



STATUS OF
YOUNG WOMEN
IN POLITICAL PARTIES
IN KENYA

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Foreword

The representation and participation of young women in political parties is crucial to the success of political parties and also to the development of young women. This study determines the status of young women in political parties, more so, their representation and participation. The introduction of multi-parties in 1991 was expected to herald a democratic and inclusive political culture. Over time however, political parties have metamorphosed into institutions managed by a few individuals and which act as vehicles for these individuals political mileage. Women and especially young women have been excluded from political parties' activities and from the leadership of the parties.

The new Constitutional dispensation promises to transform political parties into institutions that promote democracy and national unity as well as inclusivity. The Political Parties Act, 2011 provides for political parties with a national outlook which ensures that women, youth, people with disabilities and minority communities are represented and participate in these institutions. It is therefore critical to empower young women to take advantage of the new opportunities availed by the Constitution and meaningfully participate in political parties.

It is based on the foregoing that Youth Agenda commissioned a Baseline Study to establish the level of representation and participation of young women in political parties. This study is unique in that it focuses on young women and their political status.

It is my hope that this baseline study report shall spur discussions and work around getting young women in politics, more so within the political party framework.

Get Informed, Get Involved

Susan Kariuki
Chief Executive Officer



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Judy Nguru-Walla
Program Manager

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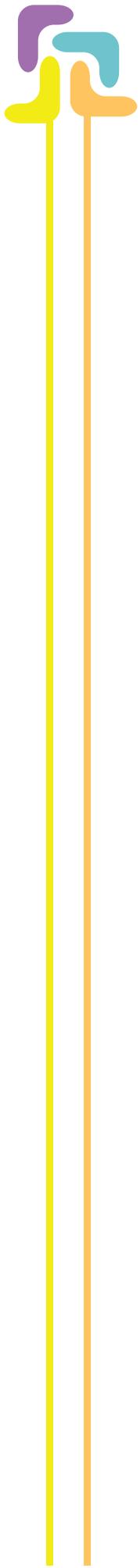


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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFORD	Kenya Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy in Kenya
AMWIK	Association of Media Women in Kenya
ANC	African National Congress
AP	Agano Party
AYT	African Youth Trust
CCM	Chama Cha Mwananchi
CCU	Chama Cha Uzalendo
CIC	Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution
CIOC	Constitutional Implementation Oversight Committee
CMD	Centre for Multiparty Democracy
CP	Conservative Party
CRA	Commission on Revenue Allocation
CREAW	Centre for Rights Education and Awareness
CSOs	Civil Society Organisation
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FP	Farmers Party
FPK	Federal Party of Kenya
FORD – Asili	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Asili
FORD – People	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – People
FORD – Kenya	Forum for Restoration of Democracy – Kenya
GNU	Grand National Union
GOK	Government of Kenya
HBS/HBF	Heinrich Böll Stiftung/ Heinrich Böll Foundation.
Hon.	Honourable
IAAGS	Institute of Anthropology, African and Gender Studies
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IoE	Institute of Education
JSC	Judicial Service Commission
KADU – A	Kenya African Democratic Union - Asili
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
KEWOPA	Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association
KADDU	Kenya African Democratic Development Union
KNC	Kenya National Congress
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
LPK	Labour Party of Kenya
MDM	Muungano Development Movement Party of Kenya
MGP	Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya
MP	Member of Parliament
MSM	Mkenya Solidarity Movement
NAP – K	National Agenda Party of Kenya
NAPK	National Alliance Party of Kenya
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition



Abbreviations and Acronyms

NARC – K	National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NLP	National Labour Party
NP	Nuru Party
NPK	National Party of Kenya
NPP	National Patriotic Party
NVP	National Vision Party
NSA	Non-State Actors
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PDU	Party of Democratic Unity
PICK	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
PNU	Party of National Unity
PNU Alliance	Party of National Unity Alliance
POA	Party of Action
POH	Party of Hope
PPA	Political Parties Act
PP – K	Peoples Party of Kenya
PPK	Progressive Party of Kenya
PPP	Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya
RBK	Restore and Build Kenya
RPP	Registrar of Political Parties
SAFINA	Safina Party
SC	Smart Citizens
SDP	Social Democratic Party of Kenya
SID	Society for International Development
SONU	Students Organisation of Nairobi University
SPK	hirikisho Party of Kenya
SSA	Saba Saba Asili
NVP	National Vision Party
TIP	The Independent Party
TSC	Teachers Service Commission
UDF	United Democratic Forum Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UPK	Unity Party of Kenya
VIPA	Vijana Progressive Alliance
WDP	Wiper Democratic Party
WILDAF – Kenya	Women in Law and Development in Africa – Kenya Chapter
WOSWA	Women Students Welfare Association
WSP	Women Shadow Parliament



Executive Summary

It seems therefore, that to enhance their own roles in national leadership and politics, young people may have to begin by causing change in political regimes. The idea that the youth need to take over the reins of power in a complete generational transition is fast gaining popularity among young activists and leaders... instead of embarking on an 'exclusive' process of change, young people have the potential to inspire and lead the rest of Kenyans in a democratic process that should lead to a rejuvenation of the national psyche and alternative leadership recruitment.¹

This Report presents findings from a baseline study carried out in Kenya from the political parties that are operating in the country. The study was carried out by the Youth Agenda for the scaling up young women participation in Kenya electoral processes Initiative supported by the GGP III -UN Women Program. It sought to establish the status of young women in political parties in Kenya in order to: inform decision-making about any possible interventions; for advocacy purposes; identify research priorities; and generally contribute to the national and international literature on participation of young women in political parties. The study was justified on the ground that there was evidence that a plethora of studies have concentrated on women in general and also youth in general. However, there has never been a deliberate attempt to study specifically the participation of young women, and more so, in political party affairs or activities.

The main objective of this study was to determine the status of youth (that is young women) within key political parties in Kenya. The baseline assessment collected both qualitative and quantitative data that tried to assess the following issues:

- the existence of political parties;
- the existence of youth leagues within these political parties and their mandate thereof;
- youth membership (especially young women) in political parties; and
- the roles young women play within the political parties.

The survey in essence, sought to tackle two issues: the representation of young women (in terms of numbers) and the actual participation of young women (in terms of roles) in political parties.

Data was collected in the months of February and March 2012 from a cross-section of political parties, which were provisionally registered. There were 35 political parties surveyed out of the 54 provisionally registered parties, representing 64.8%. However, the response rate was 57.1% with 20 out of the 35 surveyed political parties providing information for the study. Of the political parties surveyed and those that responded, 35% of them are represented in Parliament. The survey targeted specifically the Chief Executive Officers of the respective political parties, and in their absence, information was provided by available officials of the party or the party secretariat.

The study combined qualitative and quantitative methods and a desk review of literature on women and youth participation in political parties globally while laying emphasis on the African region. Key informants were interviewed to help boost the knowledge base on the participation of young women. They were drawn from the persons concerned with the registration of political parties, gender and development experts, senior researchers and policy analysts in gender and governance, university lecturers, representatives from feminists organisations, young women

1. Omondi, George (2010) 'The Student Movement and Youth Organisations in Kenya's Political Development: A Recent History' In Okoth Okombo (ed) Civil Society and Governance in Kenya since 2002: Between Transition and Crisis. Nairobi: ARRF and Heinrich Böll Stiftung, pp. 113 – 134.



political aspirants, CSOs, young representatives in political parties and also present were young women leaders in institutions of higher learning. Lastly, a stakeholders' validation workshop was convened to subject the draft report to the rigor of analysis and help identify areas for amendment. The analysis of the data has situated the findings within the context of the literature reviewed and identified recurrent themes in line with the study objectives and guidance from the key informant guide, thereby setting out implications for each of the findings for advocacy, research, policy and practice.

Chapter 1 of this document deals with the background and introduction to the study. It also outlines the study objectives and justification, thereby giving also the methodology of the study including data collection and analysis. A critical observation of this chapter is that the Constitution provides that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. This study does recognize that for effective planning purposes, it is usually good to have statistical facts about an object. It has been observed that apart from the electoral process, the number of women has increased in decision-making positions although women still face a number of challenges in these critical areas of development. The study appreciated that there has never been a deliberate attempt to study specifically the participation of young women, and more so, in political party affairs or activities, therefore, this was a ground-breaking study in its own right.

Chapter 2 of this Report highlights the literature reviewed. The literature has stressed the importance of having committed and effective leadership at all levels and the role of women and men in promoting the required changes in attitudes, behavior and practices that limit women's and girls' rights, capabilities and access to opportunities, including young women, women with disabilities and elderly women. An example given from the U.S. experience indicates that despite the increase in the number of women in higher education there was no remarkable expansion reflected in an concomitant increase in political participation. A success story from Africa is also given, that of Rwanda, in which the first post-genocide parliamentary elections of October 2003 saw women achieve nearly 50 percent representation. The review has also dealt extensively with the statistical trends of Parliamentary representation in Kenya following the re-introduction of multiparty politics in 1992. The literature review has also given a picture of the present levels of participation of the young women in political party activities and the windows of opportunity that have come with the new Constitution.

It has been established elsewhere in the literature that young women's participation is necessary in politics and especially in the political party activities. There has been a desire to put the issues affecting the young women on the political agenda of the country, but this cannot be effected without the necessary evidence of their level of participation. While studies have been done by NGOs and Women Organizations on the level of participation of women in political party affairs and national politics in general, the studies have never disaggregated data based on age and sex. This study, is therefore, a departure from the past and is a bold attempt to try to compile this much needed data which is expected to help shape future engagement with young women in political parties and ultimately to change the political landscape in the country.

Chapter 3 of the Report is on the key study findings. The findings reveal that no political party is fully registered and the 54 are just but provisionally registered. Currently, they are in full gear recruiting in the hope of beating the deadline imposed by the Political Parties Act of 2011. However, at the moment about five political parties have applied for consideration for full registration in compliance with the law.

Political parties are supposed to be vehicles of national transformation, research, policy formulation and implementation, innovation and welfare improvement. They are supposed to provide an



avenue for the public to associate with their leaders and learn of their policies and vision for the country. They also represent democracy and freedom of association in Kenya. The Youth Leagues within political parties are ideally meant to enhance the participation of the young people. It is their entry point into politics. The Youth Leagues in a political party serve to inform the thinking and bringing in of innovative ideas to the party. In terms of registration as voters, the youth continue to register impressive statistics, accounting for about 6 million of the registered 11 million voters which translates to about 60% of the total registered voters, and this figure is expected to rise as the youth continue to wait for their identification documents to be processed

Representation of young women in political parties indicates that eight of the mainstream political parties surveyed have registered over 10,000 female members with the Democratic Party leading with 1,000,000 female members. However, of these female members, only 175,000 which translate to 17.5% are young women. Agano Party and KANU both having female membership of over 100,000 have a bigger percentage of young women among the female membership, with Agano having 60% of its female membership being young and KANU having 75% of its female membership being young.

It is in order to say that the young women are involved in political party activities, although their activity is less compared to that of young men. Parties surveyed revealed that the role of young women is not radically different from that of the youth in political parties. As such, young women are mainly engaged in mobilization and recruitment of members especially women to the party. They also engage in party publicity through social networks among other roles. Obstacles to young women participation in political parties have been identified as intimidation by male party officials, violence against women, lack of mentorship among others.

Chapter 4 of the Report gives a brief of the study conclusions drawing from the study findings, from the literature review and information from the Key Informants. It gives a bleak picture of the participation of the young women in political party activities and their representation. It also gives the gaps that have been identified and areas that need urgent action. It sets the pace for the political parties as they should be able to locate themselves in terms of membership registration and give due consideration to the importance attached to gender balance in party membership. The Conclusion is divided into two sections summarizing the dual mandate of the study in finding the representation in political parties in terms of numbers and also the participation of the young women in terms of their roles.

Last but not least, Chapter 5 gives the study recommendations for advocacy, policy and practice. The Report concludes with recommendations that there is need for integrating youth theory, policy and practice. The recommendations are important for advocacy at the national level and also at the grassroots for each of the key stakeholders in the political participation and representation of young women in Kenya. The recommendations have been divided into six main sections each for a key stakeholder in this study. Some of these recommendations are as follows:

For the Registrar of Political Parties, there is need for civic education on the operations and mandate of the office of the Registrar of Political Parties.

For the political parties, there is need for gender mainstreaming in party structures and making budgetary provisions for women activities.

The Women's Movement should revamp their mentorship programmes, with associations like KEWOPA stepping up their activities in mentoring and empowering the young women.



As for the Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), there is need for an Alliance of Women and Youth Associations to be formed, and this has been occasioned by the apparent indefinable place of young women who do not conform to the traditional requirements of youth organisation and who are also alienated from women's associations due to their age.

For the men, they should allow for competitive politics in the political parties because the politics of patronage defeats the very cause of empowerment and participation for the young women.

As for the young women, themselves, there is need to capitalize on the affirmative action for the youth, by actively pursuing these opportunities and agitating for change within these institutions in order to gain positive recognition of their leadership capabilities.



Chapter 1: Background

The importance of the contributions of the younger generations cannot be stressed enough as the youth are the foundation upon which the future of our country rests. Young people are able to inject new ideas and innovative solutions to challenges that the older generations for many reasons have failed to effectively address. They are therefore a valuable tool for development and expansion and the reinvention of political parties as well as other leadership institutions.

Regrettably, the marginalization of young people, women and People with Disabilities has formed part of our political tradition. Some scholars have observed that only a select number of individuals, generally males of a particular generation and social status; have been actively involved in political decision-making. In an article on 'Women in Leadership and Governance' the writer decries the lack of institutional structures at the party level to enhance women's participation. She observes that this position is exacerbated by the tendency of placing women in the intrinsically patronizing category of "women, youth and other vulnerable groups", which essentially projects not only their helplessness, but also their lack of key leadership qualities.² Given the fact that women and the youth form the majority of the population at 51% and 78.3% respectively, it only follows that in a democratic society where the majority determine the order of the day, women and the youth should be represented relative to their proportion in the society in all leadership institutions.³

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), in Article 7, calls for state parties 'to take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country.' It is worth noting that Kenya is a signatory to this international convention and has sought through legislative measures to realize its domestication and eventual implementation. Further, the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 provides that women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres.⁴ Again the Constitution, under Article 27 on equality and freedom from discrimination, Clause 6 provides that the State shall take legislative and other measures, including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to address any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination; and Clause 8 provides that the State shall take legislative and other measures to implement the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective and appointive bodies shall be of the same gender. According to Article 100 on the promotion of representation of marginalized groups, Parliament is mandated to enact legislation to promote the representation in Parliament of women, persons with disabilities, youth, ethnic and other minorities; and marginalized communities. These Constitutional provisions are aimed at empowering socially, politically and economically, all the marginalized and vulnerable categories in the society.

