YOUTH
PARTICIPATION IN 2012 | 2013
POLITICAL PARTIES
NOMINATION PROCESS
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List of Abbreviations

BVR  Biometric Voter Registration
CSO  Civil Society Organisation
CBO  Community Based Organisation
CORD Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
CDF  Constituency Development Fund
CDF  Constituency Development Fund
Ford Forum for Restoration of Democracy
GoK  Government of Kenya
IDPs  Internally Displaced Persons
IEBC  Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
MIRP  Ministry of Immigration and Registration of Persons
NARC  National Rainbow Coalition
ODM  Orange Democratic Movement
PWDs  People With Disabilities
SWAP  Sector-Wide Approach
TNA  The National Alliance
UDF  United Democratic Front
URP  United Republican Party
YAA  The Youth Agenda
Preface

The undemocratic tendencies in many political parties in Kenya and other parts of Africa have negatively affected the legitimacy of the laid out electoral rules. The internal democracy for many political parties in this region is wanting. The gate keepers who are namely rich and older adult male do not tolerate active participation of youth and young people in top party leadership and management structures, because of fear of losing their power cubes or upsetting the ‘status quo’. The widespread political patronage has often relegated the youth to low cadre roles, such as political mobilization, mass action, provision of security services in their perceived position of foot soldiers, among others. Young people meet serious deterrents, especially at party primaries – a situation that requires a multi-faceted approach for the said group to have representation in Kenya’s political leadership.

With the advent of a new Constitution, revised edition Political Parties Act of 2011 and Elections Act of 2011, young people believed and hoped for free, fair and peaceful party elections and nominations. The question that many asked was; what was the situation like?

Youth Agenda’s agenda before the March 2013 General Elections was to ensure the involvement, participation and representation of the Kenyan youth by providing them with relevant information to strengthen their capacity to engage in the electoral process. As is our mandate to generate credible information for reflections, learning, and influencing change, we commissioned a study to determine the extent to which Kenyan youth engaged in the political parties nomination process in terms of representation and actual participation.

It is my pleasure to share with you the findings of the study and key interventions for action by relevant stakeholders.

We wish to acknowledge everyone who was involved in coordinating this process, providing germane information and analysing data from the field. We specifically acknowledge George Ojema- Consultant and Judy Nguru Walla- YAA Programme Manager who played a significant role in the entire process. Subsequently, the Youth Participation in 2012/2013 Political Party Nomination Process, a publication of the Youth Agenda would not have been prepared and printed without the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation. We remain indebted to the Foundation.

Susan K. Mwongera
Chief Executive Officer
Executive Summary

Introduction

The monitoring of nomination process by various political parties was undertaken primarily to determine the extent to which Kenyan youth engaged in the political parties’ nomination process in terms of their representation and actual participation.

To deliver on the above objective, the study focused on the two main strategic thrust, namely:

a) Assessment of youth representation in the primaries by determining the number of youth aspirants that placed themselves to vie for the various electoral seats and who were lobbying for the special interest seats. Moreover, this strategic thrust also centered at determining the number of youth aspirants that received the nomination papers from their political parties or were enlisted in the political party lists.

b) Assessment of youth participation in the said process through identification of violence incidences experienced or propagated by youth in relation to the nomination process. Besides, the study gauged whether the issue of affirmative action was a considerable determinant in the nomination process.

Highlights of the Main Study Observations

The monitoring of nomination process by various political parties was undertaken primarily to determine the extent to which Kenyan youth engaged in the political parties’ nomination process in terms of their representation and actual participation.

- The study found that the nomination exercise experienced a high voter turnout and minimal infiltration and interference by the parties’ top leadership. Another key observation was that all the political parties lacked capacity to conduct credible elections. There were logistical hiccups in many instances that slowed the nomination processes; hence the exercise was pushed for another one more day.

- In terms of membership verification, the study revealed that many political parties hardly verified using the required identification documents. Thus, it was difficult to identify and ascertain members of political parties since some voters may have participated in nominations in more than one party, especially in cosmopolitan counties.

- Another notable observation during primaries was the fear of stiff competition among various contestants in the perceived party strongholds. In this regard, main parties with strong grassroots support such as ODM, TNA Wiper and URP had some of their aspirants decamped to other friendly parties for fear of being relegated to political oblivion.

- It order to stem the intra-coalition conflicts, the main coalitions (Cord and Jubilee) avoided joint nominations, especially in their perceived party strongholds. Their constituent parties allowed each party to present their own candidates. Finally, it was confirmed that some candidates were seriously bribing voters and had already printed ballot papers—and this also led to party hopping at the last minute.
Summary of Key Study Findings

The survey’s findings revealed that a total of 1,791 candidates participated in the just concluded party primaries with the male aspirants being 1,308 while their female counterparts were 583; hence there was less proportion of women aspirants of 27% against 73% male aspirants.

The comparatively low proportion of women aspirants could be attributed to various constraining factors that continue to pose critical challenges for meaningful participation of women, especially young aspiring candidates. These include the following: lack of financial resources, cultural and religious factors, lack of political literacy, violence and prejudice against women and family voting pattern, among others.

It was also revealed that the nomination process was marred by many problems such as voter bribery, late delivery of voting materials and violence, among others. However, it was noted that most of the political parties utilized their trained nomination agents with very few parties (28%) inviting the IEBC officials to conduct the exercise but with very minimal roles to play.

It terms of security provision, the survey further found that the Government’s security agencies were fully deployed in various stations to ensure peaceful nominations exercise and to act decisively with incitement to violence and intimidation of voters. In this regard, 112 of the polling stations confirmed that there was heavy presence of security officers while 11 revealed that was no security provision at the polling station an indication of 91% and 9% respectively.

The research further revealed that County Representative position attracted the highest number of candidates i.e. 36% – a move that is attributable to low financing and campaign management needed for the position unlike gubernatorial and senatorial seats. Moreover, it was disclosed that the second competitive positions was parliamentary seats which accounted 23%. In regards to gubernatorial race, a total of 284 candidates competed which reflected 16% out which 15% were male with only 1% being female aspirants. The foregoing is reflected in the figure below.
Hence, it is a policy imperative to deepen affirmative action within the party structures and policies towards securing an enabling environment to scale up interventions for women empowerment in political participation. In terms of party’s strength, it was further analysed that ODM and TNA attracted majority of candidates with 826 and 576 respectively. While others parties such as URP, UDF, Wiper and Ford Kenya had a respective share of 95, 35, 156 and 48 candidates.

With regards to analysis by age-category, the survey also established that 30 candidates secured nominations within the age bracket of 18-35 years with 73% being male and 27% female nominees. It also showed that the County Representative positions had the most party nominees under this category as it accounted for 57% of the nominees. Moreover, it was found that a total of 383 candidates secured nominations within the age category of 36-59 years with male aspirants accounting for 75% while female candidates were 25% respectively. It was also noted those within the said category vied for the senatorial and gubernatorial positions.

It was further revealed that 47 candidates who were above 60 years secured nomination with male nominees being 85% while their female counterparts were 15%. It was also found that majority of this category were nominees for Senatorial positions which accounted for 40%.

With regards to electoral and political challenges, it was revealed that the nomination processes were constrained by the following hindrances: lack of internal party democracy, tribalism and political euphoria, lack of finance, lack of political support by peers, manipulation by rich people, corruption and poor management of parties, non-registration by youth, among others.

**Proposed Interventions**

Based on the above findings and enlisted challenges, the study recommends for the following policy recommendation:

- Need to establish frameworks for partnership at the grassroots
- Need to establish and strengthen legal and policy frameworks so as to stabilize and regulate political parties
- Enhancing research as an avenue for youth effective participation in political leadership
- Consider affirmative action in the party structures and policies
- Engaging IEBC in party primaries
- Increase levels of political awareness for the youth to understand strategies for winning both in the nomination process and main election
- Need to reduce nomination fee for the youth
- The youth wings of political parties should be expanded to encompass the maximum number of young people in their network, this can help the youth to win election and participate fully
- Need to adhere to the Zebra principle during primaries and main elections, among others
Chapter One

1.1 Context

The maturity of a country’s political leadership and institutions, as well as the consolidation of its democratic process, is heavily hinged on its ability and resolve to conducting a free, fair and credible election. This is further strengthened by the firm recognition of the participation of the youth and women in engaging and fully participating in elective positions. Moreover, the importance of an enabling security environment at all stages of the electoral process is very key to realizing non-violence and transparent elections in Kenya. However, the participation of both youth and women continue to meet serious deterrents, especially at the party primaries – a situation that requires a multi-faceted approach in order to empower this vulnerable sector into greater heights of political participation and electoral campaigning.

