form (Regulation 15(b) (General) Regulations, 2012) • A symbol the candidate intends to use during the election, which has been approved by the Commission • Establish and maintain a functioning office in the respective electoral area where the candidate is contesting, which must be available for inspection by the Commission at least 45 days before the elections. The address, including the physical address of the office must be communicated to the Commission

Table 9: General Requirements for Independent Candidates

General Requirements for Independent Candidates (Regulation 39 of the Election (General) Regulations, 2012)		
Fees	Qualifications:	Requirements:
<p>Nomination fees in a Banker's Cheque payable to IEBC: Kes. 20,000 for candidates Kes. 10,000 for a candidate who is a youth, a woman or a person with a disability</p>	<p>A nomination paper submitted by an Independent Candidates to the Commission shall;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contain the candidate's name as it appears in the Register of Voters • Be signed by the candidate, proposer and seconded who shall be voters registered in the respective electoral area • The Proposer and Secunder shall not be members of any political party • Show the respective electoral area for the proposer and Secunder • Be delivered to the returning officer personally to the candidates himself or herself or by a person authorized by the candidates on the date set for nominations for that election <p>Qualifications for Nominees of Party Lists under Articles 97(1) (c) and 98 (1) (b), (c) and (d), and for the members of county assemblies under Article 177 (1) (b) and (c)</p> <p>Nominee to the National Assembly, Nominee to the Senate, Youth Nominee to the Senate, Persons with Disability Nominee to the Senate, Marginalized Group Nominee to the County Assembly, Gender Special Seats Nominee to the County Assembly (For Gender Top Up)</p> <p>Qualifications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Must be a Kenyan citizen for at least 10 years before the election • Must be a registered voter • Must not owe allegiance to a foreign state • Certification of Disability from the relevant institution as prescribed by the Commission 	<p>A Political Party must submit the following documents to the Commission during the Commission Nomination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party Lists containing nominees appointed in accordance with Articles 97(1) (c), 98(1)(b), (c) and 177(1) (c) and (c) of the Constitution in the manner prescribed by the Commission and authorized by signatories of the nominating Political Party • Duly signed copies of Letters of Acceptance of the Nominees • Certified copies of educational qualification certificates of the Nominees (WHERE APPLICABLE), including a Diploma certificate or other post- secondary qualification acquired after a period of three months recognized by the relevant Ministry in accordance with Section 22(1) (b) of the Elections Act, 2011 and Regulation 47 of Elections (General) Regulations, 2012. • Where the body that issued the certificate is not based in Kenya, a certified copy of the certificate must be submitted which must be authenticated and or equated by the Kenya National Examination Council in case of Form 4 certificates, or the Commission of Higher Education, in case of University Degrees.



MODULE 7

Political Economy Analysis (PEA)

Module Objectives	<i>This session guides the participants/candidates on how to go about undertaking a political economy analysis. At the end of the session participants will know: -</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Definition of Political Economy Analysis</i> • <i>Fill out a Political Economy Analysis Matrix</i>
Training Aid & Resources	<i>Flipchart, makers and papers, Power point presentations</i>
Method of Delivery	<i>Presentation ,discussions and experience sharing</i>
Duration	<i>60 Minutes (1 hour)</i>

What is Political Economy Analysis?

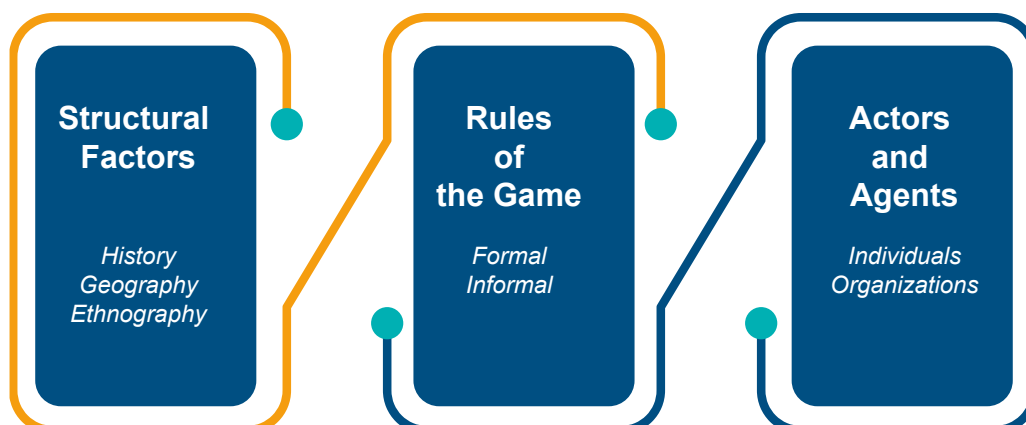
PEA is the attempt to find out what is really ‘going on’ in a situation, what lies behind the surface of the immediate problem, for example whether competing interests exist. Usually this is formulated with (and clouded by) jargon around power, rules of the game, formal and informal systems etc., all of which boils down to trying to understand the ‘lay of the land.’ PEA is therefore part of the process of being ‘politically smart’ in our work, which is not the same as being partisan (committed to one set of political actors over another).