It has been observed that there has been an increase in women participation in politics since the beginning of transition politics in 1992. Mitullah and Owiti (2007) also observe that apart from the electoral process, the number of women has increased in decision-making positions, although women still face a number of challenges in these critical areas of development.⁵

2. Oduol, Jacqueline A (2011) 'Women in Leadership and Governance' In Okoth Okombo et al., (Eds) Challenging the Rulers: A Leadership Model for Good Governance. Nairobi: EAEP and Community Aid International. p. 178.

3. Kassilly, B. J. N & Onkware, K (2010) 'Struggles and Success in Engendering the African Public Sphere: Kenyan Women in Politics.' Kenya Studies Review, 3(3):75.

4. Kenya, Republic of (2010) The Constitution of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer. This is provided for in Chapter 4 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 under the Bill of Rights on Equality and freedom from discrimination, Article 27 Clauses 3, 6 and 8 and also Article 100.

5. Mitullah, Winnie V & Owiti, Lillian A (2007) 'Women and the Politics of Transition' In Peter Wanyande, Mary Omosa and Chweya Ludeki (Eds), Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya. Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press. p. 155.



However, though the situation of women continues to improve in most countries, Kenya inclusive, women are disadvantaged in political participation and decision-making precisely because their numbers are comparatively lower (in decision making positions) than those of men.⁶

This is especially so for young women. A comprehensive study on the status of the youth in Kenya conducted by the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) revealed shocking statistics on the participation of young women in decision-making. The study's prevailing assumption was that participation by young women in decision making is a measure of women's autonomy and status. The study concluded that the relative decision making power of a woman in Kenya is directly proportional to her age with young women making more decisions on household matters as they grow older.⁷ The study also indicated that employment status was also a determining factor to the contribution of women in the decision making process with women who were gainfully employed having an average of 17% more input into decision making than their unemployed counterparts who had 63% of the women surveyed believing they had a say in decisions as opposed to 80% of the former category.⁸

This study is based on the understanding that for effective youth and specifically young women political participation, their role in political parties is critical. This is because young people play a critical role in the management of political parties as they breathe into the parties new ideas and talents necessary for the sustainability of the political parties.

For the purposes of this report the "youth" are defined as all individuals who have attained the age of 18 years but have not attained the age of 35, however, the United Nations definition "youth" as persons between the ages of 15 and 24. For purposes of our study, we adopt a definition that integrates both definitions. This study therefore considers "youth" to be persons between the ages of 15 and 35 years of age with the phrase "young women" referring to the youth as per our definition, but who are women. The two terms 'youth' and 'young' will therefore, appear variously in this Report being used interchangeably and/or synonymously.

This study thus seeks to establish the actual figures of youth and young women participation in political parties as well as their roles in those parties, which figures can be used for continuous monitoring and periodic evaluations to determine any improvements or regressions from the baseline.

1.1 Study Justification

This study has been grounded on other studies that have been conducted concerning the participation and nature of engagement of women in governance and political party affairs. There has been a gender audit of the 10th Parliament, especially laying special emphasis on the gains that the women have made in the implementation of the new Constitution of Kenya.⁹ There has also been a rapid gender assessment and audit of political parties in Kenya, especially laying emphasis on the participation and representation of women in management of political parties in a study conducted by the Women Shadow Parliament and supported by HIVOS.¹⁰

6. Ibid. p. 156.

7. Sivi-Njonjo, Katindi (2010) Youth Fact Book: Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster? Nairobi: IEA.

8. Ibid. p. 153.

9. FIDA – Kenya (2010) Gender Audit Study of the 10th Parliament. Nairobi: FIDA.

10. WSP (2006) 'Rapid Gender Assessment and Audit of Political Parties in Kenya – The Participation and Representation of Women in Management of Political Parties: An Unfinished Agenda in Kenya.' Supported by HIVOS in Conjunction with the Women's Shadow Parliament – Kenya



The need for effective participation of women in political party affairs have seen organizations come up with training manuals for political aspirants, others being specific to women,¹¹ while others are generally for the strengthening of party management¹² and also for training the aspiring youthful leaders in matters of political campaign strategy development and how to mount successful political campaigns.¹³

Another important empowerment programme is the Political Leadership Development Programme (PLDP), which has been held annually by the Youth Agenda and supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). It ideally tries to tap on youthful leadership from the institutions of higher learning and also aspiring leaders. This has had tremendous impact given that some of the past participants in this programme are now in Parliament, local government and others are actively in politics. Today, they are organized through the Pioneers for Change which is a network of PLDP Alumni. The African Youth Trust (AYT) has also been actively engaged in empowerment programmes particularly for young women. They seek to create awareness on the opportunities available for the young women and on how to help them actualize their rights after being empowered. At the moment, the AYT is working with 27 young women equally drawn from three regions namely: Nairobi, Kiambu and Machakos.¹⁴

Other studies that have been undertaken in Kenya include those on women and political leadership in Kenya, especially profiling the achievement of key women leaders as an inspirational material for young women aspiring for political positions and the challenges they have faced in climbing the political ladder.¹⁵ Some scholars have attempted to diagnose the increased participation of women in politics since the transition period in 1992 with the introduction of multiparty politics, and they also try to understand why the disparities continue. They conclude that there is need to foster greater networking and coordination between the different arms of the government and women's institutions and the organization that facilitate women's activities.¹⁶ Others have been studies on the role of women in good governance and setting the standards for good leadership through mentorship¹⁷ while others still have written on the need to improve Kenyan women's electoral performance and especially to strengthen their political participation in all spheres, suggesting that there is need to devise strategies to redress their marginalisation. These may include affirmative action programmes and the removal of stereotyped culture.¹⁸

There is also available literature on the role of youth in politics, with some scholars addressing the issue of generational transformation and how the youth can learn from the past trends and the achievements that have been made by the successive youth generations starting from the Mau Mau generation to the Uhuru generation. Mwangola (2011) concludes by making a bold statement that the Generation Next has already created an expansion of political space for youth and that this is likely to continue, ensuring that this category of the population will play a politically significant role.¹⁹ Another study profiles the role of student movements and youth organisations in the development of politics in Kenya and making a bold claim that young people will define politics in line with their cultures and values and seek to drive it.²⁰ In trying to identify the importance of demographics in participation, one recent study has given actual statistics on the participation of the female youth, especially in decision making.²¹

11. CREAM (2006) Running for Political Office: A Handbook for Women Candidates. Nairobi: CREAM/AMWIK/HBS.

12. NDI (2007) Kenya: Political Party Handbook – Strengthening Party Management. Nairobi: NDI.

13. NDI (2011) Leadership and Campaign Academy: Candidates' Manual. Nairobi: NDI/USAID.

14. Comment by Jessica Njui of the African Youth Trust (AYT) during the validation workshop on an earlier Draft of the Report.

15. Kamau, Nyokabi (2010) Women and Political Leadership in Kenya: Ten Case Studies. Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Stiftung.

16. Mitullah & Owiti, 2007:175. op cit.

17. Oduol, 2011. op cit.

18. Kassilly & Onkware, 2010:84. op cit.

19. Mwangola, 2011:244. op cit.

20. Omondi, 2010:132 – 133. op cit.

21. Sivi –Njonjo, 2010. op cit.



But it falls short of giving the participation statistics on young women in politics. On the participation of the Youth Leagues within political parties and democratisation, it has been stressed that like in all other organisations, effective leadership and management is critical for the success of political parties and political youth leagues, be it with regard to maintaining their continuity or status quo or for the purpose of effecting major changes. The type of leadership exercised in a particular political party or political Youth League affects the nature of organizational politics in general.²²

From the foregoing, it is evident that a plethora of studies have concentrated on women in general and also youth in general. However, there has never been a deliberate attempt to study specifically the representation and participation of young women, and more so, in political party affairs or activities. This study is therefore, an attempt to give figures and statistics to the involvement of young women in political parties as well as their roles in the parties. It seeks to go beyond female activists' protests that women are under-represented in political party structures to get into the details of actually how the under-representation takes place by giving statistics to the available qualitative information. It further seeks to set a precedence and ground-breaking endeavor, since there is no indication of any literature that specifically addresses the issue of young women representation and participation in political party structures.

1.2 Objectives and Scope of the Study

The main objective of this study was to determine the status of young women within key political parties in Kenya. The baseline assessment collected both qualitative and quantitative data that tried to assess the following issues:

- the existence of political parties;
- the existence of youth leagues within these political parties and their mandate thereof;
- young women membership in political parties; and
- the roles young women play within the political parties.

The survey in essence, sought to tackle two issues: the numerical representation of young women (in terms of numbers) and the actual participation of young women (in terms of roles) in political parties.

1.3 Aims of the Study

The aims of the baseline research are to:

- (a) Provide a baseline from which to measure and evaluate change over time in the representation and participation of young women in political parties;
- (b) Extract accurate data and identify current trends and patterns of representation and participation of young women in political parties;
- (c) Identify perspectives and experiences of young women, key informants and key stakeholders in relation to young women's participation in political parties;
- (d) Situate these perspectives and experiences within the respective political party contexts, with comparative best practice regionally and globally;
- (e) Identify priority concerns in order to inform decision making on advocacy priorities, future research, policy implications and practice.

22. Kanyadudi, 2010:12. op cit.



1.4 Study Methodology

The study by its very nature was quantitative; however, care was taken to ensure that as much qualitative information was generated to account for the quantitative data. The Lead Consultant was assisted by one competent Research Assistant. Two tools (attached herewith as Appendix 1 and 2) were developed that guided the researchers in data collection namely: the survey questionnaire and the Key Informants guide. The whole study was conducted in the months of February and March 2012.

The study started with an initial survey of all the political parties that appeared in the list provided by the Registrar of Political Parties that were provisionally registered, as per the provisions of Political Parties Act (2011). There were 54 political parties provisionally registered by the Registrar of Political Parties. Out of these, 35 were sampled based on convenience and accessibility. This represents 64.8% of the population and is therefore very representative and of vital statistical significance. However, the response rate was 57.1% with 20 out of the 35 surveyed political parties providing information for the study. The list of all political parties surveyed is attached as Appendix 3. Of the political parties surveyed and those that responded, 35% of them are represented in Parliament. The survey targeted specifically the Chief Executive Officers of the respective political parties, and in their absence, information was provided by available officials of the party or the party secretariat. The study also drew from findings of a survey that was conducted by the Youth Agenda in December 2011, to find out the level of participation of the young people in Kenya in political parties by gauging how many were actual members of political parties. The study attracted 90 respondents and the findings are captured in Figure 2.

The Key Informant Interviews specifically targeted experts in gender and development issues, women leadership and youth participation in politics. As such 11 Key Informant interviews were conducted, some face-to-face while others were done online with experts in the above fields. Ideally, the Key Informant represented key stakeholders in the study namely: lecturers in gender and development; representatives of feminist organisations; representatives of youth organisations; gender policy analysts, CSOs concerned with youth and women empowerment and female student leaders in institutions of higher learning.

Information generated from the primary data was complemented by a comprehensive literature review for supplementary qualitative information, which shed light on some grey areas identified during the primary data collection. Additional information was also obtained from the Registrar of Political Parties and from the Civil Society Organisations that have conducted studies on party representation and youth and women empowerment since the re-introduction of multiparty politics in Kenya namely: the National Democratic Institute (NDI) of International Affairs; the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA – Kenya); the African Youth Trust (AYT) and the Centre for Multiparty Democracy (CMD – Kenya). Critical statistical information was also made available by the ICT Desk at the Registrar of Political Parties on the status of party registration and disaggregation by gender and also by age.

The information thus generated was analysed based on the data type. Quantitative data was entered in Excel sheets to generate comparative data which has been presented graphically. Qualitative data has been categorized and analysed based on emerging thematic trends and concerns, in line with the initial objectives of the study and on the structure of the Key Informant Guide. After the critical analysis of the data, an initial Draft Report was submitted to Youth Agenda, and after comments, a revised Draft Report was prepared and shared with key stakeholders who subjected it to the rigour of analysis during the validation workshop. Thereafter, this Final Report has been developed after incorporating all the comments from the plenary during the validation workshop. Multiparty Democracy (CMD – Kenya). Critical statistical information was also made



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1.5 Study Limitations

This baseline survey has the following limitations:

Data was collected from political parties which were all provisionally registered due to the enactment of the Political Parties Act 2011 which required parties to comply with certain requirements before they qualified to gain full registration.

The survey was conducted at the height of the political parties membership recruitment drive as parties strived to reach the 23,500 membership threshold provided for in the Political Parties Act. Thus the accuracy of the data provided by Political Parties could not be comprehensively ascertained as they were in the process of complying with the legal provisions.



Chapter 2: Literature Review

This section ideally sets the pace for the study by placing it in context and reinforcing the philosophy behind the study design. Although the justification for the study is based on the premise that no study has been conducted specifically on the participation of young women in political parties in Kenya, there are other studies that have been carried out that have informed the present study.