Indeed, it is noted with concern, that the presidential, parliamentary and all other elections, scheduled for 4 March 2013, have remained the main focus of political activities in Kenya. In view of the elections’ importance, and taking into account the critical tasks to follow, including the provision of support for the resolution of any post-election concerns and facilitating the smooth transition into office of any newly elected Government, it is thus imperative to have an election free from any kind of upheavals by supporting efforts aimed at building national cohesion and reconciliation to avoid the bedlams that were experienced in 2007/08. One of the critical roadmaps and milestones towards achieving the foregoing is embracing the participation of youth and women to enhance equality and promote democracy at all levels of the society.

Women and youth still remain severely under represented in elected office and politics in general. As Kenya’s presidential and legislative elections approach, many stakeholders, especially activists, youth and women organizations are looking for ways to increase the number of women and youth elected to office. Additionally, youth face enormous challenges, such as widespread poverty, a staggering unemployment rate of unsustainable levels, and limited avenues for meaningful political and electoral participation. Hence, it behoves all key players in our political spectrum to ensure that the youth fraternity are accorded an equal footing in the upcoming election by ensuring their full integration into our political undertakings, as key for development.

In order to realize this dream, it is incumbent upon the Government and other interested organizations to promote youth’s participation in the elections, by assisting the pro-youth organizations, especially Youth Agenda to organize community sensitization forums for youth in all parts of the country to raise their levels of awareness in political and electoral participation.

With election approaching in all levels of political contests it is also important to give support to women candidates as well as People With Disabilities (PWDs). Indeed, credit must be given to Youth Agenda (YAA) which has worked with several major players to assess the current policies and openness toward young women and youth as candidates, helping them find ways to do even more to encourage
their political participation. It is on this basis that the YAA commissioned a survey to assess the political and electoral participation of the youth in the just concluded party primaries with a view to determining the extent to which Kenyan youth engaged in the political parties nomination process in terms of their representation and actual participation.

1.2 Project Background

Through the support of Ford Foundation, the Youth Agenda is implementing the Get Informed, Get Involved Project (revolutionizing democracy through meaningful youth participation in the electoral process) that seeks to ensure the involvement, participation and representation of the Kenyan youth constituency in the upcoming general elections by providing information on the status of youth and elections and promoting value driven youth leadership at all levels. The focus is to ensure that young people are armed with adequate skills and information to get involved and vie for political sits as well as vote for value driven leaders.

1.3 Survey Objectives and Scope

The main objective of the study was to determine the extent to which Kenyan youth engaged in the political parties nomination process in terms of their representation and actual participation. The study assessed the following issues:

**Youth Representation**

- The number of youth aspirants that placed themselves to vie for the various electoral seats and who were lobbying for the special interest seats.
- The number of youth aspirants that received the nomination papers from their political parties or were listed in the political party lists.

**Youth Participation**

- Violence incidences experienced or propagated by youth in relation to the nomination process.
- Whether the issue of affirmative action for young women, young people with disabilities and young people from minority communities was considered in the nomination process and whether the zebra principle was applied during the preparation of the political party lists.
- The experiences of youth aspirants that participated in the nomination process.

1.4 Summary of Key Study Milestones

- Develop an inception report, detailing the methodology and work plan schedule to carry out the assignment;
- Develop a checklist/ questionnaire that shall be the basic tool in collecting data on the experiences of the youth aspirants that engaged in the nomination process in focus group discussions;
• Collate, analyze, synthesis and compile the information generated through the assessment and shall submit a draft report that shall include the detailed methodology, specific findings, providing key recommendations for implementation;
• Conduct the final editorial work on the contents of the assessment report and shall submit a final assessment report to Youth Agenda by the end of agreed contractual period.

1.5 Expected Deliverables

• Inception Report with clear benchmarks for TORs deliverables
• Data collection tools – the checklist/ questionnaire (qualitative data collection) assessing the experiences of youth aspirants; and
• Draft and final Assessment Reports.

1.6 Study Approaches and Methodology

The overall sturdy approaches and delivery processes drew heavily on goodwill data and information from various respondents (youthful aspirants) who were randomly sampled. The questionnaires used were designed to capture significant aspects such as party nomination incident information, voting at the polling station, counting and declaration of results, profile of candidates in various parties by age and gender, among other critical considerations.

The tools were also meant to seek suggestions from the successful youthful nominees in order to explore ways, means and avenues towards increasing participation of the youth in political and electoral processes in the future polls. This survey was conducted in 127 constituencies which were randomly sampled.

The process also employed a comprehensive document review from various sources including previous studies and reports on youth with regards to political and electoral processes. In addition, telephone interviews and Focused Group Discussions was done with some successful youthful nominees in order to document success stories, challenges, lessons learnt and emerging issues which are critical to inform

1.7 Significant Suggested Roadmaps

The study process involved the following roadmaps approaches: design of data collection tools; field interviews, focus group discussions, data entry and data analysis, quality control, tabulation and report preparation and dissemination at various stages.
Chapter Two

2.0 Survey Findings And Analysis

2.1 Introduction

This section offers survey findings both from the qualitative and quantities analysis. It provides broad observations during the nomination phase by profiling list of various candidates who aspired for various positions of contests, their age and gender. It also provides quantitative information and analysis of various parties by determining the number of candidates in various positions, gender representation and actual party nominees who were successful.

In addition, the section reviews and analyses the nomination process by focusing on the level of parties preparedness, the level of IEBC involvement in primaries, security provision, type of ballot boxes used, counting, declaration and acceptance of results, among others.

Finally, it gives information of the challenges and success stories to inform strategic future policy decision-making processes in regards to conducing party primaries, especially with a focus on youth and women towards deepening the ethos of affirmative action in party policies and structures.

2.2 General Observation

2.2.1 Overview

The survey findings disclosed that party primaries were carried out in all 47 Counties as required by the IEBC. However, the set deadlines and rules by IEBC were brazenly violated since the most of the parties chose to have the nominations on the last day, i.e. 17th January, 2013 so as to prevent poll losers from party-hopping. This last minute strategy for nomination by political parties inevitably brought capacity hiccups which compromised their capability to conduct free, fair, transparent and credible nomination process. This was more pronounced in areas perceived to be their strongholds. This also left little time for dispute resolution in areas where claims of rigging and other form of electoral malpractices prevailed.

Cognizance to this reality, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) gave all parties reprieve though its declaration of nomination deadline by one day. It also gave a nod for three

Positions refereed are gubernatorial, Senatorial, Parliamentary, Women and County Representatives. No single candidate was found to contest for Presidency of the Republic Of Kenya

The Survey focused mainly on five major parties which have national appeal with branches in 8 provinces. These parties are: ODM, TNA, Wiper, Ford Kenya, UDF and URP

According to IEBC Electoral guidelines, political parties were supposed to do their nomination between January, 4th and 17th 2013, and to submit the final list of names on 18th January, 2013 which was again extended by a day.
days to address any disputes arising from primaries.

The following key observations were noted during the nomination phase:

a) **High voter turnout and minimal interference by Party Leaders** - It was generally observed that there was high voter turnout which provided ground for decent competition. Moreover, unlike in the previous primaries that were characterized by claims of direct nomination of candidates, this just concluded nomination process had minimal cases of aspirants being accorded nomination certificates directly. In addition, there was hardly any evidence of interference by party leaders during primaries as their close allies were floored.

b) **Inadequate capacity to conduct primaries by political parties** - There was poor planning and logistical hiccups as voters were made to wait for more than five hours for ballot boxes and papers to be delivered. In many places the parties had inadequate material or none at all hence parties were not within the reach of standards required to manage credible primaries.

c) **Membership verification difficulties** - It was noted that many parties hardly verified members using official membership registers this led to a situation whereby candidates were ferrying voters from other parties. Other parties used voter registers and party membership cards for verification. In conclusion, it was difficult to identify and ascertain members of political parties since some voters may have participated in nominations in more than one party, especially in Nairobi.

d) **Fear of stiff competition** - It was observed that five mainstream parties i.e. ODM, TNA, Wiper, URP and UDF had some of their aspirants decamped to other friendly parties for fear of stiff competition due to perceived strongholds.

e) **Intra-coalition vendetta** - It was noted that the main coalitions of Coalition form Reforms and Democracy (CORD), which brings together ODM, Wiper and Ford Kenya and Jubilee which comprises TNA, URP and NARC avoided joint nominations, especially in their perceived party strongholds. Their constituent parties allowed each party to present their own candidates in order to strew intra-coalition vendetta.

f) **Buying of votes and bribery** – There were unconfirmed claims that some candidates were seriously bribing voters and had already printed ballot papers.