Political economy looks at the interaction of political and economic processes in a society, the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time. The role of both structural factors and institutions is critical: they shape incentives and constraints and set limits to what is possible

Political Economy Analysis Tools

Power and Change Analysis (PCA). Entails a stakeholder and SWOT analysis to discuss operational implications and to consider whether there is a need to realign political strategy. The Power and Change analysis is structured around three dimensions.

Figure 2 Three dimensions of the Power and Change analysis



1. **Structural Factors.** These are structural factors that drive change and include the social and economic factors that significantly shape the political system. These can be of very long term origin, and tend to change slowly. Issues addressed typically include territorial integrity, the history of opponent and their formation, sources of revenue, their social and economic structures, geostrategic position and geography of their locations
2. **Rules of the game,** including formal and informal institutions of the state, civil society and the private sector. These shape how the politics will be conducted and relationships managed. There is particular focus on the extent and nature of political competition, the degree to which key institutions of state and society operate according to known rules, and what their interrelationships are. This also looks at key socio-economic trends that could change the rules of the game. Issues it addresses include: the formal framework, political competition, institutionalization, and the distribution of power, the public bureaucracy, state-society relations, and identifying key trends.
3. **Actors and Agents,** including key actors" capacities and interests, and the events and pressures (context) to which they are responding. This focuses on near term political dynamics, and overlaps with the track record and reporting activities.

Why is Political Economy Analysis Important?

- To understand the political economy context of a Constituency in order to improve strategy
- To understand the general factors driving or blocking your agenda
- To understand the interests of particular stakeholders, groups and individuals
- To assess the commitment of political leadership to your agenda
- To assess the political feasibility of specific change
- To develop a politically savvy approach to promoting agenda

PEA will help you in;

- Deciding who to work with, and how to manage relationships
- To understand why your agenda may have stalled and how to unblock progress
- To inform your approach to political engagement and dialogue
- To test the threshold of your campaign and your assumptions
- To understand and manage potential risks

Activity One; How to conduct PEA

Divide the participants into small discussion groups. You may ask them the following questions to guide them:

Structural factors

1. What are the long term contextual factors, not readily influenced: historical legacies?
2. What is the geography of your Constituency (demographic characteristics)?
3. What are the key resources readily available for your campaign?

4. What is the Ethno-linguistic fragmentation?
5. Let them present their findings in plenary.

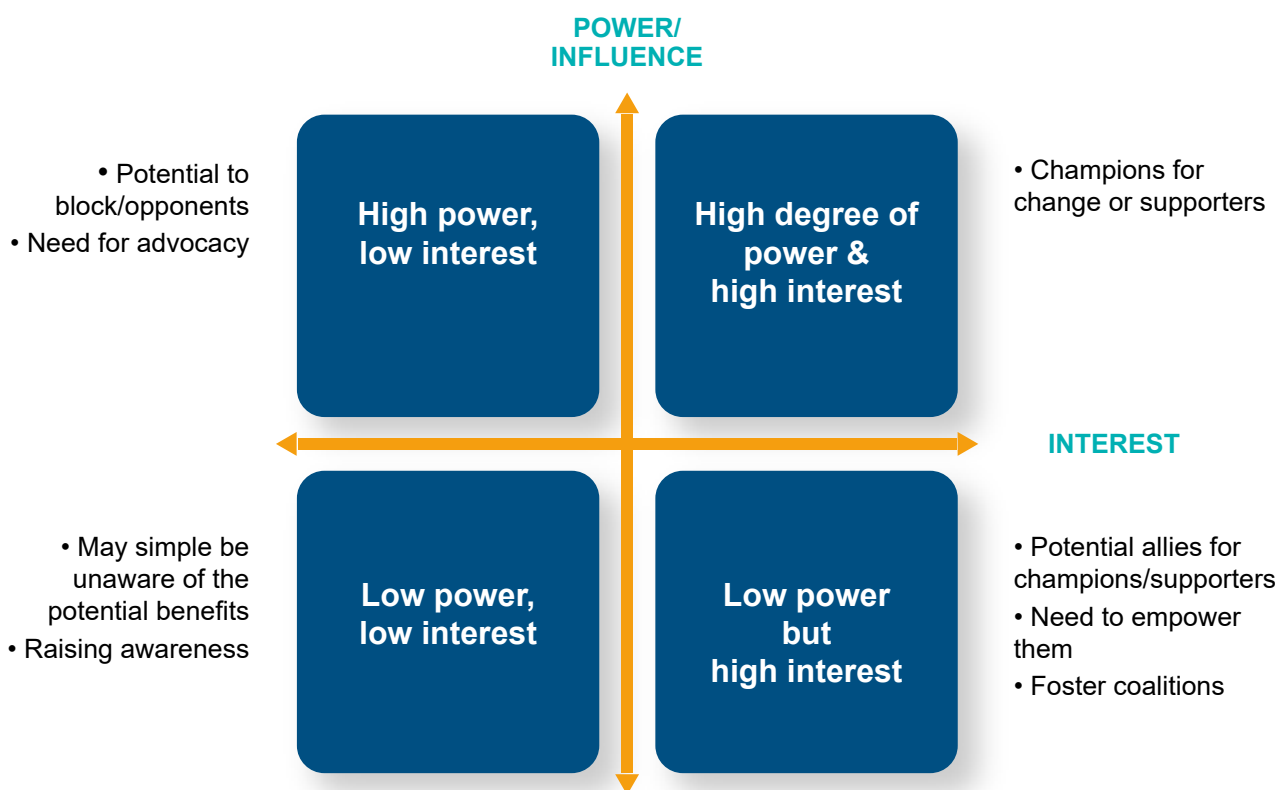
Conduct a facilitator led presentation and discussion to consolidate the activity’s outcomes using the information shown presented;