This literature review therefore, is concerned with finding relevant information on studies that have been conducted on the participation of women in political parties in Africa and around the world, contextualizing the study to the Kenyan situation; particularly studies that have highlighted the challenges and achievements of women in politics, concluding with the participation of young women in perspective while emphasizing on the opportunities that have been open to the women through structural and institutional reforms and how women can strategi-

2.1 Women and Political Participation in Perspective

Politics, Politicians, Policies. These are concepts that women are conditioned to feel alienated and distanced from: distant because these terms belong to the public sphere and alien because they invoke masculinity and power.²³ It is argued that traditional conceptions of politics fail to pay attention to the significance of grass roots community mobilisation as sites for women's political participation – just as those who participate in these activities may resist regarding what they do as 'politics', and their own politics as 'feminist'. Instead, women often mobilize at the grass-roots around identifications that appear at first sight to reinforce sex stereotypes: as mothers, and guardians of community welfare.²⁴

Some scholars have defined democracy as expanded civil and political rights accompanied by a supportive political culture that functions to consolidate the democratic process;²⁵ however, this and other definitions do not consider the treatment of women or their opportunities in this process.²⁶ Efforts to enhance women's political participation have gained new urgency with the designation of numbers of women in politics as an indicator of women's empowerment, as enshrined in the third United Nations' Millennium Development Goal (MDG). Increasing numbers of women have gained entry into the arena of representative politics in recent times however, the extent to which shifts in the sex ratio within formal democratic spaces translates into political influence and into gains in policies that redress gender inequities and inequalities remains uncertain. Enhancing the potential of women's political participation calls for building new pathways into politics, fostering political learning and creating new forms of articulation across and beyond existing democratic spaces.²⁷ According to Feminists, the correct question to ask when examining the impact of women in politics is not whether women can make a difference in the substance and forms of politics, but under which conditions can women in politics create social change by means of political action.²⁸

The Convention on All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), signed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1978 and established as an international treaty by 1981, has become one of the most powerful tools to improve women's condition and status. The Women of Africa

23. Stromquist, Nelly P. (1995) 'Romancing the State: Gender and Power in Education', *Comparative Education Review*, 39(4): 423.

24. Kaplan, Temma (1997) *Crazy for Democracy: Women in Grassroots Movements*. London: Routledge.

25. Shin, Don Chull (1994) 'On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research', *World Politics*, 47(1): 136.

26. Stromquist, 1995. op cit., p. 4

27. Cornwall, Andrea & Goetz, Anne Marie (2005) 'Democratizing Democracy: Feminist perspectives', *Democratization*, 12(5): 783 – 800.

28. Haavio-Mannila, Elima et al., (eds) (1985) *Unfinished Democracy: Women in Nordic Politics*, Oxford: Pergamon. p. 166.



meeting in Nairobi in October 2010 during the launch of the African Women's Decade, was inspired by such international, regional and sub regional declarations, protocols and conventions, including the Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals in particular Goal No.3 which aims to promote and strengthen women's empowerment and accelerate the attainment of gender equity and equality as part of overall human rights. They, therefore, stressed on the importance of having committed and effective leadership at all levels and the role of women and men in promoting the required changes in attitudes, behaviours and practices that limit women's and girls' rights, capabilities and access to opportunities, including young women, women with disabilities, elderly women and women with special needs.²⁹

It is worth noting at this point, that Political Science has ignored women in such institutional politics as political parties and labour unions because their participation is low, and at the same time, it has failed to recognize other spaces where women are active and are contributing to redefinitions of the "political." This narrow view has led conventional political analysts to minimize also the role of low-income women who, through participation in forms of popular protest and collective strategies for economic survival, are creating new types of political action.³⁰

'Women's wings' of political parties have rarely provided the essential incubating ground for women leaders, for female solidarity in parties, and for feminist policy proposals. Instead, Women's Wings are commonly captured by the spouses of male leaders and have developed a species of female sycophancy.³¹

Clearly, if the concern is to bring gender equality perspectives into politics and public policy, a focus on packing public space with female bodies is misplaced unless supported by efforts to bring gender issues into the many other spaces where political interests are formed.³²

It has also been observed that political parties have rarely assigned priority to gender issues or promoted women as candidates for office without being formally obliged to do so.³³ Proof of the stubborn resistance of parties to women's leadership is their unwillingness to introduce internal leadership quotas. In Africa, only the African National Congress (ANC) has a quota for women in its National Executive Committee.

There is a school of thought that education of women does not necessarily translate into political participation. Evidence available from the U.S. experience indicates that there was an increase in the number of women in higher education from 30% in 1960 to 43% of all students in 1981. However, this remarkable expansion has not been reflected in a concomitant increase in political participation.³⁴ This US example is similar to a case in Mozambique where almost 40% of parliamentarians are women, higher than most industrialised countries. But, as is well documented in many contexts,³⁵ this does not necessarily translate into increased status for women.³⁶

However, another example from Africa paints a different picture. In Rwanda, during the nine-year period of post-genocide transitional government, from 1994 to 2003, women's representation in

29. Declaration made during the launch of the African Women's Decade at the Kenyatta International Conference (KICC) in Nairobi Kenya on 14 October 2010. It became known as the famous Nairobi Declaration on the African Women's Decade.

30. Stromquist, 1995 op cit., p. 427.

31. Tsikata, Dzodzi (2001) National Machineries for the Advancement of Women in Africa: Are they Transforming Gender Relations? Ghana: Third World Network-Africa.

32. Cornwall and Goetz, 2005 op cit., p. 787.

33. Cornwall and Goetz, 2005 op cit.

34. Norris, Pippa (1987) Politics and Sexual Equality. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers. p. 85.

35. Tinker, I. (2004). 'Quotas for Women in Elected Legislatures: Do They Really Empower Women?' 27 Women's Studies International Forum, pp.531 – 546.

36. Parkes, Jenny & Heslop, Jo (2011). Stop Violence Against Girls in School: A cross-country analysis of baseline research from Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique. London: IoE and ActionAid International. p. 29.



However, another example from Africa paints a different picture. In Rwanda, during the nine-year period of post-genocide transitional government, from 1994 to 2003, women's representation in Parliament (by appointment) reached 25.7 percent during which a new gender-sensitive constitution was adopted. But it was the first post-genocide parliamentary elections of October 2003 that saw women achieve nearly 50 percent representation. The dramatic gains for women are a result of specific mechanisms used to increase women's political participation, among them a constitutional guarantee, a quota system, and innovative electoral structures.³⁷ The substantial progress toward gender empowerment achieved by Rwanda is supported by strong institutional measures, including policy and budgetary commitments, which seek to mainstream gender equality within government policy-making.³⁸

2.2 Women Participation in Kenya in Retrospect

In Kenya, women continue to be marginalized in many areas of society, especially in the sphere of leadership and decision making. According to a 2009 survey by the Ministry of Gender, only 30.9% of those employed in Kenya's civil service are women, 72% of whom serve in the lower cadres of office. This same inequity exists in the judiciary, in the leadership of political parties, and in political representation: Women hold only about 10 percent of the seats in the 10th Parliament.³⁹

Despite the fact that females constitute 51% of the population, they constituted 8% of Members in National Assembly during the 9th Parliament; 6% of Ministers; 13% of Assistant Ministers; 3% of District Commissioners; 20% of District Officers; 13% of Councilors and 21% of Deputy Secretaries.⁴⁰ Clearly, seen from this, apart from the Ambassadors/High Commissioners at 28%, there is no other position which is anywhere near the statutory provision for not more than two-thirds coming from any one gender in elective and appointive positions.

Given that 60% of the registered voters are women, sustainable development cannot be achieved where 50% of the Kenyan population is not represented in its governance structures. Therefore enhanced women representation in party structures is essential if women are to have an impact in the decision-making process of political parties. However, from the audit it is evident that women are poorly represented in political parties.⁴¹

Table 1: Proportion of Women in Political and Major Institutions

Rank/Position	Men	Women	Total	% Women
Ministers	34	6	40	15.0%
Assistant Ministers	41	5	46	10.9%
National Assembly	200	22	222	9.9%
Ambassadors / High Commissioners	40	8	48	16.7%
Permanent Secretaries	38	6	44	13.6%
Secretaries	20	2	22	9.1%
Deputy Secretaries	77	21	98	21.4%
Provincial Commissioners	7	1	8	12.5%
Deputy Provincial Commissioners	19	2	21	9.5%
District Commissioners	201	18	219	8.2%
Councillors	2,322	112	2,434	4.6%
District Officers	730	210	940	22.3%

Source: DPM, Cabinet Office, Public Service Commission, Ngau & Mbathi (2010).

37. Powley, Elizabeth (2003) Rwanda: Women Hold Up Half the Parliament. Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers. p. 154.

38. Huggins, Allison & Randell, Shirley K. (2007) 'Gender Equality in Education in Rwanda: What is happening to our Girls?' A Paper presented at the South African Association of Women Graduates Conference on "Drop-outs from School and Tertiary Studies: What is Happening to our Girls?" Capetown, May, 2007.

39. Kamau, Nyokabi (ed) (2008) 'Enhancing Women's Political Participation.' Perspectives on Gender Discourse 6/08. Nairobi: Heinrich Böll Stiftung. p. iii.

40. IEA (2008) Profile of Women's Socio- Economic Status in Kenya. Nairobi: Institute of Economic Affairs. p. 35.

41. WSP (2006) 'Rapid Gender Assessment and Audit of Political Parties in Kenya – The Participation and Representation of Women in Management of Political Parties: An Unfinished Agenda in Kenya.' Supported by HIVOS in Conjunction with the Women's Shadow Parliament – Kenya.



Figure 1: Statistics on Past Performance of Women

In 2002 general elections, 64 (6.1%) out of the 1,257 parliamentary candidates were women. However, only 10 (4.8%) were elected. Another 8 women were nominated by individual political parties in an attempt to increase women representation in parliament. The 18 women represented only 8% of the National Assembly Membership.

During the same period, women represented 13.3% of the civic authorities' positions. However, the ratio is relatively low in relation to that of men. In the judiciary, women represent 38.4% of the judiciary service establishment but there is still room for improvement, in order to attain the 50:50 affirmative action policies.

In the hotly contested 2007 General Elections, there were 269 female candidates out of the 2,548 total parliamentary candidates, up from 44 female aspirants out of the 1,015 legislative aspirants in 2002. However, only 15 women candidates made it to the 10th Parliament after going through campaigns that were marred by violence and other challenges. It is worthy noting however that 50-50 affirmative action was demonstrated in the nomination of women to the 10th Parliament with 6 women out of 12 being nominated. In the 2008 coalition cabinet, there are only 6 (15%) female Ministers out of the total 40 Ministers.

Source: IEA, 2008: 36.

While affirmative action is highly rated as the way forward, it should be viewed as only one of the instruments for achieving equity and justice. Women must learn to exploit their numerical strength combined with the larger political space occupied by mushrooming women's associations and lobbies. They must translate this sheer numerical strength into political power and influence.⁴²

For the women of Kenya to be relevant in this dispensation, they must create space within which to exercise their God given leadership abilities in order to have an impact on their societies and communities. There is need for innovativeness in leadership and the women must look beyond the horizon of 'political leadership' and deviate further afield. In other words, they must deviate or die.⁴³ Even though the language here seems to be that of advising the women to look for leadership elsewhere beyond 'politics', the argument advanced in this paper is that what is 'political' must be re-defined and that women play 'political' roles quietly often without recognizing it. This paper is also in agreement with the position that to have an impact in the communities, women need governmental commitment and support in pursuit of their leadership goals.⁴⁴ Likewise, for women to have an impact in the political parties, apart from their own initiatives to create space for themselves, the political parties must show a commitment and support to the women in their pursuit of leadership.

One indicator of gender inequality in Kenya is the small number of women in decision making positions and other national governance structures. From the statistics indicated above, the 10th Parliament has about 10 per cent of women representation. This percentage is far below the Constitutional threshold of 30%, and has serious implications on the articulation and implementation

42. Kang'ethe, Njeri (2007) 'Women and Leadership in Africa: A Case of Deviate or Die', In Kimani Njogu (ed) Governance and Development: Towards Quality Leadership in Kenya. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications. p. 145.

43. Ibid. p. 139.

44. Ibid. p. 159.



of women's agenda in Parliament.⁴⁵ The new Constitution is a gender responsive document that guarantees women representation and increases the number of women in all decision-making organs including in the devolved government and has led to the following gains for women.

Table 2: Elected and Nominated Women in Kenya's National Assembly, 1963 – 2012

Year of Election	Elected Women	Nominated Women	Total No. of Women in Parliament	Sum of Men and Women in Parliament	% of Women in Parliament
1963	0	0	0	124	0.0
1966	0	0	0	28	0.0
1969	1	1	2	170	1.2
1974	4	2	6	170	3.5
1979	4	1	5	170	2.9
1983	2	2	4	170	2.4
1988	2	1	3	200	1.5
1992	6	1	7	200	3.5
1997	4	4	8	222	3.6
2002	9	8	17	222	7.7
2007	16	6	22	222	9.9

Source: Various

2.3 Young Women Participation in Perspective

The traditional incubators of political leaders have been trade unions, university politics and political parties. These are also the crucibles in which interests are identified, debated, aggregated and promoted. It is noteworthy that these arenas can foster styles of politics and forms of political apprenticeship that can exclude and silence women.⁴⁶ Political apprenticeship is one of the routes via which representatives enter and engage in political activity, and which influence how they define and acquire the arts and activities of politics, and negotiate the boundaries of the political. It is important that young women are exposed to apprenticeship especially in party politics if they are to be expected to have an impact.

One of the measures that has proved a best practice over time is that of enabling group-specific representation for women including reservations systems, such as those used to address the under-representation of ethnic or other minorities which can involve the creation of special electoral districts limiting competition to group members, or provisions for direct appointment to reserved seats in the legislature. A practical example of this is the case of Rwanda where the 2003 constitution increased exponentially the number of seats to be held by women in all structures of government. Women, as mandated in the constitution hold 30 percent of seats in the Senate; and

45. FIDA – Kenya (2010) Gender Audit Study of the 10th Parliament. Nairobi: FIDA.

46. Cornwall and Goetz, 2005 op cit, p. 788.



in the Chamber of Deputies, there are 24 seats that are reserved for women and are contested in women-only elections, that is, only women can stand for election and only women can vote.⁴⁷ Be that as it may, the women organizations in Kenya have been grappling with to the task of creating a workable formula to implement the affirmative action in Article 27 (8) which states that ‘not more than two thirds in elective and nominative seats shall be of the same gender’ without actually infringing on the democratic rights and privileges of men. This provision is bound to increase young women’s participation in decision making institutions.

Table 3: Young Women’s Participation in Decision Making by Age.