### 2.2.2 Recap of youth performance

It was observed that there was a high proportion of young aspirants who were below 35 year of age contesting for the County Assembly representative position as demonstrated by 54% of the candidates under this age category. Moreover, the survey showed that young people were attracted to smaller political parties than bigger parties on two fundamental accounts: smaller parties charged less nomination fees unlike mainstream parties and some gave direct nominations.

It was also noted that whereas the direct nomination for youth granted them a possible mileage in the
political contest, most of these parties have less political appeal across the country. It is therefore, not possible to predict whether the direct nominations of young people could guarantee or even increase their chances of being elected to various political offices.

### 2.2.3 Recap of performance of Women candidates

The just concluded nominations by political parties in Kenya confirmed that the move to increase the number of women in political leadership still remains an uphill task unless the principle of affirmative action is respected and fully implemented.

Not surprisingly, women were the greatest casualties. They suffered the blunt of violence and it’s no wonder they performed dismally at all levels of the primaries choosing instead to take refuge in the 47 seats reserved for Women (County Member of the National Assembly). The full analysis is captured in the latter section of this report.

### 2.3 Detailed Analysis of the Nomination Process.

The nomination process was conducted in all constituencies though it was marred by plethora of problems ranging from voter bribery, late delivery of voting materials, postponement to violence. However, it was noted that most political parties utilized their trained nomination agents with very few parties inviting the IEBC to conduct the exercise, as shown in the figure below.

![Fig.1. IEBC participation in the nomination process](image)

The non-participation of IEBC could be attributed to lack of strong financial support from the parties since they were to meet the costs of IEBC engagement. In this regard, many political parties used their agents as Polling clerks and Presiding Officers to oversee the nomination processes.
Moreover, the survey findings disclosed that in a few places where the IEBC officials were present they played a very minimal role of either supervising at 28% and 6% cases of helping the party officials conduct the nomination exercise, while 71% of the respondents confirmed that IEBC officials were not present, as shown below.

**Fig. 2. Nature of participation of IEBC officials**

The survey further found that the Government’s security agencies were fully deployed in various stations to ensure peaceful nominations exercise and to act decisively with incitement to violence and intimidation of voters. In this regard, 112 of the respondents confirmed that there was heavy presence of security officers while 11 of the respondents revealed that was no security provision at the polling station an indication of 91% and 9% respectively, as shown below.

**Fig. 3 Presence of Security Officers at the polling station**

As a strategy to enhance transparency in the nomination process, it was established that 90% of the voters were not denied any access to the polling station, while 10% reported of being denied entry. This could have occurred in areas perceived to be hotspots or had fierce rivals who were mobilizing their supporters along ethnic or clan boundaries.
Moreover, the survey findings disclosed that in a few places where the IEBC officials were present they played a very minimal role of either supervising at 28% and 6% cases of helping the party officials conduct the nomination exercise, while 71% of the respondents confirmed that IEBC officials were not present, as shown below.

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2. 3.1 Profile of candidates seeking nominations

The survey’ findings revealed that a total of 1,791 candidates participated in the just concluded party primaries with the male aspirants being 1,308 while their female counterparts were 583; hence there was less proportion of women aspirants of 27% against 73% male aspirants as shown on the next page.

Probable hotspots based on incidents reported during party nominations have been identified to guide law enforcers to deal firmly with Post-Election Violence, with Rift Valley leading the park. Read Daily Nation January 24, 2013- Rift Valley tops in election violence hotbeds by Fred Mukinda.
The comparatively low proportion of women aspirants could be attributed to various constraining factors that continue to pose critical challenges for meaningful participation of women, especially young aspiring candidates. These include the following:

- Lack of financial resources
- Cultural and religious factors
- Lack of political literacy
- Violence and prejudice against women
- Family voting pattern, among others

The research further revealed that County Representative position attracted the highest number of candidates – a move that is attributable to low financing and campaign management needed for the position.

The findings disclosed that the Parliamentary seats were the second mostly contested positions with 413 contestants thus accounted for 23%. It was also noted that within the said position only 1% were female candidates while 22% were male aspirants. In regards to gubernatorial race, a total of 284 candidates contested which reflected 16% with a respective proportion of 15% and 1% for male and female candidates. Other positions have been captured in the figure below based on gender perspective.
The comparatively low proportion of women aspirants could be attributed to various constraining factors that continue to pose critical challenges for meaningful participation of women, especially young aspiring candidates. These include the following:

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- Cultural and religious factors
- Lack of political literacy
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2.4 Profile of candidates Observed in Various Parties

This section attempts to determine the total number of candidates who contested for various positions in the six mainstream political parties i.e. Orange Democratic Movement, The National Alliance Party, Wiper Democratic Movement, United Republican Party, Ford Kenya and United Democratic Front. It further gives analysis of based on gender representation together with various positions that were contested.

2.4.1 Ford Kenya Nominations

Fig. 12 Profile of candidates in Ford Kenya Nomination process.
Ford Kenya is one of the major political parties which cherishes to restore democracy and promote equity in Kenya. It was founded in 1992 following the split of the then original FORD.

As indicated in the figure below, it was found that the party attracted 48 aspirants in which 38 were male while their female counterparts were 10. More analysis revealed that majority of the aspirants were attracted by the positions of National Assembly and County Representatives which had equal proportion of 25% each as these positions had 24 candidates in total. Other positions which attracted significant numbers were gubernatorial and senatorial positions which attracted a total of 15 candidates with only 1 aspirant being female.

In regards to the Gender representation, the survey findings revealed that there is gender imbalance in the party representation as only 21% of female candidates participated in the nomination process against their male counterparts whose proportion was found to be 79%, as shown in the figure below. On the same vein, it was found that no female candidate vied for the positions of gubernatorial and National Assembly seats. Hence, it is a policy imperative to deepen affirmative action within the party structures and policies towards securing an enabling environment to scale up interventions for women empowerment in political participation and electoral processes.

![Fig. 12 Gender Representation in Ford Kenya Nomination process](image)

**2.4.2 ODM Nominations**

Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) was founded in 2005 during the referendum campaign of the Bomas of Kenya Draft Constitution popularly known as the Wako Draft. There was a nation-wide perception that the draft constitution was mutilated to serve the vested interests with conservative polices who were hell-bent to promoting status quo within the Government circles at the expense of national aspiration of the Kenyan people. The Draft was eventually defeated.
The survey found out that ODM attracted a total of 868 candidates for various positions out of which 634 were male while 234 were female candidates representing 73% and 27% respectively as shown in the figure below.

**Fig. 13 Gender Representation in ODM Nomination process**

![Pie chart showing gender representation in ODM nominations](image)

The low proportion of women candidates is attributable to a number of factors which has seen women pushed to the periphery in electoral and political processes. These hindrances include:

- Lack of finance
- Cultural prejudices
- Violence against women, etc

**Fig. 14 Profile of candidates in ODM Nomination process.**

![Bar chart showing profile of candidates in ODM nominations](image)

It was further established that the positions of County Representatives attracted most candidates with 236 aspirants reported to be interested reflecting 27% while the second mostly contested position was parliamentary seats which attracted 208 aspirants reflecting 23.9%.
Another key observation was that a total of 165 candidates vied for gubernatorial seats and this reflects 19%. The less participation of candidates for gubernatorial seats shows that the position requires massive financial support and elaborates campaign machineries which can only be managed by few rich politicians at the expense of the youth. It was further noted that a total of 77 candidates vied for Senatorial seat with 67 being male and 10 being female reflecting a proportion of 87% and 13 % respectively. This is captured in the pie chart below.

**Fig. 15 Profile of candidates as %**

![Profile of candidates as %](image)

In terms of gender representation it was found that participation of women was still at its lowest level given the constraints that have been identified earlier. In all positions, women had low proportion than their male candidates as shown below.

**Fig. 16 Gender participation %**

![Gender participation %](image)
2.4.3 TNA Nominations

The National Alliance Party (TNA) was founded in 2011 following the disjointed strategy of the then G7 leaders to reach a compromise and rally behind one candidate to face the ODM in the 2013 general elections. This followed protracted boardroom negotiations that culminated in the formation of TNA as a party with ideals what are pertinent to the modern aspirations of the Kenyan youth and women fraternity.