Activity Two; Actors and Agents

1. What are interests and incentives of actors?
2. What is their power to get what they want?
3. Let them present their findings in plenary

Conduct a facilitator led presentation and discussion to consolidate the activity’s outcomes using the matrix below;

Figure 3 Power/Influence matrix



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Appendices

Appendix One

Table 10: Training Course Content

MODULE	MODULE OBJECTIVES	METHOD OF DELIVERY	TRAINING AID AND TRAINING RESOURCES
Module One: Contextual Overview of Women and Politics	By the end of the module, participants/candidates should be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Describe the role of women in political in Kenya State what women need in order to participate in political leadership. 	PowerPoint presentation, facilitator led discussion, experience sharing and group work	PowerPoint presentation slides, Flip chart stand, Flip charts, Flip chart markers, Masking tape and participants' previous knowledge and experiences
Module Two: Politics and Gender	By the end of the module, participants /candidates should be able to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Define Gender and internalize gender concepts Define Gender, sex and common stereotypes Manifestations of gender stereotypes in elections and politics Understand politics from a gender lens 	PowerPoint presentation, facilitator led discussion, experience sharing and group work	PowerPoint presentation slides, Flip chart stand, Flip charts, Flip chart markers, Masking tape and participants' previous knowledge and experiences.
Module Three: Campaign Strategies	By the end of this session, participants/candidates will be able to know about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Why are campaigns necessary and How to Campaign Lobbying & Lobbying Tactics Getting Support How to write effective messages Drawing up slogans Why are campaigns necessary and how to campaign 	Role plays, Group work discussions and experience sharing	Flipchart, makers and papers
Module Four: Communication and Presentation Skills	By the end of this session, participants/candidates will be able to know about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public speaking Personal presentation and image Handling negative situations 	Role plays, Group work discussions and experience sharing	Flipchart, makers and paper
Module Five: Engaging Media	This session provides guidelines on how to present: Engaging the media. It defines the different types of media and goes on to highlight its roles and shortcomings. It ends with various tips for effective use of the media. At the end of the session participants will be able to: - <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explain the meaning of media Identify types of media Describe the role of the media Discuss how to engage the media 	Role plays, Group work discussions and experience sharing	Flipchart, makers and paper
Module Six: Election Rules and Regulation	This session guides the participants/candidates on the election rules and regulations. It highlights the IEBC requirements for participation in elections as candidates. At the end of the session participants will know: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kenya Electoral Laws and Regulations Qualifications and requirements for elective positions 	Role plays, Group work discussions and experience sharing	Flipchart, makers and paper
Modules Seven: Political Economy Analysis	This session guides the participants/candidates on how to go about undertaking a political economy analysis. At the end of the session participants will know: - <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Definition of Political Economy Analysis Fill out a Political Economy Analysis Matrix 	Power point presentation, discussions and experience sharing	Flipchart, makers and papers, Power point presentations