Age (Years)	Women’s participation in decision making			Men’s attitude towards wives participation in decision making		
	Making major household purchases	Daily purchases of household needs	Visit to her family and relatives	Making major household purchases	Daily purchases of household needs	Visit to her family and relatives
15 – 19	50.5	68.2	60.7	*	*	*
20 – 24	61.5	78.0	66.9	54.9	75.8	53.4
25 – 29	64.8	81.6	70.2	59.9	87.8	63.4
30 – 34	68.9	83.9	75.7	53.5	84.1	64.3
Average	61.4	77.9	68.4	42.1	61.9	45.3

Source: Kenya, 2010a; Sivi-Njonjo, 2010: 152.

Table 3 shows the participation of young women in decision making by age. A critical assumption here is that participation in decision making at home is a measure of a woman’s autonomy and status, and even though no explicit mention is made of participation in political party decision making, it can be deduced from this that an autonomous woman at home has a very high likelihood of having an effective presence at the political party level. Drawing from this table, it is evident that women make more household decisions as they grow older. 78% believe they should make daily household purchases compared to 62% of the men. 61% of (young) women believe they should make major household purchases compared to 42% of men. 68% of the women believe they should make decisions to visit (their) family and relatives, while only 45% of the men think so.⁴⁸

There is need for more awareness creation on the importance and value of the participation and contributions of women in political institutions in order to engender more support for women not just within institutions but among the population as a whole which will go much further to securing any gains made by women to this end. There is also a need for young women to be exposed to more opportunities to develop their own political interests and to be given more opportunities through which they can exert their political will. This may be accomplished through increased political apprenticeships, mentoring and awareness creation programmes. One important lesson feminists have learned and should be kept in mind while dealing with the issue of women’s representation in politics, is that any measures aimed to improve the condition of women can be effective only if accompanied by policies that seek to alter the balance of gender relations in society as a whole.

47. Powley, Elizabeth (2003) Rwanda: Women Hold Up Half the Parliament. Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers, pg. 156.

48. Ibid, p. 153.



2.4 Institutions for Women Representation and Inclusion in Kenya

Prof. Yash Pal Ghai⁴⁹ writing on the Constitution of Kenya as an instrument of change; identifies areas in which women as a group have gained, and in which they will be represented in elective and, nominative bodies and in employment in the public service.⁵⁰ These include:

- Special seats reserved for women in the Senate (16, plus one woman representing youth and one representing persons with disability);
- Special seats for women in the National Assembly (1 from each County);
- There shall be a law to promote the representation of women in Parliament;
- Special seats provided in County Assemblies to ensure that at least one-third of the members are women (and at least one-third are men);
- There must be a certain number of women in the Parliamentary Service Commission (at least 4 out of the 11 members – Article 127 (2)⁵¹– this body supports Parliament in various ways, providing administrative and research staff;
- There must be at least 3 women among the 11 members of the Judicial Service Commission – Article 171 (2) – this body recommends names of people to be appointed as judges;
- The Judicial Service Commission must be “guided” in its work by the principle of gender equality – Article 172 (2);
- The State must implement “the principle that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective or appointive bodies shall be of the same gender” – Article 27 (8);
- There must be equal opportunities in the public service for the men and women in appointment, training and advancement – Article 323 (1);
- The National Security organs must “reflect the diversity of the Kenyan people in equitable proportions” – Article 238.

The above are ripe opportunities for young women’s participation in key leadership and decision making positions both nationally and in the counties.

The National Policy on Gender Equality and Development in Kenya expresses the government’s commitment to advance the status of women as stated in CEDAW and other international instruments. The overall objective of the policy is to ensure women’s empowerment and mainstreaming of their needs and concerns in all sectors of development in the country so that they can participate and benefit equally from development initiatives. The policy also establishes institutions as well as programmes and activities through which the specified government objectives would be met. The Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Services through the Department of Gender and the National Commission on Gender, support gender mainstreaming in all government ministries, advice on the impact of all government policies on women, monitor the situation of women, help formulate policies and implement strategies to eliminate gender-based discrimination.⁵²

In the same Report on the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Government of the Republic of Kenya

49. Prof. Yash Pal Ghai is one of the leading international Scholars in Constitutional Law. He was the Chairman of the Constitutional of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) that produced the popular Bomas Draft of the Constitution.

50. Ghai, Yash Pal (2011) Kenya’s Constitution: An Instrument for Change. Nairobi: CLARION, p.40.

51. Kenya, Republic of (2010) The Constitution of Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printer. All the Articles referred to here are drawn from the Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

52. The 7th Periodic Report of the Government of the Republic of Kenya on Implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).



reports that through the Gender Division and the Gender Commission as well as other institutions created under the ministry, it has made progress towards advancement of women in various sectors. These include: lobbying both government agencies and non-governmental organizations for gender mainstreaming and for promotion of women's participation in various activities as well as promotion of equality between men and women in various areas; conducting surveys of various government ministries and departments to determine the situation of women's participation in various sectors as well as their current level of participation.

It is also important to note that the Political Parties Act, No. 10 of 2007 and its successor, the Political Parties Act, 2011 both had one main agenda in common, namely: seeking to ensure equal participation between men and women in the political life and decision making on political matters concerning the country. Whereas the 2007 document did not make express provisions for gender representation in political office, the 2011 document has made express provisions which are reproduced in this document. As a result, all the political parties are now in the process of coming up with new party constitutions that are compliant with the new laws and also to re-organize their manifestos to capture this new reality.

Other institutions where women will be represented are the Youth Leagues and the Women's Leagues which must be structured and institutionalized in party organization. This must be provided for in the respective party constitutions and manifestos as without this critical representation, the concerned party shall not be deemed to have fully complied with the legal requirements for full registration. It is also important to note that there has been a great improvement in the representation of women especially in the Constitutional Commissions and Committees, including the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution (CIC); Constitutional Implementation Oversight Committee (CIOC); the Judicial Service Commission (JSC); the Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) and the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). There are also others coming up like the Teachers Service Commission (TSC); the National Police Service Commission; the Kenya National Human Rights Commission; the National Gender and Equality Commission; the National Land Commission; the Parliamentary Service Commission; the Public Service Commission and the Salaries and Remuneration Commission. Women representation in at least one third of seats in all these institutions will be required.

Consequently, young women need to take advantage of all the opportunities created by the Constitution and ensure that they are ably represented in these institutions and that they are able to meaningfully participate in them.



Chapter 3: Study Findings

This section shall address the critical issues raised by the objectives of the study and try to align this with the aims of the study. It starts by giving a brief overview of the existence of political parties in Kenya and the nature of their registration, highlighting any purposes that they serve in the lives of the people of Kenya, and their ideals. The second part of this section gives an overview on the representation and role of the youth in political parties and highlights the existence and role of youth leagues. Finally, the section gives the statistics on the levels of representation of young women in terms of membership in political parties, comparing the absolute numbers and the percentage representation in the respective political parties. It also addresses the participation of young women in political parties and highlights the main challenges that young women face in aspiring for political leadership.

3.1 Political Parties Existence in Kenya

The Bomas Draft⁵³ developed by the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) came up with the most detailed definition and role of a political party. Captured in Article 86 (1) of the CKRC Draft, political parties are Non-State Actors (NSAs) whose functions are the fostering of democratic processes in government and the country and the participation of people in the political process by means which include:⁵⁴

- (a) mobilising public opinion on matters of national interest, and fostering national values and outlook;
- (b) organising people with similar views and interests for political activities;
- (c) providing channels to bring public opinion to bear on the policies of the Government and hold the Government accountable to legislative bodies and the people; and
- (d) ensuring that cohesion and discipline in the conduct of public affairs is maintained.

Political parties are registered in Kenya under the Political Parties Act, 2011⁵⁵ which was enacted to conform with the provisions of the New Constitution in Kenya. Formerly, the political parties were registered and guided by the Political Parties Act of 2007. It is interesting to note that as at now, all the political parties are provisionally registered as per the provisions of Article 5 on Provisional registration of a political party. As per the information provided by the Registrar of Political parties, 54 political parties were provisionally registered.

However, all the provisionally registered political parties have not more than one hundred and eighty days from the date of provisional registration to apply to the Registrar of Political Parties, for full registration. This grace period expires on 30 April 2012 and after this date, all the parties that shall have complied shall have all their memberships details lodged with the Registrar of Political Parties.

Data available from the Registrar of Political Parties as shown in Table 4 indicates that by the start of March 2012, only 10 political parties out of the 54 provisionally registered political parties⁵⁶ had achieved the threshold of 23,500 membership as provided for in Article 7 (2) which requires that a provisionally registered political party shall be qualified to be fully registered if —

- (a) it has recruited as members, not fewer than one thousand registered voters from each of more than half of the counties.

53. The Draft Constitution of Kenya, 2004.

54. Ghai, 2011 op cit., p. 127.

55. An Act of Parliament that provides for the registration, regulation and funding of political parties and for connected purposes.

56. It is good to note that NARC – Kenya, GNU, the New Vision Party and LPK have just submitted applications for full registration in compliance with the PPA 2011. It is anticipated that others will soon rush to beat the registration deadline at the last minute



Table 4: Top 20 Political Parties by Registration (Registrar)

	Name of the Political Party	MALE	FEMALE	MALE %	FEMALE %	NOT REGD AS VOTERS	REGD AS VOTERS	TOTAL
1	NARC - KENYA	26,650	18,845	59	41	959	44,536	45,495
2	GRAND NATIONAL UNION	24,252	18,554	57	43	117	42,689	42,806
3	NPP	12,061	23,750	34	66	584	35,227	35,811
4	FORD - KENYA	23,152	11,992	66	34	346	34,798	35,144
5	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY	18,367	14,099	57	43	655	31,811	32,466
6	LPK	16,135	14,387	53	47	436	30,086	30,522
7	NVP	15,847	12,464	56	44	355	27,956	28,311
8	NAP - K	17,497	8,551	67	33	853	25,195	26,048
9	RBK	13,807	12,161	53	47	0	25,968	25,968
10	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI	14,622	9,173	61	39	450	23,345	23,795
11	PPK	9,940	9,460	51	49	445	18,955	19,400
12	AGANO PARTY	9,755	9,003	52	48	349	18,409	18,758
13	DEMOCRATIC PARTY	9,941	7,752	56	44	465	17,228	17,693
14	PICK	9,780	5,850	63	37	439	15,191	15,630
15	UNITY PARTY OF KENYA	8,546	6,837	56	44	0	15,383	15,383
16	UDF PARTY	8,771	6,579	57	43	0	15,350	15,350
17	KENYA SOCIAL CONGRESS	6,398	5,721	53	47	437	11,682	12,119
18	KANU	7,920	3,797	68	32	1,502	10,215	11,717
19	THE INDEPENDENT PARTY	7,528	3,792	67	33	402	10,918	11,320
20	PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA	6,001	4,877	55	45	400	10,478	10,878

Source: Registrar of Political Parties, March 2012.

It is important to note that out of the 54 provisionally registered political parties, all have achieved requirement that not more than two-thirds of one gender are registered as its members, which is one of the requirements for full registration of a party. This is according to information obtained from the Registrar of Political Parties and reflects the statistics as at 3rd March 2012. It is interesting to note that the perceived most popular political party according to latest opinion polls, that is the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), is the party that has the lowest percentage of women, with 69% men against 31% for women. The party with the highest percentage of women membership is the National Patriotic Party which boasts of 66% thus having a huge difference (about 13%) with the second highest party, which has 52% women in its membership.

Twenty political parties have a female representation of 45% and over, which is quite an impressive performance.⁵⁹ Four parties have more than half of their members being women, with three showing a 50:50 representation in membership namely the Farmers Party of Kenya, Kenya African Democratic Union – Asili and the Shirikisho Party of Kenya. The average percentage of women membership within the top twenty political parties stands at 49%, which is way ahead of the threshold of not more than two-thirds for either gender.

However, the data from the Registrar of Political parties appears not to be disaggregated in terms of regional diversity, age and disability status. This will make it very difficult to monitor compliance with the provisions of Article 7 (2) (b) of the Political Parties Act, 2011 which requires that the members referred to in Article 7 (2) (a) reflect regional and ethnic diversity, gender balance and representation of minorities and marginalized groups, for full registration to be granted.⁶⁰ None of

59. Latest Ipsos Synovate Opinion Polls conducted in February 2012.

60. The regional diversity referred to here is that the membership should spread across different counties presently falling under different provinces; gender balance should ensure gender equity so that there is equitable representation and participation of both genders in party activities, this ideally should ensure that there is not more than two-thirds of either gender in all organs of decision-making at the party level.



the information collected from political parties, has captured the disaggregation in terms of these parameters.

Conversely, the statistics collected during the study indicate tentative figures mostly based on approximations as the recruitment was at its climax, with the rush to beat the deadline for compliance with the requirements of the Political Parties Act 2011. The figures will therefore be shown as tentative and comprehensive and conclusive data can only be available from the Registrar of Political Parties after the expiry of the grace period for compliance.

Some of the political parties surveyed revealed that they did not have disaggregated data by age or sex as they were just in the process of recruitment. This was evidenced by Party Office staff that was busy updating recruitment data in a bid to capture the statistics effectively in order to comply with provisions of the Political Parties Act, 2011. The parties are required to comply with the conditions for full registration of the 30th April 2012 deadline.⁶¹

The requirement for political parties to have branch offices in more than half of the counties may prove to be a tall order for most political parties. It was observed during the survey that almost all political parties surveyed do not have branches in more than 23 Counties. Most operate from a national office which is situated in Nairobi, with a few in Nakuru and Mombasa.

It was further observed that information about the physical locations as provided by the Registrar during the provisional registration has changed for a good number of political parties, but they have not communicated the changes to the Registrar. This proved a challenge during the survey as the data collectors would visit a political party's registered office only to find that the Party had moved office. The survey also revealed that some parties are 'brief-case' in nature where the Party 'proprietor,' who in most cases is also the party Chairman, establishes the party office in his private business premises. So it was not uncommon to find a party office squeezed in an office which deals with real estate, cyber-café or computer bureau services. An interesting revelation was discovering that a registered party office location was housed within a boutique and the sales ladies at the boutique were unaware of that particular location doubling up as a political party office. They however did admit that the owner of the boutique 'owned' a political party.