The survey findings reveal that a total of 576 candidates contested various positions on TNA tickets out of which 399 were male while 176 were female, reflecting a proportion of 69% and 31% respectively as shown below.

Fig. 17 Gender Representation in TNA Nomination process.

The low proportion of women participation is a serious concern hence a lot needs to be done to ensure affirmative action is deepened in the party policies and activities.

Fig. 18. Profile of candidates in TNA Nomination process.
From the figure above, the survey established that a part from Women Representative position, significant number of candidates vied for parliamentary and civic seats as shown by 121 (21%) and 131 (23%) respectively. On the same thread, the findings revealed that among 121 aspirants for National Assembly 92.5% were male while only 7.5% were female candidates. For the County Representative position, it was also established that 83.9% of the candidates were male aspirants while 16.1% were female candidates.

Further analysis confirmed that senatorial seats attracted a total of 138 candidates with male aspirants being 115 while female candidates for the same position were found to be 23 reflecting percentage points of 87% and 13% respectively.

As regards, to gubernatorial seats the survey found that the position attracted only 62 candidates which reflect 10.7%. It was further analyzed that no female candidate vied for gubernatorial seat under TNA – a move that could be as a result of the huge campaign budget required to be elected Governor.

2.4.5 UDF Nominations

The United Democratic Party (UDF) started its serious campaign in the mid of 2012 on a platform of promoting peace and reversing poverty growth through wealth creation. The survey established that UDF attracted 35 contestants in various positions in which 91% were male candidates while 9% were female aspirants as shown below.

Fig. 19 Gender Representation in UDF Nomination process.

It was also established that majority of the aspirants i.e. 16 out of the 35 UDF candidates contested for the position County Representative which represents 45.7%. This was followed by the proportion of the candidates seeking Parliamentary seats which was found to be 13 thereby representing 37%.
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In summary, it can be deduced that the most preferred position was that of County Representative with 40% followed by Parliamentary seat which had 32%. The least contested positions were gubernatorial and senatorial positions which could be due to the fact that they need huge financial resources to sustain.

2.4.6 URP Nominations

The United Republic Party (URP) began active politics in early 2012 after its top most leaders failed to agree in principle with the United Democratic Movement due to ideological differences. It was founded on the basis of promoting economic development through its “Kusema na Kutenda” slogan. The survey established that a total of 97 aspirants contested for various elective positions with male
being 76 and female 21 thereby representing 78% and 22% respectively, as shown in the figure below.

**Fig. 22 Gender Representation in URP Nomination process.**

It was further revealed that the most preferred position, among URP aspirants was County Representatives which attracted 35 candidates thus representing 36%. However, it is noted that there is gender disparity as only 4 women candidates expressed interest thus representing 11% unlike their male competitors whose proportion was 89%.

The second most contested positions was that of National Assembly representative which attracted 21 candidates thus accounting for 21.6 % followed by 15 Women Representatives candidates who accounted for 15.5 %. Lastly the proportions of candidates seeking gubernatorial and senatorial positions were found to be each 13 thus accounting for 13 % each. It is interesting that these refereed positions did not attract any single female candidate, probably because of the diversity of the Counties and the corresponding huge financial resources that is needed to create impact.

**Fig 23. Profile of candidates in URP Nomination process.**
Fig. 24 Profile of candidates as %.

2.4.7 WIPER Nominations

Wiper Democratic Movement was formed in 2007 as ODM Kenya following the political fallout and antagonisms within the top leadership of the original ODM. The party has branches in several parts of the country, especially in Ukambani region. It was founded on the principles of wiping corruption and employment creation besides addressing the cancer of negative ethnicity.

The survey findings revealed that a total of 156 candidates contested in various positions during the nomination phase, out of which 120 were male candidates while 36 were female aspirants thus accounting for 77% and 23% respectively, as shown in the pie chart below.

Fig. 25 Gender Representation in WIPER Nomination process.
The study also found that majority of the candidates went in for County Representative position which attracted a stiff completion among 39 candidates thus accounting for 25%. It further revealed that among the 39 County Representative aspirants, 35 were male and 4 were female candidates depicting a glaring gender mismatch of 89.7% and 10.3% for male and female candidates respectively.

The research further established that the gubernatorial and parliamentary seats had attracted a total of 70 candidates with each position having an equal share of 35 contestants. However, it is regrettable to note that single female candidate was found to be interested in the said positions. It was also noted that senatorial position attracted 15 candidates who were all male aspirants while position for women Representative attracted 32 female aspirants thus accounting 20.5% as shown in the figure below.

![Figure 26](image1.png)

**Fig 26. Profile of candidates in Wiper Nomination process.**

![Figure 27](image2.png)

**Fig. 27 Profile of candidates as %**
2.5 Review and Analysis of Participation of candidates by Age Category

This section attempts to give review and provide detailed analysis of the participation of the candidates in various elective positions by age.

2.5.1 Profile by age 18-35yrs

The survey findings revealed that a total of 149 candidates aged 18-35 yrs participated in the party primaries through various political parties. In terms of gender analysis, the findings revealed that 73% of candidates aged between 18-35 years were male aspirants while 27% were female as shown in the pie chart below.

![Gender representation](image)

Further analysis also revealed that the mostly contested positions were County Representative which had a total of 80 contestants thus accounting for 54%. Within the same age category it was further established that 68 candidates (85%) were male while 12 (15%) of the aspirants were female hence depicting a wide gender gap in political and electoral participation.

It was also noted that the second most contested position was that of Member of the National Assembly which attracted 27 young aspirants thereby representing 18%. In the same position, it was further revealed that the participation of female candidates was extremely minimal with only 2 candidates being women and 25 being aspirants from the opposite gender thus accounting for 7% and 93% respectively.

Other positions which attracted completion was that of Women Representative in the National Assembly which was found to attract 21 women candidates thus accounting for 14%. In regards to senatorial contests, it was found that a total of 17 (11%) candidates showed interest to become Senators. Under this position, it was also found that male candidates dominated their female competitors as indicated by 71% participation of male aspirants against 29% of female candidates.
The least contested position among the youth i.e. 18-35 years category was that of gubernatorial which attracted only 4 male contestants, reflecting 3%. It was noted that there was no female candidate under this age category running for gubernatorial position. This is captured in the figure below.

Fig 29. Profile of candidates by Age 18-35 years

![Fig. 29. Profile of candidates by Age 18-35 years](image)

Fig. 30 Profile of candidates as %.

![Fig. 30 Profile of candidates as %](image)

2.5.2 Profile by age 36-59yrs

It was noted that majority of the candidates during the party primaries were from the age category of 36-59 years which had a total of 1470 aspirants in various position as shown in the figure.
The least contested position among the youth i.e. 18-35 years category was that of gubernatorial which attracted only 4 male contestants, reflecting 3%. It was noted that there was no female candidate under this age category running for gubernatorial position. This is captured in the figure below.

It was noted that majority of the candidates during the party primaries were from the age category of 36-59 years which had a total of 1470 aspirants in various position as shown in the figure.

The findings also established that the position of County Representative attracted 26% (390) of the candidates with male being 346 and female aspirants being 44. This also depicts that the same position attracted 89% of the male candidates with conspicuously minimal participation of female candidates with 11%.

The second position that also attracted many candidates was that of the National Assembly representative since it had 355 of the aspirants, reflecting approximately 24%. In addition, it was further established that 338 were male candidates while 17 were female thus accounting for a respective proportion.
With regards to gubernatorial race, it was found out that the position attracted 16% (233) of the candidates. In terms of gender analysis, the findings revealed that male candidates outnumbered their female competitors since they registered 217 against 16 hence accounting for 93% and 7% respectively. The minimal participation of women calls for policy, legislative and financial support to narrow the gender gap in political contents.

The study further revealed that Senatorial seat attracted 14% (199) of the candidates under this age category. However, it was again noted that there was minimal participation of women in comparison to men as indicated by 14% and 86% respectively. Lastly, it was established that the position of Women Representative attracted a substantial number of 293 women aspirants, reflecting 20%. This analysis is shown in the pie chart below.

### Fig. 33 Profile of candidates as %.

![Chart showing percentage of candidates for different positions.](image)

### 2.5.3 Profile by candidates with 60 years and above

The study revealed that a total of 170 candidates were aged 60 years and above, with male participants being 125 while female candidates were 45. This gives a respective proportion of 74% and 26% of male and female candidates, as shown below.