Table 11: Training Time Table

TIMELINE	MODULE /SESSIONS
1st workshop Day one to day three	Introduction to Leadership Course Background and Context Climate Setting for Effective Learning Participants Introductions Sharing Expectations and Objectives
	Module One: Contextual Overview of Women and Politics <i>Session One: Contextual Overview Women and Politics in Kenya</i> <i>Session Two: Women Participation in Elections Historical Background</i> <i>Session Three: Impact on Women's Access to Elected and Appointed Positions in Kenya</i> <i>Session Four: Patterns of Power and Decision Making</i>
	Module Two: Politics and Gender <i>Session One: Defining Gender Concept</i> <i>Session Two: Gender Concept</i> <i>Session Three: Gender Manifestations in Election and Politics</i> <i>Session Four: Cultures and Traditional Gender Roles</i> <i>Session Five: Gender Analysis of 2017 Elections and Violence against Women in Elections</i> Module Three: Campaign Strategies <i>Session One: Why Campaign</i> <i>Session Two: How to Campaign</i> <i>Session Three: Lobbying</i> <i>Session Four: Campaign Tips</i> <i>Session Five: Introduction to campaign strategies</i>
2nd workshop Day one to day three	
	Module Four: Communication and Presentation Skills <i>Session One: Presentation Skills</i> <i>Session Two: Handling Negative Situation</i>
	Module Five: Engaging Media <i>Session One: What is the meaning of Media</i> <i>Session Two: How to use the Media</i> <i>Session Three: Writing Effective Press Release</i>
	Module Six: Election Rules and Regulation <i>Session One: Electoral Laws of Kenya</i> <i>Session Two: Qualifications and Requirements for Elective Positions</i>
Modules Seven: Political Economy Analysis <i>Session One: How to conduct PEA</i> <i>Session Two: Actors and Agents</i>	

Appendix Three

Please evaluate political leadership training experience and the facilitator of your workshop by checking the box that best indicates your response in the chart next to each statement. The responses on this form will be used to adjust and improve future workshop programs.

5=Excellent, 4=Good, 3=Satisfactory, 2=Needs Improvement, 1=Very Poor

Your evaluation form is anonymous unless you choose to write your name on it.

Table 12: Training Evaluation Checklist

Evaluation of the Module/Sessions					
1. Participating in the workshop enabled me to reflect upon issues that arise in my daily life.	5	4	3	2	1
2. Participating in the workshop gradually reduced my reluctance to voice my opinions to others	5	4	3	2	1
3. Participating in the workshop improved my listening skills	5	4	3	2	1
4. Participating in the workshop enhanced my ability to communicate effectively with others.	5	4	3	2	1
5. Participating in the workshop increased my self-confidence	5	4	3	2	1
6. Participating in the workshop motivated me to think about my vision for a better leadership in my community.	5	4	3	2	1
7. Participating in the workshop inspired my spirit of elective politics	5	4	3	2	1
8. Participating in the workshop made me appreciate the need for engendering political leadership in my community.	5	4	3	2	1
9. Participating in the workshop enabled me to cultivate a network of friends and colleagues with whom I feel comfortable discussing my personal and professional concerns as I aspire to effect change in my life and/or community.	5	4	3	2	1
10. Participating in the workshop stimulated my desire to learn more about political participation and what I can do to empower women.	5	4	3	2	1
11. Interacting with other workshop participants enabled me to understand the importance of women's participation in my community's decision-making.	5	4	3	2	1
12. Learning from others was a useful way to consider the challenges and opportunities involved in political participation.	5	4	3	2	1
13. Participating in the learning exercises was a useful way to consider the challenges and opportunities for my involvement in political leadership	5	4	3	2	1
14. I believe that both women and men can benefit from participating in this workshop.	5	4	3	2	1
15. I would recommend to my family members, friends, and/or colleagues that they participate in the workshops.	5	4	3	2	1
Evaluation of the Facilitator					
16. The facilitator conducted the workshop at a reasonable pace—quickly enough to avert my boredom and fatigue but slowly enough to allow me to benefit from the sessions and learning exercises.	5	4	3	2	1
17. The facilitator created an environment in which I could speak with ease about sensitive personal and professional concerns.	5	4	3	2	1
18. The facilitator was willing to share her life experiences with the participants in order to stimulate discussion.	5	4	3	2	1
19. The facilitator enabled the participants to understand the challenges and opportunities involved in political participation.	5	4	3	2	1
20. The facilitator welcomed the participants' recommendations about issues that were relevant for consideration and adapted the workshop to their needs.	5	4	3	2	1

In the space below and on the back of this page, please comment on any aspect of your experience with the workshop facilitator that you liked and/or disliked. What recommendations would you offer to this facilitator to help her make future workshops more relevant and useful to participants? Please feel free to share your suggestions.



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