Generally, political parties are supposed to be vehicles of national transformation, research, policy formulation and implementation, innovation and welfare improvement. Political parties are supposed to provide an avenue for the public to associate with their leaders and learn of their policies and vision for the country. They also represent democracy and freedom of association in Kenya. However, there is a strong feeling among the public that they have failed terribly, and have become tools of political power, to achieve personal interests other than public interest. The fact that some parties do not have physical offices and as such exist as briefcase institutions impedes their capacity to bring about transformation in the country.

Another challenge facing politics in the country is the unfortunate observation that in Kenya majority of political parties lack any fundamental ideology and are mere ethnic conglomerations with no clear objectives or direction. They seem to be used as vehicles to parliament for individuals rather than as instruments to effect change and development. The recent mushrooming of new political parties after fallout with membership and officials of existing political parties is a clear manifestation of this sad state of affairs. However, we may console ourselves in the hope that may be the Political Parties Act will change this reality when it is fully operationalised.⁶²

61. The full terms and conditions for full registration of a political party are provided for in The Political Parties Act, 2011 Article 7 (1) and (2).

62. Interview with Dr. Owuor Olungah, a Gender Expert, Social Science Researcher and Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Anthropology, African and Gender Studies (IAAGS) of the University of Nairobi.



The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, the Political Parties Act, 2011, the Elections Act, 2011 and all other relevant legislation seek to transform Political Parties into serious institutions with serious structures that will be a major determinant of the political landscape now and in the future. They are set to play a critical role in the re-definition of democracy in Kenya.

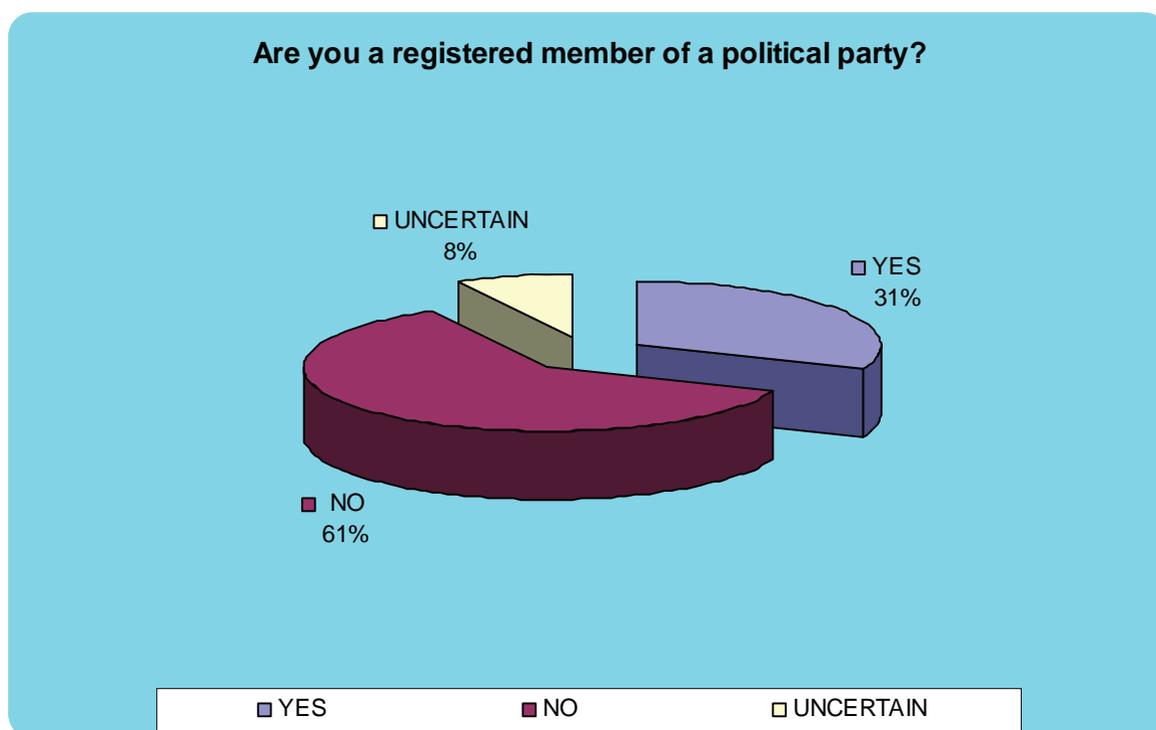
3.2 Young People in Political Parties

3.2.1 Youth Representation in Political Parties

In a survey conducted by the Youth Agenda in December 2011, young people were asked whether they belonged to political parties, and if they did not, to give reasons why. 90 young people responded to the survey by sending their answers through their mobile phones.

The results are reflected in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2: Youth SMS Survey on Political Party Membership



Source: Youth Agenda SMS Survey, December - January 2012

Out of this, there was a shocking revelation that 55 out of the 90, accounting for a whopping 61%, did not belong to any political party. This is alarming given that it is the youth who are expected to be at the forefront in shaping the political environment in this country, and they can only do this through active representation and participation in political party activities. Only 28 out of 90, accounting for 31% polled said that they belonged to a political party, while 7 respondents representing 8% of the total, were undecided on whether they belonged to a political party or not.



Diverse reasons were advanced by the respondents to explain why they did not belong to a political party; with some indicating that they were not yet decided on political party membership, while some indicated their intentions to register in the near future. There are some who believed that they should not just be part of the statistics by being counted as a member, yet they were not making any tangible benefits with their membership. A cross-section of the respondents were of the opinion that there is no party good enough to stand the test of time, while some maintained that Kenya still has political, tribal chieftaincy. To some, political parties only use youth as vessels and for to cheer them on. There was a widespread feeling that political parties have those who own them but they use young people for their growth. Some youth respondents expressed the desire to be registered, but they did not know how to go about it. The youth also expressed their apathy with political party operations. To them, the first priority was getting money to meet their basic needs before venturing into politics.

In Table 5 below , 11 out of 15 parties that gave their membership disaggregated by age had 50% of their membership as youth. While this is commendable, a lot still needs to be done to ensure that all parties have young people constituting at least 50% of their total membership.



Table 5: Youth Membership in the Political Parties surveyed

No	Name of Political Party	Year Founded	Year Registered	Total Membership	Male Membership	Female Membership	Youth Membership	Youth Membership in %
1	Democratic Party	1991	1992	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	350,000	17.5
2	KANU	1961	1961	750,000	600,000	200,000	400,000	53
3	Agano Party of Kenya	2006	2008	700,000	350,000	350,000	420,000	60
4	Kenya National Congress	1992	1992	120,000	84,000	36,000	60,000	50
5	National Agenda Party of Kenya	2008	2009	94,000	56,400	37,600	56,400	60
6	Chama Cha Uzalendo	2004	2008	90,000	54,000	36,000	27,000	30
7	United Democratic Forum Party	2011	2011	76,000	44,840	31,160	54,720	72
8	People's Democratic Party	2006	2007	24,000	16,800	7,200	13,440	56
9	The Independent Party	2007	2009	24,000	10,000	10,000	20,000	83
10	Farmers Party	2006	2009	23,000	-	-	-	-
11	People's Party of Kenya	2006	2008	13,000	9,000	4,000	6,000	46
12	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	2007	2008	10,000	7,000	3,000	7,500	75
13	Federal Party of Kenya	1996	1998	8,000	3,000	5,000	4,000	50
14	Ford - People	1991	1997	7,000	5,250	1,750	4,200	60
15	Social Democratic Party	2002	2008	7,000	3,000	4,000	3,500	50
16	Safina Party	1995	2008	6,651	3,991	2,660	1,000	15
17	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	1992	2008	-	-	-	-	-
18	New Democrats	2006	2006	-	-	-	-	-
19	PNU Alliance	2010	2011	-	-	-	-	-
20	United Republican Party	2011	2011	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL			3,952,651	2,247,281	1,728,370	1,427,760	

Source: Field Data ⁶³

63: The Political Parties captured with dash (-) for membership statistics in this Table do not imply that the parties have no membership. The reality is that they had received very many registration forms from different counties and this information had not yet been captured in their databases. So rather than give estimations, they opted not to give any figures for membership.



There is a very big discrepancy in the information available from the RPP (Table 5) and the figures given by the political parties during the survey (Table 6). The figures from the survey are blown up meaning that the parties have no exact registration figures for their membership although they project it to be so high. It could be seen during the survey that there were so many registration forms that were filling the tables in various party offices which had not been entered into the computer databases. In some instances, the parties were entering data from one county and after reaching the required 1,000 members from that county, they abandon the other forms and begin entering membership data from other counties in a bid to meet the legal requirement in half of the counties nationally. It is possible therefore, that the many un-entered forms in the party offices could account for the huge membership figures. Some parties claimed that they usually considered the number of returned forms as membership and therefore, the figures that they gave the researchers were based on that while the information at the RPP is the actual figure that has been entered in the database.

From the IEBC data below, youth make up over one third of the all 20 political parties sampled, and over half of only 3 of the 20 political parties sampled. Given that youth make up 78% of the entire population, the figures indicate serious under-representation of young people in political parties. It is important for political parties to target young people in their membership recruitment drives.

Table 6: Top 20 Youth Party Membership Percentages

No.	Name of the Political Party	Youth (18 - 35 yrs)	Total	Youth %
1	THE NATIONAL VISION PARTY	19,557	28,220	69
2	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1,116	1,907	59
3	UDF Party	7,888	15,344	51
4	NATIONAL PATRIOTIC PARTY	17,598	35,746	49
5	PICK	7,561	15,612	48
6	CHAMA CHA UZALENDO	3,794	8,163	46
7	GRAND NATIONAL UNION	19,823	42,775	46
8	MKENYA SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT	2,051	4,503	46
9	PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF KENYA	8,981	19,338	46
10	NEW DEMOCRATS	2,407	5,377	45
11	CONSERVATIVE PARTY	3,523	7,975	44
12	PARTY OF HOPE	875	1,985	44
13	AGANO PARTY	8,090	18,741	43
14	FEDERAL PARTY OF KENYA	4,255	10,239	42
15	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	1,256	2,977	42
16	KENYA NATIONAL CONGRESS	2,157	5,279	41
17	KENDA	989	2,473	40
18	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY	12,923	32,441	40
19	PNU ALLIANCE	795	1,977	40
20	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI	9,248	23,788	39

Source: IEBC, March 2012.



3.2.1.1 Youth Representation in Political Parties through Youth Leagues

Political parties are aware of the important role played by the youth in their internal organizations. It is out of this recognition that the major political parties have tried to incorporate the youth in their internal structures, through ordered and institutionalized structures called youth leagues (also referred to as youth wings). The Youth Leagues have also been given various names as per the convenience of the party concerned. The table below gives a list of the parties surveyed and whether they have a Youth League or not, with the names of those that have indicated as well.

Table 7: Names of Political Party Youth Leagues

No.	Name of the Political Party	Have Youth League	Name of Youth League
1	Agano Party of Kenya	YES	Agano Party Youth / Agano Party Women
2	Chama Cha Uzalendo	YES	Uzalendo Youth Forum
3	Democratic Party	YES	Young Democrats
4	Farmers Party	YES	Farmers' Part Youth League
5	Federal Party of Kenya	YES	Youth Affairs Department
6	KANU	YES	KANU Youth League
7	Kenya National Congress	YES	KNC Youth League
8	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	YES	MSM Youth
9	New Democrats	YES	New Democrats Youth
10	People's Party of Kenya	YES	PPK Youth
11	PNU Alliance	YES	The Youth League
12	Safina Party	YES	The Youth Council
13	Social Democratic Party	YES	Young Social Democrats
14	The Independent Party	YES	TIP Youth League
15	United Democratic Forum Party	YES	UDF Party Youth Representative Council / UDF Party Women League Council.
16	Ford - People	NO	-
17	National Agenda Party of Kenya	NO	-
18	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	NO	-
19	People's Democratic Party	NO	-
20	United Republican Party	NO	-

Source: Field Data

Other parties that did not respond to the survey, but which have since been established to be having Youth Leagues include: ODM with their Orange Young Democrats; FORD – Kenya with their FORD – Kenya Youth League and NARC – Kenya with their NARC – Kenya Youth League. There are other political parties that do not have Youth Leagues at the moment but which are in the process of establishing them. These include the Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK) and the recently launched United Republican Party (URP) and the Party of Action (POA).

Out of the 54 provisionally registered political parties, 18 political parties have known youth leagues and 3 are in the process of establishing them. Thus, about 39% of the 54 parties have institutionalized mechanisms for young people to engage in political parties.



3.2.2 Youth Participation in Political Parties

The youth are the foundation of any political party and are also the future of the party. They represent the hopes and aspirations of the society, and they can be useful in a political party in various roles. In as much as it is admitted that the youth participate in Political Parties, their level of participation is deemed low in areas of decision making and policy formulation. Young people are mainly engaged in running errands and dealing with logistical issues and largely excluded from decision making. Youth participation is viewed as an act of tokenism and not driven by any ideology.

The major roles that youth in political parties play are mobilizing fellow youth during party recruitment, mobilizing supporters during campaigns, party publicity through social networking and since they are technologically savvy, they are engaged in parties' communication strategies. They are also the ones charted with the responsibility of tackling issues among youth.

Young people in political parties are mainly engaged around the election time so as to fill political rallies and to show support for the candidates. They are normally given false promises of employment, nominations to important positions and grooming to take up certain party positions and key posts after a successful campaign. A Key informant observed that the youth are normally used as part of the political theatre and theatrics – that is to increase the size of the crowd, the noise levels and the potential for intimidating voters. They give an impression of the popularity of a candidate.⁶⁴ As soon as the elections are over, their input is quickly forgotten and they are short changed.

There lacks political education among youth and party officials on the benefits of youth participation in political parties. Even though their participation is minimal, the youth in the political parties have started capturing their spaces and are playing a critical role in the formulation of party policy and a less role in its implementation.