![Gender Representation Chart](image)
With regards to gubernatorial race, it was found out that the position attracted 16% (233) of the candidates. In terms of gender analysis, the findings revealed that male candidates outnumbered their female competitors since they registered 217 against 16 hence accounting for 93% and 7% respectively. The minimal participation of women calls for policy, legislative and financial support to narrow the gender gap in political contents.

The study further revealed that Senatorial seat attracted 14% (199) of the candidates under this age category. However, it was again noted that there was minimal participation of women in comparison to men as indicated by 14% and 86% respectively. Lastly, it was established that the position of Women Representative attracted a substantial number of 293 women aspirants, reflecting 20%. This analysis is shown in the pie chart below.

The survey also found that among the 47 candidates for gubernatorial seat, only 1 female candidate contested the position thus accounting for only 2% against their male counterpart who had registered 98%. The second most popular position among was found to be Senatorial and Women representative which attracted 38 candidates thereby accounting for 22% each. However, it is noted that among candidates aspiring for senatorial seats only 3% were female while 97% were male aspirants.

Another key observation here is that candidates for the position of National Assembly Representative were established as 31 and reflecting 18%. It is also noted that within the same position there was glaring disparity between male and female candidates as reflected by the fact that 29 (94%) were male aspirants while female candidates were 2(6%).

With regards to positions of County Assembly Representatives, the study noted that these seats are less attractive to older people on the basis of remuneration that they draws and the view that these positions should be left for young aspirants. In respect to this, it was established the Civic seats drew only 16 candidates with interest and accounted for 10%. Further analysis revealed that there was a wide gap in terms of proportion of male to female candidates which was to be 87% and 13% respectively.

### 2.5.4 Profile by minority

The move to include the minority group in meaningful socio-economic and political development in Kenya has been a mirage. However, the new constitution calls for deepening of affirmative action with a view to ensuring that these glaring anomalies that weaken the minority group are conclusively addressed through necessary policy interventions. It is on this ground that the study also focused on the need to determine the number of the minority group who offered themselves for nomination process.
It was found that only two candidates were interested for Parliamentary and County Assembly seats with each getting one only among the minority group. It was further revealed that there were no female candidates within the minority group who aspired for any elective position, as shown.

**Fig 36. Number of Minority candidates during Nomination process**

It can be generally concluded that the minority group did aspire for gubernatorial and senatorial positions in various Counties – a move that might ensure that their plight will be taken seriously by the Governors and Senators. Hence, it is within the armpit of key players and stakeholders.

### 2.5.5. Profile by People With Disabilities (PWDs)

The People With Disabilities (PWDs) have been disadvantaged in terms of participating in the political process in Kenya. Towards this end, the sector has not received considerable support and maximum attention by the Government towards their empowerment. This people reel in a morass of desperation, despite of some pieces of policy and regulatory frameworks which are being implemented in uncoordinated and piecemeal fashion. This survey established that only one candidate from PWDs vied for senatorial position, as shown.

**Fig 37. Number of PWDs candidates during Nomination process**
2.6 Analysis of Candidates who secured Nomination (Profile of Nominees)

This section attempts to review and analyzed the number of candidates who actually sailed through the nomination process. It further provides analysis in terms of gender perspective.

**a) Category 1: Age 18-35 years**

Under this category, the survey found that 30 candidates secured nomination certificates out of which 22 were male while 8 female aspirants and this accounted for 73% and 27% respectively.

It also showed that the County Representative positions had the most party nominees as demonstrated by 17 successful aspirants and this reflected 57%, this was followed Women Representatives nominees which was 23%.

In terms of gender representation, it was noted that 94% of the County Representative nominees were male while 6% were female.

It was further confirmed that Senatorial nominees were 4 which represented 13% with none coming from the female gender. It was also confirmed that there were only 2 nominees for the position of National Assembly Representative with no representation from the female gender and this accounted for 7%. It was further noted that there were nominees for gubernatorial position among the candidates between age 18-35years, an analysis that could be attributed to the much needed resources to manage a meaningful campaign. This is shown in the figure below.

![Fig 38. Profile of Nominees Aged between 18-35yrs](image)

**Category 2: Nominees age 36-59 yrs**

Under this category, a total of 383 candidates received nomination certificates from various political parties with men being 287 and women 96 thus accounted for 75% and 25% respectively, as shown.
In addition, it was ascertained that unlike 18-35 years category whose nominees only concentrated on County Representative and Parliamentary seats, this survey established that majority of nominees under this age bracket were also drawn from gubernatorial and Senatorial posts an analysis that vividly demonstrates how the said positions only attract older people in comparison to young aspirants, as shown below.

From the analysis it was observed that 89 of the candidates were parliamentary nominees and this reflects 23% with male nominees dominating the female gender with 96% against 4% respectively with respective number of 85 and 4 nominees.

It was also observed that nominees for County Representatives had a significant share which saw a total number of 82 candidates being nominated thus accounting for 22%. On the same vein of analysis, it was noted that there was a wide gap between male and female candidates receiving nomination as shown by 83% and 17% of the nominees being male and female respectively.

Further analysis also ascertained that nominees for gubernatorial formed a substantial proportion of 21% consequently reflected by 82 persons who were nominated for the position with no single female
In addition, it was ascertained that unlike the 18-35 years category whose nominees only concentrated on County Representative and Parliamentary seats, this survey established that the majority of nominees under this age bracket were also drawn from gubernatorial and Senatorial posts. An analysis vividly demonstrates how the said positions only attract older people in comparison to young aspirants, as shown below.

From the analysis, it was observed that 89 candidates were parliamentary nominees and this reflects 23%. With male nominees dominating the female gender with 96% against 4% respectively, the number of nominees was 85 and 4.

It was also observed that nominees for County Representatives had a significant share which saw a total number of 82 candidates being nominated, thus accounting for 22%. On the same vein of analysis, it was noted that there was a wide gap between male and female candidates receiving nominations as shown by 83% and 17% of the nominees being male and female respectively.

Further analysis also ascertained that nominees for gubernatorial positions formed a substantial proportion of 21% consequently reflected by 82 persons who were nominated for the position with no single female candidate. Additionally, it was noted that nominees for senatorial positions were 53 in number, hence, reflecting a substantial share of 14%. It was also observed that there was no female nominee for the said position.

Lastly, it was found that 78 candidates were nominated for the position of Women Representatives as a result; this accounted for 20%. The analysis in percentages is shown in the figure below.

**Fig. 41. Gender Representation**

![Gender Representation Chart](image1)

**Category 3: Profile of Nominees age above 60 years and Above**

This category had a total number of 47 nominees out of which 40 were men and 7 were women. Thus, accounted for 85% and 15% respectively, as shown in the figure below.

**Fig. 42. Gender Representation**

![Gender Representation Chart](image2)
The figure above provides a detailed analysis of the findings on nominees who were above 60 years of age. Accordingly, it was found that majority of this category were nominees for Senatorial seats which saw 19 candidates given nomination certificates hence reflecting 40%. Within this position, it was further revealed that the proportion of male to female nominees was 95% and 1% respectively. This is a policy concern as it shows a huge variance and calls for concerted efforts by various stakeholders towards scaling up intervention for women to participate fully in political process, especially during party elections.

The nominees for parliamentary seats were considerably lower with 9 candidates being cleared for nomination and this accounted for 19%. Conspicuously absent were female nominees. It was confirmed that nominees for Women Representative posts were 4 while County Representatives were 5 hence accounting for a respective proportion of 9% and 11%. Furthermore, it was ascertained that among the 5 nominees for civic seats, only 1 was a female candidate and this accounted for only 20% compared to 80% of the male nominees.

2.7 Review and Analysis of the Nomination processes.

This section attempts to review and analyzed the various ways in which the party primaries were conducted through focusing on the following key areas: IEBC participation, declaration and acceptance of results, number of election officials present, role of security agencies, nomination venues and documents required, among others.

2.7.1 Level of IEBC engagement

It was found that there was minimal involvement of Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) officials since most of the political parties utilized their trained nomination agents with
very few parties inviting the IEBC to manage their internal party primaries, as demonstrated by 72% of the parties which did not invite IEBC officials against 28% as shown below.

**Fig. 44. Participation of IEBC in party primaries**

In terms of the nature and level of IEBC participation, the survey further revealed that in few places where the IEBC officials were present they played a very minimal role of either supervising at 23% and 6% cases of helping the party officials conduct the nomination exercise, as shown below.

**Fig. 44. Nature of IEBC participation**

Cognizant of the fact that security provision is a precondition for ensuring credible and peaceful electoral process, this survey confirmed that 91% of the polling stations had tight security in comparison...
9% which did not experience security protection. It was noted that security even enhanced during counting and tallying of votes, as shown below.

![Image of Fig. 45. Presence of Security Officers]

The capacity of security officers was also boosted by the private security from individual candidates who took no chance to ensure that the exercise was peaceful and free from any controversies and violence.

There were also situations where some few voters were denied entry into the polling stations even though there were heavy security presence and this was confirmed by 10% of the polling stations that were visited. This could have occurred as a result of lateness since majority of stations closed after 5pm thus rendering some potential voters not to participate in the party primaries, and the most affected group here is the working class who came late since the nomination day was not a public holiday, as shown.

![Image of Fig. 46. Whether candidates were denied entry into polling stations.]

2.7.2 Voting processes.

It was established that most of the preferred venues for holding party primaries were education facilities (preferably public primary schools) due to Government’s prior announcement that all public primary
schools be closed to facilitate smooth voting. This was confirmed by 110 out of the 123 sampled polling stations that were public primary schools hence accounting for 89%. Other venues where the voting exercise was conducted are shown in the figure below with their corresponding proportion.

**Fig. 47. Voting Venues**

![Pie chart showing voting venues](image)

As regards the key mandatory requirements or identification documents for one to be allowed to participate in voting exercise, it was found that majority of voters presented their original Identification Cards, while others used IEBC Voter slip and party membership card hence accounted for a respective proportion of 89%, 6% and 2% as shown in the pie chart below.

**Fig 49. Identification documents used during voting**

![Pie chart showing identification documents](image)
Identification of members was posing a challenge hence in order to ensure that there were no cases of irregularities emanating from double voting, various parties had a list which they used to identify voters. The most preferred list was that of IEBC 2013.

Fig.50. Verification lists used during voting

This is further reflected by a proportion of 41% of the respondents followed by party membership register which had 9%. Interestingly, 48 polling stations did not us any list thereby opening avenues for rigging through double voting pattern, as shown below.

Fig.51 Verification List %

The survey went further to confirm whether or not there were records of the total number of voters within the voting area. In view of this it was established that 81 (66%) polling stations did not have a record profiling the number of voters within the voting area while 38 (31%) of the polling station confirmed of having the same.
Identification of members was posing a challenge hence in order to ensure that there were no cases of irregularities emanating from double voting, various parties had a list which they used to identify voters. The most preferred list was that of IEBC 2013.

This is further reflected by a proportion of 41% of the respondents followed by party membership register which had 9%. Interestingly, 48 polling stations did not use any list thereby opening avenues for rigging through double voting pattern, as shown below.

Regarding the number of ballot boxes, it was found that various polling stations had boxes ranging from 1-12. However, 53 of the sampled 123 polling station confirmed that they had 5 ballot boxes thus accounting for 43%, while 19% of the polling stations had 4 ballot boxes as shown. Others are captured in the figure below.

Fig. 52. Whether there a record of the total number of voters within the voting area

![Pie chart showing responses to the question about record of voters.](image)

- **No**: 66%
- **Yes**: 31%
- **No answer**: 3%

Fig. 53 Numbers of ballot boxes are present in the polling station

![Bar chart showing the distribution of ballot boxes.](image)

- **Five Ballot Boxes**: 43%
- **Four Ballot Boxes**: 19%
- **Three Ballot Boxes**: 10%
- **Two Ballot Boxes**: 19%
- **One Ballot Box**: 8%
- **No Ballot Boxes**: 3%
- **Nine Ballot Boxes**: 1%
It was also noted that there were various types of ballot boxes that were used during party primaries. In this regard, the survey established that transparent boxes were mostly used as demonstrated by 114 polling station among the sampled 123 hence accounted for 93% while 6 polling stations confirmed using non-transparent ballot boxes which accounted for 5, as shown both in the figure below.

**Fig. 54 Type of ballot boxes used.**

Further analysis revealed that 3 out of 123 polling stations did not have ballot boxes and this accounted for 2%. A part from the ballot boxes, the survey went ahead to determine the type of ballot papers used in which it found that 81% if the ballot papers were pre-printed as demonstrated by 100 of the sampled polling station among 123. This was followed by 14% (17 polling stations) which confirmed that the ballot papers used were non-printed while no answer or response was received from 6 polling stations thus 5%.

**Fig. 55. Type of Ballot papers used.**
As a strategy to cushion voters from electoral malpractices, there was a need to ensure that various polling stations had clear guidelines set up to allow members to participate with secrecy during the voting phase. In this regard, the survey found that 79 of the polling stations were set up to allow voters to mark their ballot in secret thus accounted for 64%. In the same vein, it confirmed that 40 polling stations were not ready enough to allow voters their ballot in secret as reflected by 33% while there were no responses from 4 stations as indicated by 3% and shown below.

Fig. 56 Was the station set up to allow members to mark their ballot in secret

It was also noted that the voting exercise went smoothly without any disruption as confirmed by 86% of the polling stations while 14% had their voting disrupted, as shown below. The smooth voting process in 180 polling stations could have been occasioned by heavy presence of security officers who were deployed to monitor situation and bring sanity during primaries loss of life and destruction of property.

Fig. 57. Whether the Voting exercise was disrupted.
2.7.3 Counting and Declaration of Results

As regards counting and declaration of results, the survey focused on determining whether or not the ballot boxes were sealed before actual counting commenced. Here, it was confirmed by 94 polling station reflecting 76% that the ballot boxes were indeed sealed intact before counting. Whereas, 22 polling stations - reflecting 18% - reported that the ballot boxes were not sealed before counting thereby opening avenues to outright rigging. This is captured in the figure below.

**Fig. 58 Were all ballot boxes sealed intact before counting?**

![Pie chart showing 76% yes, 18% no, and 6% no answer.]

Further analysis disclosed that in many cases ballot papers were displayed for public view before being counted as confirmed by 111 polling stations that were sampled reflecting 90% while the same was not observed in 5 polling stations which accounted for 4%, with remaining 7 (6%) polling stations giving no response, as shown below.

**Fig. 59. Whether ballot papers displayed to all present before being counted.**

![Pie chart showing 90% yes, 4% no, and 6% no answer.]

More analysis disclosed that the results were declared at the polling station mostly by the Presiding Officer who was recruited by the party. Indeed, this confirmation was done by 112 polling station thus accounted
As regards counting and declaration of results, the survey focused on determining whether or not the ballot boxes were sealed before actual counting commenced. Here, it was confirmed by 94 polling station reflecting 76% that the ballot boxes were indeed sealed intact before counting. Whereas, 22 poling stations—reflecting 18%—reported that the ballot boxes were not sealed before counting thereby opening avenues to outright rigging. This is captured in the figure below.

Further analysis disclosed that in many cases ballot papers were displayed for public view before being counted as confirmed by 111 polling stations that were sampled reflecting 90% while the same was not observed in 5 polling stations which accounted for 4%, with remaining 7 (6%) polling stations giving no response, as shown below.

It was further observed that apart from presiding officers who were confirmed by 83% of the polling stations, declaration of results was also performed by political party officials who were 11% with no participation of the same by IEBC officials.

It was established that the most of the polling stations had their results accepted as confirmed by 111 poling stations hence accounted for 90%. On contrary, 4 (3%) polling stations reported that the results were not accepted due to the perceived rigging mechanisms which were in prior to actual voting, while 7% of the stations gave no answer.
In conclusion, the ensuing nomination process further confirmed that the youth are still disentangled from the mainstream party activities. The high nomination fees levied on candidates by bigger parties that could easily propel youth to office and the concomitant high stakes by party bigwigs were key challenges faced by young people during the nominations.

2.8 Success Stories

- In Nairobi, competition for the Dagoretti North Parliamentary was stiff with 33 year old Paul Simba Arati emerging the winner.
- In Rift Valley, confirmed successes include 31 year old Kevin Arap Sang vying for the Nandi County senate seat and 34 year old Alex Kosgey contesting for the Emgwen parliamentary seat. It is worthwhile noting that all these candidates clinched tickets in the region's most popular party; URP hence will have a fair chance of winning in the General Elections. There is also a 19 years old youth who clinched URP nominations to be County Representative within Baringo County.
- In Busia County, 32 year old Susan Mang’eni clinched the Women County Representative seat on a National Labour Party ticket.
- In Nyeri County, 29 year old Cathy Wanjiku Irungu defected from TNA to Mazingira Party where she got direct nomination to contest the Women Representative seat.
- In Makueni County, 32 year old Ben Mulwa is vying for the Senate seat on the NARC party.
- Lastly, bigger parties offered direct nominations to youth in areas they don’t enjoy strong support base. For instance, in Tharaka-Nithi County, (Tharaka Constituency), Ichenga Mugao was granted a direct nomination by the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) because he was the only candidate from the area seeking the nomination on that party.