Ideally, participation should be positive, but at the moment, there is lack of political education. The youth are accessed as an act of tokenism, not driven by any ideology. This is heightened by the lack of financial resources for the youth. A Key Informant gave an example of Norway where students start political participation at high school. The early practice of democracy by high school students through the election of their leaders as opposed to appointed prefects has been lauded. It ensures that the youth start embracing the tenets of democracy from an early age.⁶⁵

3.2.2.1 Role of the Youth Leagues in Political Parties

The youth are the foundation of any political party and they are also the future of the party. They represent the hopes and aspirations of the society, and they can be useful in a political party in various roles ranging from setting up youth committees, communication strategies, including social networking, and also for mobilization and campaigns for candidates during elections. The youth are able to apply technology to carry out civic education, voter education and even mobilization. They are well educated and provide knowledge and ideas which are critical for party success. They are also able to use their creativity and innovation to look for solutions to not only party issues, but even national issues.

64. Interview with Kingwa Kamencu, an Oxford University student aspiring for the Presidential seat in Kenyan elections in 2012. She is seeking to capture the seat on a LPK ticket.

65. Interview with Caren Nasimiyu Wakoli in Nairobi. Caren is the Youth Representative at NEPAD and the Chairperson of the Youth Congress. She is also a former student leader of the Students Organisation of Nairobi University (SONU).



The youth constitute the largest population in the country. Statistics indicate that currently, 78.31% of Kenyans are below 34 years old.⁶⁶ It is then the duty of the youth leagues/wings to identify priorities and take part in the formulation of the manifestos of the political parties paying particular attention to the issues that will affect the age bracket between 18 and 35 years, now and in future, mobilize the support of fellow youth and also utilize the energy and ideas of the youth to promote the popularity of the respective parties.

It is noteworthy that there is a school of thought that does not believe in this distinction based on youth wings in political parties. Those subscribing to this school of thought believe in an integrated approach in which the youth bring in the energy and strength that the old do not have.⁶⁷ Be that as it may, a Youth League in a political party serves to inform the thinking and bringing in of innovative ideas to the party. The Youth Leagues are ideally meant to enhance the participation of the young people in politics; they are their entry point into politics. They are an avenue for nurturing young leaders, mentoring the youth and bringing new perspectives to the parties. They provide a platform for young people to air their views and grievances as well as to advance the youth agenda in party and national affairs.

Data from the key informants however reveals that, Youth Leagues in most cases are used by party leaders as tools for propaganda and as such the youth merely perform the roles allocated to them by the party leaders. Lack of financial independence among the youth has made it easy for influential party leaders to come up with structures similar to youth leagues merely for purposes of instigating violence and advancing the agenda of individual politicians. This appears to be a deviation from the original objective of Youth Leagues, which is to mentor the youth so that they graduate gradually into party leadership hierarchy.

Some political parties surveyed were not willing to share their manifestos that capture the role of the Youth Leagues. They were however, quick to point out that the ones they had previously had been overtaken by events with the enactment of the PPA and therefore, they had to restructure their party manifesto to reflect the new reality.

One of the political parties with a robust Youth League is the Ford Kenya party, whose National Youth League President sums up the role of the League in the following words: to popularize the party at the grassroots, recruit members for the party; to mobilize resources for the party; ensure the implementation of the party's manifesto; ensure the participation of young people in the party affairs including governance; to promote democracy within political parties and to hold leadership of political parties accountable.⁶⁸

However, there is an emerging desire among the youth to move from the youth wings and get into the mainstream leadership of political parties, advocating for the democratic running of parties and taking part in major decision making. In essence, the Youth Leagues are going to be an avenue to change the way politics is conducted in Kenya.

3.3 Young Women in Political Parties

3.3.1 Young Women Representation in Political Parties

It is important to note that out of the 54 provisionally registered political parties,⁶⁹ all have met the

66: Sivi-Njonjo, Katindi (2010) Youth Fact Book: Infinite Possibility or Definite Disaster? Nairobi: IEA. pg. xvi.

67: Interview with Prof. Winnie V. Mitullah of IDS, University of Nairobi.

68: Interview with Benard Wakoli, the Ford Kenya National Youth League President; presently pursuing a Masters Degree in Governance and Development at a University in Sweden.

69: The Political Parties Act, 2011 Article 5(2) and (3) give the conditions under which a political party can be provisionally registered.



requirement that not more than two-thirds of one gender are registered as its members. This is according to information obtained from the Registrar of Political Parties and reflects the statistics as at 3rd March 2012. However, this information is not disaggregated by age so as to indicate the percentage of young women in these parties. Data from the field however disaggregates the ages of female members of the 15 political parties surveyed (table 8 below).

The table below shows the findings on the levels of absolute membership of both the female and also the female youth. The party with the highest female youth ratio in relation to overall youth membership is Social Democratic Party with 71%, however, in absolute numbers, the figure still is wanting. Note that nine political parties have ratios of female youth that are more than 33% of the total youth population. Article 27(8) of the Constitution states that not more than two thirds of members of elective and nominative institutions shall be of the same gender. With 9 of the parties having over 33% of youth being females, then it seems that the principle has been respected in most of the political parties surveyed since young women make up one third of the total youth population. However, more needs to be done to ensure that more young females are recruited into political parties in attempts to ensure they make up two thirds of the youth in political parties.

Table 8: Top 15 Parties with Young Women Concentration in Absolute Numbers (Survey)

No.	Name of Political Party	Female Membership	Youth Membership	Female Youth Membership	% Female Youth Membership in relation to Youth Membership
1	Democratic Party	1,000,000	350,000	175,000	50
2	Agano Party of Kenya	350,000	420,000	210,000	50
3	KANU	200,000	400,000	150,000	37.5
4	National Agenda Party of Kenya	37,600	56,400	22,560	40
5	Chama Cha Uzalendo	36,000	27,000	4,500	16.7
6	Kenya National Congress	36,000	60,000	15,000	25
7	United Democratic Forum Party	31,160	54,720	22,435	41
8	The Independent Party	10,000	20,000	8,000	40
9	People's Democratic Party	7,200	13,440	2,688	20
10	Federal Party of Kenya	5,000	4,000	2,000	50
11	Social Democratic Party	4,000	3,500	2,500	71
12	People's Party of Kenya	4,000	6,000	2,000	33.3
13	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	3,000	7,500	2,000	26.6
14	Safina Party	2,660	1,000	50	5
15	FORD – People	1,750	4,200	1,260	30
16	TOTAL	1,728,370	1,427,760	619,993	

Source: Field Data.

The table below shows the findings on the levels of membership of both the female and also the female youth. The party with the highest female youth ratio is The Independent Party (TIP) with 80%, however, in absolute numbers, the figure still is wanting. What is important from the data, however, is that more than ten political parties have ratios of female youth more than 40% to the total female population, and this needs to be replicated to the other parties whose data has not been captured. In their efforts to recruit female members, parties should lay emphasis on recruiting young women into their membership



Table 9: Women Youth Membership in Political Parties

No.	Name of Political Party	Female Membership	Female Youth Membership	% Female Youth in relation to female membership
1	The Independent Party	10,000	8,000	80
2	KANU	200,000	150,000	75
3	Ford – People	1,750	1,260	72
4	United Democratic Forum Party	31,160	22,435	72
5	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	3,000	2,000	67
6	Social Democratic Party	4,000	2,500	63
7	Agano Party of Kenya	350,000	210,000	60
8	National Agenda Party of Kenya	37,600	22,560	60
9	People's Party of Kenya	4,000	2,000	50
10	Kenya National Congress	36,000	15,000	42
11	Federal Party of Kenya	5,000	2,000	40
12	People's Democratic Party	7,200	2,688	37
13	Democratic Party	1,000,000	175,000	18
14	Chama Cha Uzalendo	36,000	4,500	13
15	Safina Party	2,660	50	2
16	New Democrats	0	0	0
17	PNU Alliance	0	0	0
18	Farmers Party	0	0	0
19	United Republican Party	0	0	0
20	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	0	0	0
	TOTAL	1,728,370	619,993	36

Source: Field Data

3.3.2 Role of Young Women in Political Parties

Data from the key informants provides that young women are involved in political party activities, although their activity is less compared to that of young men. Parties surveyed revealed that the role of young women is not radically different from that of the youth in political parties. Young women are therefore, engaged in mobilization and recruitment of members especially women to the party. They also engage in party publicity through social networks. They also represent their parties in matters involving young electorate and conduct civic awareness among the youth and women. Young women are also involved in pushing for women recognition within the party.

The young women are also charged with the responsibility of mobilising fellow young women for political rallies. They have been the link between young women and political parties e.g the Waremboni YES during the 2010 referendum; Waremboni na Raila; Waremboni na Kibaki during the 2007 general elections etc. However, male chauvinism within political parties intimidates young women and hinders their performance, as such, they have not been able to fully utilize their skills.

In the rural areas, their participation is negligible. They are mainly engaged in organizing meetings and other behind the scenes work. Many tend to shy away from politics, and are usually overshadowed by the young men. Also, the negative perceptions of political parties scare away the young women from active participation within their parties. However, there are plenty of roles that the political parties can offer young women to tap into their potentials.



3.3.2.1 Young Women Leadership in Political Parties

The table below shows the percentages of women officials in the political parties surveyed. Data obtained was not disaggregated according to age and so, it was not possible to get the numbers of young women in leadership positions within political parties. Hence, the information available is on leadership in political parties for women in general. It is important to note that 50% of the parties have 40% and more of women occupying party positions. This is way above the threshold of one-third. 90% of the parties that gave information about their party officials have 30% or more of the officials being female. Only two parties namely the SDP and KANU do not have the requisite 30% of female party officials. The requirement does not expressly provide that the one-third has to be women, but it is the bare minimum and the women should even strive to achieve the two-thirds majority presently enjoyed by the men. The parties with the highest concentration of women in party positions are the PDP at 63% followed by Safina at 62%.

Table 10: Women Officials in Political Parties

No.	Name of Political Party	Female Membership	Female Youth Membership	Total Officials	Female Officials**	% of Women Officials
1	People's Democratic Party	7,200	2,688	40	25	63
2	Safina Party	2,660	50	66	41	62
3	New Democrats	0	0	14	8	57
4	United Democratic Forum Party	31,160	22,435	13	7	54
5	Chama Cha Uzalendo	36,000	4,500	22	10	45
6	Kenya National Congress	36,000	15,000	16	7	44
7	PNU Alliance	0	0	7	3	43
8	People's Party of Kenya	4,000	2,000	12	5	42
9	The Independent Party	10,000	8,000	15	6	40
10	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	3,000	2,000	10	4	40
11	Agano Party of Kenya	350,000	210,000	21	8	38
12	Federal Party of Kenya	5,000	2,000	39	14	36
13	National Agenda Party of Kenya	37,600	22,560	30	10	33
14	Ford – People	1,750	1,260	33	11	33
15	Farmers Party	0	0	24	8	33
16	United Republican Party	0	0	18	6	33
17	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	0	0	9	3	33
18	Democratic Party	1,000,000	175,000	27	8	30
19	Social Democratic Party	4,000	2,500	25	6	24
20	KANU	200,000	150,000	47	6	13
	TOTAL	1,728,370	619,993			

Source: Field Data

** Party positions in this case include the top party Executive Officers, the Youth Leadership and the Women's Leaders.

3.2.4 The Challenges to Young Women in Political Party Leadership

It has been observed that the structures of political parties, electoral systems and legislative assemblies often create systemic barriers to women's full and equal participation in government. Political parties in many countries act as gatekeepers that decide which candidates are in and which are out. It is first and foremost critical to diagnose the key bottlenecks that women face and



the hurdles that they have to overcome. This section therefore, addresses the key challenges as they were identified during the survey and in interviewing the key informants and the other stakeholders.

3.2.4.1 Intimidation from male officials

Among the main challenges to young women identified from the study include intimidation from the male officials in the parties or those in opposition parties. Their inexperience is over emphasized and so, the young women are given leadership positions as a token as they are simply used to rubberstamp ideas from these officials. This limits their creativity within the party decision-making structures and the value of their participation is not felt.

3.2.4.2 Male Chauvinism and Patriarchal Society

The male chauvinistic mentality and the patriarchal nature of the society dictate that women are 'inferior' to men. Also, it has objectified women where they are seen as sex objects and so, established politicians prey on young women and solicit for sexual favours in return for nominations into higher echelons within the party. This has furthered the social stigma whereby women in politics are labelled as social misfits with loose morals and thus even young women with good agenda prefer to just watch than participate in politics and get their names maligned. Further, young women do not have enough support in terms of numbers even from fellow women. This is because of the long held belief that women are unable to make good political leaders. The general old belief that a woman's place was in the kitchen still persists and this makes them start from a disadvantaged position in aspiring for political leadership.

3.2.4.3 Financial handicaps

Young Women lack enough resources to move for instance from county to county selling their policies to party delegates involved in voting them into party leadership positions. Campaigns need huge resources and young women simply do not have the funds to compete effectively with their wealthier male counterparts for positions. They first take care of their basic needs before planning to engage in party politics. Lack of financial leverage has led to instances where young women have had to offer themselves sexually to male party leaders in the hope of getting party positions.

3.2.4.4 Inadequate Awareness

There is the issue of inadequacy of awareness, as most young women do not appreciate their role or even that of the political parties. Also, the political landscape is an unknown terrain to most young women; it appears too rough and intimidating and so the fear of venturing into the unknown discourages them from even starting.

3.2.4.5 Violence against women

This is a persistent problem in society and it becomes aggravated with a woman seeking political position. This has caused young women to become less interested in politics. For instance, in cases where the male candidate fears that the woman candidate may defeat him in an election, they may unleash political goons on the female candidate, harming her in the process. Physical and verbal abuse has been used against women including young women aspirants ultimately intimidating female aspirants into avoiding competition with their male counterparts/



3.2.4.6 Inadequate mentorship

There has been a shortage of forerunners to inspire young women aspiring for political position. Those mentoring young women are very few and in some instances, other young women aspiring for political party leadership have no predecessors at all and have to start on a clean slate. Very few young women have been successful in the rough terrain that is the political landscape, and in some areas, there has never been a woman leader. This therefore disadvantages the young women from such regions as they are not able to get narrations of the rough path that the others before her have had to travel. This is also coupled with the problem of inadequate networking, makes it impossible for the young women to learn from best practices and examples from elsewhere.

3.2.4.7 Dangling in the middle

There has been a disconnect that has led to the alienation of young women: they are just counted as women so when 'vijana' (youth) issues are raised, the young men stand up, leaving the young women. When the young women try to join the older women associations, they are seen as outsiders looking for chances to 'spoil' and are then left stranded. This is a big challenge and they need to make their impact be felt in both youth and women outfits.



Chapter 4: Conclusions

These conclusions draw from the study findings and from the literature review including information from the Key Informants. They give a clear picture of any gaps that have been identified and areas that need urgent action. They also set the pace for the political parties as they should be able to locate themselves in terms of membership registration and giving due consideration to the importance attached to gender balance in party representation and membership. It is divided into two sections summarising the dual mandate of the study in finding the numerical representation in political parties and also the actual participatory roles of young women within these institutions.

4.1 Representation in Political Parties

4.1.1 Numbers not adding up

From the 20 Political parties that provided information on their registration, the total party membership in Kenya currently stands at 3,952,651. Out of this, the male membership is 2,247,281 accounting for 56.86%; female membership is 1,728,370 accounting for 43.73%; youth membership stands at 1,427,760 accounting for 36.12% and the female youth membership stands at 619,993 accounting for a meager 15.69% of the total party membership registration in Kenya. Given that currently, 78.31% of Kenyans are below 34 years old; while those aged between 15 – 34 years old constitute 35.39% (Sivi-Njonjo, 2010:xvi), this is a truly sad state of affairs for those who are supposed to be driving the change in political party leadership.

4.1.2 Disappointing young women membership registration

Based on information on absolute numbers from the Registrar of Political Parties, the registration of women as party members is really disappointing, given that only 8 political parties have registered more than 10,000 female members each, with the National Patriotic Party (NPP) leading with 23,750 followed by NARC – Kenya with 18,845. At position 8 is the FORD - Kenya with a female membership registration of 11,992. All the other parties have less than 10,000 registered female members. Having such low numbers of female members in political parties translate to even lower numbers of young women in political parties.

From the survey however, the registration of female members has greatly increased but still a lot needs to be done especially for young women. Field data outlines eight political parties that have over 10,000 registered female members, with Democratic Party leading with 1,000,000 female members. However, of these female members, only 175,000 which translate to 17.5% are young women. Agano Party and KANU both having female membership of over 100,000 have a bigger percentage of young women amongst its female membership, with Agano having 60% of its female membership being young women and KANU having 75% of its female membership being young women.

4.2 Participation in Political Parties

4.2.4 Traditional mindsets

All in all, the political parties have tried to incorporate the women into party leadership structures and positions. Young women are however still allocated the traditionally perceived 'feminine' roles like being Gender Affairs Secretaries, Youth Secretaries, in-charge of the affairs of People With Disabilities, party Treasurer and the like. Other senior positions such as party leaders are still perceived as the stronghold of men, although three successful parties are headed by women,



these women however are drawn the youth contingent. Such perceptions make it difficult for young women to ascend to the highest echelons of party leadership.

4.2.1 Wavering democratic foothold

Political parties as they exist in Kenya today do not have a strong democratic foothold. There still exists the practice of relegation of members of divergent opinions from that held as true by the top party leadership. This has seen some members break away to form new political parties, without any ideological justification. This is an obstacle to young women's participation in political parties as they are unable to share their ideas which may seem to contradict the leadership's opinion. Consequently, young women play a role of rubberstamping ideas in the parties as the platform for freedom of expression in the parties is largely non-existent.

4.2.2 Sex as a political tool

The male leadership in political parties still looks down upon young women and do not see their potential in transforming the management of party affairs. As such, nominations of young women within political parties are used primarily as a mode of ensuring there are females in the party. In most cases, it is the male party leaders who handpick the officials for the young women leadership in political parties. These appointees are either the wives or daughters of prominent male officials or even their girl friends further disenfranchising genuine young women aspirants who want to contribute substantively to party development.

4.2.3 Brief-case political parties

Very many political parties do not have physical offices. Most operate from a 'brief case' so to say as offices are recurrently chosen for strategic purposes, but there are no staff working in the offices. In most cases, the secretariat of such parties are staffed by only one person who has to respond to all party matters and in his or her absence, then the party comes to a standstill. Parties with no physical offices are not likely to have solid internal structures that would ensure young women's effective participation in their affairs in their respective areas.



Chapter 5: Recommendations

As youth participation is important for all young people, it is important to map the different groups of young people that can be discerned objectively in the country. It is important to find out their physical locations and objectives so that a working relationship can be carved out. Youth participation needs to be firmly established as a policy principle. This will make it possible to see participation as a permanent process that begins when the views of all people, groups and institutions involved are known. There is need for continuous capacity building and leadership training for the youth so that there is a successive and gradual taking over of leadership by the youth. Finally, there is need to integrate the youth theories, policy and practices, so that addressing the issues affecting the youth is not limited to the academic practice of theorisation, but goes a step further to ensure that these theories are made to impact policy and legislation, and ultimately that these policies are effectively implemented in practice.

5.1 Political Parties

5.1.1 Aggressive Recruitment Drives

Membership of most political parties is skewed in favour of men. This however could be due to apathy and disinterest in politics by women. Political parties need to campaign and popularize themselves amongst young women so as to attract especially the disadvantaged segments of society with specific reference to young women, youth and the disabled. Political parties need to start the recruitment exercises early enough, say at high school level. They need to interest the youth in political party activities from early days in order to sustain and develop a culture of political participation amongst the youth. They can also make use of established structures such as religious institutions, for example by using the youth services to entice the young women into political leadership. They can generate debates on topics that relate to politics and young women participation for example using already established clubs in the school or starting new ones, and trying to replicate this to other schools. A good example of this is the Youth Agenda initiative on youth cohesion in high schools through clubs.⁷⁰ The political parties need to mobilise the young women to join political parties, and empower them enough to be top nominees in the party list.

There is also need for this to be accompanied by an ambitious civic education programme that sensitises the young women and the youth on the need to be party members and what their expectations and aspirations should be in the party.

5.1.2 Affirmative Action for Young Women

It is an established fact that mounting a successful election campaign requires massive resources, both financial and human. Given that young women have not established themselves in terms of human capital and also financial base, it means that they start from a disadvantaged position. It therefore becomes incumbent upon the political parties to level the playing ground. There is need to set aside finances to assist very able young women aspirants with campaign logistics, so that the party can be able to capture the unutilised talent. This can be in the form of printing posters and facilitating campaign agents. Strategies and mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that resources are well utilized and democratically managed. Apart from this, it becomes necessary to have affirmative action strategies entrenched in party structures to ensure from the onset, it is clear that special seats will be set aside for young women. This however, should not be construed to mean that young women should sit back and watch as they wait for the special seat set aside for them. Rather, they must show that they deserve the positions by being actively involved in party activities.

70: The Youth Agenda, 2011.



5.1.3 Revitalising the Youth Leagues in Political Parties

Ideally, the roles of the youth in these parties should not be gender specific. Whatever a young man can do, a young woman should be able to do. The Youth Leagues should be revitalised and there should be a legal provision entrenching the operationalisation of these in party structures and organs. Through this mechanism therefore, it will be easy to develop a structured way of nominating the youth, and especially young women, into political positions because their participation and impact shall have been felt in the Youth Leagues. A successful example of a Youth League that begs emulation in this aspect is the ANC Youth League in South Africa. The success story of Rwanda where the youth especially young women, are participating effectively in political parties because of empowerment programmes and implementation of the affirmative action by the State is also one to inspire Kenyan political parties. There is need for enhancing research as an avenue for Youth Leagues' effective participation in political leadership. This kind of research should focus on identifying successes and failures of Youth Leagues in Africa and beyond in regard to effective political participation, establishing areas of strength and weakness to inform further reforms to actualize active youth participation within these institutions.

5.1.4 Gender Mainstreaming in Party Structures

This should begin in the party constitutions and the manifestos. Parties should prioritise issues affecting women and the youth and to dedicate resources and experts to this sole task. Young women should be part and parcel of the decision-making organs as they are the people who best understand the issues affecting them. As such, they will fight for these issues to be captured both in the party constitutions and the manifestos. At the national level, concerns of women and gender should be taken into account when national development plans are prepared in order to guarantee the effective participation of young women and the integration of gender issues in development programmes.

5.1.5 Compliance with Legislative Provisions on Equity

The Constitutional and other legislative provisions on gender equity need to be adhered to by political parties and this will have the resultant effect of improving the status and role of women in the society at large. The political parties should revise their constitutions which should be lodged with the RPP to ascertain whether they have incorporated the provisions on gender equity. It should also come out clearly in party manifestos that they are striving to comply with these legal provisions on equity. If need be, there should a regular monitoring or audit of political parties to ascertain the levels of compliance. Of importance must be the adherence to the PPA 2011 provisions particularly Article 7 (2) (b) on gender balance in membership and also (c) and (d) on the composition of the governing body of the party. Compliance should lead to increased women membership within political parties however it cannot be over emphasised that women and especially young women need to actively pursue these opportunities and prove to their worth to these parties in order for real change to occur.

5.1.6 Training and Internship

Training for young women in political leadership is very necessary. Young women need to be empowered both politically and economically. They should be encouraged to come forth and contest for the political positions. Political parties should form an association of young women from all political parties – an umbrella organization that build a solid support structure for them beyond party boundaries. This alliance would also provide an avenue to share best practices from their respective party experiences which they can then replicate and use to further enrich their



socialized to think that they can never be leaders. Comparative studies and internships with other political parties become important for sharing best practices.

5.1.7 Data Management

The state of affairs of data from the political parties is shocking. They do not have effective book keeping practices, but even in the event that they purport to have well kept books of records, one may find that the data is so confounding that even the secretariats of the respective political parties do not even know how many members are drawn from the youth and how many are above 35 years of age. They also do not have data showing how many are women and how many are men. Many parties have been caught unawares by these new requirements and are now trying to come to terms with the provisions on data disaggregation. It is therefore critical that the data available at the political party secretariat is appropriately disaggregated by age, sex, status of disability, level of marginalisation and ethnicity, all in compliance with Constitutional provisions and the provisions of the PPA 2011.

5.2 Registrar of Political Parties

5.2.1 Ascertaining the Existence of Party Physical Offices

As the study has revealed that most political parties do not have physical offices, it becomes incumbent upon the RPP to conduct regular visits to ascertain whether the physical locations given in the registration documents actually reflect the reality on the ground. It will also be necessary to visit even the grassroots offices to ascertain that the political parties comply with the legal requirement that they must have offices in at least half of the counties. Without compliance with these requirements, it is suggested that the RPP should institute appropriate disciplinary proceedings which may even lead to de-registration of such political parties.

5.2.2 Data Disaggregation

It will be important that the political parties disaggregate data by gender, age, ethnicity and status of disability, so that it becomes easy to monitor and keep track of whether they are complying with the legal provisions or not on gender balance in political party membership. The information available from the RPP indicates that there is disaggregation by gender and age, but not very many political parties have complied with this requirement. It is therefore necessary that the database of political party registrations should be fed into that of the RPP and then ultimately, this should be captured by the IEBC who should supervise all political party elections based on this information.

This would effectively enable IEBC and political parties to ascertain the number of young women in their membership and leadership and hence show their adherence to the principles of equity and inclusion.

5.2.3 Political Education

It has emerged that there is insufficient political education in the country. This is greatly responsible for the high levels of ignorance about political party operations and even where to get information about party registration and also about the PPA 2011, which has changed an already unfamiliar political operating environment in this country. Very many people are unfamiliar with



the provisions of the Act and this will make it very difficult for parties to go through the rigorous process required for full registration. To ensure the sustenance of the democratic gains achieved through multiparty politics, it will be necessary that the RPP and the IEBC conduct regular information, education and communication workshops to sensitize the populace on their rights, privileges and duties. This will equip young women with the information necessary to join political parties and to effectively participate in them.

5.3 Women's Movement

5.3.1 Mentorship Programmes

Apart from the training programmes on leadership, there is need for a comprehensive mentorship programme where young women aspiring for leadership positions in future are attached to a senior female politician who will guide her in the right direction. Women who hold positions of influence at policy making and decision making levels should be helpful in grooming young women through various mechanisms, such as training, to ensure continuity in women's participation at such levels. The mentorship programmes should not only be at the national levels, but also go down to the county levels. At the moment, KEWOPA has pioneered a mentorship program where each female MP is supposed to mentor two young women. This is expected to be very effective as it should inject in the young women the principles of good leadership and the desire for effecting change through political leadership. Young women should therefore avail themselves for such mentorship programmes.

5.3.2 Structure Participation of Young Women

There has been an outcry from the young women that they are usually left dangling in the middle because of being sidelined by the youth organisations and also by the women's movement. It therefore becomes crucial that the women's movements should have appropriate structures captured in their constitution to provide for the participation of the young women. It may be in the form of having all the positions have as their deputies, young women, who will continually learn from their bosses and strategically position themselves to take over the reins of leadership when the older women finally leave the field.

5.4 Civil Society Organizations

5.4.1 Alliance of Women and Youth Associations

There is need for consensus building between the women associations or organisations and those that target the youth such as building alliances for women and youth associations. This is borne out of the fact that the young women have felt sidelined and marginalised in most cases as when issues affecting the youth are being addressed, it is the male youth who are actively involved, and when the young women seek to join the women organisations, they are barred by age limitations and are usually seen as intruders. This effectively means that in the absence of such an alliance young women will continue to be excluded from political participation for the foreseeable future. Youths and the general public at the grassroots level need to be emancipated and mobilized to take active roles in political leadership as well as in various development programmes undertaken by the central government, local governments and even the donors.

5.4.2 Working with the Registrar of Political Parties and IEBC

To ensure that only the parties that are compliant with the conditions for registration are considered, there is need for close working relationships between the political parties, the RPP and the



IEBC. This can even be taken to another level where there is harmony in the working relations between the National Political Parties Liaison Committee, the Non-Parliamentary Political Parties Forum, the Centre for Multiparty Democracy and also the need to take into consideration the conditions for the independent candidates. The gender factor is particularly important as most parties are in the habit of not disaggregating their data, so it becomes extremely important that the gender factor is given prominence. The office of the RPP should be used to conduct regular monitoring of party activities to ensure compliance with legislation.