In conclusion, the ensuing nomination process further confirmed that the youth are still disentangled from the mainstream party activities. The high nomination fees levied on candidates by bigger parties that could easily propel youth to office and the concomitant high stakes by party bigwigs were key challenges faced by young people during the nominations.
2.8.1 General Challenges that the Youth Faced During Nomination Processes

1. **Lack of internal party democracy** – This mainly happens during party nomination phase where rich politicians/party owners do not subscribe to the nomination rules and guidelines hence open windows for outright rigging. In some cases, they give direct party nominations to particular candidates in sheer disregard to party rules and ethos.

2. **Tribalism and euphoria** – During the nomination processes, youth aligned themselves with parties of their tribes due to their perceived strongholds even if they do not have any meaningful agenda.

3. **Lack of finance:** Lack of finance has been a stumbling block and curtails the potential and capacity of young people to participate and emerge victorious in party election and/or nomination processes. Huge nomination fee levied on young aspirants was found to be a constraint to youth participation in electoral and political process.

4. **Lack of political support by peers:** The youth themselves have little support to young aspirants who are considered champions of change. However, they support old people with money which cannot match the meagre resources of the young aspirants. Hence most of the youth were terribly floored during the just concluded nomination process.

5. **Manipulation by rich people:** It was found that the popular young aspirants were often manipulated by the rich to step down in their favour. This saw a significant number of youthful candidates step down at the last minute to support specific individual aspirants after being compromised with money. There is also challenge of negative perception of the youth among old people in regards to political experience which also contributes to youth being manipulated as they are treated as mere supporters without any influence.

6. **Corruption and poor management of parties:** Management of political parties is often done by party bigwigs to the detriment of young people. This led to late arrival of ballot boxes which later led the youth to go home or places of work without voting for their youthful candidates.

7. **Non-registration by youth** – It was also found that some youth aren’t registered for as members of political parties yet they want to hold key party positions. Instead many choose also to run as independent candidates.

2.9 Case Studies

**Case Study on Young Women Aspirants participation in the just concluded primaries**

A report on Young Women Aspirants participation in the recent political parties’ nomination carried out by YAA revealed the following challenges.

**1. Lack of Financial Resources**

The young women seeking political offices faced various obstacles. Lack of resources to run their campaign was one of the most crippling. Insensitive campaign financing laws, therefore, present problems
2. Lack of Intra-Party Democracy

Intra-party democracy was cited to be an impediment to young women participation in political parties. This mainly happens during party nomination phase where rich politicians/party owners do not subscribe to the nomination rules and guidelines hence open windows for outright rigging. In some cases, they give direct party nominations to particular candidates in sheer disregard to party rules and ethos.

For instance, a young woman aspirant in Kisumu won her County Representative Position, however she was not presented with the nomination certificate on the ground that the ODM election body hadnullified the results in Nyanza and Western region on ground of irregularities. ODM instead chose another candidate of their choice who replaced her. Sarah Kunawa, a young woman aspirant won her nomination in Wajir County as a county representative. However ODM gave nomination to a male counterpart who had defected from another party. Mercy Gakuyo, formerly in TNA, defected to DP because in TNA she was rigged out. She stated that the party had its own owners. If you had no space in the party you were denied to participate in its nomination.

3. Unfavourable Political Parties Nomination Rules

The political party nomination rules are supposed to ensure that affirmative action is adhered to. This includes making sure that marginalized groups such as women, youth, and peoples with disabilities are accommodated by in the parties. However majority of the parties have structured their nomination rules in such a way that they don’t accommodate these individuals. Although TNA is the only political party with elaborate and sufficient provisions on affirmative action during their recent nomination the rules were not adhered to:

Young women aspirants in various counties complained that they were dominated by men and the nomination rules did not act in their favour. They faced harassment from their male counterparts who were given the first priority. Cases of young women been denied their nomination certificates and instead awarded to male counterparts were rampant all over the country. This disheartened most of the young women who are not even sure if they will participate in the coming elections.
Caroline Owen, a young woman aspirant in Kisumu, was successful in getting her nomination but it was later invalidated on ground of irregularities. She later moved to Federal Party of Kenya where she got a direct nomination as a county assembly representative.

4. Culture

Women are not only faced by economic, political and social challenges; culture is also a challenge that every Kenyan woman faces. The Kenyan society is patriarchal in the sense that men are believed to be important and powerful than women. Despite the efforts of the constitution under article 27 provides for equality and freedom from discrimination, Kenyan women are yet to enjoy this right as they fight for leadership and governance positions in this country.

5. Threats and Intimidation from Opponents

The political parties have displayed utter contempt for the law and the basic tenets of democracy. We have witnessed incidents of chaos, rigging, bribery, nepotism, intimidation, and total disregard of both the people’s will and the party own nomination rules and regulations. Candidates have also had to put up with threats from their fellow opponents.

The young women were harassed and this kind of intimidation is wanting. Mercy Gakuyo was previously in TNA aspiring as senator for Kiambu County. However she moved to DP because she received threats from her TNA counterpart making her not sleep in her house for three consecutive days. Mercy Gakuyo is one among the few women who defected to other parties and were accommodated and accorded the right to vie.

6. Corruption and Lack of Transparency within the Political Parties

The recent political parties’ nomination was characterized with corruption and bribery cases. Those who had money bought their way in while the will of the voters was not considered. We have experienced instances where parties were ready to pay loyalty and grant nomination certificates to their preferred individuals. This resulted to demonstrations and chaos across the country.

Due to corruption cases young women claimed that money changed hands during the exercise. Those who had money were able to buy nomination certificates despite the fact that they had lost. It was also an issue of who knows who. If one had someone in the party who knew them it was easy for one to be nominated.

7. Cumbersome and Frustrating Nomination

Young women aspirants across the country found the process of nomination to be cumbersome and frustrating. Several women gave up on the way because they were frustrated by their political parties or even the electorate. For young women living in the upcountry it was tiring to come to Nairobi every
now and then. They even lacked the finances to travel every time. The political parties also made the registration process cumbersome making some women pull out very early. The political parties’ nomination rules were unfriendly to the young women as they were not allowed to participate in any decision making and this was frustrating.

For a woman like Mercy Agosa in Kakamega county, who was running as an independent candidate, it was frustrating for her to campaign without been affiliated to any party. Lack of awareness by the electorate about an independent candidate was her biggest challenge. However she later moved to SAFINA party where she got her nomination.

The fact that ballot papers on the nomination day were distributed very late, young women supporters; who were mainly composed of women went home and therefore never took part in the nominations. Even for the few young women aspirants who were successful in getting their nominations, the political parties made it cumbersome to get their certificates.

**8. Negative Ethnicity**

Kenyan politicians have been accused by the electorate of campaigning on ethnical and tribal grounds. Ethnicity has become the biggest issue that if left unaddressed will cause a lot of harm to the country. Ethnicity has previously led to tribal wars amongst the Kenyan communities leading to massive loss of lives. The recent been the 2007-2008 post-election violence which was as a result of political differences amongst our leaders and the Tana Delta wars amongst the Pokomo and Giriama. This ethnicity affected young women who took the opportunity to vie for various seats in the country. Women who were married in a certain community faced opposition from the community on the ground that they were not part of that community.

Young women aspirants in West Pokot County found this to be their greatest predicament. Cheptum Regina a young woman aspirant for the Women Representative seat had to pull out of the race and stop campaigning because women in the community in which she was married were not ready to give her the chance to do so on the grounds that she came from another tribe. Lack of support from her fellow women proved to be a challenge to her.

Susan Olesula also faced the same discrimination on tribe. The fact that she was a woman married in West Pokot was enough to deny her the political right to participate in the coming elections. The residents in this community were not ready to support her.