5.4.3 Civic Education and Empowerment

The power of education in effecting change and transformation cannot be overstated. Civil Societies should actively educate and empower young women so that they realize they are capable of taking up the leadership mantle. Civic education injects a sense of self-worth among the young women and helps them realize their civic duties which they must perform in as much as they fight for and uphold their legitimate rights. It should motivate young women to become part of the policy making processes and to utilize their skills and their numbers as leverage to enable them to become decision makers.

In addition to civic education, CSOs should help young women access financial support for their campaigns. They should also organize for exchange programmes for young women between constituencies and even different counties. Advocacy has been the major role of the CSOs and they should step this up. They should also be at the forefront in pointing out issues that directly or indirectly adversely affect young woman and equip them with necessary knowledge to change these issues for their benefit. CSOs should educate women on their constitutional rights including the opportunities availed to them and the steps they can take to execute their constitutional rights.

There is also the need to provide education to the men to change their thinking and realize that the current crop of women are educated and are very capable and able of performing given responsibilities in leadership positions.

5.4.4 Monitoring the Implementation of the New Constitution

The CSOs have traditionally been the guard of citizen's interests where it relates to governance and how it ultimately affects the citizenry. They must therefore maintain this culture in order to ensure Government is remains vigilant in the implementation of the new Constitution.. They must also seek to update the citizens on a regular basis on the progress that the government is making in complying with the provisions of the new Constitution. Of particular importance will be the Transitional Clauses and also the anticipated legislation to jumpstart the implementation process. Among the legislations are the Elections Act,, 2011 the Electoral Offences Act and the Political Parties Act, 2011. The CSOs are charged with the responsibility of monitoring to ensure compliance, and when the key actors are straying from the course, point it out appropriately. There is need to establish and sustain a culture of dialogue between the CSOs, the political parties and other key stakeholders critical in the implementation of the new Constitution.

5.5 Working with Men for Young Women Empowerment

Women participation must be seen as a partnership with men. If it excludes men, it is bound to fail. It should not be seen as competition between men and women. Men should change their perception of women as the weaker gender and accept that they can also offer good leadership in political parties. It is now clear that men will also be electing the women representative at the County level, so they should be willing to appreciate the role of women. Additionally, they should



allow for competitive politics within political parties because the politics of patronage defeats the very cause of empowerment and participation for the young women.

Men need to encourage the women to run for elections and also to safeguard them against those who may not be appreciative of their political ambitions. They should also educate other men on the benefits of women leadership while urging them to elect women and young women in particular into political positions.

Men should also mentor young women and build their morale and esteem, increasing their confidence and therefore improving their leadership skills. According to one of the Key Informants, men should realize that empowerment is not a zero-sum game and that women's inclusion benefits everybody. Men must participate in the process of changing their attitudes to accommodate young women in leadership.⁷¹

Men should deem it appropriate and necessary to support legislation relating to women and continue supporting them at the parliamentary level. This includes supporting legislation that have a direct bearing on women and especially young women's participation in politics and in leadership.

Men should also be able to offer moral and financial support to the young women in their endeavor. If they do not have the sufficient finances to assist them, they should help in fundraising for the young women's political quest.

Finally, men should introduce the young women to relevant networks and groups and also help them in mobilization of supporters.

5.6 Young Women

5.6.1 Capitalising on the Constitution and Affirmative Action

The Constitution has gone very far to secure and safeguard the role of women in politics and other leadership positions however it cannot realize a fairer political landscape for women on its own. Young women therefore need to push for the implementation of the Constitution and Affirmative Action policies therein to ensure that the gains achieved so far are not reversed but rather sustained and even enhanced. This would mean in future that instead of women and especially young women going for the bare minimum of one-third, they would seek to fill the maximum two thirds of all seats. To achieve this, it is necessary for young women to continue working with the women's organizations and also youth organizations. This will place them right at the centre of agitating for Affirmative Action both as youth and as women.

5.6.2 Profiling and Networking

The young women should make use of the media for purposes of profiling their activities, while also using the social networks for mobilisation and networking. Given that most of the young people are technologically informed this can be effectively harnessed for the benefit of both the young people and their respective political parties. The political parties should have a presence in the social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook, where they can stream live any party activities. They should also use video-cover of party activities and share on Youtube, the recently initiated Vimeo or even be hosted on websites such as www.womenaspirants.org. Apart from

71. Interview with Dr. Owuor Olungah, a Gender Expert, Social Science Researcher and Senior Lecturer at the Institute of Anthropology, African and Gender Studies (IAAGS) of the University of Nairobi.



these, they can have members tagged on picture of party activities; this will bring in the enthusiasm from the youth who will want to associate themselves with a party that is seen to be active on the ground, rather than only having a party in the registration book without any demonstrable successes. The parties also need to have working websites. A spot check during the survey revealed that apart from the mentions in the CMD website of the parties, most political parties do not have functional websites.

5.6.3 Young Women's Forum

Women's forums have been one of the avenues through which women share best practices in leadership and participation in political party activities. It is through such forums that young women are able to understand the challenges that have been faced by their elder counterparts and how they have managed to overcome these challenges. It is again through these forums that young women are able to network with the older women who will be able to inspire them to make headway into positions of leadership. It is also through these that the young women will be able to get likely mentors and role models. By sharing in best practices, young women will be empowered to replicate the success stories while trying to avoid past known failures of those who have been before them. It becomes crucial therefore, for young women to organise regular women's forums and invite successful women politicians to share with them their success strategies. They can also invite those who have not been able to succeed in politics, because from them, they will be able to identify their weak points and adjust appropriately. They can also invite women professionals to such forums, who can share with them entrepreneurship skills as it is necessary to have an income for one to sustain active participation in politics.



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Appendix 1 – Survey Questionnaire

Ques.No.

Baseline Assessment on Status of Young Women in Political Parties in Kenya.

Name of Informant Position
 Date of Interview

1.	Name of the political party?	
2.	When was it founded?	
3.	When was it registered by the Registrar of political parties?	
4.	(a) What is the total membership of registered members of this party?	
	(b) How many are MALE	
	(c) How many are FEMALE	
	(d) How many are below the age of 35?	
	(e) How many are below 35 and are FEMALE?	
5.	(a) Among the registered officials of this party, how many are MALE?	
	(b) Among the registered officials of this party, how many are FEMALE?	
6.	Do you have Youth Leagues/Wing in your political party? (Please name them)	
7.	What are the roles of the Youth in this political party?	
8.	What are the roles of young women in this party?	
9.	Any other information relevant to this study that we may have not captured?	



Appendix 2 – Key Informant Interview Guide

Baseline Assessment on Status of Young Women in Political Parties in Kenya.

Name of Respondent _____

Institution _____

Position/Title _____

E-Mail _____

Mobile _____ Date of Interviews _____

1.	What is your general feeling about the existence of political parties in Kenya?
2.	Are you aware of any Youth Leagues/Wings in political parties? If so, name them.
3.	What do you think is the role of the Youth Leagues in the various political parties?
4.	What is the general level of participation of the youth in these political parties?
5.	Are young women involved in any activities in a political party you know of? [If not, why?]
6.	What do you think should be the role of young women in political parties?
7.	What are some of the challenges to young women aspiring for leadership in political parties?
8.	How should these challenges be addressed?
9.	What is your general feeling about the affirmative action of the new Constitution on gender representation?
10.	How would the young women capitalize on the constitutional provision of equitable gender representation?
11.	How can the Civil Society Organisations empower young women to reap the benefits of the new Constitution?
12.	Is there any role that men can perform to empower young women and enhance their participation in political party activities?

Appendix 3 – Political Parties surveyed



No	Name of Political Party	Year Founded	Year Registered	Total Membership	Male Membership	Female Membership	Youth Membership	Female Youth Membership
1	Democratic Party	1991	1992	2,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	350,000	175,000
2	KANU	1961	1961	750,000	600,000	200,000	400,000	150,000
3	Agano Party of Kenya	2006	2008	700,000	350,000	350,000	420,000	210,000
4	Kenya National Congress	1992	1992	120,000	84,000	36,000	60,000	15,000
5	National Agenda Party of Kenya	2008	2009	94,000	56,400	37,600	56,400	22,560
6	Chama Cha Uzalendo	2004	2008	90,000	54,000	36,000	27,000	4,500
7	United Democratic Forum Party	2011	2011	76,000	44,840	31,160	54,720	22,435
8	People's Democratic Party	2006	2007	24,000	16,800	7,200	13,440	2,688
9	The Independent Party	2007	2009	24,000	10,000	10,000	20,000	8,000
10	Farmers Party	2006	2009	23,000	0	0	0	0
11	People's Party of Kenya	2006	2008	13,000	9,000	4,000	6,000	2,000
12	Mkenya Solidarity Movement	2007	2008	10,000	7,000	3,000	7,500	2,000
13	Federal Party of Kenya	1996	1998	8,000	3,000	5,000	4,000	2,000
14	Ford - People	1991	1997	7,000	5,250	1,750	4,200	1,260
15	Social Democratic Party	2002	2008	7,000	3,000	4,000	3,500	2,500
16	Safina Party	1995	2008	6,651	3,991	2,660	1,000	50
17	New Democrats	2006	2006	0	0	0	0	0
18	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	1992	2008	0	0	0	0	0
19	PNU Alliance	2010	2011	0	0	0	0	0
20	United Republican Party	2011	2011	0	0	0	0	0
21	Nuru Party	Boutique for Office						
22	Hifadhi Party of Kenya	Officials inaccessible						
23	Ford Kenya	Relocated Office						
24	New Ford Kenya	Relocated Office						
25	Orange Democratic Movement (ODM)	Officials inaccessible or refused to give information						
26	Orange Democratic Movement - Kenya (ODM - K)	Officials refused to give information						
27	National Alliance Party of Kenya	Officials refused to give information						
28	Ford - Asili	Relocated Office						
29	NARC - Kenya	Officials inaccessible						
30	National Visions Party	Relocated Office						
31	Grand National Union	Relocated Office						
32	Labour Party of Kenya	Officials inaccessible						
33	Party of National Unity (PNU)	Officials inaccessible						
34	Muungano Development Movement Party of Kenya	Office cannot be located						
35	Progressive Party of Kenya	Officials inaccessible						

The parties in BOLD from number 1 – 20 are the only ones that provided information. The ones highlighted yellow (from 21 – 35) had either relocated office, given wrong physical office space, officials inaccessible or simply refused to give information.

Appendix 4 – Political Parties registration by age



No	Name of Political Party	Youth (18-35 yrs)	Elders (Over 35 yrs.)	Youth %	Elders %	Total
1	GRAND NATIONAL UNION	19,823	22,952	46	54	42,775
2	THE NATIONAL VISION PARTY	19,557	8,663	69	31	28,220
3	NATIONAL PATRIOTIC PARTY	17,598	18,148	49	51	35,746
4	NARC-KENYA	14,907	30,577	33	67	45,484
5	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY OF KENYA	12,923	19,518	40	60	32,441
6	FORUM FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY-KENYA	11,779	23,364	34	66	35,143
7	THE LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA	10,443	20,050	34	66	30,493
8	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI	9,248	14,540	39	61	23,788
9	PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF KENYA	8,981	10,357	46	54	19,338
10	AGANO PARTY	8,090	10,651	43	57	18,741
11	UNITED DEMOCRATIC FORUM PARTY	7,888	7,456	51	49	15,344
12	PARTY OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OF KENYA	7,561	8,051	48	52	15,612
13	DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	5,838	11,819	33	67	17,657
14	KENYA SOCIAL CONGRESS	4,683	7,396	39	61	12,079
15	FEDERAL PARTY OF KENYA	4,255	5,984	42	58	10,239
16	PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA	4,001	6,874	37	63	10,875
17	ALLIANCE FOR THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN KENYA-(AFORD-KENYA)	3,860	6,213	38	62	10,073
18	CHAMA CHA UZALENDO	3,794	4,369	46	54	8,163
19	CONSERVATIVE PARTY	3,523	4,452	44	56	7,975
20	SAFINA PARTY	3,367	5,262	39	61	8,629
21	WIPER DEMOCRATIC PARTY	3,072	6,512	32	68	9,584
22	NEW DEMOCRATS	2,407	2,970	45	55	5,377
23	KENYA NATIONAL CONGRESS	2,157	3,122	41	59	5,279
24	MKENYA SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT	2,051	2,452	46	54	4,503
25	KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION	1,929	9,759	17	84	11,688
26	PARTY OF NATIONAL UNITY	1,871	4,223	31	69	6,094
27	PEOPLES PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA	1,771	3,540	33	67	5,311
28	FORD-PEOPLE	1,705	3,476	33	67	5,181
29	RESTORE AND BUILD KENYA	1,572	24,396	6	94	25,968
30	SHIRIKISHO PARTY OF KENYA	1,329	2,253	37	63	3,582
31	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	1,256	1,721	42	58	2,977
32	NATIONAL AGENDA PARTY OF KENYA	1,169	24,858	4	96	26,027
33	THE INDEPENDENT PARTY	1,165	10,151	10	90	11,316
34	UNITY PARTY OF KENYA	1,147	14,236	7	93	15,383
35	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	1,116	791	59	41	1,907
36	FARMERS PARTY	1,115	2,052	35	65	3,167
37	KENYA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	989	1,484	40	60	2,473
38	SABA SABA ASILI	924	2,274	29	71	3,198
39	PARTY OF HOPE	875	1,110	44	56	1,985
40	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION-ASILI	866	1,348	39	61	2,214
41	UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	800	1,457	35	65	2,257
42	PNU ALLIANCE	795	1,182	40	60	1,977
43	NURU PARTY	677	1,099	38	62	1,776
44	NATIONAL PARTY OF KENYA	675	1,197	36	64	1,872
45	NEW FORD KENYA	660	1,338	33	67	1,998
46	PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC UNITY	655	1,177	36	64	1,832
47	VIPA PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE (VIPA)	653	1,036	39	61	1,689
48	MUUNGANO DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT PARTY OF KENYA	635	1,055	38	62	1,690
49	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	608	1,312	32	68	1,920
50	ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	595	2,301	21	7	2,896
51	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT UNION	574	1,456	28	72	2,030
52	FORD-ASILI	568	1,120	34	66	1,688
53	NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY	560	1,199	32	68	1,759
54	NATIONAL ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	555	1,206	32	68	1,761
	TOTAL	221,615	387,559	36	64	609,174