**9. Lack of Popularity of Political Parties in the Area**

For example, ODM has a lot of support from Nyanza and part of western and if you are vying in this region for you to be sure of winning you must vie on this party. The same applies to TNA which enjoys support in Mt. Kenya region and URP which enjoys its support in Rift Valley region. A young woman aspirant on a UDF ticket in Kiambu County pulled out of the race because she faced stiff competition from TNA candidate. UDF is not popular in the area and vying on it is the same as loosing. She lost hope and was not ready to invest lots of finances in campaigning for a party she was sure she would not win with.
This is even clear in the recent nomination where alliances agreed on not giving party tickets to their candidates where they did not enjoy popularity. In the Jubilee Alliance TNA avoided most of the rift valley region and left it to URP; while URP avoided most of the Central region. In the Cord Alliance ODM avoided lower Eastern for Wiper; while Wiper did not allocate candidates in Nyanza.

This party allocation affected the young women aspirants who sought elective posts on party tickets that did not enjoy popularity in their regions. A young woman aspirant on a TNA ticket in Emuhaya constituency gave up along the way because TNA was not popular in the area. She got stiff competition from ODM and UDF candidates.

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Chapter Three

3.1 Recommendations

- **Establish Frameworks for Partnership at the Grassroots** - Youths and the general public at grassroots need to be emancipated and mobilized to take on active roles in political leadership as well as in various development programmes that are related to politics. Active participation of the youth and youth leagues has potential of guaranteeing partnership from grassroots communities that can eventually help the youth to win nomination processes and the main election. This will be one of the important avenues of strengthening youth participation in politics, governance and other development initiatives.

- **Policy Support** - There is need to establish and strengthen legal and policy frameworks so as to stabilize and regulate political parties, including internal democracy, respect for youth’ rights and party funding. Already, the Government has made significant strides towards funding parties but there are still perceived loopholes to address.

- **Enhancing Research as an Avenue for Youth Effective Participation in Political Leadership** - It is important to promote rigorous research interventions on leadership issues in general and political leadership in particular among the youth. Enhancement of research increases skills, competence, and confidence especially in competitive politics such as Kenya’s situation. Such research could focus more on identifying success and sad stories of youth leaders in regard to effective political participation, establishing areas of strength and weakness. The findings of such research would then be synthesized, lessons drawn and emulation of areas of strength undertaken.

- **Consider Affirmative Action in the party structures and policies** - It is important to deepen the issue of affirmative action for young women, young people with disabilities and young people from minority communities, especially during the nomination process. Thus, there is need for various parties to strengthen affirmative action mechanisms towards empowering the youth to fully engage in party politics and affairs. This will address the challenges of skewed nomination processes while encouraging more young female candidates to vie and win elective positions.

- **Engaging IEBC in party primaries** - The shambolic manner in which the political parties conducted their primaries cannot be tolerated any more in a democratic culture. Thus, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission should be facilitated in terms of finance and personnel to conduct future nomination exercise in the country.

- **Increase levels of political awareness for the youth** – There is need to deepen the understanding of the youth on policies and strategies for winning both in the nomination process and main election. Moreover, sensitization against political euphoria, hate speech and violence needs to be intensified by the parties themselves and other concerned organizations.

- **Need to reduce nomination fee for the youth** - Huge nomination fee is still barrier for the youth,
women, minority groups and PWDs to take active part in political contest. It is therefore recommended that political parties reduce nomination fee to attack large new entrants into the political competition.

- **Expanding youth networks** - The youth wings of political parties should be expanded to encompass the maximum number of young people in their network, this can help the youth to win election and participate fully.

- **Establish more youth forums and assemblies** - The young blood needs to be injected into the structures of political parties. Therefore, organising youth forums and youth assembly at all levels would be a policy imperative for youth attraction in political parties in which they can then come out in large numbers and support their youthful candidates.

- **Promote political literacy** - training on political education on regular basis to educate and motivate the youth to vote in their area is a requisite precondition to help the youth win in nomination and elections in general. In the same vein, special attention is also required to target uneducated youth and young women.

- **Increase levels of political awareness** - Political parties and civil society organisations should develop ways to educate the youth about the importance of voting to enhance their awareness and make them vote in solidarity in support of young aspirants.

- **Include women in the political development process**. The current constitution of Kenya considers the interests of women socially as well as politically due to the inclusion in the concept of affirmative action in the constitution guarantees an increase in women’s participation in the Kenyan society. Further the constitution also provides for legislation to regulate political parties. This will provide a level playing ground for all who wish to participate politically regardless of one’s gender.

- **Need to curb the problem of family voting** - there is need to establish separate polling places for men and women, as well as conducting voter education by scheduling gender segregated training programs. These training programs will facilitate voter education for women that teaches them about their opportunity and responsibility to vote, and for men about the need for gender diversity in a strong democracy. This will also ensure that women and young people are not coerced in any way into voting for candidates that their spouses or male relatives prefer.

- **Resource mobilization** - It is incumbent upon the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) to assist in establishing an organization to raise funds for women and youth running for office. Such an organization can seek funding from both international and national donors who want to politically empower women and youth.

- **Capacity Building** - The government and non-governmental organizations can work together to offer capacity building for candidates who are young and vulnerable. They can recruit and train them across the political spectrum, then equip them with confidence and skills to run for office and win.
3.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the large voter turnout by the youth coupled with emerging trend of many young aspirants during nomination process is a clear indication that a strong wind of democratic revolution is in the offing. It attests to the fact that this special sector of the society has digested and conceptualized the tents of political leadership which they feel is lacking from the old guards who perceive political leadership through a murky mirror of ethnicity and status quo mentality.

The myriad of challenges experienced by the young populace during party primaries is a compelling concern and should be swiftly addressed prior to the general election. Indeed, the proclamation by political leaders on the so-called six piece voting pattern should be discarded in order to allow young people choose their youthful leaders freely. Moreover, gender parity should be addressed in line with the provision of the new constitution. In addition, political parties and their leaders need to be informed of the importance of the Youth in political participation and electoral process. On the other hand more similar studies should be done periodically towards addressing the identified challenges in order to enhance the participation of young people in political and electoral processes in Kenya.
3.2 Conclusion

Sensitization on the importance of devolved funds – The Government and local non-governmental organizations should carry out workshops on the existence of both the youth and women enterprise funds and how they can access these funds. Similarly, capacity-building workshops on leadership skills should be conducted at the grassroots for youth and women.

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APPENDIX

List of Constituencies Visited

Ainabkoi
Alego Usonga
Bahati
Baringo Central
Baringo North
Baringo South
Bobasi
Bomachoge Borabu
Bomachoge Chache
Bonchari
Bondo
Borabu
Bura
BURA
Butere
Buuri
Central Imenti
Changamwe
Cherangany
Dagoretti North
Dagoretti South
Eldama ravine
EmbakasiEast
EmbakasiSouth
EmbakasiWest
Embu Central
Endebes
Galole
Ganze
APPENDIX
List of Constituencies Visited

Gatundu North
Githunguri
Igembe Central
Ikolomani
Imenti South
Juja
Kajiado East
Kajiado North
Kajiado South
Kanduyi
Kangundo
Kasarani
Kathiani
Kiambaa
Kibra
Kikuyu
Kilgoris
Kilifi North
Kiminini
Kinango
Kisauni
Kisumu Central
Kisumu East
Kisumu West
Kitui Central
Kitui East
Kitui South
Kitui West
Kitutu Chache
Kitutu Chache North
APPENDIX
List of Constituencies Visited

Kitutu Chache South
Kitutu Masaba
Kuresoi North
Kuresoi South
Kuria West
Kwanza
Laikipia West
Likiyani
Likoni
Likuyani
Limuru
Lugari
Lurambi
Machakos Town
Magarini
Makadara
Malava
Malindi
Masinga
MATHARE
Matungu
Mavoko
Mogotio
Molo
Msambweni
Mumias East
Mumias West
Mwingi Central
Mwingi North
Mwingi West
APPENDIX
List of Constituencies Visited

Naivasha
Nakuru West
Narok South
Narok West
Navakholo
North Horr
North Mugirango
Nykach
Nyali
NYANDO
Nyaribari Chache'
Nyaribari Masaba
Nyatike
Rabai
Rarieda
Ruaraka
Ruiru
Saboti
Seme
Shinyalu
Sirisia
Starehe
Subukia
Suna East
Suna West
Thika Town
Tiaty
Tigania East
Tigania West
Turbo
APPENDIX
List of Constituencies Visited

Ugenya
Ugunja
Uriri
Webuye East
Webuye West
West Mugirango
Westlands
Wundanyi